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Gomatesvara at Sravana Belgola
MEDIAEVAL JAINISM

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
THE VYJAYANAGARA EMPIRE

BY
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PREFACE

When we met at Hampe (Vijayanagara) in December 1936 to commemorate the (traditional) date of the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire, a few well-wishers desired that I should undertake the study of the Jainas under the mediæval Hindu monarchs. I agreed to their proposal but it was only some months later that I could give the subject a concrete shape. Only two scholars deserve special mention in regard to the history of the Jainas in southern India—Mr. M. S. Ramaswami and Mr. Seshagiri Rao, whose excellent essays I have utilized in some places in my work. But I have followed an altogether new line of enquiry. (Jainism is studied here from a non-religious standpoint; and the conspicuous part played by all sections of the people—kings, feudatories, nobles, priests, citizens, and women—is described with the aid of contemporary historical records. It will be seen from the following pages that the connecting link in the history of pre-Vijayanagara and Vijayanagara Jainism was the great Vijayanagara House. And so far as the religion itself is concerned, we may note that far from being a bundle of metaphysical beliefs, it was a faith that added in a large measure to the material prosperity of the land. It was not my intention to exhaust all the aspects of the subject. On the other hand, I have deliberately concentrated on some particular phases of the question, leaving others to those who may care to work on them.)

Notwithstanding many limitations, it is pleasing to observe that the old Jaina spirit of helping the cause of learning is
still strong among some Jainas. This it was which has made two generous and kind-hearted Jaina gentlemen share a substantial part of the expenses of the work. In the true Jaina manner, they wish to remain anonymous. To them I wish to acknowledge herewith my profound obligation for their generous aid. I am equally grateful to Mr. M. N. Kulkarni of the Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay, but for whose kindness, promptness, and liberality, I am afraid this work would not have been printed so soon at all.

The Index has been prepared by my younger brother Mr. G. N. Saletore, M.A., who, in spite of heavy postgraduate studies, has kindly come to my rescue.

July the 14th, 1938.

Purandharebagh, Poona 2.


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May the doctrine of Jina be victorious—the doctrine of the Lord of the three worlds, the unfailing characteristic of which is the glorious and most profound syād vāda!
THE KARNĀṬAKA COUNTRY


(By its roaring waves and dashing spray proclaiming that it had mountains and pearls was the ocean surrounding Jambūdvīpa, in the middle of which was mount Meru, south of which was the land of dharma Bharata-khanḍa. Among the many beautiful countries it contained, an abode of the Jina dharma, a mine of good discipline, like the dwelling of Padmāsana (Brahmā), having acquired great fame, the birth-place of learning and wealth, the home of unequalled splendid earnestness, thus distinguished in many ways was the lovely Karnāṭa country.)

Epigraphia Carnatica, VIII. Kuppaṭūr stone inscription styled Sb. 261, dated A.D. 1408, pp. 41, 107 (text). See p. 309 of this work.
CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

Importance and nature of the subject—Introduction of Jainism into south and west India.

The history of mediaeval Jainism in southern and western India, especially in the famous Empire of Vijayanagara, can be best understood only when it is studied in relation to the activities of its votaries in the ages preceding the rise of the sons of Sangama. It is essentially the history of a sect which having sought shelter in Karnaṭaka from a grave calamity that had overtaken it in its own home in the north, rose to unrivalled brilliance in the land of its adoption not only in the fields of letters, arts, and religion but in the domain of politics as well. At the hands of writers on Indian history, however, the influence which this profound faith cast in the south has not received the attention it has deserved. Indeed, it may be said

1. One finds little about this subject in most of the modern works dealing with the history and religions of India. The Cambridge History of India, I, for example, has only a few lines on this question: pp. 166-167. Other writers like Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, and C. Hayavadana Rao, Mysore Gazetteer (revised edition, Bangalore), have nothing more than the few well known facts to relate.
without any exaggeration that this subject has been almost ignored by historians of India. It is our purpose, therefore, to delineate in brief such of the important facts which are available in the numerous epigraphic records and literature of Karnāṭaka, the Telugu and Tamil lands, and which give us an idea of the remarkable contribution Jainism made to the stability and success of many kingdoms and notably of that most magnificent product of mediæval Hindu statesmanship—the Empire of Vijayanagara.

But it is necessary to bear in mind here a few considerations in regard to the subject before us. In the first place, while it is undoubtedly true that, as will be pointed out in the course of this treatise, Jainism claimed great antiquity in certain parts of southern India, where it made perceptible progress for some time, it always reckoned Karnāṭaka as its home where both during the days of its highest splendour as well as in the period of its comparative insignificance, it never failed to receive the warmest hospitality and the sincerest devotion from the people. Hence the history of Jainism in southern India is primarily the history of that religion in Karnāṭaka. This is the reason why, while studying the annals of Jainism under Vijayanagara, which was till the days of the famous Āraviṇḍu family thoroughly Karnāṭaka in origin and culture, we should pay due attention to the part played by the followers of the Jina dharma in moulding the destiny of western and southern India in the pre-Vijayanagara days. We have, therefore, to acquaint ourselves with the facts relating to the advent of that religion into Karnāṭaka, and the circumstances which led to its being a most potent factor in the history of western India till the fourteenth century A.D., before we deal with its progress and decay in the Vijayanagara Empire. This course of study will explain the widespread and abiding influence
which Jainism had in the land, and at the same time enable us to understand how it functioned throughout the history of the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagara.

The advent of Jainism into Karnāṭaka, and, therefore, into southern India, is connected with the immigration of Jainas under their celebrated leader Bhadrabāhu, the last of the great śrūtakēvalīś, and his disciple the Mauryan Emperor Candragupta. Southern tradition, corroborated by literary and epigraphic evidence, relates that Bhadrabāhu after predicting a twelve years’ famine and drought in the north, led the migration of the Jaina sangha to the south. He was accompanied by Candragupta Maurya. On reaching Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, Bhadrabāhu, perceiving that his end was drawing near, ordered the sangha to proceed on its way, and himself remained on the smaller hill called Kalbappu, Kaṭavapra, Cikka Beṭṭa, at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, where he was tended till his last moments by his royal disciple. The latter survived his teacher by twelve years, which were spent in penance on the hill, and then died there himself.¹

Notwithstanding a few discrepancies between the traditional account of the migration and that left to us by early Jaina writers, it may be taken as an undisputed fact that the Jainas migrated to the fertile regions of Karnāṭaka in the days of the first Gaṇadhara Bhadrabāhu whose death, according to all Jaina authors from Hemacandra down to the most modern scholiast, took place in 170 A.V. or B.C. 297.²

¹. Charpentier discredits the account of the Digambaras and asserts that Bhadrabāhu retired to Nepāl in order to pass the remainder of his life in penance, leaving the succession to Sthūlabhadra, a disciple of Bhadrabāhu’s own contemporary the high-priest Sambhūtavijaya. Cam. His. of India, I, p. 165.
We owe this definiteness in regard to the Jaina migration to Karnaṭaka to the researches of the late Mr. B. L. Rice and the late Prāktana Vimarśa Vicakṣaṇa Mahāmahopādhyāya R. Narasimhācārya. On the strength of the inscriptions on the summit of Candragiri itself and elsewhere, the writings of early Jaina writers like Hariṣeṇa (A. D. 931), and mediæval and later writers like Ratnanandi (circa A. D. 1450), Cidānandakavi (A.D. 1680), and Devacandra (A.D. 1838), these scholars have shown that credence may certainly be given to the tradition of the migration of the Jainas to the south under the leadership of the fifth and the last of the great śrutaakevalis Bhadrabāhu and his royal disciple.¹

¹. Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, pp. 2-10; Narasimhācārya, Inscriptions at Śravana Belgoḷa, pp. 36-40. Smith accepted this tradition. Oxford History of India, pp. 75-76. Fleet tried to maintain that this Jaina tradition had no historical basis. Indian Antiquary, XXI, p. 156; Epigraphia Indica, IV, pp. 22-24, 339; Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1909, p. 23; ibid for 1911, p. 816. But both Rice and Narasimhācārya have successfully proved that Fleet’s contention was wrong. My. and Coorg, p. 7, n. (1); Ins. Śr. Bel., Intr., p. 40, Dr. Shama Sastry, while squaring some synchronisms with the initial year of the Gupta era, viz., A. D. 200-201,—which, according to him, is the correct date, that given by Dr. Fleet, viz., A. D. 319-20 being wrong—opines that it was Bhadrabāhu III, and Candragupta II, who came to Kalbappu. (Mysore Archaeological Report for 1923, p. 23).
CHAPTER II.
ROYAL BENEVOLENCE

from a fugitive faith, Jainism became gradually the dominant religion of Karnaṭaka; and for nearly twelve centuries (second century A.D. till the thirteenth century) it guided the fortunes of some of the most powerful and well known Karnaṭaka royal families. This particular aspect of Jainism deserves a passing explanation. That a religion which had made Karnaṭaka its abode only a few generations before its great rival Buddhism had cast its sway practically over the same area,1 should have, in spite of the opposition it met from rival faiths, and notably from the rejuvenated forms of Hinduism, persisted to do a great deal of material and spiritual good to the country is, indeed, most remarkable, especially when we remember that its votaries did not show any signs of increasing in numbers and its royal patrons, particularly in the thirteenth century A.D. and after, did not always shower on it the patronage it had received in the early centuries of the Christian era. But this success of Jainism for over eleven centuries is to be attributed not

1. The various Edicts of Asoka, not to mention other important sources, are in themselves sufficient proof to demonstrate that Buddhism had taken deep roots in Karnaṭaka in the Maur-yan age. This question will be discussed by me in a separate dissertation. In the meanwhile read Rice, My & Coorg., pp 3-14; Hayavadana Rao, Mysore Gazetteer, I, pp. 295-298.
merely to its inherent vitality, but also to other causes which transformed it from a mere tissue of teachings into a live force in Kāṛaṇāṭaka politics. Foremost among these causes is that relating to the new outlook Jaina leaders took on political life. They ceased to be merely exponents of dogmas; they turned themselves into creators of kingdoms. It may not be too much to say that Jainism in the pre-Vijayanagara days was an example of a religion which showed, at least so far as Kamāṭaka was concerned, that religious tenets were to be subordinated to political exigencies when the question of rejuvenating life in the country was at stake. The practical effect of such a changed angle of vision on the part of the great Jaina teachers of the early centuries was profound. Four celebrated royal families in succession came forward as champions of Jainism; and what the monarchs did, their minister-generals, feudatories, and commercial magnates imitated. Jainism, in short, received universal patronage from all ranks of people. And the Jaina leaders in turn reciprocated the trust and reverence which the princes and people reposed in them by contributing in a large measure to the philosophy, literature, and arts of the country.

The earliest political creation of the Jina dharma was the Ganga kingdom of the south. The Gangas were a family of considerable antiquity. They belonged to the Ikṣvāku race and the Kāṇvāyana gotra. Their early history in the north or north-east prior to their advent in the south does not concern us here. Somewhere in the second century A.D.¹ they

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¹ The chronology of the Ganges is far from being settled. Of the scholars who have attempted to fix it,—Fleet, Rice, Narasimhacarya, Shama Sastry, and Govinda Pai,—the attempts of Fleet have to be abandoned, as he unfortunately took an assailable stand concerning the genuineness of many of the Ganga records. Rice placed Konguṇivarmā I in the end of the second
branched off in the southerly direction. Two princes of the Ganga family came to a particular city in the south, thereby opening a new age in the history of the country. For here

century. A.D. (My. & Coorg., pp. 32, 49). Although the dates given by him to some of the later Ganga rulers, e.g., Durvinita whom he placed in A.D. 482-517... (Ibid, p. 49), as pointed out by Narasimhacarya, were wrong (Mysore Archaeological Report for 1921, p. 28, where Narasimhacarya gives A.D. 605-650 as the dates of this ruler), yet we may accept, on the whole, the age (second century A.D.) given to the first historical figure in the Ganga history by Rice as correct.

The following will, for the present, be enough to prove that Rice's calculations were valid. One of the Ganga kings whose date of coronation was fixed satisfactorily by Dr. Shama Sastry is king Avinita. This ruler was anointed to the throne while a boy in A.D. 475 (M. A. R. for 1924, p. 18). With this date we shall argue backwards in order to fix the age of Kongunivarman I. Between king Avinita and Kongunivarman I there were at least six monarchs—Madhava, Kiriya (styled by Rice Madhava II), Harivarman, and his elder brothers Ayyavarman and Krishnavarman, his son Visnugopa, followed by, according to Rice, Prthviga, and then Madhava II (called by Rice Madhava III). (Rice, ibid., p. 49; M. A. R. for 1924, p. 17). Suppose we allot thirty-five years to every one of these, we reach at the following dates:

Madhava Kongunivarman I A.D. 230

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<th>Harivarman</th>
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<td>A.D. 300</td>
<td>A.D. 335</td>
<td>A.D. 370(?)</td>
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<table>
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<th>Visnugopa</th>
<th>Madhava</th>
<th>Avinita</th>
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<td>A.D. 405</td>
<td>A.D. 440</td>
<td>A.D. 475</td>
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in this city was effected the first political success of Jainism, when a renowned Jaina guru initiated one of them into the syād vāda doctrine, and, as numerous epigraphs assert, “gave them a kingdom.”

The account of the victory which Jainism thus won is not given in any contemporary epigraph either of that celebrated Jaina guru or of his royal protégé. But several later records both of the Gangas and of the other royal families and old Jaina works clearly and unanimously give the story thereby

Now the Tamil Chronicle Kongudeśa-rājakkaṭ gives A.D. 189 as the date for the king Kongunjivārma I. It asserts that he reigned for fifty-one years. (Rice, ibid., p. 32). If we take A.D. 189 as the initial year of that ruler, it may be maintained that he ruled from A.D. 189 till A.D. 250. The date A.D. 230 which we have given for that king on the basis of the date A.D. 475 given to king Avinīṭa, would, then, fit in quite well within his reign. And Mr. Govinda Pai’s dates circa A.D. 250- A.D. 283 given to Kongunjivārma I (Karnataka Historical Review, II, No. 1, p. 29) would be very near the correct date. Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao’s dates for the same ruler, A.D. 340- A.D.-400, (The Gangas of Talkad, pp. xi, 22) are far too arbitrary to be accepted. Narasimhacarya’s discovery of many genuine Ganga records is of the greatest importance in this connection (M. A. R. for 1921, p. 17 ff.). But the dates A.D. 605-650 given by him to king Durviniṭa—no doubt on a well reasoned contemporaneity of that ruler with the famous poet Bhāravi—seem to be rather unacceptable. (M.A.R. for 1921, p. 28). For if Dr. Shama Sastry is right in assuming that king Avinīṭa was anointed to the throne in A.D. 475, it cannot be that Avinīṭa’s son and successor Durviniṭa came to the throne in A.D. 605! Dr. Sastry has shown that the date A.D. 478 given to Durviniṭa by Rice is correct. (M.A.R. for 1923, p. 27). Pending a detailed study of the Gangas, I tentatively accept Rice’s chronology as correct in the main. On the Kadamba-Ganga synchronisms in the reign of king Avinīṭa, read Moraes, Kadomba-kula, pp. 55-59.
leaving no doubt in our minds concerning its veracity. The Ganga ruler who thus secured a kingdom was called Konguṇivarmā I, while his Jaina preceptor was Simhanandi Ācārya. One of the earliest royal documents which hints at the aid received by the first historical figure in the Ganga genealogy, is the Kodunjervu grant of king Avinīta (accession a.d. 475). This record merely states that the illustrious Konguṇivarmā was "famous for his valour and strength exhibited in rending asunder a pillar of stone with a single stroke of his sword."¹

Neither in the above record nor in the next one styled the Bedirūr grant of king Bhūvikrama, Śrīvallabha, and dated Śaka 556 (a.d. 634-5), is there any explicit statement to the effect that Simhanandi Ācārya gave Konguṇivarmā a kingdom. The Bedirūr plates only repeat the fact of the great achievement of Konguṇivarmā as given in the grant of king Avinīta mentioned above.²

But in the damaged copper-plate grant of king Śivamāra I, Prthvikonguni I, (a.d. 670-713 . . .), it is clearly stated that Konguṇivarmā I, who was "possessed of renown for valour," "with his own sword at the suggestion of the Jaina teacher," whose name is lost in the record, cut evidently the stone pillar referred to in other epigraphs.³ The Udayendiran grant of king Hastimalla dated circa a.d. 920, affirms that the Ganga lineage obtained increase through the greatness of Simhanandi.⁴ The Kūḍlūr plates of king Mārasimha dated Śaka 884 (a.d. 963) confirm the above, and assert that by favour of Simhanandi Ācārya Konguṇivarmā obtained strength of

¹. M. A. R. for 1924, p. 68.
². Ibid. for 1925, pp. 85, 87.
³. Ibid., p. 91.
arm and valour and cut asunder the great stone pillar with a single stroke of his sword.\(^1\) The Humca Pañcabasti stone inscription dated A.D. 1077, while tracing the spiritual descent of Jaina gurus, asserts the following in connection with the great Jaina teacher Samantabhadra—In his line was Simhanandi Ācārya who made the Ganga kingdom (Ganga-rājyam māḍida Simhanandi-ācāryar).\(^2\)

But the most admirable account of Simhanandi Ācārya’s great achievement is given in the stone inscription found near the Siddheśvara temple on Kallūrguḍḍa, Shimoga hobli, Mysore State. It is dated A.D. 1122 and, after describing the early history of the Ganga family, it narrates thus about king Padmanābha’s two sons Daḍiga and Mādhava, who were sent to the south when their father was attacked by Mahīpāla of Ujjain: Continuing by daily journeys they came to a pleasant place, where they saw the extensive Perūr (in the mod. Cuddapah district), a joy to the mind of the pure Lakṣmī; and a hill covered with flowering mandāra, namēru, and sandal trees. Seeing that Ganga Perūr, they pitched their camp on the bank of a tank there, and seeing a caityālāyā, with full of devotion walked round it three times, and giving praises, saw the voyager to the farthest shore of learning, the full moon to the ocean the Jina congregation, possessed of patience, and all the ten excellent qualities, his good life a secure wealth, rejoicing in the modest, his fame extending to the four oceans, keeping at a distance from the evil, a sun in the sky of the Krāṇūr gāṇa, devoted to the performance of the twelve kinds of penance, promoter of the Ganga kingdom (Ganga-rājya samuddharaṇam)—Śrī-Simhanandi Ācārya;

\(^1\) M. A. R. for 1921, p. 19.
\(^2\) Epigraphia Carnatica, VII, Nr. 46, p. 139. See also Nr. 35, p. 138, where the same is repeated.
and doing reverence to him through faith in the guru, made known to him all the object of their coming. On which he, taking them by the hand, made them proficient in the art of learning, and after some days causing by his faith the goddess Padmāvatī to appear, obtained a boon, and gave them a sword and the whole kingdom.

The same stone inscription then continues thus:—While the munipati was looking on, Mādhava, honoured by the learned, shouting struck with all his might a stone pillar, when it (the pillar) broke with a noise of cracking; what cannot brave men do? Seeing that energy, the munipati, making a coronet of the petals of the karanikāra bound it on, blessing them (the two brothers) as honoured by the good, scattering grain (on them), giving them with a pleased mind the domain of all the earth, making his peacock fan a signal flag for them, and furnished them with numerous attendants, elephants, and horses.

This interesting record further informs us about the advice which Simhanandi Ācārya gave the two brothers: Having thus put them in possession of all the kingdom, he gave them the following advice—That if they failed in what they promised, if they did not approve of the Jina sāsana, if they seized the wives of others, if they ate honey or flesh, if they formed relationship with the low, if they gave not of their wealth to the needy, and if they fled from the battlefield, then, their race would go to ruin!

The extent of the kingdom thus given to them by the great Ācārya is next described in the same inscription. Having said the above, with the lofty Nandagiri as their fortress, Kuvalāla as their city, the Ninety-six Thousand as their country, the blameless Jina their Lord, Victory their companion in the battle field, the Jina mata their faith, and with ever increasing greatness, the kings Daḍiga and
Mādhava ruled over the earth. The boundaries of their kingdom were the following—on the north its frontiers touched Marandale, on the east Tōṇḍanāṉ, on the west, the ocean and the place called Ceram, and on the south, Kongu. Moreover, having subdued all the enemies that were within these limits, the Gangas made firm their dominion over so much, the circle of Gangavādi 96,000.\(^1\) It is this record which, as will be explained in a later context, states that Daṅiga and Mādhava erected a caityālaya on the hill Mandalī (near Shimoga), according to the advice of the same Ācārya, while out on an expedition to subdue the Konkaṇa.

That Simhanandi Ācārya actually taught his royal disciples the syād vāda doctrine is further proved by another record dated A.D. 1129, which informs us that “The sharp sword of meditation on the venerable Arhat, which cuts asunder the row of stone pillars the hostile army of the ghāti sins, was vouchsafed by Simhanandi muni to his disciples also. Otherwise, how was the solid stone pillar, which barred the road to the entry of the goddess of sovereignty, capable of being cut asunder by him with his sword?” \(^2\)

These records are of the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D.; the Gangas as a ruling power disappeared by the end of the eleventh century A.D. Notwithstanding this chronological discrepancy, it may be conceded that the above account of Simhanandi Ācārya's having helped the first notable Ganga king in Karnaṭaka, Kongunivarmā, may be accepted as valid. In a later connection in the same Siddhēśvara temple record, while dealing with the spiritual line of the Jaina gurus of the Śrī Mūla sangha, Konḍakundānvaya,

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Krāñṇur gaṇa, and Meṣapāśaṇa gaḍcha to which Simhanandi Ācārya belonged, it is again said that that teacher was a dweller in the southern country and a promoter of the family of the chiefs of the Ganga territory, and lord of the Śrī Mula sangha (daṅkṣaṇa deśavāsi Ganga mahīmaṇḍalikakula-samud-dharanaḥ Śrī-Mūlasanghanāḥ). Evidently this was but a continuation of the earlier tradition as recorded, for instance, in the Udayendiran plates of king Hastimalla mentioned above. Its validity is further proved by an inscription assigned to circa A.D. 1179 in which it is said that the Ganga kingdom was brought into existence by the lord of the sages Simhanandi of the celebrated Deśika gaṇa named after Koṇḍakunda.¹

Before proceeding further with these records, we may note that as pointed out by the late Mr. Narasimhacaryya, in an old commentary on the Jaina work Gommaṭasāra, it is stated that, the Ganga family prospered by the blessings of the sage Simhanandi.²

The above inscriptions concerning Simhanandi Ācārya and Krongunivarmā I, contain two other details which are of some importance in the history of Jainism in the pre-Vijayanagara days. The first relates to the position of the city of Perūr where the Ganga princes met the Jaina guru. The Siddheśvara temple inscription clearly informs us that Perūr was already a great Jaina centre in the days of Simhanandi Ācārya. It contained a caityālaya where assembled the ocean of the Jina congregation to which Simhanandi himself was the full-moon (Jina samaya-sudhāmbodhi-sampūr-ṇacandraram).

The other detail is more interesting. (In the same epi-

¹. E. C. II., 397, p. 169.
graph, as well as in others, we are told that Simhanandi Acarya gave, firstly, a sword, and, then, a kingdom to prince Madhava. With the sword the latter struck a stone pillar (śilā stambha) which broke with the noise of cracking. It was as a reward for this brave act of the prince, that Simhanandi put on his head the coronet of karanikāra flowers and gave him a kingdom. The incident of smiting the stone pillar preceded that of the gift of the kingdom. Now what was the stone pillar and the significance of its destruction? Rice suggested long ago about this renowned but rather unintelligible feat thus—"It seems not improbable that the term should properly be śilā stambha,¹ the name given to the pillars on which the edicts of Aśoka were inscribed. None has hitherto been found in the south, but no reason appears why one should not have been erected in this part of India, which Konguṇi I overthrew."² But it was only thirteen years later in 1892 that Rice himself made his epoch-making discovery of Aśoka's edicts at Moḷkālmūru in the Chital-droog district. Although no edicts of Aśoka have been found in the neighbourhood of Perūr, yet it may not be wrong to assume that the reference to the śilā stambha in the above records is to one of such monuments which Konguṇi-varmā destroyed.³ It could not have been any ordinary

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1. In the inscription edited by Rice it was read as Śīla stambha.
3. The many royal grants we have cited above refer in unmistakable terms to the great achievement of Konguṇivarmā. The only exception is the Narasimharājapura grant of king Śrīpuruṣa (A.D. 726-776...), assigned to about A.D. 780, in which the destruction of the stone pillar is attributed to a predecessor of Konguṇivarmā I. This document relates that in the race of that fortunate one, who, intent on victory, cut off by order of a Nirgrantha (Jaina) sage a huge stone pillar with his
pillar which that ruler broke with a single stroke of his sword. We have to assume that it may have been a monument which was not only literally large, but one the existence of which proved a barrier to the progress of that king. This latter supposition is based on the explicit statement in the inscription dated A.D. 1129 cited above which informs us that the stone pillar barred the road to the entry of the goddess of sovereignty. The reference here seems to be to the powerful hold which Buddhism had over that region prior to the age when Konguṇīvarmā became master of Pērūr. Buddhist influence still held its own in the south for some time to come; and it was evidently this which the great Jaina teacher overcame with the help of his royal disciple. Konguṇīvarmā’s demonstration of physical strength brought with it, indeed, “sovereignty” to the Jainas; and the reward which he secured for this remarkable feat was a kingdom.

Whatever our difficulty in ascertaining the exact nature of the circumstances under which Simhanandi Ācārya enabled Konguṇīvarmā to acquire political power in the region

(Continued from p. 15.)
sword, was born the matchless Konguṇi Rājā of the Kāṇvāyana gotra (M.A.R. for 1920, p. 28). Since all records except this unanimously attribute the performance of the great deed only to Konguṇīvarmā I, and to none else, we have to suppose that the scribe who composed the Narasimharājapura plates was not properly informed of the deeds of the earliest historical figure in the Ganga genealogy. On a copper plate of Konguṇīvarmā I, see M.A.R. for 1912-1913, pp. 33-34.

1. Mr. Hayavadana Rao asserts that the change in religion from Brahmanism to Jainism on the part of Konguṇīvarmā “seems to have been insisted upon by the Ācārya Simhanandi as a sine qua non for any interest in the two boy-princes Daḍīga and Mādhava.” My. Gaz., II, p. 592. This is merely a conjecture.
around Perūr, there can be hardly any doubt that the aid which the great Jaina sage gave the Ganga ruler secured for Jainism royal patronage at the hands of the Ganga monarchs who, excepting in a few instances, fostered it with care for centuries after the time of Konguṇivarmā I. For instance, king Viṣṇugopa is said to have set aside the Jina faith for that of Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu). But his son (or grandson) Taḍangala Mādhava, notwithstanding the fact of his having been a devotee of Triyambaka, carried on the earlier Ganga tradition of extending patronage to the Jainas. A copper-plate grant found in the ruined bastī at Noṇamangala, Maḷur tāluka, and dated in his 13th regnal year, records the grant of the Kumārapura village and other specified land for the Arhat temple in the Perbojāl village. This was done at the instance of the Acārya Viradeva, who was proficient in his own doctrine and in other dogmas. That Taḍangala Mādhava should have done this is, indeed, noteworthy, specially when it is remembered that he is described as one who was "of widespread fame for his revival of Brahman endowments long since destroyed." In another record he is described as a "reviver of donations and sacrifices for long-ceased festivals of the gods and Brahman endowments, daily eager to extricate the ox of merit from the thick mire of

1. A damaged and undated stone inscription found near Ica-vādi, Shimoga hoblī, is unique in the sense that it is the only record which gives the name of Nandibhatṭāraka of the Krāṇūr gaṇa as having been the teacher of the Ganga kings ruling over the southern country (M.A.R. for 1923, p. 115). We do not know whether this was the same Nandi muni who is mentioned in a record assigned to A.D. 700 (E. C. II, 111, p. 45).
2. Rice, My. & Coorg., p. 34.
3. E. C. X., Mr. 73, pp.172-173. Rice assigns this copper-plate grant to circa A.D. 370.
the Kaliyuga in which it had sunk.” These statements obviously refer to those days of Jaina ascendancy under the early Ganga monarchs when the Vedic ideas and Brahman superiority had been relegated into the background by the vigour and driving force of Jainism.

King Taḍāngala Mādhava’s son and successor was Avinīta. This ruler “like Vaivasvata Manu devoted to protecting the south in the maintenance of castes and religious orders, the friend of all”, was undoubtedly a Jaina. The Noṇa-mangala copper-plate grant issued in the 1st regnal year of that monarch, amply proves this assertion. In this record king Avinīta, who is called merely Śrīmat Koṇguṇivarmā Dharmamahārājādhirāja, in that year, on the advice of his preceptor the parama-arhat Vijayakīrti, gave the Vennelkarani village (location specified) to the Uranūr Arhat temple, and one-fourth of the kārśāpana (a copper coin 80 rāti in weight) of the outside customs to the Perūr Ṣvāni-aḍigal’s Arhat temple. The Uranūr Arhat temple, we are informed in the same document, was established by Candranandi and others of the Śrī Mūla sangha. This copper-plate grant has been assigned to circa A. D. 425 by Rice.³

1. E. C. IX, DB. 68, p. 72.
2. Ibid., DB. 68, p. 73. On his benevolent attitude towards the Brahmans, see ibid., DB. 67, p. 71.
3. Ibid, X., Mr. 72, pp. 171-172. See also Ramaswami Ayyanagar, Studies in South Indian Jainism, pp. 110-111 (Madras, 1922). The Mercara plates of the same king, the genuineness of which has been questioned, also confirm the statement made above that he was a staunch follower of the Jina dharma. This copper-plate grant, assigned by Rice to A. D. 466, relates that that king gave the village of Badaneguppe (location given) to Candranandi Bhāṭṭāraka, who was the disciple of
That king Durviniṭa, son and successor to king Avinīṭa, was likewise a good Jaina is proved by a later record dated A. D. 1055-6 to be cited in a later context.

Rice asserted that the celebrated Jaina grammarian Pūjyapāda was the spiritual guru of king Durviniṭa. This statement was based on the Hirematāṭha copper-plate grant found at Hobbūru, Tumkur tāluka, and assigned by Rice to circa A. D. 700. In it king Durviniṭa is thus described—Sabdāvatārakāra-deva-Bhārati-nivaddha Bhadṛ[k]ahā which Rice interpreted thus—“restricted to the path of greatness by the instruction of the divine who was the author of the Sabdāvatāra.”¹

The late Mr. Narasimhacarya denied that Pūjyapāda had anything to do with king Durviniṭa at all. He maintained that Sabdāvatārakāra Devabhārati-nibaddha-Bhadṛkathā were two of the birudas of king Durviniṭa, meaning thereby that that ruler wrote the Sabdāvatāra, and translated into Sanskrit Guṇāḍhyā’s Bhadṛkathā.²

This assertion rests on the Gummareṇḍipūra plates of king Durviniṭa, issued in his 40th regnal year. In this important record it is clearly stated thus—Sabdāvatāra-kārena

(Continued from p. 18.)
Guṇanandi Bhaṭṭaraka, through the offices of the minister of Akālavarṣa Prthvīvallabha. The grant was made on behalf of the Śrīvijaya basadi at Taḷavananagara. (E. C., I. Cg. 1, p. 51). The ruler mentioned here may have been Krṣṇa I, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch, who seems to have been the first to assume the name Akālavarṣa. But what a minister of the latter had to do with king Avinīṭa is not clear. On king Avinīṭa’s patronage of the Jainas, read Indian Antiquary, I, p. 136; Krishna Rao, Gangas of Talkad, p. 227.

1. E. C., XII. Tm. 23, p. 7; My. & Coorg., pp. 35, 196.
Devabhāratī nibaddha Vaḍḍakathena Kirāṭarjuniyena-pañcadasa-sarga-ṭikākārena Durviniṭa nāmadheyena.  

But our difficulty does not end here. While the Gummareḍḍipura plates conclusively prove that king Durviniṭa was the author of a Saṅdāvatāra, it cannot be maintained on the strength of this record that he was not the disciple of Pūjya-pāda. We have to admit that there is no explicit reference in any inscription to the fact that Pūjyapāda was the guru of king Durviniṭa. The Kaṭagattūr plates assigned by Rice to circa A. D. 482, no doubt, describe king Durviniṭa as one who walked according to the example of his guru (svaguru guṇāṅgāminā). But this does not show that Pūjyapāda was connected with king Durviniṭa.

A solution of the problem lies in ascertaining a few details centring round Pūjyapāda. We know that this great teacher was the author of a work called Saṅdāvatāra. A later record found in the Paṅcabasti at Humca, and assigned to A. D. 1530 on valid grounds, informs us that Pūjyapāda was the author of the following works—Nyāyakumudacandrodaya, the nyāsa on the sūtras of Śāktaṭayana, the nyāsa named Jainendra “also the great nyāsa called Saṅdāvatāra on the sūtras of Paṅini,” the Vaidya-śāstra for the good of mankind, and a ṭikā to the Tattvārthā.

Can we rely upon this record of the middle of the sixteenth century A. D. for determining something about a person who lived in the early centuries of the Christian era? This will depend on our comparing some of the details given in the above inscription with those found in other records. An inscription dated A. D. 1163 informs us that Pūjyapāda

2. E. C. XII. Mi. 110, p. 115.
3. Ibid., VIII, Nr. 46, p. 147; My. & Coorg, p. 197.
was so called because of his two feet being worshipped by the deities, that he had at first the name Devanandi, and that, on account of his towering intellect, he was also called Jinendrabuddhi. The same epigraph gives an account of his works. His Jainendra proclaimed to the learned his unequalled knowledge of grammar; his great Sarvārthasiddhi his proficiency in philosophy; his Jainabhiseka, his high poetic talent and subtle knowledge of prosody; and his Samādhiśataka, his peace of mind.\(^1\) A later record dated A. D. 1432 gives us three additional details in regard to Pūjyapāda. He was unrivalled in the power of healing, and he visited Jina in Videha, while the touch of the water used for washing his feet indeed had the virtue of turning iron into gold.\(^2\)

The above inscriptions, therefore, confirm the Pañcabasti record in regard to the following points—that Pūjyapāda was the author of Jainendra, and that he was well versed in the science of medicine. Now we know from other sources that Pūjyapāda wrote an extensive commentary on the Tattvārtha sūtra of Umāsvāmi, and the work Jainendra vyākaranā.\(^3\) The Pañcabasti inscription is the only source of information in regard to the other works which he wrote—Nyāyakumuda-candrodaya, the nyāsa on the sūtras of

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1. E. C. II. 64, p. 17. Cf. Ibid., 254 dated A.D. 1398 which confirms the name Devanandi and Jinendrabuddhi given to him, and the derivation of the name Pūjyapāda. p. 110.

2. Ibid, 258, p. 117. Pūjyapāda's famous work on medicine was probably called Kalyānakaraka. This was rendered into Kannada by the poet Jagaddala Somanātha in about A. D. 1150. (Kaviccari, I, pp. 164-165. rev. ed)

Śakaṭāyana, and the great Šabdāvatāra. The fact of Pūjyapāda’s having written the nyāsa on Śakaṭāyana’s sūtras is interesting. If corroborated by other sources it would mean that not only was Śakaṭāyana earlier than, or contemporary with, Pūjyapāda, but that the latter was perhaps the earliest commentator on Śakaṭāyana’s famous work on grammar, Šabdānuśāsana. One would then have altogether eight, and not seven, commentaries on Śakaṭāyana’s work. For our purpose we may note that Pūjyapāda who had written a nyāsa on Śakaṭāyana’s great work on grammar, could also have written another work on grammar called Šabdāvatāra himself.

Turning to king Durviniṭa we find that we have valid reasons to assume that he was not an original writer on grammar. While there is clear evidence of his having written a commentary on the fifteenth sarga of Kirātārjuniya, nowhere is it said that he was a great grammarian. In the Nallāla plates, for instance, issued by that monarch we have quite a number of details concerning his literary attainments. It is expressly said in this record that the king was an expert in the composition of various kinds of poetry, stories, and dramas, but nothing about his proficiency in grammar is mentioned in it. If king Durviniṭa

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1. Pārsvapaṇḍita in his Pārśvanātha purāṇa (composed in A. D. 1222) ascribes the following works to Pūjyapāda—Kalyānakāraka, Jainendra, and Tattvārthavṛtti. Kavicolite, I. p. 325, n. (1).

2. Hiralal says that there are only seven important commentaries on Śakaṭāyana’s work discovered hitherto. He gives their names. Op. cit., Intr. p. xxv.

3. M.A.R. for 1918. p. 28; ibid., for 1920, p. 28; ibid for 1921, p. 20; ibid for 1924, p. 76; ibid for 1925, p. 88; ibid for 1927, p. 108.

had been a great grammarian, the scribes who composed his inscriptions would never have failed to allude to it in their compositions. For instance, it is said of king Śivamāra that he was "a distinguished sailor able to reach the other side of the unfordable ocean of Pāṇini’s grammar."¹ The absence of such a qualifying phrase in connection with king Durvinīta suggests that he was not an original writer on grammar.

How, then, is the statement made in the Gummareṇḍhipura plates that he was a Sabdāvatārakāra to be understood? We know that he was a staunch Jaina, that he wrote a commentary on Kirātārjunīya, and that he translated into Sanskrit Guṇāḍhyā’s Brhadkathā. It may not be too much to suppose that he put into Kannaḍa the original Sabdāvatāra of Pūjyapāda, obviously as a mark of respect for his great guru. This would mean that we have to assign Pūjyapāda to the same age in which king Durvinīta lived, viz., the latter half of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century A. D.²

King Śivamāra I (A. D. 670-713) continued the Jaina traditions of the earlier rulers. That he was himself a Jaina is proved by one of his copper-plate grants


2. This was precisely the date arrived at for Pūjyapāda by the late Mr. Narasimhačarya. Kavicarite, I. pp. 5-6. He likewise assigned king Durvinīta to the first half of the sixth century A. D. M. A. R. for 1912, pp. 35-36. Two other works of Pūjyapāda are mentioned by Hiralal—Sravakācāra and Upāsakācāra dealing with instructions for the conduct of a Jaina lay man. Hiralal, op. cit., pp. 628, 696. On p. 706 Hiralal mentions Sarvārthasiddhi. On Pūjyapāda, read Kielhorn, I. A., X., 75; Pathak, ibid, XLVIII, pp. 20, 512; Peterson, Report on Skt. Mss., II. pp. 67-74.
mentioned above, which relates that he gave as a gift some specified lands in the village of Kellipusugūr (location given) for the services of a Jina temple to Candrasenācārya.¹

Śrīpuruṣa Muttarasa, Prthvīkonguni II (A.D. 726-801), was a devout patron of Jainism. The Devarahalḷī plates dated A. D. 776 tell us that that monarch granted a village named Ponnaḷḷī in the Nirgunda country for the repairs of a Jina temple named Lokatilaka which had been caused to be erected by Kandācci. This lady was the daughter of Pallavādhirāja and the wife of Parama Gūla, the Nirgunda Rājā.² King Śrīpuruṣa’s reign extended till the year A. D. 801, when, as the stone inscription dated in that year and found in theĪśvara temple, Basavaṭṭi village, Mysore district, informs us, that ruler, while in Taḷāvanapura (Taḷakāḍ), granted certain specified taxes on shepherds to some citizens (named). One of the clauses at the end of this record affirms that he who collected this tax would be guilty of killing Brahmans, destroying Benares, basadis, and tawny cows.³ Obviously to the royal patron of Jainism, destruction of basadis was a heinous crime.

It is evidently from him that his sons Śivamāra II, Sai-goṭṭa, and Prince Duggamāra learnt to show special favour to Jainism. For king Śivamāra II was himself a staunch supporter of that religion. He built a basadi on the smaller hill at Śravāṇa Belgoḷa. The epigraph found on a boulder near the Candranāṭhasvāmi basadi, records merely in Kannāḍa the plain fact thus—Śivamārana basadi. On palæ-

2. E. C. IV. Ng. 85, p. 135; My. & Coorg., p. 39.
graphic grounds this record has been assigned to \textit{circa} A.D. 810.\textsuperscript{1}

King Śivamāra II, Saigotṭa's younger brother Duggamāra Ereyappa was likewise a Jaina by persuasion. An undated stone inscription near the Āñjaneya temple at Hebbalaguppe, Heggaḍedevana tāluka, Mysore district, relates that Śrī Narasingere Appor Duggamāra gave specified lands to the Jaina temple (\textit{koil-vasadi}) of the locality. The inscription also supplies us with the name of the great architect (\textit{peruntacchan}) Nārāyaṇa, who built the \textit{basadi}; and tells us that the citizens of three villages (named) also gave lands equal to those granted by the Ganga prince, for the maintenance of the \textit{basadi}.\textsuperscript{2} Prince Duggamāra ruled for some time as a viceroy of Kovalanāḍ under his father, and, then, on the latter's death, tried to establish himself against his elder brother.\textsuperscript{3} The Āñjaneya temple record has been assigned to \textit{circa} A. D. 825 by Dr. Krishna.\textsuperscript{4}

King Śivamāra II's reign was indeed an age of misfortune for the Ganga family. It was during his rule that the Rāṣṭrukūṭas cast their sway over Gangavāḍi Ninety-six Thousand, imprisoning him three times, and eventually permitting him to rule as their feudatory—the solitary instance of a Ganga monarch acknowledging an overlord! This was in the latter part of the ninth century A. D. when the Rāṣṭrukūṭas under king Dhruva Nirūpama, Dhārāvarṣa, suc-


\textsuperscript{2} \textit{M.A.R. for 1932}, pp. 240-241.

\textsuperscript{3} Rice, \textit{My & Coorg.}, pp. 39, 55.

\textsuperscript{4} \textit{M.A.R. for 1932}, p. 241.
cessfully intervened in the affairs of Karnāṭaka.\textsuperscript{1} This intervention no doubt was highly detrimental to the continuance of the Ganga sovereignty, but it proved beneficial to the cause of Jainism. For the Rāṣṭrakūṭas now imitated the Gangas and in their turn took upon themselves the duty of protecting that religion.

It is not that kings were wanting in the Ganga family who could outshine Śivamāra II, Saigoṭṭa, in his liberal attitude towards Jainism. A patron of that religion appeared in king Nītimārga I, Ereyanga Raṇavikramayya, who, as is related in the Küḍlūr plates of king Mārasimha, was “a bee at the pair of the lotus feet of the adorable Arhat-bhaṭṭāraṇa.” The same record informs us that king Nītimārga’s second son Bhūtugendra, Gunaduttaranga, was also a devout Jaina (\textit{parama Jaina})\textsuperscript{2} These facts concerning both king Nītimārga I and Bhūtugendra are confirmed by the Gaṭṭavāḍi plates dated A. D. 904.\textsuperscript{3}

Some time elapses before we come across the next Ganga patron of Jainism. In king Mārasimha Guttiya Ganga, Noḷambakulāntaka, who reigned from A.D. 961 till A.D. 974, we have a very fervent Jaina. The Kūge Brahmadeva pillar inscription on the Cikkabeṭṭa at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, dated A. D. 974, gives in detail the meritorious work of king Mārasimha Guttiya Ganga on behalf of the \textit{syād vāda} doctrine. This elaborate inscription after enumerating all his military victories, affirms that he “maintained the doctrine of Jina,” and caused to be erected at various places \textit{basadīs} and \textit{māṇastambhas}. According to the same record, king Mārasimha “having reverently carried out works of

\textsuperscript{1} Rice, \textit{My. & Coorg.}, pp. 40-41.

\textsuperscript{2} \textit{M.A.R. for 1921}, pp. 20-21.

\textsuperscript{3} \textit{E.C.}, XII, Nj. 269, p. 135.
piety, one year later he relinquished the sovereignty, and observing the vow for three days with the rites of worship in the presence of the holy feet of Ajitasena Bhaṭṭāraka at Bankāpura, accomplished samādhi.”1 This was evidently the acknowledged method of sallekhanā or death by starvation enjoined on the devotees of Jina.2

King Mārasimha’s benevolence consisted not merely in building basadiś in many places but also in actively supporting renowned Jaina scholars. One of these was Muñijārya Vādīhangala Bhaṭṭa, the son of the Brahman scholar Śrīdhara Bhaṭṭa. The Kūḍlūr plates of this Ganga monarch contain many details in regard to the great figure of Vādīhangala Bhaṭṭa, the spiritual preceptor (śruta guru) of that ruler. Vādīhangala Bhaṭṭa was a treasury of the jewels of wisdom, and a mine of the pearls of intellect. With very little effort and labour all learning came to him in a short time as though it had been made ready in his previous birth. He was well versed in the science of grammar, and seems to have composed himself “a grammatical system free from doubt.” Moreover he was a great logician having mastered the three schools of logic and the Lokāyata, Sāṅkhya, and Baudhā systems of philosophy. In Jainism he became celebrated as Vādīhangala. He was besides an eminent poet.

The achievements of this great scholar are next enumerated in the same epigraph thus—His eloquence in the exposition of literature made king Ganga Gāngeya, a cuckoo in the grove of delighters in all learning, his pupil; his instruction in politics induced the learned men of Vallabha


2. On sallekhanā as given by Samantabhadra in his Ratnakaṇḍa read ibid., Intr. p. 69.
Rāja’s capital to show him great honour which proclaimed to the world his greatness and remarkable scholarship; and his counsel to Kṛṣṇa Rāja, which enabled him to conquer all regions, procured for him the king’s esteem along with that of all his manḍalikas and sāmantas.

But Vādighangala Bhaṭṭa was as pious to the Brahmans as he was partial to the Jainas. We are further told in the same epigraph that he showed eager desire in doing good to others, his renunciation in the matter of seizing others’ women and wealth, his love in hearing the stories of the good, his aversion in the matter of giving ear to evil report regarding the good, his intentions in worshipping the lotus feet of Jineśvara, his diligence in making gifts to sages and Brahmans, his full consciousness in protecting refugees, and his faculty of remembering the good done to him.¹

To such a learned and pious scholar, king Mārasimha gave on a specified day in Śaka 884 (expired) the village named Bagiyūr (location given) as a gift.²

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¹ This portion of the praise bestowed on Vādighangala Bhaṭṭa seems more appropriate to a ruler than to a pious Jaina. B. A. S.
² M. A. R. for 1921, pp.23-24. A stone inscription found in the Śankhabasti at Lakṣmeśvar, Miraj tāluka, mentions the fact that king Mārasimha Satyāvākya Konguṇivarmā, also called Ganga Kandarpa, gave to a Jaina sage Jayadeva, the disciple of Ekadeva, specified land in Puligere (mod. Lakṣmeśvar) for the worship and festivals of Jinendra in the Śankhabasti and Tirthabasti of that same city. Jinendra is called here the god of the king Ganga Kandarpa. The same record registers another grant of land by the feudatory of that king, Durgaśakti of the Sendraka family, for the worship in the caitya of Śankhabasti. (I.A., XII, pp. 109-110.) Fleet gives the date Śaka 890 (A.D. 968-9) for this record but says on p. 102 that the date is expressed in words, and not in figures. It is evident that he has forced the date. See ibid., p. 103. This date cannot be reconciled with
A mutilated stone inscription found in Angadi grāma, Gōnibīḍu hobli, Mūḍgere tāluka, Mysore State, and assigned by Rice to circa A.D. 1040, relates that “celebrated through the munis of Gangavāḍi was king Rācamalla.” His guru was Vajrapāṇi Paṇḍita of the Dravīḍāvaya which belonged to the Mula sangha.¹ This Rācamalla was evidently Nītimārga III, Rācamalla, Kacceya Ganga, for whom we have the date A.D., 920.²

The last prominent name in the Ganga genealogy is that of Rakkasa Ganga V, Permmānaḍi, Rācamalla V, who ascended the throne in A.D. 984, and who endeavoured in vain to prop up the falling structure of Ganga dominion.³ The Paṇcābāasti stone inscription examined in a later connection in this treatise, and dated A.D. 1077, informs us that the guru of Rakkasa Ganga Permmānaḍi was Śrīvijayadeva, “in whom the former glory of both the learning and the penance of Hemasena muni have for a long time grown and greatly increased.”⁴ Rakkasa Ganga was the patron of the famous

the known dates of the early Ganga rulers. King Mārasimha Ganga Kandarpa is called here the younger brother of king Hari- varmā who was the son of Mādhava II. (ibid., pp. 107-108). We know from other records that Harivarmā reigned from A.D. 247 till A.D. 266 (My. & Coorg., p. 49). Hence it is not possible to accept the date Saka 890 given to this inscription. But the title Satyavākya affixed to the name of Mārasimha suggests that he came after Rācamalla Satyavākya 1, who reigned in the beginning of the ninth century A.D.

¹ E. C. VI, Mg. 18, p. 61.
² Rice, My. & Coorg., p. 50. We could have identified Rācamalla mentioned here with Rācamalla IV but for the fact that, as we shall see in a later context, the guru of Rācamalla IV was a celebrated Jaina teacher whose achievements we shall have to enumerate in some detail.
³ Rice, My. & Coorg., pp. 47, 57.
⁴ E. C., VIII, Nr. 35, p. 138.
Kannaḍa poet Nāgavarmā, the author of Cchandombudhi and the (Kannaḍa) Kadambaśī. ¹

While the above royal patrons in the Ganga family are discernible in the documents issued by the monarchs themselves, other members of the same House, who were devotees of Jina, are found in the records of their feudatories whose contribution to the progress of Jainism will be dealt with presently. In the meantime we may note that the Ganga monarchs from the time of king Konguṇīvarmā down to that of king Nītimārga III, Rācamalla, notwithstanding their liberal attitude and patronage of the Hindus, still continued to foster the cause of Jainism to which alone their House had owed its origin as a political factor in the land.

Long before the Ganga dominion had actually crumbled, as related above, Jainism had fortunately come under the aegis of two royal families, one of whom we have mentioned, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and the other, the Kadambas, about whom we have some interesting details in epigraphs.) The Kadambas were essentially Brahmanical in religion. Yet the Kadamba family gave a few monarchs who were devout Jinas, and who were responsible for the gradual progress of that religion in Karnāṭaka. The Kadambas were of indigenous origin. ² The founder of this line was one Mukkaṇṭha or Trinetra, although the actual greatness of the House is attributed to the famous Mayūravarmā (middle of the third century A.D.). But it is only towards the end of the fourth century A.D. that we come across an avowed Jaina in the Kadamba royal family. This was king Kākusthavarmā who may have reigned towards the end of

¹. Read Kavīcarite, I. p. 54 seq., for a discussion on his date. See also E.C. II, Intr. p. 75.

². Rice, My & Coorg, p. 21; Moraes, Kadamba-kula, pp. 7-11.
that period. A copper-plate grant dated in the 80th year of Kākusthavarmā's victory, relates that that king gave to Śrutakīrti, who is called in the record senāpati or general (?), the field called Badovarakaṣṭra (location specified), which belonged to the holy Arhats. The record which opens with an invocation to Jinendra, closes with reverence to Rṣa-bha. What precisely is meant by the term senāpati applied to Śrutakīrti, and what was meant by the statement that that grant was awarded as a gift to Śrutakīrti for having saved himself, cannot be determined. Neither can we find out who was Śrutakīrti. Future research may reveal the fact that Śrutakīrti was indeed a Jaina general. A later record of king Ravivarmā says that "in former times the Bhoja priest Śrutakīrti, the best among men, who was the receptacle of learning, who enjoyed the reward of many meritorious actions, and who was possessed of the qualities of performing many sacrifices and bestowing gifts and tenderness," had acquired the great favour of king Kākusthavarmā.

King Kākusthavarmā's grandson was king Mrgeśavarmā, who reigned in the fifth century A.D. A copper-plate grant


3. A Śrutakīrti, author of Rāghava-Pāṇḍaviya which could be read forwards and backwards, is mentioned as a colleague of Gaṇḍavimukta. But this Śrutakīrti belonged to the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. (E.C., II. Intr. p. 85. See also ibid., pp. 87, 88, for a later Śrutakīrti.)

4. I. A., VI, p. 27.

dated in the 3rd year of his reign, and issued from his capital Vaijayantī, relates that king Mṛgeśa granted certain specified fields for the purpose of sweeping the Jinālaya, anointing the image in it with ghi, performing worship, repairing anything that may be broken and for decorating the image with flowers. This charter was written by the very pious Dāmakīrti, the Bhojaka.\(^1\) Another grant issued by the same monarch in his 4th regnal year, is interesting in the sense that it mentions two sects of Jainas living in the city of Vaijayantī. The village (named and location specified) granted by that king was divided into three shares—the first for the holy Arhat, the second for the sake of the congregation of eminent ascetics called Śvetapaṭa (Śvetapaṭa mahā-śramaṇa sangha), who were intent on practising the true religion declared by the Arhat, and the third for the enjoyment of the congregation of the eminent ascetics called Nirgrantha (Nirgrantha mahā-śramaṇa-sangha).\(^2\) The Śvetapaṭas were no doubt the Śvetāmbaras, while the Nirgranthas were those who wore no clothes at all, the Digambaras.\(^3\) The qualifying phrase used in connection with the Śvetapaṭas, viz., that they practised the true religion (sad-dharma) is interesting. In the 8th year of king Mṛgeśavarmā, according to another copper-plate grant, that king, “through devotion for the king his father who was dead,” caused to be built a Jinālaya in the city of Palāsikā, and granted specified land to it. This gift was meant for supporting the Kūrcakas, who were naked religious mendicants. The same Jaina priest Dāmakīrti, the Bhojaka, mentioned above, and the minister-general Jiyanta were the principal grantees.\(^4\)

\(^1\) I. A., VII, pp. 36-37.
\(^2\) Ibid., p. 38.
\(^3\) Ibid., p. 38, ns. 28 & 29.
\(^4\) Ibid., VI, p. 25.
King Ravivarman succeeded king Mrgesavarm. The new king continued the wise policy of his father and maintained the Jina dharma. A copper-plate grant gives us an idea of the law passed by this ruler to further the cause of Jainism. "The lord Ravi established the ordinance at the mighty city of Palasik, that the glory of Jinendra, (the festival of) which lasts for eight days, should be celebrated regularly every year at the full moon of (the month of) Kartika from the revenues of that village (Purukhetaka given to Damakirti's mother by king Mrgesavarm); that ascetics should be supported during the four months of the rainy season; that the learned men, the chief of whom was Kumarradatta (his praise in which it is said that he was) renowned in the world, who abounded in good penance, and whose sect was his authority for what he did, should according to justice enjoy all the material substance of the greatness; and that worship of Jinendra should be perpetually performed by the pious countrymen and citizens." The above mentioned village, we may add, was received by Damakirti's son Bandhuena, who gave it, through the favour of the king, to the mother of his father.¹

In the reign of the same king his younger brother Bhannuvarm gave certain lands as a gift to the Jainas, in order that the ceremony of ablution might always be performed without fail on the days of the full moon. This land was situated in Palasik, and was received by the Bhojaka Pandara.²

King Ravivarman's son was Harivarman. According to a copper-plate grant dated in the 4th regnal year of king Harivarman, that ruler while on the hill of Uccasngi, on the

¹. I. A., VI, p. 27. See also ibid., pp. 29-30 for another grant by king Ravivarman to Jinendra.
². Ibid., VI, p. 29.

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advice of his father's brother Śivaratha, gave into the possession of the sect of Vārīṣeṇācārya of the Kūrcakas, the village of Vasuntavāṭaka (location specified). The object of the grant was that it should provide annually, at the eight days' sacrifice, the perpetual anointing with clarified butter for the temple of Arhat which Mrgeśa, the son of the General Sirhha of the lineage of Bharadvāja, had caused to be built at Palāsikā; and that whatever might remain after this was to be devoted to the purpose of feeding the whole sect. The same monarch in his 5th regnal year at the request of king Bhānuśakti of the Sendraka family, gave the village named Marade for the use of the holy people and for the celebration of the rites of the temple which was the property of the sect of Śramaṇas called Ahariṣṭi and the authority of which was superintended by the Ācārya Dharmanandi.

The last prominent ruler in the main Kadamba line was Devavarmā, descended in the family of king Kṛṣṇavarmā I. Yuvarāja Devavarmā, according to another copper-plate grant, gave a specified field in Siddakedāra to the sect of the Yāpanīyas for purposes of worship and repairs of the caitīlaya (in that village). This grant was made by the Yuvarāja when he was at Triparvata.

Having seen the condition of Jainism under the Kadambas, we may now see how it flourished under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. We said in the preceding pages that it was in the reign of king Śivamāra II, Saigotṭa, that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa hegemony over Gangavādi 96,000 was cast, and that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas continued the noble tradition of the Gangas of extending patronage to the Jina dharma. In the eight century A. D.

1. _I. A._, VI, p. 31.
2. _Ibid._, p. 32.
the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Dantidurga Khadgāvaloka, Vairamegha, honoured one of the greatest figures in all Jaina history—Akalankadeva. A later stone inscription dated A.D. 1129 referred to elsewhere in this treatise, contains some interesting details in regard to king Dantidurga and Akalan-
kadeva. While describing the greatness of the latter, the record says—"The following is represented to be his own description of the greatness of his extraordinary faultless learning: 'O king Sāhasatunga, there are many kings with white parasols; but kings who are victorious in war and distinguished by liberality, like you, are hard to find. Just so, there are many scholars in the Kali age; but no poets, pre-eminent disputants, orators, and experts in researches in various sciences, like me. As you, O king, are well known in putting down the arrogance of all enemies, so am I famed on this earth as the destroyer of all the pride of scholars. If not, here I am, and here in your court good and great men are always present. Let him who has ability to speak, if versed in all sciences, dispute (with me). It was not with a mind influenced with self-conceit or filled with hatred, but through mere compassion for those people who, having embraced atheism, were perishing that, in the court of the shrewd king Himāśītala, I overcame all the crowds of Buddhas and broke Sugata with my foot.'"¹ Since Akalankadeva is said in a small Sanskrit work called Akalankadevacarita to have defeated the Buddhists in Vikrama year 700, the identification of Sāhasatunga with Dantidurga may be accepted as valid.²

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1. E. C. II, 67, p. 27.
If the above is allowed, then, we may attempt to fix the contemporaneity of another Jaina guru with a hitherto unidentified monarch in the following manner: The same record which speaks of Akalankadeva and king Dantidurga, informs us that the former’s colleague was Puṣpasena muni whose disciple was Vimalacandra muni. The inscription then continues thus—“For the following verse of his (Vimalacandra’s), which caused grief to the hearts of hostile disputants, speaks of hanging up a notice (in public)—‘At the gate of the large palace of Śatrubhayankara, which is thronged with troops of horses and lordly elephants of various kings who are constantly passing (in and out), was eagerly put up by the high-minded Digambara Vimalacandra, a notice addressed to the Śaivas, the Pāśupatas, the sons of Tathāgatha (i.e., the Buddha), Kāpālikas, and the Kāpilas.’”

It must be confessed that the solitary biruda of Śatrubhayankara given above does not enable us to identify with certainty the king referred to in the epigraph. But if, as said above, Akalankadeva was a contemporary of king Dantidurga, and, as we shall see, Paravādimalla lived in the age of king Kṛṣṇa II, then, we may arrive at the age of the king who had the biruda of Śatrubhayankara thus—Between Akalankadeva and Paravādimalla there are only three names of Jaina gurus in the admirable account given in the above record: Puṣpasena, the colleague of Akalankadeva himself, Vimalacandra, and Indranandi. We know the date of Paravādimalla (A.D. 884). If we allot thirty-five years to the gurus that preceded him, we reach A. D. 850 as the date of Indranandi, and A. D. 815, of Vimalacandra.

Now the only monarch by whose efforts, as the Maṇñe plates dated A.D. 802 tell us, “the Rāṣṭrakūṭa line rose above

the rivalry of others”, was king Govinda III, Prabhūtavarṣa, (A. D. 779-?), who “though only one by his energy deprived of their glory the twelve famous kings who like a fire of the last day came upon him desiring to unite in acquiring the whole wide earth.”¹ King Govinda’s magnificent military achievements may have indeed caused them to look upon him as the terror of the enemies (Śatrubhayaṇkara).²

The twelve famous kings mentioned above were led against the king by his own elder brother Kambha, Sthambha, Raṇāvaloka. This prince eventually submitted to king Govinda III, who placed him over Gangavāḍi 96,000;³ and he seems to have turned over a new leaf in his life. For we find him now as a patron of the Jina dharma. The Maṇḍe plates cited above, inform us that Sauca Kambhadeva, while ruling under his younger brother king Govinda III, (at the instance of his younger brother?) granted the village of Pervāḍiyur (location given) together with a tithe of the produce of Padeyūr, for the basadi erected in the western quarter of Mānyapura by the victorious Mahāsāmanta Śrīvijaya.⁴ Then, again, an incomplete copper-plate dated A. D. 807 hailing from Chāmarājanagara, informs us that Raṇāvaloka Kambharāja, when he was in his victorious camp at Tāḷavānanagara, granted at the request of his son Śankaragaṇa, the village of Vadaṇaguppe (location specified) to the kind-hearted, pious and learned Vardhamāna guru, the disciple of Eḷaṭcārya guru, who was the disciple of Kumāranandi Bhaṭṭāraka, of the Koṇḍakundānvaya, for the

¹. E. C., IX, Nl. 61, p. 43.
². For an account of his exploits read Rice, My. & Coorg, pp. 69-70; Altekar, op. cit., pp. 59, 71.
³. Rice, ibid, p. 69.
Srīvijaya basadi founded at Taḷavananapura. This basadi was probably the same which had been built by the Mahāsāmanta Srīvijaya mentioned above.¹

The next prominent Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler who extended his patronage to Jainism was Amoghavarṣa I, Nṛpatunga, Atiśayadhavaḷa (A.D. 815-877). From Guṇabhadra’s Uttara-purāṇa (A.D. 898), we know that king Amoghavarṣa I was the disciple of Jinasena, the author of the Sanskrit work Adipurāṇa (A. D. 783).² The Jaina leaning of king Amoghavarṣa is further corroborated by Mahāvīrācārya, the author of the Jaina mathematical work Gaṇitārasanangraha, who relates that that monarch was a follower of the syād vāda doctrine.³

King Amoghavarṣa’s son was Kṛṣṇa II who was likewise a devout Jaina. We know this from the Jaina author

¹ M. A. R. for 1921, p. 31. See E. C. II. 35, p. 8, where Raṇāvaloka Kambha is mentioned in a grant to a Jaina guru. It cannot be made out whether his wife was also a Jaina. A Srīvijaya is mentioned as the author of the Kannada campū work Candra-prabhapurāṇa, by the later Jaina writers like Mangarasa (A. D. 1508) and Doḍḍayya (A. D. 1550). The late Mr. Narasimhacarya identified him with Srīvijaya, the contemporary of king Govinda III, and, therefore, of Raṇāvaloka Kambha. (Kavicarite, I, pp. 13, 14). There is a Srīvijaya Bhāṭṭāraka mentioned as the guru of Bhūtuga Permāṇaḍi, “the sun to the lotus of the Ganga kula,” in a record dated A.D. 1136. But the contents of this inscription, as related elsewhere, cannot be accepted without reservation.

² Kavicarite, I. p. 17. See also Fleet, Bombay Gazetteer, I. P. II, p. 200; I. A. XII., pp. 216-217, and Altekar, Rāṣṭra-kūṭas., p. 88 where it is said that Jinasena claimed that he was the chief preceptor of king Amoghavarṣa.

³ Fleet, Bom. Gaz., I. P. II; pp. 200-201. The edition and translation of this work by Prof. M. Rangacarya is inaccessible to me. B. A. S.
Guṇabhadra who, in the last five chapters of his teacher Jinasena’s work Adipurāṇa tells us that king Kṛṣṇa II was his disciple.¹ King Kṛṣṇa gave a grant to a basadi at Mulgund.² To his reign we have to assign an incident mentioned in the Pārśvanātha basti inscription of Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. This interesting record is dated A.D. 1129, and it contains, among very many useful details, the fact that the following incident took place in the court of king Kṛṣṇa. The Jaina teacher Paravādimalla, who was “skilled in creoses of chains of arguments, eloquent among the learned,” and “doubtless a god,” “when asked for his name by Kṛṣṇa Rājā, he gave out to him the following derivation of his name—“The position other than the one taken up is para (the other); those who maintain it are paravādinah (maintainers of the other); he who wrestles with them is para-vādimalla (the wrestler with the maintainers of the other); this name, good men say, is my name.”³ We do not know what reward the astounded monarch gave this remarkable Jaina teacher. This ruler, it may be noted in passing, has been identified with Kṛṣṇa II.⁴

Of king Kṛṣṇa III’s great regard to the learned Jaina scholar Vādighaṅgala Bhaṭṭa, we have already seen above on the strength of the Kūḍlur plates of king Mārasimha. Vādighaṅgala Bhaṭṭa’s advice to king Kṛṣṇa III (A.D. 939-968) enabled the latter, we may be permitted to repeat, to conquer all regions.⁵ It was this monarch who patronized the Kannada poet Ponna, or Ponnamayya, the author of the

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4. Ibid., Intr. p. 48.
famous Śāntipurāṇa and Jinākṣaramāṇa in Kannada, and who gave him the biruda of Udbhayakavicakravarti.¹

King Kṛṣṇa’s younger brother was Khoṭṭiga, Nityavarṣa, who seems to have been also a Jaina by persuasion. King Khoṭṭiga came to the throne in A.D. 968 and ruled till A.D. 971. The fact that he was a Jaina is proved by a record found in a ruined temple at Dānavulapāḍu, Jammalamadugu tāluka, Cuddapah district, which narrates that king Nityavarṣa caused the pedestal to be made for the bathing ceremony of the god Śāntinātha.²

The last prominent name in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa House is that of king Indra IV. This expert in the game of polo died by the method of sallēkhanā at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa in A.D. 982. Two inscriptions prove this: one is the Gandhavāraṇa basti inscription at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa and the other is Kāmagaṇḍamahallī stone inscription found in the Sīra tāluka. The former relates the following—that on the date (specified) having observed the vow with a peaceful mind, Indra Rājā praised by the people, acquired all the great power of the king of gods (Indra). The latter inscription records the fact that with an undisturbed mind performing the vows, the world renowned Indra Rājā gained the glory of king of all gods (Indra).³

Evidently the celebrated example set by the Emperor Candragupta Maurya was not forgotten by the Karnāṭaka monarchs even in the tenth century A.D.

Political events moved with swift rapidity in the last quarter of the tenth century A.D. The reign of king Kṛṣṇa III witnessed the expansion of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power from North Arcot to Tanjore. But the hegemony of the

2. 331. of 1095; Rangacharya, Top List, I, p. 589.
Rāṣṭrakūṭas was destined to disappear, notwithstanding the gallant efforts made by the Gaṅga king Mārarśiṁha Guttīya Gaṅga, Noḷambāntakula, to prop the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power. In the first quarter of the ninth century A.D., as narrated above, it was the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who had given a longer lease to Gaṅga sovereignty; now it was the turn of the Gaṅgas in the last quarter of the tenth century A.D. to reciprocate and to endeavour to prolong the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominion.

The Gaṅgas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, however, were fighting a losing battle. They failed to see in the old power that reappeared with renewed vigour an invincible enemy. After an eclipse of 200 years the Western Cālukyas suddenly made their appearance under king Tailapa Deva whose crushing defeat inflicted on the Rāṣṭrakūṭas under king Kakka or Kakkala in A.D. 973, practically brought the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power to an end.¹ The hegemony of Kavāṭaka once again passed hands, and the Western Cālukyas now reigned supreme.

But it has ever been a most salient and praiseworthy feature of Kavāṭaka monarchy to continue the noble traditions of the country unimpaired. This explains why, so far as the Jina dharma is concerned, the Western Cālukyas preferred to show it the same liberal attitude which the Gaṅgas, the Kadambas, and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas had shown. No doubt in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D., the Western Cālukyas had already given public expression to their Jaina tendency. For instance, in the 7th or 8th regnal year of the Western Cālukya monarch Vinayaṅditya Satyāśraya (A.D. 680—A.D. 696), a grant was made to the Jaina priest Udayadevaṇḍita, also known as Niravadyaṇḍita, who

belonged to the Devagāna sect attached to the Mūla sangha and the Śankhabasti at Puligere (mod. Laksmeśvar). In the reign of the next monarch Vijayāditya Satyāśraya (A.D. 696—A.D. 733), as recorded in a stone inscription of A. D. 739, the village of Kardama, south of Puligere, was given to the same priest who is called the priest of the king’s father. Udayādevapanaṇḍita is styled here also the house pupil of Śrī Pūjyapāda.¹

When we come to the last quarter of the tenth century A. D., we find further proof of the Jaina leaning of the Western Cālukya monarchs. King Tailapa Deva II himself seems to have had a strong attachment to the Jaina religion. This alone explains the existence of a stone inscription in the Cenna Pārśva basadi at Kōgalī, Haḍagalli tāluka, Bellary district, dated Śaka 914 (A. D. 992-3), in which reference is made to a victory of that king over the Coḷa ruler.² King Tailapa Deva, it may be noted here, was the patron of the great Kannada poet Ranna, Kaviratna, who wrote the Ajitapurāṇa in A. D. 993. It was from that monarch that Ranna received the title of Kavicakravarti.³ We may incidentally observe in this connection that in an inscription dated A. D. 993, and found in the Somasamudra village, Mysore district, violators of the bittuvattā or taxable land, under a tank granted as a gift, are ranked with those who destroyed a basadi, Benares, a temple, and the tank for which the grant had been made.⁴

King Tailapa Deva’s son and successor was Satyāśraya,

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1. I. A. XII. p. 112.
2. 36 of 1904.
3. Kavicarite, I, p. 63. See also E. C. II, Intr., p. 75 where it is wrongly said that Tailapa Deva was the III. of that name.
Iśīva Beḍenga, who ruled from A.D. 997 till A.D. 1009.¹ As will be shown in a later context, he constructed a monument (niśidhi) in honour of a Jaina guru who had died in the birth-place of the founders of a great line of kings who succeeded the Western Cālukyas in Karnāṭaka. Iśīva Beḍenga’s guru was Vimalacandra Paṇḍita Deva, the disciple (?) of Traikālamuni Bhaṭṭāraka of the Drāvila sangha and the Pustaka gaccha. This guru seems to have died in about A.D. 990 when Śāntiyabbe, a lay disciple of that teacher, set up a niśidhi in his memory.²

Direct proof of the patronage extended to the Jaina teachers by the later Western Cālukya rulers is afforded in the epigraphs of the time of king Jayasimha III, who reigned from A.D. 1018 till A.D. 1042. There is every reason to believe that that ruler himself caused to be constructed a basadi at Balipura. This is inferred from a stone inscription in the Kattale basti at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa dated A.D. 1100, in which the Jaina sage Maladhāri Gupacandra is said to have been the worshipper at the feet of the god Mallikāmoda Śāntiśa in Balipura.³ Since the title of Mallikāmoda was a distinctive biruda of king Jayasimha III,⁴ we are to suppose that the basadi of Mallikāmoda Śāntiśa was built by king Jayasimha himself or by some one in his name.

The age in which king Jayasimha ruled produced a galaxy of great men both Jaina and Hindu. The most famous Jaina name is that of Vādirāja.⁵ At the outset it may be

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¹ Rice, My. & Coorg, p. 73.
² E. C. VI. Mg. 11, p. 60.
³ Ibid., II., 69, p. 35.
⁴ Ibid., VII, Sk. 20(a), 125, 126, 153, text pp. 135, 234, 235, 260; II. p. 48, and ibid, n(2).
⁵ Another Vādirāja, chief disciple of Śrīpālayōginda, belonged to the village of Śalya. He is mentioned in about A.D. 1200. E. C. V, Cn. 15, p. 193.
said here that there are some statements in inscriptions as well as in literature concerning his guru and disciple which cannot be properly reconciled. Vādirāja’s real name was Kanakasena Bhaṭṭāraka. He belonged to the Drāmiḷa gaṇa, Nandi sangha, and the Arungalānvaya. In his Pārśvanāṭhacarita he tells us that he wrote it in Śaka 947 (A.D. 1025) in the reign of king Jayasimha, and that he himself was the disciple of Matisāgara whose guru was Śrīpāla.¹

Only one inscription corroborates this statement made in the Pārśvanathacarita concerning Matisāgara’s having been the guru of Vādirāja. This is the elaborate stone inscription in the Pārśvanātha basti at Sravaṇa Belgoḷa dated A. D. 1129. Here we are told that Matisāgara had two illustrious students—Dayapāla muni, the author of Rūpasiddhi, and Vādirāja.²

But three other records—two of them nearer in time to Vādirāja than the above inscription, and one removed—give Dayapāla’s other name, the title of his work, his qualifications, and expressly state that he was the disciple of Vādirāja, who himself in one record is made the disciple of Vimalacandra. While one stone inscription creates further confusion by making Dayapāla the predecessor of Vādirāja, and the latter the guru of Oḍeyadeva!

These four records are the following—the Humcca Pañcabasti inscription dated A.D. 1077, hailing from the Nagar tāluka, Mysore State; another record found in the same place which we shall style the II Pañcabasti inscription, dated also in the same year; a third record found in the same place which will be called the III Pañcabasti inscription and dated A. D. 1147; and the Grāmadabasti stone

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2. E. C., ibid., 67, p. 29.
inscription found in Manḍagadde hobli, Tirthahalli taluka, Mysore State, and dated A.D. 1103.

The I and II Paṇcabasti records dated in the same year A.D. 1077, are elaborate inscriptions which gave us interesting facts. The former which is in Kannaḍa states that after Munideva came Vimalacandra whose disciple was Vādirāja, whom it makes the guru of king Rācamalla and praises in the following terms—As by the side of the sun the moon cannot shine, so how can the chatterers called speakers in this world shine by the side of Vādirāja—thus esteemed was king Rācamalla’s guru Kanakasena Bhaṭṭāraka (Munidevaravarim Vimalacandraḥbhāṭṭārakara vara-siṣyar ādityana keladoḥ candrodayam esayadavol i-dharāmṉaṇḍaladol vādigaḥ emb-i-tuṇṭukavādigaḥ esedapare Vādirājana keladoḥ ant-enisi Rāya-Rācamalladēvaṅge gurugaḥ enisida Kanakasenaḥbhāṭṭārakar). And then it asserts that Vādirāja’s disciples were Dayapāla and Puṣpasena Bhaṭṭāraka. About the former it narrates that Dayapāla settled the declensions of words (Rūpasiddhi) in his Prakriya to the Sabdānuśāsana. Vādirāja’s celebrity was so great that the scribe after mentioning his disciple, again dwells on Vādirāja’s unsurpassed talents thus—"The power of your good in prose and verse is felt as far as the tusks of the regent-elephants; having gained the title of Sarvajña-kalpam (like to the Omniscient), be not alarmed at the other chief speakers, for, lo! if they refuse to give you the certificate (patra) of victory, you will tear and burn them up, they are no match for you, Vādirāja, thunderbolt to the mountain-chain the other speakers. Thus considered, the Saṭ-tarkka-śanmukha, the Jagadekamalla-vādi, Vādirāja".¹

The II Paṇcabasti record dated in the same year, repeats

¹ E. C. VIII. Nr. 35, p. 138.
the above details concerning Vādirāja's royal patron; and
gives his disciple's other name as Oḍeyadeva. 1 Nothing is
mentioned in this record about Vādirāja's guru, but the
former is placed immediately after Akalankadeva.

The III Pañcabasti inscription is dated A. D. 1147. It
likewise mentions Vādirāja after Akalankadeva, makes him
king Rācamalla's guru, and speaks of his disciple Oḍeyadeva
Dayapāla as the author of Rūpasiddhi. The same
epithets concerning Vādirāja's learning as given above, are
repeated, and it is said that "To gain the victory over the
crowd of boasters in the assembly was a delight to Vādirāja-
sūri, and to write and give him a certificate of victory was
a delight to the Emperor Jayasimha." 2

The Grāmadabasti stone inscription dated A. D. 1103, how-
ever, makes Dayapāla predecessor of Vādirāja, and places
Oḍeyadeva next to Vādirāja. 3

1. E. C. VIII. Nr. 35 pp. 139-140.

2. Ibid., Nr. 37, p. 142. The statement in the translation,
_viz._, that Vādirāja's disciples were Oḍeyadeva and Dayapāla,
seems to be wrong. For the original (Ibid., p. 368, ll. 148-
150) does not warrant it. The word bāliyam (l. 150) in the
same may be translated "then", and not "after they had pass-
ed away", as done by Rice. The latter construction violates
the facts known about Vādirāja and his disciples in other records.
Cf. Nr. 40, dated A. D. 1077, where Oḍeyadeva, who is called
Srivijayaḍeva, is said to be the disciple of Vādirāja. Ibid.,
pp. 144, 372, ll. 42-43. This inscription gives the gaṇa, saṅgha,
and anvaya to which both belonged.

3. Ibid., Tl. 192, pp. 205, 388. The Saumynāyaki temple
stone inscription found at Belur, and dated A. D. 1136, has an
entirely new account to give concerning Vādirāja. It gives the
following succession of the gurus—Paravādimalla, Kanakasena
Vādirāja, Srivijaya Bhaṭṭāraka, the Emperor Jayasimha's guru
Vādirāja. E. C. V. Bl. 17, p. 51. We do not know how far
Whatever our difficulty in reconciling these statements concerning the guru and disciple of Vādirāja, the following facts stand out clearly from the above discussion—

1. That Vādirāja’s claims to greatness both in the field of letters and philosophy were undisputed;

2. That he received a certificate of victory (jayapatra) from the Western Cālukya Emperor Jayasimha III; and

3. That he was the guru of the king Rācamalla.

The identity of the last named monarch must now be made. This is simplified when we have chronologically fixed Vādirāja in the age of the Emperor Jayasimha III, Jagadekamalla, during whose reign Vādirāja received the biruda of Jagadekamallavādi after the name of his royal patron. The king Rācamalla referred to in the above inscriptions was no other than the Ganga ruler Rācamalla IV, Satyavākya, who ascended the throne in A.D. 977,1 and who was the royal master of the great Jaina general Cāmuṇḍa Rāya. We shall have to deal at some length with this famous Jaina general in a later context.

We have merely stated above the fact that it was the Emperor Jayasimha who bestowed upon Vādirāja a unique title. We shall now give some interesting details about the latter’s great qualifications and activities in the Cālukyan court. The Pārśvanātha basti inscription referred to above gives the following account of Vādirāja—“Speech which illumined the three worlds has issued only from two per-

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this information concerning two Vādirājas in practically the same age, can be credited. On other Vādirājas, read ibid, Cn. 141, Cn.; 149, pp. 175, 191; VI. Kd. 69, p. 13. An inscription dated A. D. 1145 heaps on Vādirāja the praise generally bestowed on Akalankadeva, probably much in the same strain as is done by the scribe of the Saumyanāyakī temple inscription.

sons on this earth: one, the king of Jinas, the other, Vādirāja. To be served by the wise is Vādirāja, the person of whose fame always covered the sky and was eager to outshine the disc of the moon; near whose ears glittered rows of the cauris of speech; who had the honour of a worthy-to-be-worshipped lion throne (or of a seat worthy-to-be-worshipped by king Jayasimha); and whose high excellence caused all the subjects the disputants to utter shouts of 'Victory! Victory!'

"In the victorious capital of the illustrious Cālukya Emperor, which is the birth-place of Sarasvatī, the drum of the victorious Vādirāja roams about making without a stick these sharp sounds (addressed to its master)—jahī or strike (the rival disputant) with rising pride in disputation; jahihi or dismiss (the rival declaimer), with supreme pride in declamation; jahāhi or dismiss (the rival orator), impatient of his discourse; jāhikī or dismiss (the rival poet), with pride in clear, soft, and pleasant poetry.¹

The king of serpents whose thousand tongues are well known, lives in Pāṭāla; and Dhiṣaṇa (Bṛhaspati) whose disciple is the bearer of the thunderbolt, i.e., Indra, does not stir out of heaven; let these two live owing to the strength of their abodes; what other disputants do not give up their pride and bow in the king's court to the all-conquering Vādirāja?"²

And yet this mighty Jaina teacher met his match in the reign of the same monarch Jayasimha! It is in connection with his great rival who seems to have won success over

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1. In Jaina and Lingāyat literatures four kinds of scholars are often mentioned, namely, kavi (poet), gamaki (declaimer), vādi (disputant), and vāgmi (orator). This verse refers to the pre-eminence of Vādirāja in these four kinds of scholarship. E. C. II. p. 29. n.(5)

him, that we come across the other celebrities of the age of
king Jayasimha. The only source of information for this
part of our narrative is the Pañcalingeśvara temple stone in-
scription found at Shikapur, Mysore State. In this record
dated A. D. 1036 king Jayasimha is said to be in the resi-
dence of Poṭṭalakere. It deals with the greatness of
Vādi Rudraguṇa Lakulīśvara Paṇḍita, head of the Pañca-
inga maṭha of the Kāḷāmukha order in the city of Baḷḷigāme
in Banavase 12,000. This learned man is said to have “crossed over to the farthest shore of the ocean of
logic and other sciences”, “to speakers a Rudra”, “a wild
fire to the great forest of speakers”, “a submarine fire to the
Baudhha ocean, a thunderbolt to the Mīmāṁsaka mountain,
a saw for cutting down the Lokāyata great tree, a great
kite to the Sāṅkhya serpent”, and “an axe to the tree
Advaita speakers.”

The renowned contemporaries whom this celebrated Kāḷā-
mukha scholar Lakulīśvara Paṇḍita defeated are next
mentioned thus in the same record. He is said to have been
“a Trinetra in burning the Tripura Akalanka, displacer of
Vādigharaṭṭa, a mill-stone to Mādhava Bhaṭṭa, breaker of
the pride of Jñānānanda, a fierce fire of dissolution to Viśvā-
naḷa, a fire of the last day to Abhayacandra, a Śarabha to
the lion Vādībha, (or to Vādībhasimha), sealer up of the
mouth of Vādirāja, displacer of Ayavādi,” and the sole
able supporter of the Naiyāyikas. Further down in the same
epigraph Lakuliśvara Paṇḍita is said to be a falling star to
the Digambara speakers.¹

Some of the Jaina celebrities whom the Kāḷāmukha
teacher worsted may be identified. Of these the identity of

¹. E. C. VII. Sk. 126, pp. 97-98.
Tripura Akalanka and Abhayacandra is uncertain. It cannot be made out whether the latter is to be identified with Abhayacandra-deva mentioned in a record dated A.D. 1398 as a guru who came after Māghanandī muni. But about the other names, some information is forthcoming in epigraphs. Vādirāja is of course the great figure whom we have described above.

As regards Vādibhasimha, we have ample evidence to prove that his other names were Vādigharaṭṭa and Ajitasena. For instance, the Pārśvanātha basti inscription at Sravaṇa Belgoḷa gives us the following details about him:—Resplendent is Vādibhasimha Ajitasena, the head of a school, splitter up of the front globes of all the rutting lordly elephants the disputants, whose lotus feet were kissed by the tops of the glittering crowns worn on the bowing heads of all the kings. The same record gives further details concerning "the intensity of his indifference to the world." He was evidently the same Ajitasena Bhaṭṭāraka who is said to have been the guru of Cāmuṇḍa Rāya, about whose great contribution to Jainism we shall presently describe in this treatise. And he is to be identified with the author of the work Gadya-cintāmaṇī.

The same Pārśvanātha basti inscription refers to another Western Cālukya monarch who has now to be identified. It says the following—"Alone fortunate is the sage, on whom the Pāṇḍya king, who had acquired superior knowledge through his favour, conferred the name Svāmi, and who had

the celebrated title Šabda-caturmukha (conferred on him), in the court of the king Āhavamalla."

Now who were these—the Jaina guru who secured the title of Šabda-caturmukha and the monarch merely called Āhavamalla? From the manner in which the Jaina gurus are mentioned in the above epigraph, it is clear that the sage who secured the name Svāmi was the same as he who got the title Šabda-caturmukha. We shall first identify the guru who got the title Šabda-caturmukha; next, the one who secured the title Svāmi; and, finally, the king Āhavamalla.

Šabda-caturmukha was the biruda of Ajitasena Bhāṭṭāraka. This is proved by the II and III Pañcabasti stone inscriptions and the Grāmadabasti record cited above. The II Pañcabasti inscription dated A.D. 1077 tells us that after Vādirāja came Kamalabhadradeva who was followed by Ajitasenadeva. This last guru was known as Šabda-caturmukha, Tārkkika-cakravarti, and Vādibhasimha, and his colleagues (saha-dharmigāju) were Kumārasenadeva and Šreyāṁsadeva. The Grāmadabasti record dated A.D. 1103 informs us that Vādirāja was succeeded by Oḍeyadeva (Dayapāla) who was followed by Šreyāṁsapanḍita, who was succeeded by Ajitasena muni who was followed by Kumārasena. Ajitasena is called in this inscription Tārkkika-cakravarti and Vādibha-pañcānana. The III Pañcabasti stone inscription dated A.D. 1147 confirms the evidence of the above two records. It informs us that Vādirāja was followed by Kamalabhadradeva after whom came Ajitasena Pañḍita known as Šabda-caturmukha, Tārkkika-cakravarti, and

2. Ibid., VIII. Nr. 6, pp. 140, 365.
3. Ibid., Tl. 192, pp. 203, 688, l. 40.
Vādībhasinḥa. The colleagues of Ajitasena were Kumārāsena and Śreyāṁsadeva.¹

The identity of Sabda-caturmukha with Ajitasena being thus settled, we may next proceed to identify the guru who received the name Svāmi. On the strength of the Pārśvanātha basti stone inscription mentioned above, Svāmi was the same as Sabda-caturmukha. In other words, Ajitasena was also known by the name Svāmi. In this connection the Nañjedeveraguḍḍa stone inscription found at Sompūr, Hassan tāluka, is of some interest in spite of the slight discrepancy it contains. It is dated Śaka 1114 (A.D. 1192-3). In the list of gurus mentioned in it, we are told that Vādīrāja was succeeded by Sāntadeva from whom Sabda-brahmasvāmi came, and from the latter Ajitasena Paṇḍita (Śrī Sāntadēvarim Sabdabrahmasvāmidēvarim Ajitasena-paṇ−jītadēvarim).² In spite of the succession list being clearly given here, it may be assumed that the scribe has erred in making Ajitasena Paṇḍita successor to Sabdabrahmasvāmi which name itself, we suppose, is another variant of the name Sabda-caturmukha, i.e., of Ajitasena himself, as given in the Pārśvanātha basti record mentioned above.

We now come to the ruler Āhavamalla in whose court Ajitasena received the title of Sabda-caturmukha. In the Pārśvanātha basti record cited above, the name of the guru immediately preceding that of Sabda-caturmukha-svāmi is that of Śāntideva who was the guru of the Hoysala king Vinayāditya.³ As we shall point out presently, the state-

ment that Śāntideva was the spiritual teacher of king Vinayāditya is borne out by other inscriptions. Since we know that the Hoysala king Vinayāditya ruled from about A.D. 1047 till A.D. 1100, we may definitely assign Śāntideva to the same age, viz., the first half of the eleventh century A.D. From the history of the later Western Cālukyas we know that Āhavamalla was a distinctive biruda of two monarchs—king Tailapa Deva II, who ruled from A.D. 973 till A.D. 997, and king Someśvara I, Trailokyamalla, who reigned from A.D. 1042 till A.D. 1068. Of these we have to eliminate king Tailapa Deva II whose leaning towards Jainism we have suggested in the previous pages. We are thus constrained to identify Āhavamalla mentioned in the Pārśvanātha basti stone inscription with king Someśvara I, Trailokyamalla, Āhavamalla.

We have now to see whether there is any evidence to prove that king Someśvara I was a Jaina. Two stone inscriptions found in the once great centre of Jainism Kōgaḷ, Bellary district, clearly demonstrate the fact that he was indeed a follower of the syād vāda doctrine. One of them is an undated inscription found in the Cenna Pārśva basti at Kōgaḷ. It records a gift of land to the same basti by the king Trailokyamalla, who was no other than king Someśvara I. The other record was also found there but is dated Śaka 977 (A.D. 1055-6); and it registers a gift by the same monarch to the Jaina sage Indrakīrti. We may incidentally observe here that this record informs us that the Cenna Pārśva basti was built by king Durvinīta. This could only have been

2. Ibid., p. 73.
3. Ibid.
4. 35 of 1914; Rice, My. & Coorg, p. 74.
5. 37 of 1904.
the Ganga king of that name about whose benevolence to Jainism we have already given sufficient proof in the previous pages. It was during the reign of king Someśvara I that the earliest Kannada work on astrology called *Jātakatilaka* was written in A.D. 1049 by the Jaina priest Śrīdhara-cārya, who hailed from Narigunda in Beḷuvalanāḍu.¹

As regards the name Pāṇḍya occurring in the Pārśvana-tha basti record, it is not improbable that it is to be identified with that of Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya of the Ucchangi Pāṇḍya line, who was the contemporary of the Western Calukya kings Jayasimha III and Someśvara I.² But until further proof is secured, this will be only a conjecture.

Vādigharaṭṭa mentioned in the above inscription was no other than Vādibhasimha Ajitasena. This is proved by the Grāmadabasti inscription dated A.D. 1103 referred to above, which tells us that Ajitasena Pāṇḍita was known as Vādigharaṭṭa, and that he belonged to the Drāvila *sangha* and the Arungalānayava.³

King Someśvara I’s eldest son and successor king Someś-

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2. Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 150. A stone inscription near Bhalā in Bāje-Honnūr, Koppa tālūka, gives us the interesting information that the Sāntara chief Māra was the chief disciple (*agra-śiśya*) of the great *muni* Vādibhasimha Ajitasena, and that the former erected a *niśidhi*, obviously on the death of the Jaina *guru*. This record is undated, but has been assigned to A.D. 1090 by Rice on valid grounds. (*E. C.* VI, Intr., p. 11, Kp. 3, p. 76.) The later Sāntaras bore the title Pāṇḍya (Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 140), but it cannot be made out whether this could be said of Māra as well.
vara II was likewise a devout Bhavya. According to the Bandanikebasti stone inscription dated A.D. 1075, king Someśvara II gave to the priest Kulacandradeva, the disciple of Paramānanda Siddhānta of the Mūla sangha and Krānūr gaṇa, specified land in Nāgarkhanḍa, for the Sāntinātha basti which Bhara..... cakravarti had newly erected in Nāgarkhanḍa, on the specified date. The donee’s guru Paramānanda is styled as one “who had gone to the farthest shore of the ocean of both siddhāntas.”

Among the prominent Western Cālukya monarchs after king Someśvara II mention must be made of a ruler whose identity is now settled with the help of inscriptions. A stone inscription in the Kattalebasti at Śravaṇa Belgola, assigned to about A.D. 1100, relates the following—that Vāsavacandra, whose intellect was well trained in the argument of the great syād vāda doctrine, and who attained celebrity as Bāla-Saravatsi in the middle of the Cālukyan court, was the colleague of the lord of the sages of Vankāpura, Devendramunipa.

The king in whose court Vāsavacandra received the title of Bāla-Saravatsi has now to be identified. This may be done with the aid of the above Kattalebasti record as well as with that of another stone inscription found in a ruined basti at Haḷe Belgola. The Kattalebasti record informs us that Vāsavacandra was a colleague of the following learned Jaina scholars—Prabhācandra, a great grammarian and logician, who was honoured by king Bhoja of Dhārā; Dāmanandi,

(Continued from p. 54.)

where these titles are applied to Śripāla Paṇḍita. As mentioned elsewhere in this treatise, the title Vādibhakṣimha was given to the Brahman orator Mādhavabhaṭṭa by the Ganga king Harivarmanā,

1. Ibid., VII, Sk. 221, p. 131.
2. Ibid., II, 69, p. 35.
a great Naiyāyika scholar, who was "a grinding stone to the great disputant the vile Viṣṇubhaṭṭa; Maladhārideva, also called Guṇacandra; Māghanandi Siddhāntadeva, the head of the Vakra gaccha, and also a renowned grammarian; Jinacandra, "a Pūjyapāda in the Jainendra (grammar), a Bhaṭṭākalanka in the logic of all sects, a Bhāravi in literature, great in poetry, disputation, and eloquence"; Devendra, Yaśahkīrti, who was honoured by the king of Simhaḷa; Trimuṣṭimuni, "a wrestler with wicked hostile disputants, who was content with three fistfuls of food", and who was the disciple of the eminent lord of ascetics Gopanandi; Gaṇḍavimukta Maladhāri Hemacandra, also known as Gauḷamuni, who was likewise a disciple of Gopanandi; and Gauḷadeva Maladhāri, "the destroyer of Cupid".¹

In the above galactic circle of great Jaina scholars, who belonged to the Vakra gaccha, we have the fact of Vāsavacandra’s having been a colleague of Gopanandi. Now we know from the Ḫaḷe Belgoḷa stone inscription that Gopanandi, who will figure again presently, lived in A.D. 1094.² Hence Vāsavacandra is to be assigned also to the same age. The only Western Cālukya monarch who reigned in this period was the famous Vikramāditya VI, Tribhuvanamalla, who ruled from A.D. 1074 till A.D. 1126.³ The Cālukyan king referred to in the above Kattalebasti inscription, therefore, was no other than the same monarch.

It has now to be proved that king Vikramāditya VI was himself a Jaina. The Baḍagiyara Honḍa stone inscription hailing from the Shikarpur tāluka, Mysore State, and dated

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¹. E. C; II, 69, p. 35, op. cit. See also ibid., Intr. p. 80.
². Ibid., V, Cn. 148, pp. 189-190.
³. Rice, My. & Coorg, p. 73.
A.D. 1077, has to be utilized in this connection. According to this interesting record, king Vikramāditya VI, at the request of the Danḍanāyaka Barmmadeva,—to whom his official Pratikantha Singayya had petitioned for the same purpose,—made on the specified date (which is given with full details), the gift of the village of Manevane (location given in detail), for the services of the god of the Cālukya-Ganga-Permmānaḍi Jinālaya which he had caused to be made in the royal city of Balligāve, when he was a prince (kumāra), for the offerings, food of the ṛṣis, repairs of the basadi, and for new works. This gift was made to the learned Jaina guru Rāmasena, who was the disciple of Mahāsenavratī, and who was said by all people to be in grammar Pūjayapāda, in logic Akalankadeva, and in poetry Samantabhadra. Rāmasena belonged to the Mūla saṅgha, Sena gaṇa, and Pogari gaccha.\footnote{E.C. VII, Sk. 124, pp. 95-96.}

Two statements made in the above records may be noted here before we pass on to the narration of other details. One made in the Kattalebasti record that Prabhācandra, a colleague of Vasavācandra, was honoured by king Bhoja of Dhāra; and the other made in the Badagiyara Hoṇḍa inscription that Vikramāditya VI was “to the lord Dhāra the source of a great fever of terror.”\footnote{Ibid., p. 96.} King Bhoja of Dhāra who honoured Prabhācandra, and who was frightened by Vikramāditya (and later on routed) was no other than king Bhoja I, who has become renowned in history as the patron of learning.\footnote{Read Ganguly, History of the Paramara Dynasty, p. 82, seq., 250; E. C. II, Intr. p. 80.}

From a later context we shall learn that it was the king
Vikramāditya VI who built many basadis in the Belvoja country.¹

The Western Cālukya dominion lasted in all six long centuries of glorious history. The rulers of this great House had begun to assert themselves somewhere in the fourth or fifth century A.D. ; and while they were consolidating their conquests in the south-east, their original enemies the Rāṣṭra-kūṭas wrested from their hands the north-western portions of the Western Cālukyan Empire. This was in the latter part of the eighth century A.D. For two centuries (eighth till the tenth) the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, themselves of Karnāṭaka stock,² had put the Western Cālukyas once again completely in the shade. In A.D. 973, however, the Western Cālukyas once again regained their ascendency and continued to rule for two centuries more.³

But towards the end of the twelfth century A.D., two new powers came to the forefront in the land—one of them thoroughly Karnāṭaka in stock, the Hoysalas, and the other, the Yādavas or Seuṇas, both of whom hemmed in the disputed dominions of the Western Cālukyas, and thereby destroyed the latter who had been for a considerably long time the most potent factor in the annals of Karnāṭaka.⁴ Of these new royal families, we are concerned here more with the Hoysalas than with the Yādavas who, after having asserted themselves first in the Seuṇa country in Central India, pushed their power till in the latter half of the

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¹. See below Chapter VI.
². Cf. Altekar, op. cit., pp. 21-25; see also Rice, My. & Coorg, p. 66, and ibid., n. (1) for a different opinion referred to by Rice, which does not seem to be correct.
³. Rice, My. & Coorg, p. 62, seq. 72, seq. 78.
twelfth century A.D. they collided with the Hoysalas, especially in the north-western regions of modern Mysore.\footnote{Rice, \textit{My. & Coorg}, p. 78.}

But the Hoysalas never surrendered their sovereignty over Karnāṭaka to their rivals the Yādavas. Originating in the days of despair when the country had witnessed the subversion of the ancient Ganga power by the invincible Rājendra Coḷa I, Gangaikōṇḍa, the great son of a great father, in A.D. 1004,\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 95; Saleitore, \textit{The Wild Tribes in Indian History}, pp. 79-80.} the Hoysalas put forward the greatest claim at the hands of posterity by their expulsion of the Coḷas from the soil of Karnāṭaka in A.D. 1116.\footnote{Rice, \textit{ibid.}, p. 94.} Thenceforward the Hoysalas ruled over the country for three centuries, another great example of Karnāṭaka statesmanship and Karnāṭaka valour. Towards the middle of the fourteenth century A.D., however, the same danger which had overwhelmed their great rivals the Yādavas in the north now threatened them in the south. This was the Muḥammadan menace under the onslaught of which the Hoysalas collapsed not before they had safely handed over the sacred trust of guarding the country's honour to their most magnificent successors—the monarchs of the famous Vijayanagara Empire.

The Hoysala kingdom itself was a second supreme creation of Jaina wisdom, the first having been, as we saw in an earlier connection, that of the Gangas in the days of king Konguṇivarmā I. Twice, therefore, had Jainism, which for ages had stood for \textit{ahimsā}, caused political regeneration in the land before the rise of Vijayanagara—once in the first or second century A.D., and, then again, in the eleventh century A.D. It was not merely to get the aid of the State that Jaina sages had helped statesmen to found king-
doms; the various Jaina centres of the south, and especially in Karnāṭaka, possessed some of the most superb intellectual prodigies India had ever produced. These spiritual leaders did not stand in constant need of royal benevolence: their vast congregations, as we shall presently point out in a later context, contained exceedingly wealthy communities which never allowed the Jina śāsana to be overtaken by calamity; and repeatedly Jaina gurus appeared to rekindle the smouldering fire of the Jina dharma. An explanation of this singular feature of Jainism seems to be that, as we saw at the beginning of this treatise, it was an example of a religion in the pre-Vijayanagara days which demonstrated the importance of the fact of even religious leaders aiding materially the creation of the proper political environment necessary for the resuscitation of the life in the country. It is precisely here that we see the importance of Jainism in the history of India: more than a faith which produced great leaders and writers in philosophy, and admirable men and women in the field of letters; and much more than a creed which added to the architectural and artistic splendour of India, Jainism was a religion which transmitted through the Hoysala rulers a message to the monarchs of Vijayanagara which these latter kings of the mediæval times, after a brilliant struggle in a period the intensity of which we can hardly now gauge, made the pivot of their existence, thereby opening once again another glorious chapter in the history of India.

The birth-place of the Hoysalas was Sosevur (Skt. Saśākapura) which Rice had identified with Anagadi in the south of the Mūdgere tāluka, Kaḍur district, Mysore State.  

1. For a discussion of this point, see Saletore, Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire, I, pp. 243-246.  
There is every reason to believe that Angaḍi itself was a stronghold of Jainism in the middle of the tenth century A.D., when the first historical figure in the Hoysala House came into prominence in Karnāṭaka. Two facts may be adduced in support of this statement—the first relates to the death of a Jaina guru at Angaḍi in the tenth century A.D., and the second, to the existence of Jaina basadis of a date earlier than that of the famous temple of Vāsantikā, the patron deity of the Hoysalas. An undated inscription found at Angaḍi tells us that on Vimalacandra Paṇḍitadeva, the disciple of Maunibhaṭṭāraka of the Drāvīla sangha, Koṇḍakun- dānvaya, and Pustaka gaccha, and the guru of Śrimān Iriva Beḍenga, having performed the samnyasana rites, obtained mukti. At this a memorial in honour of the guru was set up. Rice assigned this record to about A.D. 998 on the assumption that the name Iriva Beḍenga mentioned in it was that of the Western Cālukya ruler Satyāśraya (A.D. 997 A.D.—1009).¹ We are unable to identify Vimalacandra Paṇḍitadeva mentioned in the above record; but this inscrip-

¹. E. C. VI, Intr. p. 13, where the record is dated about A.D. 998; but Mg. 11 is dated circa A.D. 990. Ibid., p. 60. Nārasiṃhacārya is inclined to date it in circa A.D. 1000. M. A. R. for 1917, p. 7. Rice gives the name of the Jaina guru as Traikālamuni in the translation. But the original reads merely Maunibhaṭṭāraka. Ibid., text, p. 242. In a record dated A.D. 1163 a Traikālayogi is mentioned as the disciple of the monarch monk Gollācārya. He belonged to the Desiya gana, a subdivision of the Nandi gana in the Mūla sangha. E. C. II, 64, p. 17. In another record hailing from Śravaṇa Belgola, a Traikālayogi, also of the Mūla sangha, is spoken of. Ibid., 382, text, p. 171. There is a Mauni Ācārya of the Nāvilūr sangha in a record assigned to circa A.D. 700. Ibid., 106, p. 44. It cannot be made out with which of the three gurus the Maunibhaṭṭāraka of the above record is to be identified.
tion is doubly important: Firstly, it tells us that in Angaḍi there lived a Jaina guru, evidently because it was a Jaina centre; and, secondly, it associates Angaḍi with the Western Cālukyas in a period which saw the emergence of the Hoysalas as a political power.

The other fact concerning Angaḍi is about the antiquity of the Jaina basadis of the place. The late Mr. Narasimhacarya has shown that the modern Vasantammā image in the temple at Angaḍi cannot in any way be connected with the Vāsantikā of the Jainas and the early Hoysalas, and that the present goddess has been set up in the place of the original image. The same scholar wrote that at some distance from this temple are two ruined basadis standing in a line and facing north. These which contain scarcely any ornamentation in them, represent Hoysala structure of an earlier type.¹ Dr. Krishna supports this view, and opines that the basadis may belong to the tenth century A.D., informing us of the name of one of the basadis—Makara Jinālaya.²

Here in Angaḍi happened an incident which has become celebrated in the history of Karnāṭaka. It concerns the activities of a Hoysala chief and a Jaina guru in the latter half of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. The story in brief is the following. In the town of Angaḍi there lived a Jaina guru by name Sudatta. On a certain occasion when the Hoysala chief went to worship at the temple of his family goddess Vāsantikādevi at Sosevūru, and when he was being instructed by the Jaina guru there, a tiger bounded out of the forest, glaring with rage. The Jaina sage snatching hastily his rod handed it over to the

². Ibid for 1929, pp. 8-9.
chief, and in the language of the latter exclaimed—*poy Sala* (Strike, Sala!). Whereupon Sala hit the tiger and killed it finishing it off perhaps with his dagger. From the rescued Jaina *guru*’s exclamation, the chief assumed the name *Poysala* which later on became *Hoysala*.

An examination of some of the most important stone and copper-plate inscriptions ranging from the first quarter of the twelfth to the last quarter of the thirteenth century A.D., reveals a few interesting details which, notwithstanding their divergence, yet enable us to understand the significance of the account concerning the Jaina *guru* and his lay disciple. In the inscriptions of king Vinayāditya I (...A.D. 1022), and in those of his son and successor Nṛpa Kāma Hoysala (...—A.D. 1047), no mention is made of the above account at all. This need not come in the way of our appreciating it, since the times of these rulers were taken up with their bitter struggle against the Coḷas and the feudatories of the latter, the Kongāḷvas, for

1. Rice, *My & Coorg.*, p. 95. Such feats of courage and physical strength are met with even in our own days. It is reported that Rāmu Jotiba Patil, a villager from Kolhapur, showed his bravery thus—A cowherd Goru Tukaram was grazing his cattle in the forest on the outskirts of the village Savarda, Panhala Mahal, Kolhapur State, in the evening of Sept. 20, 1937. Suddenly a tiger five feet and three inches long, attacked the villager biting at his thigh. Hearing his scream for help, Rāmu Jotiba rushed at it and struck it with an ordinary bamboo stick. The brute turned on Rāmu who at once came to grips with it. The animal was finally killed by the neighbouring villagers who had hurried to the scene with their scythes and axes. Rāmu and Goru are reported to be making satisfactory progress in the Kolhapur State Hospital. (*The Times of India*, Bombay, Sept. 27th. 1937).


the hegemony of Karnāṭaka. It is only when we come to the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D., when the Hoysala power was very firmly established in the country, and when, as a consequence of their political stability, a spirit of ornateness and robustness revealed itself in literature, and especially in architecture, that we have some details which we may now critically examine with the aid of epigraphs. These are the following—The Jaina sage and his identity, the status of the Hoysala chief, the weapon with which the latter killed the animal, the name of the goddess, and the identity of the animal which was killed.

1. The Jaina Sage.

Excepting one record of the eleventh century A.D., no other inscription of the eleventh and the twelfth century A.D., gives the name of the Jaina sage who helped Sala to found a kingdom. He is called Sudattamunipā in a stone inscription found on the bank of the river Daṇḍāvatī in the Sohrab tāluka, and assigned by Rice to A.D. 1208. Two stone inscriptions dated A.D. 1271 and A.D. 1284 respectively, and both found in the Candrasāle, Beḷḷūr grāma, Nāgamangala, tell us that king Sala having brought a certain accomplished muni (called in the records merely Siddhamunindra), established him in the abode of Vāsantikā in the prosperous Śaśapura (Śrī-sampattiya Śaśapura Vāsantivāsavalli Siddhamunindram), and there the munindra was engaged in properly giving instruction to Sala.

1. Read Saletore, *Wild Tribes*, p. 80 where I made a mistake in asserting that it was the Coḷa general Agrameya who encountered Poysala, the founder of the Hoysala line. This Hoysala ruler should have been, as Narasimhacarya pointed out, king Vinayāditya I. (M. A. R. for 1916, p. 51).


No credence can be given to the statement made in the above two Candraśāle records that Sala brought the Jaina guru and established him in Saśapura (i. e., Saśākapura, or Angaḍī), since we definitely know that Angaḍī was already a Jaina centre in the tenth century A. D.

But who was Sudatta and to which congregation did he belong? No epigraph of the twelfth century A. D. gives his full name, and in no list of the spiritual succession of the many Jaina pontificates in the south do we come across the name Sudatta. We may conjecture that he belonged to the Koṇḍakunda lineage to which Vimalacandra, the guru of the Western Cālukya ruler Satyāśraya Iṛiva Beḍenga belonged, and may have been his colleague. Our surmise is supported by a stone inscription of the Vijayanagara times, the importance of which we shall describe in the subsequent pages of this treatise. This stone record was found in the Padmāvatī basti at Humcca, Nagar tāluka, and assigned by Rice on valid grounds to A. D. 1530. In this important inscription which contains many details of historical value, after Pūjyapādasvāmi comes Vardhamānasvāmi “by the power of whose learning and spell Hoysala brought into subjection the tiger and ruled the world. Instructors of the kings of the Hoysala line in conduct and learning, Vardhamānayogīndra and others became their gurus.” In the same record we are told that Vardhamāna belonged to the Nandi sangha of the Koṇḍakundānvaya.¹

This piece of information, notwithstanding its being far removed in time from the age of the Hoysalas, is nevertheless substantiated by an earlier but undated stone inscription belonging to the Āñjaneya temple but now found near the railway station of Sāgarakatṭe, Mysore hobī. It relates

1. E. C. VIII. Nr. 46, p. 147.
M. J. 3.
the following—that Śrī Vādirājadeva’s disciple Śrī Vardhamānadeva—descended in the line of Śāntimuni, who belonged to the Drāviḍa sangha, Arungalānvaya, and Nandi gana, and who took a prominent part in the Hoysala administration (Śrī Vardhamāndēvaru Hoysala kārāliyadalu agragan-varu), died by samnyasana, and that the memorial (nīśi-dhi) was set up by his colleague Kamaladeva.¹

Dr. Krishna, who has edited this inscription in his Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Mysore for 1929, assigned it on palæographical grounds to the last quarter of the eleventh century A. D., and remarked that it may belong to the reign of the Hoysala king Vinayāditya or to that of Viṣṇuvardhana. He rightly identified Vādirāja mentioned in the above record with the famous contemporary of king Jayasimha III, about whom we have written a few details in the previous pages. But Dr. Krishna’s inference that Vardhamānadeva lived in the middle of the eleventh century A. D. in the reign of king Vinayāditya whom he helped in the government of his kingdom,² is not borne out by the evidence of numerous stone inscriptions of that monarch which, as will be stated at once, mention an altogether different Jaina priest as the guru of that Hoysala monarch.

One detail about one of the gurus mentioned in the above record needs some explanation. It is about Śāntimuni. Vādiraja is said to have been born in the line of Śāntimuni (Śāntimunigala śiṣya santati Śrī Vādirājadevara). Hence Śāntimuni was far removed from Vādirāja. This guru cannot be definitely identified, but it is not improbable

1. M. A. R. for 1929, pp. 108-109. Vardhamānasvāmi mentioned here was not the same as his namesake spoken of in a record of A.D. 1265 of the reign of king Narasimha III. See below.

that, as related in one of the Pārśvanātha basti records found at Śravaṇa Belagola, and assigned on palæographical grounds to circa A. D. 650, he may have been the same Śāntimuni who is described in that epigraph as "coral lipped"; and as one "who renovated" the Jaina religion, "when the faith, which had greatly prospered at the time when the pair of the great sages Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta shed lustre on it, became afterwards a little weak."¹ If this identification is accepted, Śāntimuni may indeed have lived ages before Vādirāja.

Whatever our difficulty in identifying Śāntimuni, there is no doubt that Vardhamānadeva was the disciple of Vādirāja. Since we know that the latter lived in the first quarter of the eleventh century A. D., we may legitimately assign his disciple Vardhamāna also to the same age. This admirably fits in with the date we have given to Poysala, the founder of the Hoysala House, and his preceptor Sudatta (i.e. Vardhamāna himself), viz., the latter half of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. The phrase Hoysala kārāliyadalu applied to Sudatta Vardhamāna would, then, have to be interpreted in the sense that that guru was the chief person in the administration not only of the founder of the Hoysala line but also of his son and successor Vina-yāditya I, and of the latter's successor Nṛpa Kāma Hoysala. If Vardhamāna had only aided Poysala in founding the royal House, that fact would have been expressed, as in the case of the illustrious Simhanandi Ācārya, thus—that Vardhamānadeva had merely created (mādīda) the kingdom. But it was because Sudatta Vardhamāna stabilized the Hoysala government in the reigns probably of three successive rulers that the phrase Hoysala kārāliyadalu agraganyaru is

applied to him in the Sāgarakaṭṭe record. Here it may not be out of place to remark that the reigns of all the first three Hoysala rulers—Poysala, Vinayāditya I, and Nṛpa Kāma—were shortlived. There is nothing strange that like the life of many an ascetic of India, and like that of many Jaina gurus as well, that of Vardhamānadeva, while it may have run into that of Vādirāja, may have, at the same time, covered that of the first three Hoysalas kings also. Whatever that may be, the fact that Vardhamānadeva had helped the continuance of the Hoysala rule in its early stages alone seems to be responsible for the deep-laid devotion which the Hoysala kings from Nṛpa Kāma onwards showed for the Jina dharma in their great Empire.

2. The Status of the chief Sala.

We have elsewhere shown that Poysala, the founder of the Hoysala House, belonged to the race of hill tribes of Karnāṭaka. The age in which Poysala appeared was one of humiliation to Karnāṭaka. As related above, it was the time of the Coḷa conquest of Gangavādi. The Ganga kingdom had been the creation of Jainīa intellect. It is but natural that now when in the latter half of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century A.D., the last remnant of Ganga rule had been wiped out by foreigners, Jainīa wisdom should have again devised ways and means of rejuvenating political life in the country without which “renovation” of the Jina dharma would not have been lasting and great)

There is no doubt Poysala was already a chieftain when he approached Sudatta Vardhamāna for aid. All accounts concerning him confirm this. Here we may be permitted to discuss the importance of his name, since it helps us to

1. Saleatore, Wild Tribes., pp. 79 seq.
understand the part played by the Jaina guru. Rice wrote
that the name Poysala occurred in a record of A.D. 1006
at Kaliür, on the opposite side of the river to Talakād. But
the late Mr. Narasimhacarya discovered a stone inscription
at Hosahalli near Maraile, Chikamagalur taluka, of the time
of the NoJamba king Anniga. In this undated record it is
related that Arakella’s son, distinguished by the title Sā-
manta Rāma and Nanni Kandarpa, and his grandson Poysalama-
ruga, fought with Anniga at Sirivura and fell, at which
a certain Gāvunḍa (named) by order of Arakella (with
titles) attacked Anniga Mahārāja but also fell. Then Arak-
ella gave a grant to the relatives of the Gāvunḍa.

The late Mr. Narasimhacarya identified Arakella men-
tioned above with Śrī Arakella spoken of in a damaged re-
cord found also at Morale, and Anniga, with Anniga, Bīra
NoJamba, the eldest son of Ayyappa; and rightly said that
the above Hosahalli record may be dated to circa A.D. 950.
Dr. Krishna while re-editing the Hosahalli record, con-
firmsthe date given to it by Mr. Narasimhacharya.

Are we to identify Poysala-māruga mentioned above with
Poysala, the founder of the Hoysala House? The answer
is in the negative, but this does not mean that we have to
discredit the account of Sudatta Vardhamana and Poysala.

1. Rice, My. & Coorg, p. 95; E. C. III. Tn. 44.
2. E. C. VI. Ck. 138, p. 221.
4. Ibid. for 1932, p. 201.
5. This error is committed by Mr. Hayavadana Rao who
calls Sala “the mythical founder of the Hoysala dynasty.
As Romulus was to the Romans, so was Sala to the Hoysalas.”
He styles Sala “the eponymous hero Sala.” And he confounds
Poysala who fought against General Aprameya with “certain Poy-
On the other hand, the fact of the name Poysala occurring in a record in the neighbourhood of Talakāḍ, the capital of the Gangas, and of the matrimonial alliance between a feudatory chief and a Poysala strongly suggests that the Hoy-salas in the latter half of the tenth century A.D. were somehow associated with the ancient capital of the Gangas; and that by that time members of the Hoysala family had already made themselves prominent by taking part in the political struggle of the age. It is because of this that we find one member of the Hoysala family connected with the feudatory chief Arakella. Further, it was perhaps to test the ability of another member of that same family that the Jaina guru at Angaḍi caused a tiger to bound forth from the adjoining forest. Sudatta Vardhamāna had to satisfy himself that his lay disciple Sala had the grit in him to carve out a principality in the same manner Simhanandi Ācārya had to be sure that Konguṇivarmā had the strength to build a kingdom. In both instances, the lay disciples had to do physical feats of extraordinary strength in order to win the support and guidance of their Jaina gurus: Poysala had to kill an animal, and Konguṇivarmā had to cut down a huge stone pillar with a single blow.

The chief Sala, therefore, dropped his earlier name—which is unfortunately not known to us for the present—and assumed the name Poy Sala! (Strike Sala!) arising out of the circumstance of his having killed an animal. Ever after this incident both he and his relatives must have adopted this name because of the great prominence into which he came after the performance of the remarkable deed, in about

1. The name Poysala was so great that even ordinary citizens used to prefix it to their names. For instance, in A.D. 1101 a Gauḍa called himself Poysala Gauḍa. E. C. V. Bl. 141,p. 93.
the latter part of the tenth century A.D. This may account for the following related in the Keśava temple stone inscription found at Honnāvara, Hassan tāluka, and dated A.D. 1123:—

"In that Yaduvāṃśa a king named Sala was hunting along the slopes of the Sahya mountains when in a certain place a tiger bounded out to devour a muni who was there doing penance. That muni in order to test his bravery, said poy Sala, on which he immediately killed the tiger with his dagger. The muni being pleased, conferred on him the tiger as a victorious crest and that exclamation as a victorious name."¹ Hence Poy Sala was merely a name of victory (i pesare vijayanāmam) which that chief adopted after the incident.² The Danḍāvatī river stone inscription cited above, affirms that Sudatta desired to give Sala the chief place in the world, and hence made the goddess Padmāvati appear as a tiger whereupon the chief striking it, displayed his courage.³

3. The weapon with which Sala killed the animal.

Here there is a diversity in the accounts. Some versions of the story give it as a dagger; others, as that dated A.D. 1173, call it a cane (betta), or a cane rod (bettāda sele), as in about A.D. 1220, or merely sele (Muni’s rod) as in circa A.D. 1208, or a kuṇcada sele (or the rod of the yogi’s fan), which is really a bunch of peacock’s feathers, as

1. E. C., V.Hn. 65, pp. 18-19.
2. Ibid., Hn. 116, dated A.D. 1123, p. 33, Ibid., II. 132, p. 58; ibid., V. Bl. 171 of circa A.D. 1160, p. 100 where the exclamation adam poy Sala (hit it, Sala!) is given in full, and the interesting detail is added that before the tiger could step again, Sala had killed it. It may be remembered here that Angaḍi is on the slopes of the Western Ghats.
3. Ibid., VIII, Sb. 28, p. 5.
in A.D. 1255, or śalāki (or an iron rod, i.e. a wooden stick as hard as iron), as in A.D. 1261.¹

4. The name of the goddess.

In this detail too the accounts differ. While most of the inscriptions give the name of the goddess as Vāsantikā, a few give it as Padmāvatī.²

5. The animal that was killed.

This is another detail about which there is no unanimity in the epigraphs. For instance, in A.D. 1123, 1173, circa 1208, circa 1220, and 1234, it is called śārdūlam, but in the other records it is called puli³ (tiger). The former (śārdūlam) seems to be correct, and the latter, inadmissible. The numerous sculptures depicting this animal on stone inscriptions and on temple walls in Karnāṭaka confirm this opinion.⁴

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¹ E. C. V, Ak. 71, p. 138; Bl. 112, p. 71; Cf. Ak. 82, of A.D. 1234, p. 143; VIII. Sb. 28, p. 5; V. Ak. 108, p. 156; Bl. 74, p. 61.
² Ibid., VIII, Sb. 28, p. 5. Is it possible that this is the same goddess who appears so prominently in connection with the Śāntaras? It may be that Padmāvatī was only a Hinduized form of a Buddhist goddess of the Mahāyāna school, after she had passed through a period in the Jaina religion. This may account for the fact that Padmāvatī is associated with alchemy and such other arts. It is perhaps this Buddhist touch which is responsible for the introduction of the element of incantation in the story, as in A.D. 1173. (E. C. V. Ak. 71, p. 138. If these suggestions should lead one to further inquiry, perhaps one may discover at a future date that Angaḍi itself was a Buddhist centre before it passed into the hands of the Jainas!
³ E. C. V, Hn. 116, p. 33; Bl. 112, p. 71; Ak. 71, p. 138, Ak. 82 p. 113; VIII, Sb., 28, p. 5.
⁴ Two scholars have independently arrived at this conclusion, and they give the significance of the Hoysala leader Sala killing the
With whatever scepticism the above story relating to the founder of the Hoysala House and his Jaina adviser is viewed, there is no denying the fact that the successors of Sala, especially from king Vinayāditya I onwards, gave unstinted patronage to the Jina dharma, even when one of them became a convert into Vaiṣṇavism and thereby undermined the influence of Jainism as State religion in Kārnāṭaka. We have seen that the first three Hoysala rulers Sala, the founder, his son Vinayāditya I, and the latter’s successor Nṛpa Kāma, were under the spiritual guidance of Sudatta Vardhamāna; and that it was this fact which was responsible for the statement made in the Sāgarakaṭṭe stone inscription that that Jaina guru took a prominent part in the administration of the Hoysalas.

The guru of king Vinayāditya II was Śāntideva. This is proved from two stone inscriptions. One of them is the Pārśvanātha basti record found at śravaṇa Belgoḷa and dated A.D. 1129. This inscription which we have already cited describes Śāntideva thus—“Who is able to describe ‘such and such’ the ability of the ascetic Śāntideva, having worshipped whose pair of feet, the Poysala king Vinayāditya brought the goddess of wealth to the territory under his rule?”

Śāntideva belonged to the same congregation to which

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Continued from p. 72

animal. They say that it represents the Kadamba lion which was killed by Sala. R. N. Saletore, Vijayanagara Art (unpublished Ms.) pp. 477-8; George Moraes, Kadamba-kula, p. 378. For further notices on the Hoysala origin, read Kavicarite, I. pp. 332, 371. E. C. V. Intr. pp. 9-10, where Rice has summarized various accounts; ibid, XII, Tp. 42, dated A.D. 1229, p. 50; ibid., V, Hn. 84 of circa A.D. 1230, p. 126; ibid., IX, Bn. 6 dated A.D. 1253, p. 3 where a very intelligent account of Sala and the śāradūla is given; ibid. XII, Tp. 40, of A.D. 1286, p. 49; My. and Coorg, p. 95, etc.

the illustrious Ajitasena was attached, for, as we have already seen, the latter is mentioned immediately next to Śāntideva under the title of Svāmī and Śabda-caturmukha. Śāntideva died in A.D. 1062, as is proved by the damaged stone inscription found at Angaḍī and dated in that year. This epigraph informs us that king Vinayāditya Poysala’s guru Śāntideva having performed the rites of saṁnyasana, as a reward of his faith attained to the realm of nirvāṇa. The king and the company of townsmen (dēvaru śrīmaṭu sa. . . . . ra nakara samūha tamma gurugolge) erected the monument for the departure of their guru Śāntideva.¹ The evidence of this inscription may be utilized to show that Śāntideva had indeed become a sort of a national preceptor in the days of king Vinayāditya II.

What king Vinayāditya did as a Jaina, obviously on the advice of his guru, is described in a stone record found in the Gandhavāraṇa basti at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, and dated A.D. 1131. King Vinayāditya “gladly made any number of tanks and temples, any number of Jaina shrines, any number of nāgas, villages, and subjects. When it is said that king Vinayāditya Poysala alone excelled the celebrated Balindra, who can praise the greatness of that profound and brave king? The pits dug for bricks became tanks, the great mountains quarried for stone became level with the ground, the roads by which the mortar carts passed became ravines—thus did Poysala cause Jina temples (Jinarāja geham) to be erected.”²

True to the liberal spirit which has always marked Karṇāṭaka monarchs throughout history, king Vinayāditya II extended his patronage to other Jaina leaders as well. A

1. E. C. VI, Mg. 17, pp. 61, 245.
2. Ibid., II, 143, pp. 70-71.
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damaged stone inscription at Toḷaḷu, Belūr hobli, Hassan district, dated A.D. 1062, commemorates the gift of some land on the holy occasion of Uttarāyaṇa Sankramaṇa, by the same king to the Jaina guru Abhayacandra of Belāve. The latter belonged to the Mūla sangha and to the spiritual lineage which claimed Gautama, Bhadrabāhu, Puṣpadanta and Meghacandra as its own.¹

Another stone inscription dated A.D. 1069 illustrates the care with which king Vinayāditya II looked after Jaina interests. It was found in the Pārśvanātha basti at Mattāvara, Chickmagalūr taluka, and it relates the following—That the king who previous to the specified date had a channel turned and brought to the village of Mattara (i.e., Mattāvara), was now pleased to visit that village again. And on that occasion he went to the basadi on the hill, and seeing the god there, asked (the people) “Why have you built the basadi on the hill (outside) instead of building it inside the village?” To this Māṇikaśēṭṭi replied respectfully—“We beg of your Lordship to build a basadi within the village and richly endow it with wealth and privileges. We are poor but there is no limit to your wealth. Your wealth is equal in quantity to the paddy grains grown by the hill chiefs.”

The king pleased with the speech of Māṇikaśēṭṭi, smiled and said “Very well,” and had the basadi built inside the village. He first got Māṇikaśēṭṭi and other leaders of the town (named) to give specified land to the basadi, and he himself granted for the basadi at Mattāvara paddy income (specified) of the village of Nāḍali. Moreover, the king ordered several houses to be constructed near the basadi,

¹ M. A. R. for 1927, pp. 43-44 Abhayacandra’s identity cannot be determined.
giving the village the name of Rṣihalṭṭi, and finally remitted many (specified) village taxes on its behalf.¹

King Vināyāditya II was succeeded by his son Ereyanga, who had seen State service under the former as a yuvarāja. Since we know definitely that king Vināyāditya’s rule lasted till A.D. 1101,² we have to assume with Rice that king Ereyanga ruled in conjunction with his father, and that Ereyanga must have died before his father.³

This difficulty in determining the dates of Ereyanga’s rule need not hinder us from bringing to the forefront his Jaina guru Gopanandi. A stone inscription at Haḷe Belgoḷa dated A.D. 1094 informs us that that Mahāmāṇḍalesvara’s guru was Gopanandi about whom it gives the following details—That Gopanandi was the head of the Deśiya gana, Mūla sangha, and Koṇḍakundāvaya. His preceptor was Caturmukhadeva. “The celebrated Gopanandi accomplished what had been impossible for any one; for he caused the Jina dharmā which had for a long time been at standstill, to attain the prosperity and fame of the time of the Ganga kings.” His qualifications and achievements are graphically described thus—He was like an infuriated elephant to the Sāṅkhya, Bhautika, Baudhā, Vaiśṇava, and Cārvvāka professors. While Jaimini bolted, Vaiśeṣika turning round fled, Sugata (Buddha) instead of running beat his breast, Aksapāda with affection came near, Lokāyata attempted to leave, and Sāṅkhya pushed away—Gopanandi, a lusty elephant like the elephants at the points of the compass, roamed through the paths of the six schools of logic.

2. E. C. V, Bl. 141, p. 93.
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To this great Jaina logician, Tribhuvanamalla Ereyanga, while ruling the Gangamanḍala, granted Rācanahalla and the Belgoḷa 12 for the repairs of the basadis of the Kalbappu tirtha (of Belgoḷa). Since the king was ruling the Gangavāḍi, and since the royal endowment affected all the basadis in the holy place round the Kalbappu hill (i.e., Kaṭavapra or Candragiri) at Śravāṇa Belgoḷa, it is said in the epigraph that Gopanandi caused the Jina dharma to prosper through the wealth of the Ganga kings. We know that by this time the Ganga rule had disappeared; yet the benevolent precedent set up by the Gangas could never be obliterated from the mind of either the Jainas or the Karnāṭaka monarchs.

In an earlier context we have had an occasion to describe all the celebrated colleagues of Gopanandi, as given in the Kattalebasti record dated about A.D. 1100. This inscription, we may incidentally add, repeats the praise given to Gopanandi in the record dated A.D. 1094, and tells us that he “caused the Jaina religion, which had for a long time been at a stand-still, to attain the prosperity and fame of the Ganga kings,” thereby confirming the importance of that guru in the history of Jainism.

King Ballāḷa I, the eldest son of king Ereyanga, succeeded

2. On Kaṭavapra, read Ibid., II, Intr. p. 4, seq.
3. Ibid., II, 69, pp. 34-35. In a record dated A.D. 1136, it is said that “the guru of the head-jewel of the Yādava race, Ereyanga Deva, considered the jagad-guru, was Ajitasenavāmi.” (E. C. V, Bl 17, p. 51) Rice accepts this statement. (E. C. VI, Intr., p. 11). We know that Ereyanga ruled as a yuvratāja from A.D. 1063 till A.D. 1095. It cannot be made out how far the statement of the record dated A.D. 1136 regarding Ereyanga and Ajitasena is correct. Perhaps it may not be wrong to assume that on the death of Gopanandi, Ajitasena may have become the guru of Ereyanga. This requires confirmation.
the latter and ruled from A.D. 1100 till A.D. 1106. The guru of this ruler was Cārūkīrtimuni. Two stone inscriptions dated A.D. 1398 and A.D. 1432 respectively prove this. These are the Siddheśvara basti records of Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, which will be styled here the I and II of that name. The I. Siddheśvara basti inscription dated A.D. 1398 relates the following about Cārūkīrti Paṇḍitadeva. He was the disciple of Śrutakīrtideva, a great disputant, and an “accomplisher of everything that had to be accomplished”. This remarkable guru (Cārūkīrti Paṇḍitadeva) was proficient in medicine as well. The same inscription continues to narrate the following—When king Ballāla, encloser of the forces of strong (enemies), terrorizer in war by his cavalry, was verily in a moribund condition through severe illness, he quickly restored him to health.\(^2\) The II Siddheśvara basti inscription dated A.D. 1432 repeats the praise given to him in the earlier record, adding that he was “a moon in increasing the volume of the ocean of grammar,” and that he “published to the world the Śāra-traya, as also the science of logic”. “Even the air that had but touched his body cured disease; was it much (then) that his medicine cured king Ballāla of his disease?”\(^2\)

The short-lived reign of king Ballāla I was followed by that of one of the most brilliant monarchs of Karnāṭaka. This was the famous Viṣṇuvardhana Bītṛiga Deva, whose initial year is still a matter of dispute. King Viṣṇuvardhana was the liberator of Karnāṭaka from the Coḷa dominion. Many of the notable victories which marked his rule were won by his great Jaina generals about whom we shall give a few details in the next chapter. King Viṣṇuvar-

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dhana's reign was also important because of an event which had a profound effect on the whole history of Jainism in Karnāṭaka and southern India. This was his conversion from Jainism into Vaiśṇavism under the influence of the great Ācārya Rāmānuja who, to escape persecution at the hands of a Coḷa king, had taken refuge in the Hoysala country. Rice placed this event before A.D. 1116, and attributed the series of extensive conquests to the new religion which king Viṣṇu had embraced.¹

Without entering into any discussion of this assertion of Rice, we may merely note that the Jaina propensity in the Hoysala mind was so great, and the memory of the indebtedness of the Hoysala rulers to Jaina intellect so profound, that even so late as A.D. 1125 king Viṣṇuvardhana showed his devotion to a Jaina guru named Śrīpāla Traividyavrati whose praise is described in the Bairadeva temple stone inscription dated in that year and found at Calya, Chāmarājapaṭṭana tāluka. In this record it is said that that Hoysala monarch—whose victories, by the way, over Adiyama, the Pallava Nṛsimhavarmā, the Kongas, Kalapāla, and the ruler of Angara are mentioned,—caused to be made with devotion the Jaina abode at Calya. The donee is called a Saṇmukha of the six schools of logic, a great disputant, bearing the hereditary titles of Vādibhasimha, Vādikolāhala, and Tārkkika-cakravarti, and the promoter of his gaṇa. To this learned Jaina sage king Viṣṇu gave the village at Śalya (Calya) with suitable donations for the repairs of the basadi and for the maintenance of the Jaina tīsī.² Another stone inscription at Belūr dated A.D. 1129

¹ Rice, My. and Coorg, p. 99.
² E. C. V. Cn. 149, pp. 190-191. The Pārśvanātha basti record of Sravana Belgoḷa, however, places Śrīpāla before Matisā-
commemorates a gift to the *basadi* named Malli *Jinālaya* by the same monarch. This record, therefore, confirms the view that king Viṣṇu was a devout Jaina even in A.D. 1129. Indeed, there is one more record which adds to the testimony that king Viṣṇu, whatever his patronage to Vaiṣṇavism may have been, continued till the end of his rule, to be a pious Bhavya. This inscription is the Pārśvanātha basti record hailing from Bastihaljī, near Hālebid (i.e., Dora- samudra itself) and dated A.D. 1133. In connection with a famous Jaina temple in the Hoysala capital built by one of the many great Jaina generals of king Viṣṇu, it relates that the latter christened his son prince Vijaya Narasimha- deva after the god Vijaya Pārśvadeva, and granted the village of Jāvagal for a *Jinālaya* in the capital Dorasamudra which we shall describe in a later context.

King Narasimha I who had been crowned from the day of his birth, ascended the throne on the death of his illustrious father king Viṣṇu in A.D. 1141. The greatness of the Hoysala Empire was now maintained more by the reputation of the famous Viṣṇuvardhana Deva and the loyalty of his generals rather than by any military prowess or political sagacity on the part of king Narasimha. One of the most capable generals of the age was the Jaina commander Huḷḷa whose intense devotion to the Jina *dharma*, which we shall describe in detail presently, was, we may

gara who was the *guru* of Vādirāja. It says that Śrīpāla, though an expositor of all sciences, accepted also the title *Travidya* (versed in the three sciences of grammar, logic, and philosophy). *(E. C. II, 67, p. 28).* How Śrīpāla came to be assigned to this age cannot be made out.

well assume, in no small measure responsible for the piety which king Narasimha showed to the Jaina religion. A stone inscription in the Bhanḍārabasti at Śravana Belgoḷa dated A.D. 1159, asserts that this king while on "an expedition for the conquest of the regions", ascended the mountain Vindhyagiri (at Śravana Belgoḷa), bowed to the lord Gommaṭēśvara, saw the Caturvimśati basadi erected by his great general Huḷḷa, and "lovingly bestowed upon it the second name of Bhavya-cūḍāmaṇi after Huḷḷa's title Samyuktva-cūḍāmaṇi." And for the maintenance of this splendid temple the monarch granted the village of Savanēru. This is repeated in another record found at the same place and dated in the same year. But beyond this the pleasure-seeking king Narasimha did nothing for the cause of Jainism.

His son was the famous Ballāla II, or Vira Ballāla I, who ruled from A.D. 1173 till A.D. 1220. Once again Hoyśala arms, as in the reign of the great king Viṣṇu, spread far and wide, and once again did the Hoysala monarch show marked favour to the syād vāda doctrine. King Ballāla II’s spiritual guru was Śrīpāladeva’s disciple Vasupūjyavrati of the Arungalānvaya and the Nandi sangha. We learn this from a stone record dated A.D. 1169. Two inscriptions dated A.D. 1174 and A.D. 1175 register the confirmation of the gift of Savanēru made by king Narasimha, by king Ballāla II along with the gift of two villages at Bekka and Kaggere. This was done at the request of General Huḷḷa.

2. Ibid., 345, p. 149.
4. E. C. V, Ak. 1, p. 112.
5. Ibid., Cn. 146, p. 189; II, 240, p. 103.
But king Ballāla II acceded as much to the request of his generals as to those of his citizens, when the question of the Jina dharma was concerned. A damaged stone inscription in the Āñjaneya temple at Kalasāpura, Kaḍūr district, dated A.D. 1176, describes the construction of a Jaina temple (in Dorasamudra?) called Vīra Ballāla jinālaya by a rich merchant named Deviśeṭṭi, at the request of his teacher Bālacandramuni of the Deśika gaccha and the Mūla sangha. The king at the request of Deviśeṭṭi, for the service of the basadi and the priests, and also for meeting the expenses of repairs, granted some villages and tolls (specified).  

It is not surprising that under such a benevolent monarch the capital Dorasamudra itself should have continued to be a stronghold of Jainism. We shall see that in the reign of king Viṣṇuvardhana this well known city had already enjoyed the reputation of being a centre of the Bhavyas, chiefly due to the exertions of some of his most remarkable Jaina generals. That under king Ballāla II the influence of Jainism in the capital did not in any way diminish is proved by the Nañjedevaragūḍa stone inscription found in Sompūr, Hassan district, and dated A.D. 1192. How powerful was the influence of the Jaina guru Śripālavadeva is also seen from this record which enumerates the following—that in the capital Dorasamudra, respected throughout the kingdom, was the illustrious Vādibhasimha, Tārkkika-cakraparti, Śripāla Traividyadeva and his disciples Māriśeṭṭi, Kāmiśeṭṭi, Bharatiśeṭṭi, and Rājaśeṭṭi. These four commercial magnates together with the merchants from all countries and citizens caused to be erected in Dorasamudra a fine jinālaya of the god Abhinava Śāntināthadeva, called Nagarajinālaya.

The remarkable spirit of mutual confidence and respect which characterized the actions of Karnāṭaka monarchs and citizens in those days is seen in the same epigraph which, after narrating that Śripāladeva's guru was Malliśeṇa Maladhāri, descended in the illustrious line of Bhadrabāhu in the Irungūḷānvaya and the Nandi sangha, relates thus—That while the Kumāra (prince, evidently Rājaśeṭṭi) with all the Prabhu-gāvunḍas and the Nāḍ-gāvunḍas was on a visit to the illustrious Pratāpa-Cakravarti Vīra Ballāḷadeva, he (the ruler) was pleased to see the eight-fold worship and free distribution of food to ascetics in the temple of the god Abhinava Sāntināthadeva. On this occasion the king, acting in accordance with the unanimous prayers of the Nāḍgāvunḍas made a gift of the villages of Muccunḍi and Kaḍalahaḷḷi (location specified) to the guru Vajranandi Siddhāntadeva on the date specified, for the repairs of the basti and the free gifts of food to the ascetics.¹

After a series of political events of exceptional importance, the history of the Hoysalas rapidly moved to its close. The first step in this direction was the division of the Hoysala Empire in A.D. 1245 on the death of king Someśvara, the grandson of king Ballāḷa II. The ancestral part of the ancient Karnāṭaka Empire with its capital at Dora-samudra fell to the share of king Narasimha III, the son of king Someśvara by his queen Bijjala Rāṇi; while the Tamil districts in the south together with the Kolār province were given to king Rāmanātha, another son of king Someśvara by his queen Devala Devī.² Both these rulers—Narasimha III and Rāmanātha—were devout Jainas.

¹. M. A. R. for 1926, pp. 50-51. Dr. Shāma Sastry writes that all vestiges of Jaina worship have disappeared on the hill where only Sīva worship is conducted now.
². Rice, My, & Coorg, p. 106.
About king Narasimha III’s piety as a Jaina we have evidence in the Pārśvanātha basti stone record found at Basti-haḷḷi near Hālebid. This epigraph dated A.D. 1254 informs us that king Narasimha III having paid a visit to the Vijaya Pārśva basadi at Dorasamudra built by General Boppa, made an offering to the god, saw the former sāsana of the basadi and read the genealogy of his line. The king repaired an enclosure to the land presented to the god in the sāsana by (his?) brother-in-law Padmi Deva, and made it over to the god of the basadi. This temple which king Narasimha now visited was the same temple which king Viṣṇu had visited in A.D. 1133, and about which some interesting details will be mentioned in the next chapter. One year later on February the 25th A.D. 1255, when the king was just fifteen years old, on the occasion of his upanayanam ceremony, certain specified grants were made by him for the same temple, to provide offerings to the god Vijaya Pārśva.

The spiritual adviser of this king was Māghanandī Siddhānta of the Balātkāra gana. This is gathered from the Beḷnegūḍḍa stone inscription at Hālebid dated A.D. 1265, and the Nagara Jinālaya inscription at Śravana Belgaḷa dated A.D. 1282. Of these the former is important because of the many details it contains about the Jaina gurus of the Balātkāra gana attached to the Mūla sangha. It enumerates the names of many gurus like Vardhamāna and others who were the spiritual leaders of the Hoysala kings, and informs us that Māghanandī was the disciple of Kumudenduyogi. Māghanandī was the author of the four modern sāras (abhinava-sāra-catustaya), namely, Siddhāntasāra, Śrāvakācārasāra, Padārthasāra, and

1. E. C. V, Bl. 125, p. 84.
2. Ibid., Bl. 126, p. 84.
Śāstrasārasamuccaya. Māghanandi was the guru of Kumudacandra Paṇḍita, who was also master of the four kinds of learning and a great debator.

To Māghanandi king Narasimha on the specified date granted Kallangere (location given) together with fourteen hamlets (named) attached to it, for maintaining the Jaina temple called Trikūṭa-ratnatraya-Śāntinātha-Jinālaya. This grant was made by the king in Kali-Hoysala-Jinālaya, and the temple which was endowed by him was also called Trikūṭa-ratnatraya-Nṛsimha-Jinālaya, obviously as mark of esteem and loyalty to the king. It may also be observed here that this charity was established with the help of the Mahāpradhāna (with other titles) Someya Daṇḍanāyaka; and the Jaina citizens of Dorasamudra granted specified money contributions and land for the consecration of the image of Śāntinātha.¹

The Nagara Jinālaya stone inscription of A.D. 1282 is more explicit in regard to the official status of Māghanandi. He is styled in this record Mahāmaṇḍalācārya, best of Ācāryas, royal guru to the Hoysala king, and the emperor of philosophers.² Since king Narasimha's reign lasted from A.D. 1254 till A.D. 1291,³ the reference here can be only to that ruler.

King Narasimha's great rival was his own brother king Rāmanātha, who ruled from A.D. 1254 till A.D. 1297,⁴ from his capital Kaṇḍanur (Vikramapura).⁵ Two undated inscriptions of king Rāmanātha found in the great Jaina

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4. Ibid.
centre Kōgali, prove that he was a pious Jaina. These two
records refer to the gifts of gold which he made for the god
Cenna Pārśva at Kōgali.¹

While we have ample proof to show that Jainism still
predominated in Karnāṭaka in the reign of the next and the
last great Hoysala ruler Vīra Ballāla III, we are unable
to determine how far he himself came under the influence
of that religion. We shall see that there were profound
causes for this apparent indifference to the syād vāda
doctrine on the part of this remarkable ruler.

¹. 33 and 34 of 1904; Rangacharya, Top. List., I, pp. 192-193.
CHAPTER III.

PRINCELY PATRONAGE


The royal precedent of fostering Jainism having been thus set from early ages, there was nothing surprising in the nobles of Karnāṭaka having taken to a similar liberal attitude towards it in their own provincial governments. From the eighth century A.D. onwards till the end of the thirteenth century, every attempt was made by the feudatories of the Karnāṭaka monarchs to add to the strength of the Jina dharma. This had a most salutary effect on the people, and, as we shall presently see, it was partly responsible for the wide support which Jainism received from all quarters.

The earliest example of feudatories who were devout Bhavyas is that of a branch of the ancient Ganga family itself. The Narasimharājapura plates of the Ganga king Śrīpuruṣa already referred to in an earlier context, relate that chief among that king's friends (anukulavarti) was Nāga-
vārma who belonged to the Pasiṇḍi Ganga family. Nāgavārma, who was also known as Ganga Rāja, together with his sister’s brother named Tuḷu-aḍī, who was called “a sun to the Kadmabha family”, granted the village of Mallavaḷḷī situated in the Tagare country to the Jina caityācāya in the village of Tolḷa located in the same country. It is interesting to observe that a pious and virtuous (Brahman) of the Kausika-vanśa by name Manali Mane-ōdyeon made a grant of land (for the same purpose) and that the seventy-six pra-dhānar (nobles, lit. ministers) were witnesses to the grant.¹

To the feudatories of the Gangas, no less than to the Gangas themselves, the Jaina gurus acted as political instructors. One such example of a guru is that of Vimalacandra Ācārya, the disciple of Kirtinandi Ācārya, of the original Mūla sangha, Eregettur gaṇa and the Pulikal gačcha.² A copper plate grant dated A.D. 776 affirms that “By the religious instruction of this great ṛṣi (having become) the confounder of the Bāṇa-kula” was Duṇḍu, the Nirgunda Yuvarāja. The principality of Nirgunda may have been somewhere in the south-west of the Chitaldroog district.³

Among the Rāṣṭrakūṭa nobles was Cāki Rāja, who was the disciple of the Jain sage Arakirti whose guru was Vijayakīrti of the Yāpanīya-Nandi sangha and the Punnāgaṃvīkasamāla gaṇa. This nobleman, who is styled in the Kaṭabha plates dated A.D. 812 which give us this information, an adhirāja of the entire (aśeṣa) Gangamaṇḍala, applied to his lord king Govinda III, Prabhūtavarṣa, to bestow the village named Jālamangala (situation given) on the Jaina guru mentioned above for the Jinendra temple at Silāgrāma on the western

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2. E. C. IV, Ng. 85, p. 135.
3. Ibid., Intr. p. 9.
side of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital Mānyapura (mod. Maṇḍe in the Nelamangala tāluka).  

The devotion of another Rāṣṭrakūṭa noble brings to light a Jaina author of considerable celebrity. This is Lokāditya, the son of Bankeyarasa, of the Cellekētana (or Cellapatāka) family. He was the governor of Bankāpura in Vanavāsa, under king Kṛṣṇa II, Akālavarṣa, and was a Jaina himself. Under his patronage Lokasena composed the *Mahāpurāṇa-saṅgraha* in Śaka 820 in the reign of the king Akālavarṣa who ruled from a.d. 884 till a.d. 913. This is mentioned by Lokasena himself in the above Jaina work. We know that Lokāditya was placed over the same provincial capital in the same year from another Jaina author Guṇabhadra’s *praśasti* to the latter’s *Uttarapurāṇa*. From this work we learn that Lokasena was the chief disciple of Guṇabhadra, and that Lokāditya caused the increase of the religion of Jinendra.

These examples of genuine Jaina devotion pale into insignificance before the determined efforts of one great family whose pious exertions ranging over two centuries and more were greatly responsible for the firm stand Jainism made in southern India. The history of these powerful princes called the Sāntaras has yet to be written. They belonged to the Ugra-*vamśa*, and appear for the first time in the seventh century a.d. in the reign of the Western Cālukya king Vinayāditya. The founder of this line in the south was Jinadatta

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Rāya (ninth century A.D.) whose story is intimately connected with the alchemic powers of the (Buddhist and later on Jaina?) goddess Padmāvatī of Paṭṭī Pombuccapura (mod. Humcça in the Nagar tāluka).2 The Śāntaras ruled over the Śāntalige 1,000 which corresponded roughly with the modern Tīrthahāḷḷī tāluka and its neighbourhood. They were Jainas during the early part of their political career.2 Of the founder of the southern line of the Śāntaras, Jinadatta Rāya, it is said in a record assigned to A.D. 950, that he granted Kumbhasikepura for the anointing of Jina. The stone inscription speaks of the Jina temple at that place and at Poḷalu for which the merchants (Śeṭṭis) (named) made an endowment.3

Some time after came Tolāpuruṣa Vikrama Śāntara, who in A.D. 897 had a basadi made for Moni (Mauni?) Siddhānta Bhātīraka of the Koṇḍakundānvaya and endowed it with certain lands.4 He was the same Vikramāditya Śāntara who constructed the Guḍḍada basti at Humcça and had it dedicated to Bāhubali in the next year A.D. 898.5 Bhujabala Śāntara, who after his overlord the Western Cālukya monarch Trailokyamalla Deva, had the second name of Trailokyamalla, so we gather from a stone inscription dated A.D. 1066, constructed a Jinālaya called Bhujabala Śāntara Jinālaya in his capital at Pombucca, and granted the village of

Haravari to his guru Kanakanandideva. His brother Nanni Śāntara is said in A.D. 1077 to be "a worshipper of the feet of Jina." We shall mention the charitable endowments which this prince made along with his wife and relatives, in a later context.

In the meanwhile we may continue with the examples of other Śāntara princes and their ministers who were followers of the Jina dharma. In A.D. 1081 Nagularasa, the minister of Vira Śāntara, is described as "a fortress to the Jina dharma." Tribuvanamalla Śāntara, as is related in a record of A.D. 1103, laid the foundation stone of a basadi pronouncing the name of Vādigharaṭṭa Ajitasena Paṇḍita, as a memorial for the death of Birabbarasi. This new basadi was built opposite to the Paṇcabrasadi in Ānandur in the capital Pombucca itself. It will be referred to again while dealing with the activities of Karnāṭaka women. Bhujabala Ganga Permmādi Barmma Deva in A.D. 1115 is said to have been the lay disciple of Municandra. And his son Nanniya Ganga in A.D. 1122 is styled as the lay disciple of Prabhācandra Siddhānta.

This latter stone inscription found near the Siddheśvara temple on Kallūrguḍḍa in Shimoga, contains many interesting details about Bhujabala Ganga Barmma Deva's pious works as a Jain. He had a basadi renovated in Eṣedore Seventy

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1. E. C., VIII, Nr. 35, p. 137.
2. Ibid., Nr. 59, p. 154.
5. Ibid., VII, Sh. 60, p. 23. See also Sh. 64, dated circa A.D. 1112, p. 25.
6. Ibid., Sh. 4, p. 8. There is some confusion here. In some records (Sh. 60) Municandra Siddhānta is identified with Prabhācandra, while in others, he is not.
of the Māndali 1,000, giving it the name Paṭṭadai basadi (the Crown basadi) and endowing it with certain villages. About this same basadi the inscription says that it was one which Daḍiga and Mādhava (the latter being, as we have already seen, the founder of the ancient Ganga line in the south and the lay disciple of Simhanandi Ācārya) had formerly established on the hill of Mandali, and for which the kings of the Ganga line had continued to provide the offerings, and which they had afterwards caused to be built of wood. Under Bhujabala Ganga Barmma Deva it became "the chief of all basadis hitherto existing or in future to be established in the Eṇḍore Seventy." In A.D. 1122 his son Nanniya Ganga caused the Paṭṭada basadi of Mandali, which his grand-father had erected, to be constructed of stone, and endowed it with lands and customs duties. In all Nanniya Ganga constructed twenty-five caityālayas for the promotion of the faith.

The same Siddheśvara temple stone inscription is important from other points of view. It gives a resumé of the history of the ancient kings who were patrons of Jainism, and especially of those rulers whose names are not directly mentioned in other records. After describing the origin of the Gangas from the time of Vṛṣabhatīrtha, it relates that the Ganga line continued till the appearance of king Viṣṇugupta. This Ganga ruler was the contemporary (and disciple?) of Nemiśvaratīrtha, and was in his capital at Ahicchatrapura, "when at the time of the nirvāṇa of Nemiśvaratīrtha, he performed the aindrādhvajapūjā" at which he got from Devendra the latter’s elephant Airāvata. It was in the reign of king Viṣṇugupta’s sons Bhagadatta and Śrīdatta, that a division of the Ganga Empire was made. Prince Bhagadatta received the Kalinga country, while Prince Śrīdatta was given the lusty elephant (as an emblem) and the whole
kingdom. In the line of Śrīdatta arose king Priyabandhuvarmā during whose reign Pārśva Bhaṭṭāraka is said to have obtained kevalajñāna. At this Saudharmmendra came and performed kevalapūjā, on which Priyabandhuvarmā himself embraced Jainism.

This uncommon account which is not supported by earlier versions, then continues to narrate the further history of the Ganga line in which Daḍiga and Mādhava, the sons of Padmanābha, were born. Their meeting with Simhanandī, which we have already commented upon, is next narrated; and it is said that they constructed a caityalaya on the beautiful hill of Mandali, on the advice of Simhanandī Ācārya. In their line arose king Avinīta Ganga “in whose heart the supreme Jina foot-print was fixed as a rock of mount Meru.” Then after many kings (named) came Mārasimha’s son Rācamalla, who is called “a moon to the ocean—the Jina dharma”; and long afterwards we have two rulers—Rakkasa Ganga, the disciple of Anantavīrya Siddhāntadeva, and his younger brother Kali Ganga. It was during Kali Ganga’s rule that Bhujabala Ganga Brahma (Barmma) Deva constructed the Paṭṭada basadi on the Mandali hill in stone, as narrated above.¹

What seems clear from the long account given in the above Siddheśvara temple record is that, inspite of its many statements of doubtful authenticity, it nevertheless enables us to affirm that the early Ganga kings, notwithstanding the patronage which they extended to Brahmans, still professed the Jina faith. This conclusion is, as we have already noted, warranted by, for instance, the Narasimharājapara plates of Śivamāra. And as for Nanniya Ganga, the fact that he was a Jaina is proved by the Ṣcavāḍi stone inscription cited

1. E. C. VII, Sh. 4, pp. 4-9.
elsewhere in this treatise, in which he is said to have constructed a basadi.¹

About fifty years later (in A.D. 1173) Vīra Śāntara is called “a bee at the lotus feet of Jina.”² But the Śāntaras had by this time so got involved in the political complications of southern India that they gave up their earlier faith and took to a newer creed—Vīra Śaivism. What a profound effect this had on the life of Jainism will be seen in a later connection. We shall merely narrate here that in the thirteenth century A.D. the capital of the Śāntaras was moved first to Kalaśa in the Mūḍgere tāluka and, then, to Kārkaḷa in Tuḷuva. We have elsewhere traced the introduction of Jainism into Tuḷuva.³ Notwithstanding their strong Śaiva tendencies, the rulers of Kārkaḷa still continued to show marked favour to Jainism in the later ages.⁴

Before we deal with the endeavours of two important feudatory families to further the cause of Jainism, mention may be made here of the work of Govadeva, the feudatory lord of Huliyerapura. His wife was the generous Śantale who gave equal patronage to all the four samayas—the Jinaśrī-dharma, the Maheśvarāgama, the Sad-Vaiṣṇavāśrīta, and the Bauddhāgama. And his guru was Candrayāṇadeva of the Deśiya gaṇa. Govadeva seems to have had also another wife named Mahādevī Nāyakiti. When Mahādevī died in A.D. 1160 he caused the Cenna Pārśva basadi to be erected at Heggere, for which his son Biṭṭideva gave specified lands and dues for its worship and gifts of food. Biṭṭideva’s guru, it may be noted, was Māṇikanandi Siddhāntadeva. Prominent citi-

zens (named) made grants of specified land also for the same basadi.¹

We may now pass on to the contribution of two powerful families which were instrumental in the propagation of the Jina faith in the south. These were the Kongāḷyas and the Cangāḷyas. Of these the former were more influential than the latter. The Kongāḷyas ruled over the Kongalnāḍ 8,000 Province which comprised the Yēḷusāvira country in the north of Coorg and the Arkalgūḍ tāluka in the south of the Hassan district of Mysore. Although its early history can be traced to the time of the Ganga prince Ereyappa in about A.D. 880,² yet Kongalnāḍ as a political unit came into prominence only in the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D., when in A.D. 1004 the great Tamil general named Paṅcava Mahārāya received from his royal master Rāja Rāja as a reward for his services Mālavvi (mod. Mālambi in Coorg) along with the title of Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇī-Kongāḷva.³

For one century the Kongāḷyas and their officials fostered the Jina dharma in their principality. In about A.D. 1050 we merely come across evidence of the devotion of a nobleman under Kongāḷva, by name Ayya of Kiviri, the lord of Maduvanganāḍ, who keeping the vow (of sallekhanā, evidently) for twelve days in the Cangāḷva basadi, expired. The same inscription speaks of Bīliya Šettī, who may have been the head of the merchant guild, as dying at the feet of all the yatis.⁴

That the Kongāḷyas themselves were Jainas there can be no doubt. In A.D. 1058 Rājendra Kongāḷva granted for the basadi (probably the Pārśvanāṭha basadi at Mulḷūru, Nīḍutada höblī, Coorg) made by his father, lands in many speci-

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1. E. C., XII, Ck. 21, pp. 77-78.
3. Ibid.
fied villages. Rājendra Kongāḷva’s mother Pōcabbarasi showed her devotion on this occasion in a fitting manner, as we shall relate when describing the part played by women in the history of Jainism.

Pōcabbarasi’s guru was Guṇasena Paṇḍita, the disciple of Puṣpasena of the Nandi sangha and the Irunguḷāṇvaya which latter is called in the record the great Aruṅgajāmnāya. He was a great grammarian, and he died in A.D. 1064.¹

As to the guru of Rājendra Kongāḷva Adaṭārāditya himself, we know that he was Gaṇḍavimukta Siddhāntadeva of the Mūla sangha, Krāṇūr gana and Tagarigal gaccha. For his sake, as is related in a record dated A.D. 1079, the Kongāḷva ruler made a basadi named Adaṭārāditya caityālaya and endowed it with lands. This inscription also gives the name of another guru called Prabhācandra Siddhānta who is called Udbhaya-siddhānta-ratnākara. It cannot be made out whether he was the same as Gaṇḍavimukta Siddhāntadeva whose identity itself is uncertain.²

The Kongāḷvas did not disappear on the expulsion of the Coḷas by the Hoysalas in the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D., as Rice opined,³ but continued to exercise their sway till the last quarter of the same century, as pointed out by Narasimhacarya.⁴ In about A.D. 1100 the Kongāḷva chief Duddammallarasa granted the village of Aybavallī to Prabhācandradeva for the erection and repairs of a basadi.⁵ About fifteen years later Vīra Kongāḷva Deva is mentioned as a lay disciple of Prabhācandra Siddhāntadeva, the disciple of Meghacandra Traividya of the Deśiya gana and the

1. E. C. IX, Cg. 34, p. 173.
2. Ibid. V, Ak. 99, p. 263.
5. Ibid., p. 33.
Pustaka gaccha. The Kongālva chief caused the Satyavākiya Jinālaya to be built, and gave a specified village on its behalf to Prabhācandra Siddhānta.1

Like the Kongālvas the Cangālvas too showed marked favour to Jainism. These were lords, firstly, of the Canga-nāḍ (mod. Huṇsūr tāluka in the Mysore State) and, then, of the western part of the Mysore district and a part of Coorg. They were devoted Śaivas,2 but there is evidence to show that in the last quarter of the eleventh century and the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D., the Cangālvas gave material support to the Jina dharma. In A.D. 1091 the Cangālva chief Mariyapērggaḍe Pilduvayya gave specified lands to Pilduvi Isvaradeva for feeding the poor (āhāradāni bahe māḍalāgi). Since the word āhāradāni is a Jaina technical term referring to the Jaina formula of gifts as expressed in their phrase āhārābhaya bhaisajya-śāstradāna, it has been rightly inferred that the Cangālva chief mentioned here was a Jaina by persuasion.3

This conclusion concerning the Cangālvas is borne out by a record dated about A.D. 1100 which contains interesting details pertaining to the great Jaina centre Hanasoge (Pana-soge) in the Yeḍatore tāluka of the Mysore State. The epigraph under discussion relates that there were sixty-four basadis in that city attached to the Deśiya gaṇa, Hottage gaccha, Pustakānvaya, and Mūla sangha. These had been set up by Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, the elder brother of Laksmana and the husband of Sītā, and born in the Ikṣvāku kula. And to the basadi of the Bandatirtha which had been constructed by Rāma, the Gangas had given gifts. And

2. Rice, My. & Coorg, p. 142.
to the same basadi Rājendra Coḷa Nanni Cangāḷva made gifts anew. The guru mentioned in the record is Jayakirtimuni, who was well known for his fasts and the candrāyāṇa rites. In this inscription it is said that for the four basadis of the Hottage gaccha in Panasoge and for those in Taḷa-Kāverī, that congregation (of the Hottage gaccha) alone was the head.¹ And as regards the same Cangāḷva ruler, he is said to have constructed basadis belonging to the Deśiya gana and the Pustaka gaccha in about A.D. 1025 and A.D. 1060.²

A solitary instance of a ruler who turned a recluse is mentioned in a record dated A.D. 1115. He is called Nūtana Candila of the celebrated Golla country. The inscription relates that “for some reason” he became a munipā under the name of Gollācārya.³ Nothing can be determined about his identity for the present.

Examples of noble families which gave unstinted help to Jainism may be continued. The Silahāras of Karhāḍ were patrons of that religion. One of the centres of Jainism within their jurisdiction was Ekkasambuge (mod. Eksambi in the Chikkōḍi tāluka of the Belgaum district). Here was the Nemīśvara basti two stone inscriptions of which dated A.D. 1165 refer to the reign of Vijayāditya and to the erection of that basadi in that year by the general Kāḷana. The larger of these records is interesting in the sense that it gives the name of another Jaina congregation in Eksambi—the Punnāgavṛksamūla gana of the Yāpanīya sangha, and mentions also a Raṭṭa chief called Kārtavīrya, who was a patron of Jainism.

¹ E. C. IV, Yd. 26, 28, p. 56.
² Ibid., Yd. 21, 23, p. 55.
³ Ibid., II, 127, p. 52.
The reason why the Nemiśvara basadi in Ekkasambuge in the Kūndi province was constructed is explained in the epigraph. General Kālana (descent stated) was leading a happy life with his wife, children, and friends. One day it occurred to him that the only thing that conduced to one's welfare here and hereafter was dharma, and he, therefore, built the Nemiśvara basadi, and endowing it (with lands), made it over to the Mahāmaṇḍalācārya Vijayakīrti of the Punnāgavṛksamūla gana, and disciple of Kālana's own guru Kumārakīrti Traśvidya. The donee is described as one who was proficient in all sacred lore, including the Jaina doctrine characterized by the seven modes of argument, existence, non-existence, etc., and adorned with the five mahā-kalyānas, eight mahā-pratihāryas, and the thirty-four atiśayas. The basadi attained celebrity for the regular conduct of service, incessant gifts of food, and shelter given to ascetics and pious men.

Hearing its fame, king Kārtavīrya of the Raṭṭa family of Saundatti, visited it. The epigraph relates that the basadi was adorned with a lofty gopura, elegant female figures and other sculptures, and finials set with jewels. On the specified date (A.D. 1165) this Raṭṭa king made a grant of land and dues to Vijayakīrti to provide for worship, music, food for ascetics, and temple repairs. The protectors of this charity will figure in a later context.1 The fact that a Raṭṭa king granted lands to a basadi constructed by a Śilahāra general and situated in the Śilahāra country is, indeed, worthy of notice.

Nobles in Nāgarakhaṇḍa were also responsible for the flourishing condition of Jainism in Karnāṭaka. Of these mention may be made of the Nāḍ-prabhu of Tevarateppa,

Loka Gāvūṇḍa, whose royal master was Soyī Deva of the Kādamba kula. Loka Gāvūṇḍa erected a Jinendra temple in A.D. 1171 and provided it with a tank, a well, a watershed for the temple as well as a satra. The name of the image set up was Ratnatraya. For the eight manner of ceremonies of this god Loka Gāvūṇḍa gave specified lands to the guru Bhānukīrti Siddhaṅtadeva, the disciple of Municandradeva of the Mūla sangha, Krāṇūr gaṇa and the Tintriṇī gaccha.¹

The prominence to which Nāgarakhaṇḍa reached as a Jaina centre will be described in connection with the activities of the nobles of Kārnāṭaka in a later context.

Towards the last quarter of the thirteenth century (A.D. 1271) we have Kūci Rāja, a nobleman under the Yādava king Mahādeva Rāya. Kūci Rāja was the disciple of Padmasena Bhaṭṭāraka. He was placed over Betūr in the middle of the Pāṇḍyadeśa. Here he erected a Lakṣmī jinālaya on the advice of his guru, and assigned to it lands, a shop, and gardens. This temple was attached to the Pogale gaccha of the Sena gaṇa which belonged to the Mūla sangha.²

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¹ E. C. VIII, Sb. 345, pp. 60-61.
² Ibid., XI, Dg. 13, p. 28. On Kūci Rāja’s royal master, see ibid., Dg. 8, 97, pp. 26, 60. Dg. 13 speaks of Jinabhaṭṭāraka as the Rāja guru.
CHAPTER IV.
JAINA MEN OF ACTION

Cāmunḍa Rāya: his lineage, military achievements, literary works, benevolence as a Jaina-Sāntinātha, a poet-general—Ganga Rāja: lineage, military victories, work as a Jaina—Boppa—Puṇisa: lineage, conquests, policy, work as a Jaina—Baladevaṇa—The brothers Mariyāne and Bharata—Eca—Viṣṇu Biṭṭimayya, the boy-general—Deva Rāja—Huḷḷa—Sāntiyaṇa—Ministers Sivarāja and Somaya—General Recimayya—The brothers Bharata and Bāhubali—Minister Kammaṭa Mācayya—General Amṛta.

RELGIOUS principles unrelated to political power leave impermanent effects on society. Dogmas of moral existence, if they should have spiritual values, must be interpreted in terms of action. The Jaina sages throughout the period under review recognized this, and produced not merely devout Bhavyas who could perform the orthodox duties and gain for themselves salvation by the rite of sal-lekhana, but mighty leaders of armies as well who, while being sincere Jainas themselves, liberated their country from its enemies. The greatest claim of Jainism at the hands of posterity is that it gave to India men who turned it into a philosophy of action, and clearly showed the importance of the fact that ahimsā, which was the keynote of their great faith, instead of being an obstacle in the path of their
country's liberation, was really an adjunct without which no freedom could be effected either in the field of religion or in that of politics. To the history of these celebrated Jain generals we now turn in order to learn how this great religion proved to be a solvent of some of the most pressing problems which faced the statesmen of the times.

The first great name in the constellation of brilliant Jain generals we meet with is that of Cāmunḍa Rāya, popularly known as Rāya. A braver soldier, a more devout Jaina, and a more honest man than Cāmunḍa Rāya Karnāṭaka had never seen. Stone inscriptions of his own time and a work of his in Kannāḍa are the sources of information for the life of this exceptionally remarkable general. Details about his lineage are gathered from his work called Cāmunḍarāyapurāṇa and from stone inscriptions of his ruler and himself. The work called Cāmunḍarāyapurāṇa deals with the history of the twenty-four Tirthankaras, and it was composed in A.D. 978. In this work Cāmunḍa Rāya says that he belonged to the Brahma-Kṣatra race, and that he was known as Brahma-Kṣatra-sikhāmanī. His royal patron was Jagadeka-vīra, Dharmāvatāra, Rācamalla (IV). But he seems to have served under the Ganga king Mārasimha as well.

The age in which king Mārasimha and his son and successor Rācamalla IV lived was very precarious for the Gangas. Under the former the two formidable dangers to the Ganga kingdom were the Western Cālukyas and the Noḷambas, while there were other enemies who were equally troublesome. The Western Cālukya opposition was led by prince Rājāditya, and the Noḷamba menace by Nanni Noḷamba, Noḷamba Rāja. The other enemies were the Pallavas

2. Rice, My. & Coorg., p. 57.
and a number of rulers whose identity it is not possible to determine at the present stage of our investigations. The credit of annihilating the Western Cālukya danger under Rājaditya is to be attributed to Cāmuṇḍa Rāya. In the fortress of Ucchangi, Rājaditya had shut himself up. This stronghold had become "renowned as the fortress which had previously proved impregnable even to Kāduveṭṭi who quitted it after having surrounded and besieged it for a long time inspiring terror by his eminent prowess." The stone inscription which gives us these and other details, dated A.D. 974, was found on the Kūge Brahmadeva pillar on the Cikkabeṭṭa at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. It relates that the storming of this famous fortress (by Cāmuṇḍa Rāya) astonished the world.¹ This is confirmed by Cāmuṇḍa Rāya himself who in his work mentioned above tells us that for his brave fight against Rājaditya in the fortress of Ucchangi, he received the title of Raṇarangasinga,² which biruda had evidently been borne by the vanquished Rājaditya. For in the Tyāgada Brahmadeva pillar inscription dated about A.D. 983, we have not only that fact alluded to but also the confidence with which Cāmuṇḍa Rāya encountered the enemy. It says thus—"Let the saline ocean be the moat, Trikūṭa the enclosure, Lankā the city, and the enemy of the gods (Rāvaṇa) the opposing king, yet, O king, Jagadekavīra, I am able to conquer him by your majestic lustre—the dignified speech thus made by him was proved true in a moment in the war with Raṇasinga."³ The title Jagadekavīra suggests that the victory was won in the reign of Rācamalla IV.

2. E. C. ibid., p. 45; Kavivarite, I., p. 47.
The Nolambas seem to have been dealt with earlier. On the plain of Gönür their army was crushed. For the valour which Cāmunḍa Rāya displayed in this war, he was given the title Viramārtāṇḍa, while his overlord king Mārasimha took to himself the biruda of Nolambakulāntaka. The former fact we learn from the Cāmunḍarāyapurāṇa, and the latter, from the Kūge Brahmadeva pillar inscription. How his royal master praised him in this war with the Nolamba Rāja is described in the Tyāgada Brahmadeva pillar inscription. These facts prove the statement we have made that Cāmunḍa Rāya had served also under king Mārasimha.

The other enemies in the reign of king Mārasimha and of his son Rācamalla IV were likewise formidable, but they too suffered the same fate at the hands of the indomitable Jaina general. For instance, there was a ruler named Vajvaladeva or Vajjala, who, as the above Kūge Brahmadeva pillar relates, was “famous in the world,” and “ready for war, having been encouraged” by some one whose name is effaced in the record. The Tyāgada Brahmadeva pillar inscription gives us the cause of the war with Vajvaladeva, and the latter’s identity. This inscription says that Cāmunḍa Rāya’s lord Jagadekavīra (i.e., Rācamalla) by order of king Indra raised his arm to conquer Vajvaladeva, the younger brother of Pāṭalāmalla, “who had an army as terrible as the ocean agitated at the end of the world.” King Indra referred to here was no other than the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Indra IV. The situation seems to have been the following:—

The Gangas had entered into a matrimonial alliance with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas for two generations since king Bhūtuga's

1. E. C., II, Intr., p. 45; p. 12; Kavīcarite, I, p. 47.
4. Ibid., 281, p. 126.
time. This ruler's son Ereyappa had married the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa III's daughter Rēvakka and secured important principalities as his dowry. On the death of king Amoghavarṣa III, the same Ganga king Bhūtuga assisted king Kṛṣṇa III, the son of king Amoghavarṣa, to secure the Rāṣṭrakūṭa throne against an usurper named Lallīya. And king Bhūtuga himself was assisted by king Kṛṣṇa III to win his throne against his rival Ganga Permīḍi. This dynastic alliance, therefore, had proved to be of mutual advantage.

On king Bhūtuga's death, he was succeeded by king Mārasimha who, in order to continue the policy of helping the Rāṣṭrakūṭas adopted by his father, assisted king Kannara (Kṛṣṇa) III in the latter's sweeping conquests of the Tamil country. And when that Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch died, and confusion cropped up in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire, king Mārasimha promoted the coronation ceremony of the last prominent Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra IV, the son of king Kṛṣṇa III, and thereby struggled against odds to give a longer lease of life to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power. But this was an insurmountable task, since the powerful enemies of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Gangas,—the Western Cālukyas,—shattered the hopes of the two in A.D. 973; and king Indra IV, as elsewhere related in this treatise, died in A.D. 982 by the Jaina rite of sallekhanā at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa.

1. See Rice, My. & Coorg., p. 44. seq., for earlier examples of the same.
2. Rice calls him the II, of that name on p. 45, ibid., but corrects his error on p. 67.
4. Ibid., p. 249; V, p. 188. See also E. C., III. Md. 41;
Therefore, the statement in the Tyāgada Brahmadeva pillar inscription that by order of Indra Rāja, (the Ganga ruler Rācamalla) Jagadekavīra raised his arm to conquer Vajvaladeva, obviously refers to another Rāṣṭrakūṭa-Ganga alliance after A.D. 974 which is the last year of king Mārasimha, and probably the first regnal year of king Rācamalla IV.\(^1\) It clearly shows that the Ganga power continued to be under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa hegemony in the last decade of the tenth century A.D.

Now Vajvaladeva's eldest brother is said to be Pāṭālamalla. The name Pāṭālamalla is rather uncommon but it is similar to one of the titles assumed by the Sindas—Pāṭālacakravartin.\(^2\) It is not improbable that Pāṭālamalla was a Sinda chieftain. The following considerations will make this suggestion clear. The Sindas who ruled over the Sindavāḍi province comprising the modern districts of Shimoga, Chitaldroog, Bellary, Dharwar, and Bijapur,\(^3\) were under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III in A.D. 968.\(^4\) But in A.D. 992 they had come under the Western Cālukya king Āhavamalla.\(^5\) The Sindas continued to be under the Western Cālukyas till A.D. 1189 but for the short period of the Kaḷacuriya rule in A.D. 1180.\(^6\) We have to assume that, since the Western Cālukyas were the enemies of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas whose power they had annihilated, as related above, they must have won over the Sindas to their side against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. This accounts for the Sinda attack on the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and the signal success Cāmuṇḍa Rāya, under the Ganga king Jagadekavīra Rāca-

1. Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 50
3. *Ibid*.
malla, won over them. It must be confessed that these assumptions rest on the supposed identity of Pātālamalla with Pātālacakravartin which has yet to be substantiated by historical data.

Notwithstanding this one may observe that in the Khēḍaga battle, as the Cāmundaśarāyapurāṇa informs us, the army of Vajvaladeva met that of the Gangas under Cāmunda Rāya. And the Tyāgada Brahmadeva pillar inscription relates that “the hostile army routed by the elephant (Cāmunda Rāya), fled like a herd of deer before Jagadekavira’s victorious elephant.”¹ For inflicting a crushing defeat on Vajvaladeva, the Rāya obtained the title Samaradhurandhara from king Rācamalla.²

Cāmunda Rāya’s literary work referred to above enables us to assert that he killed in action a chief named Tribhuvanavīra in the fort of Bāgeyūr, enabled Govindara to enter it, and secured for himself the biruda Vairikulakāladaṇḍa. Further he inflicted defeats on the warriors Rāja, Bāsa, Sivara, Kūnāka, and others in the fort of king Kāma (a Kādamba?), and won the title Bhujavikrama. And Madurācaya, also known as Caladanka Ganga and Gangarabhaṭa, who had killed Cāmunda Rāya’s younger brother Nāgavarmā, suffered death at the hands of the Jaina general. We may incidentally note here another reason why Cāmunda Rāya led the Ganga army against Caladanka Ganga. The Tyāgada Brahmadeva pillar inscription gives us the cause of the war against the latter. “He (Cāmunda Rāya) at first frustrated the desire of king Caladanka Ganga wishing to seize by the prowess of his arm the goddess of the Ganga sovereignty,”

². Ibid., Intr. p. 45; Kavivarte, I, p. 47.
and (then) completely killed all the enemies.\(^1\) Hence both in the interests of the State as well as his own, Cāmunḍa Rāya had to punish Caladanka Ganga. And for this victory over Madurācaya, Cāmunḍa Rāya received the title *Samara Parasurāma*.\(^2\) We may add here that in the same Kannāḍa work given above, Cāmunḍa Rāya tells us that because of his victory over a company of wrestlers, he was given the *biruda* of *Pratipakṣarākṣasa*, and for destroying heroes, *Bhaṭamāri*, and for being the crest-jewel of warriors, *Subhaṭacūḍāmaṇi*.

The other side of this celebrated warrior is gleaned from the same Kannāḍa work as well as from inscriptions. The *Cāmunḍarāyapurāṇa* relates that Cāmunḍa Rāya from his never uttering an untruth even in jest, received the title *Satya Yudhiṣṭira*, from his steadfastness to good morals, the title *Gūnavaṇkāva*, from his unwavering self-sacrifice the *biruda* *Samyaktva-ratnākara*, and from his never having coveted the wealth and wives of others, *Saucābharaṇa*. He seems to have possessed also the titles *Gunaratnabhūṣana* and *Kavijanaśekhara*.\(^3\)

General Cāmunḍa was the personification of liberality. It was because of his unparalleled benevolence that his royal master gave him the title of Rāya.\(^4\) His preceptor was the celebrated Ajitasena about whom we have narrated a few details in the previous pages. This is proved by epigraphs and his own work *Cāmunḍarāyapurāṇa*.\(^5\) But he seems to

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3. *Kavcarite*, I, pp. 46-47. He seems to have had also the name *Anṇa* (lit. brother), obviously because of his affection and generosity.
have come under the influence also of Nemicandra Siddhānta Cakravarti. We infer this from Nemicandra’s work called Gommaṭasāra in which Čāmuṇḍa Rāya has been appreciatively mentioned.¹ Cidānanda Kavi, a Kannaḍa author, in his Munivamśābhhyudaya (circa A.D. 1680) confirms the fact that Nemicandra Siddhānta was the preceptor of Čāmuṇḍa Rāya.²

Both the famous Jaina gurus may have been responsible for the uncommon liberality of Čāmuṇḍa Rāya. An inscription dated about A.D. 1159, which will be examined in connection with another Jaina general, gives us the importance of Čāmuṇḍa Rāya as a devout Jaina, thus—if it be asked who at the beginning were firm promoters of the Jina dharma—only Rāya, the excellent minister of king Rācamalla (is the reply).³

His endowments for the cause of Jainism have earned for him an undying name in the history of India. It was he who caused the colossal image of Gommaṭa to be set up at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. Inscriptions of the eleventh century A.D. and of a later date and the evidence of later Jaina writers confirm this assertion. We are indebted to the late Mr. Narasimhacarya for all details concerning the insessional and literary evidence dealing with the setting up of the famous statue of Gommaṭa on the Doḍḍabeṭṭa or larger hill at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. This monolithic statue is about 57 feet high; and the following account of Gommaṭeśvara is given in an inscription found on the left hand side of the dvāra-

¹. Gommaṭasāra, Karma Kāṇḍa Gāthā 966-972; see also E. C. II, Intr., p. 25.
². E. C. ibid., p. 65
³. Ibid., 345, p. 148.
pālakas near the same image, and dated about A.D. 1180:—

The honourable and high-souled Bāhubali was the son of Puru. Having generously handed over the kingdom of the earth to his elder brother, who, on defeat in a regular hand-to-hand fight, unjustly left off speaking, and, when even the discus thrown by him proved a failure, was seized with shame—, went forth and destroyed the enemy karma. The emperor Bharata, conqueror of all kings, son of Purudeva, caused to be made near Paudanapura, with joy of mind, an image 525 bows high, resembling the victorious-armed Bāhumali-Kēvali. After the lapse of time, a world terrifying mass of immeasurable kukkanṭasarpas (fowls with the head and neck of serpents) having sprung up in a region near that Jina, that enemy of sin obtained, indeed, the name Kukkuṭeśvara. Afterwards that region became invisible to the common people, though seen even now by many skilled in charms (mantra-tantra). There might be heard the sound of the celestial drum, why say more, there might even be seen the details of divine worship; those who have seen the brilliant charming mirror of the nails of that Jina’s feet, can see the forms of their former births—the supernatural power of that god is renowned in the world. On hearing from people of the celebrated supernatural power of that Jina, a desire arose in his (i.e., Cāmuṇḍa Raya’s) mind to see him, and when he prepared himself to go, he was told by his preceptors that the region of that city was distant and inaccessible; whereupon saying, ‘In that case I will cause to be made an image of that god,’ Gomaṭa (i.e., Cāmuṇḍa Rāya) had this god made. Combining in himself learning, purity of faith, power, virtuous conduct, liberality, and courage, the moon of the Ganga family, Rācamalla, was celebrated in the world. Was it not that king’s matchless power, Cāmuṇḍa Rāya (alias) Gomaṭa, an equal of Manu,
that thus caused this god to be made with great effort? In the same inscription we have a lengthy account of the great image itself which we abstain from citing.

The above account of the setting up of the image of Gommatesvara as given in one of the inscriptions at Sravana Belgola is repeated with a few additions and variations in several Kannaḍa works like Bhujabalisataka by Doḍdayya of Periyapaṭṭana (circa A.D. 1550), Bhujabalarite by Pañcabana (A.D. 1614), Gommatesvaracarite by Anantakavi (circa A.D. 1780), Rājāvalikathe by Devacandra (A.D. 1838), and in the Sthalapurana of Sravana Belgola.²

The late Mr. Narasimhacarya, who collated the above references to Gommatesvara in Kannaḍa literature, opined that the great statue was built in A.D. 983.³ But Dr. Shama Sastry has shown, on the evidence of a work called Bāhubalicaṛitraśataka, attributed to Nemicandra, that the statue was constructed in A.D. 1028.⁴

Cāmuṇḍa Rāya also constructed a basadi on the Cikka betta or smaller hill at Sravana Belgola.⁵ Here, we may observe, his son Jinadevaṭa, the lay disciple of Ajitasena, also caused to be made a basadi, “amidst the acclamation of all the people.” This is related in a record of about A.D. 995.⁶

It was Cāmuṇḍa Rāya who patronized Ratnakara, or Ranna, the well known Kannaḍa author of Ajitanatha-purana, Sāhasbhimārjuna, and Rannakanda. The first work

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1. E. C. II., 234, p. 98. See also ibid., Intr., p. 12.
3. Ibid., Intr., p. 15.
6. Ibid., 121, p. 50.
was composed in A.D. 993 under the patronage of Cāmūṇḍa Rāya.¹

We may note by the way that Cāmūṇḍa Rāya's younger sister Pullavva died by the orthodox Jaina rite in the Candra-nātha basadi at Vijayamangalam, Coimbatore district. A niśidhi (called here nisidikā) was set up to commemorate the event.²

Great as the material contribution for the cause of Jina dharma by Cāmūṇḍa Rāya certainly was, greater was the name which he left behind for posterity to follow. We shall revert to this point later on when we shall see how a famous line of kings took upon themselves a noble task which Cāmūṇḍa Rāya had first shown to the country.

Continuing the history of Jainism we find that there were other Jaina military leaders who were also to a large extent instrumental in the progress of Jainism in Karnāṭaka. General Śāntinātha was one of them. He was the minister-general to Rāyadanāḍa-Gopāla Lākṣma, the right hand man of the Western Cālukya monarch Someśvara II, and was himself a great poet. In a record dated A.D. 1068 we have many interesting details concerning General Śāntinātha. He was “the chief treasury officer of Banavasenād, and the bearer of the burden of its affairs, and the promoter of that kingdom.” Daṇḍanātha Śāntinātha is called in this record “a royal swan to the lotus the supreme Jina creed.” The reason why he was so styled is given in the next sentence which reads thus—“Many impurities having corrupted the nectar of the Jina

². 597 of 1905; Rangacharya, Top. List., I, p. 545.
mārga, like water and milk, with the bill of good doctrine he separated the water of evil deeds, and made the good creed which issued from the mouth of Jina to be imbibed by the Bhavyas with joy—hence was he called the royal swan to the lotus the supreme Jina creed.”

General Śāntinātha’s guru was Vardhamānavrati of the Mūla sangha, Deśiya gaṇa, and Koṇḍakundānvaya. His father was called Govinda Rāja, his elder brother Kannapārya, and his younger brother Vāgbhūṣaṇa Rāvana.

The inscription before us praises his qualities as a great poet. “A born poet, a skilful poet, an unassisted poet, a good poet, a beautiful poet, a poet banishing falsehood, a fortunate poet, a praised lord of poets,” Śāntinātha had the title of Sarasvatī-mukha-mukura. “Filled with beautiful taste, with imagination, and with truthful description did he compose the Sukumārarcarita.” His fame was unspotted, and his work for the Jina dharma lasting. With modesty he petitioned his immediate over-lord Lākṣma regarding a work of merit, thus—“With lines of temples of Jina, Rudra, Buddha and Hari decorated with gold and jewels, Balinagara is well known as a place of five maṭhas. To describe the glory of the Jina dharma in this royal city, purified by the dwellings of all the gods—among the many countries is Jambudvīpa, the...is the Bharata land; in it is Kuntala country, in which like perpetual spring is Banavasenād, and in the Vanavāsi country is Balipura, frequented by the Bhavyas, and in it the Śāntitīrtheśa temple praised by the gods. It is now built of wood; to build it of stone would be a source of merit to you.” Accordingly the provincial ruler Lākṣma ordered that the Jina temple was to be built of stone; and he as well as his suzerain lord the Western Cālukyan king Someśvara II made suitable endowments of land for the
basadi. It was named Mallikāmoda Śāntinātha basadi, evidently in honour of the Western Cālukyan ruler himself.¹

The twelfth century saw a brilliant company of Jaina generals who were responsible for the political greatness of the times. One of the most famous monarchs of this age was the Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana Bīṭṭiga Deva. While dealing with the patronage which this ruler extended to Jainism in an earlier connection, it was remarked that his extensive conquests were the work of his remarkable generals. Indeed, it was the good fortune of king Viṣṇu that he was surrounded by these custodians of Jina dharma and champions of Karnāṭaka military prestige. There were eight Jaina generals under king Viṣṇuvardhana—Ganga Rāja, Boppa, Puṇisa, Baladeva, Mariyāne, and the latter’s brother Bharata, Eca, and Viṣṇu. The first two inaugurated a series of brilliant campaigns which placed Karnāṭaka once again among the premier powers of southern India.

The age in which these lived may be termed an era of Karnāṭaka expansion. We have shown above that the statement of Rice that king Viṣṇu entered upon an extensive range of conquests after the year A.D. 1116, when he is supposed to have been converted into Vaiṣṇavism under the influence of the great Rāmānujācārya,² is incompatible with the evidence of epigraphs which proves that even so late as A.D. 1133 that that monarch continued to be a devout follower of the Jina dharma. This was but inevitable when it is remembered that all his great generals were staunch Jainas. The preaching of philosophical tenets by one of the greatest of Vaiṣṇava teachers did not come in the way of king Viṣṇuvardhana’s recognition of the fact that political considerations were

undoubtedly of greater consequence to the State than those connected with one's own creed. The reign of his pleasure-loving elder brother king Ballāla I (A.D. 1100—A.D. 1106?) had been placid and uneventful but for the brave stand which that king together with his brothers Viṣṇuvardhana and Udayāditya jointly had made against the attack on their capital Dorasamudra by the Śāntara king Jagadeva, and for a sort of a punitive expedition which king Ballāla I in A.D. 1104 led against the Cangālva chief.\(^1\) More serious problems awaited solution at the hands of king Viṣṇu. These problems concerned the north, west, south, and east of the Hoysala Empire. There were the stubborn Pāṇḍyas of Uchangi in the north, and the Śāntaras in the north-west; while in the west were the ancient Alupas of Tuluvaṇāḍu and the Kādambas under Masāna. The south was disturbed by the activities of the Kongāḷvas and the Cangāḷvas, instigated possibly by the Western Cālukyas but certainly by the Coḷas which latter power, as we have seen, had created the Kongāḷva kingdom in Coorg. The Kongas and their allies the Pāṇḍyas, too, had to be reckoned with in the south. But the greatest danger was that of the Coḷas themselves who had occupied the capital of the ancient Gangas, Talakāḍ, and practically wiped that power from the map of southern India.

The greatness of king Viṣṇuvardhana as a military genius consists in the fact that, while he realized the supreme need of dislodging the Coḷas from the seat of the Gangas, he saw the importance of annihilating the other enemies at the same time. Hence he concentrated measures which were directed against the enemies almost simultaneously, and had the pleasure of seeing all of them end in complete success for the

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Hoysala arms. But the work of destroying the enemies in the south, south-east, east, and west goes entirely to his great Jaina generals whose history must now be described in some detail.

The most famous name among them is that of Ganga Rāja. Stone inscriptions dated A.D. 1118 and A.D. 1119 give us very many details relating to his pedigree, martial deeds, and pious acts as a Jaina. Ganga Rāja was born “in a pure Dvija family of the Kaunḍinya gotra.” His father was called Ēca or Ēciganka or Budhamitra, and his mother, Pōcikabbe. Ēca’s father was known as Māra and mother Mākaṇābbe. Ganga Rāja was the youngest of their children, his eldest brother being Bamma, and the next whose name is not known but who married Jakkaṇābbe. Ganga Rāja’s wife was called Nāgalādevi, or Lākṣmī, and their son was named Boppa alias Ēca. We may observe here that Boppa was also the name of the son of Bamma and of his unknown younger brother. But, as we shall see, the Boppa known to history is the Boppa who was the son of Ganga Rāja.

Ganga Rāja’s parents were devout Jainas. This is proved by the Śravaṇa Belgoḷa stone inscriptions. Ēca was “indeed a worthy person in the world,” and “equal to Manu in pure conduct,” as is related in a stone inscription dated A.D. 1120 and found in the maṇṭapa of the Cāmundaṝya basadi. The same inscription informs us that Kanakanandi of Muḷḷūr in Coorg was the guru of Ēcaganka, while the latter’s royal patron was the king Nṛpa Kāma Hoysala. Of Pōcikabbe we have the following in the same record—She alone was the fortunate possessor on earth of the wealth of pure virtues, so that the people of the whole world raised their hands saying—“The assemblage of excellent virtues has assumed the shape of a woman.” Further, “Pōcikabbe alone in the world could
settle her mind in the belief that her body would be rendered fruitful by the praise of Jina and her wealth by the gratification (of the desires) of the sages." According to the same record she died in A.D. 1120 "by the perfection of the rite of sallekhanā." That is to say, "adopting saññyasana, observing the rule of lying on one side only, uttering the five salutations which were addressed to the five parameśṭis, (viz., the Jinas, the Siddhas, the Ācāryas, the Upādhyāyas, and the Sādhus, collectively known as the pañca-parameśṭis), she went to the world of gods." It was then that her son Ganga Rāja set up a suitable epitaph consecrating it with gifts, worship, anointment, etc.

To such worthy parents was born Ganga Rāja. The same Cāmunḍarāya basadi inscription gives us the full birudas of this remarkable Jaina military leader. They were the following—Obtainer of the band of five great instruments, Mahāsāmāntādhipati, Mahāpracāṇḍa Daṇḍanāyaka, terri- fier of his enemies, purifier of his family, friend of the learned, a moon in raising the volume of the milk ocean the Jina dharma, a mine to the jewel per- fect faith in Jainism, taker of delight in gifts of food, shelter, medicine, and learning, a joy to the hearts of the blessed, a pūrṇa-kumbha (vessel filled with water) for the coronation of the Hoysala Mahārāja, a fountain pillar for supporting the mansion of dharma, a hero who keeps his word, chaser of his enemies, a mill-stone to traitors, possessor of these and many other titles, the Mahāpradhāna, Daṇ- đanāyaka Ganga Rāja.

We have now to see how far these titles were justifiable in the light of the work which he did both as a commander

1. E. C. II, 118, pp. 48-49.
2. Ibid., 118, p. 49.
and a Jaina. In the above record this great general is merely called "a pūrṇa-kumbha for the coronation of the Hoysala Mahārāja Viṣṇuvardhana." But in another stone inscrip-
tion dated A.D. 1115 and found also in the same Cāmuṇḍarāya
basadi, Ganga Rāja is called "raiser up of the kingdom of
Viṣṇuvardhana Poysala Mahārāja."¹ These two statements
are very suggestive. It must be confessed that the initial
year of king Viṣṇuvardhana’s rule is not known. The ear-
liest year of his reign is A.D. 1111.² Since in A.D. 1115 Ganga
Rāja is explicitly stated to have raised aloft the kingdom of
that ruler; and since we know that king Viṣṇuvardhana had
a younger brother named Udayāditya, who is known to have
died in A.D. 1123,³ it is not improbable that there may have
been a contest between Viṣṇuvardhana and Udayāditya on
the death of their elder brother king Ballāla I in about A.D.
1106, or another attack on the Hoysala throne by its many
enemies like the Śāntaras or the Pāṇḍyas. Whatever that
may be, the coronation of king Viṣṇu seems to have taken
place after A.D. 1115; and what is more important, it was
the Jaina general Ganga Rāja who was the chief supporter
of that monarch on that important occasion.

King Viṣṇuvardhana had good reasons to be proud of his
great Jaina general. Stone inscriptions at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa
and in the Narasimha temple at Belūr give us many details
about Ganga Rāja’s achievements, and reveal to us what an
important part he played in the Hoysala administration. For
instance in A.D. 1118 the following is said of him: "As the
thunderbolt to the thunderbolt-bearer Indra, as the plough to
the plough-bearer Balarāma, as the discus to the discus-

¹ E. C. II, 127, p. 55.
² Rice, My. & Coorg, p. 99.
³ Ibid., p. 97
bearer Viṣṇu, as the spear to the spear-bearer Skanda, as the bow Gāṇḍīva to the owner of Gāṇḍīva Arjuna, even so does Ganga Rāja conduct the affairs of king Viṣṇu.” And the engraver of this eulogy Vardhamānācāri, himself “an ornament to the forehead of titled sculptors,” asks the question—“How can he, whose fame was brilliant like the waves of the Ganges, be described by people like us?”\(^1\)

The epigraphs give not merely the above eulogy but Ganga Rāja’s military work as well. We said above that the most pressing political problem of the time was the expulsion of Coḷa from Talakāḍ. King Viṣṇu wisely entrusted this onerous task to the greatest Jaina general of the age—Ganga Rāja. The Coḷa power in Talakaḍ was annihilated in A.D. 1117.\(^2\) This crowning victory of Ganga Rāja was achieved only when he had met with and routed the three pillars of Coḷa strength in the Karnāṭaka territory—the Sāmantas Adiyama in Talakāḍ itself; the Sāmantas Dāma or Dāmodara, who was stationed perhaps to the east of Talakāḍ in the direction of Kānci; and the Sāmantas Narasingavarmā stationed on the Western Ghats. The ruler whom these and other Sāmantas obeyed was king Rājendra Coḷa II (A.D. 1070—A.D. 1117).\(^3\) Ganga Rāja’s success over the Sāmantas of king Rājendra Coḷa in Karnāṭaka is thus described in the stone record found on the left of the dvārapālakas of Gommaṭeśvara at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa and dated about A.D. 1175: “The great minister, Daṇḍanāyaka, a mill-stone to traitors (dṛhraṇgharaṭṭa), Ganga Rāja—when Coḷa’s Sāmantas Adiyama, stationed as if a door in the camp of Talakāḍu, the fron-

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2. Rice placed this event in A.D. 1116, My. & Coorg, pp. 98-99; and I followed him in my Wild Tribes, p. 82. But this date should be given up, as will be explained presently.
3. Rice, ibid., pp. 84, 91-93.
tier of Gāgavādināḍu above the Ghats, refused to surrender the nāḍu which Coḷa had given, saying—'Fight and take it!'—marched (against him) with the desire of victory, and the two armies met..."¹ Talakāḍ fell into the hands of the daring Jaina general. We prove this from another record assigned to A.D. 1135 which says that he "seized Talakāḍu."²

What happened to the chief city of the Gangas after its capture is related in a stone inscription found in the Narasimha temple at Belūr and dated A.D. 1117. This epigraph suggests that the Hoysala monarch took a severe step against the ancient Ganga capital. For it says thus: That king Viṣṇu "First taking into his arms the wealth of the Poysala kingdom which was his inheritance, as his power increased" captured Talakāḍ, and "burnt the chief city of the Gangas." The effect such a stern step had on his enemy king Rājendra Coḷa is described further in the same epigraph. "Behold, in order that Rājendra Coḷa, disgusted at the water of the Kāverī suddenly becoming polluted, should be suddenly driven to the use of the water from the wells in the city, Viṣṇu by the power of his arm threw the corpses of his army into the stream of the river, and caused his valour to shine forth."³ Since we know from other inscriptions that it was the Ganga general who actually stormed Talakāḍ, we have to assume that he burnt the city after defeating the Coḷa Sāmanta Adiyama, at the orders of his monarch.

This assumption is proved by the Alēsandra stone record dated A.D. 1184 which states that "cutting down the hostile kings, he (Viṣṇuvardhana) planted the fence of his valour all around, and burning Talakāḍ (for manure), ploughed it

². Ibid., 384, p. 166.
³. Ibid., V., Bl. 58, p. 57.
with the hoofs of his horses, rained on it with the stream of his might, and sowed it with the good seed of his glory."¹ But there cannot be any doubt about Ganga Rāja's himself having stormed Talakāḍ. The Kambadahaḷḷī stone record assigned to A.D. 1118 asserts that when king Viṣṇuvardhana was ruling the kingdom, his senior Daṇḍanāyaka (priya-daṇḍanāyaka) Ganga Rāja, "when about to take Talakāḍu" (Talakāḍam koḻuvallī) asked for a boon which, as we shall see presently, the monarch granted him at once.²

Now as regards the date of the defeat of the Tamil general Adiyama, the Angaḷī stone inscription recopied by Dr. Krishna, helps us to fix the exact date of the battle of Talakāḍ. It relates that on Friday the 23rd of November, 1117, on an attack having been made at the orders of the Hoysala Biṭṭideva (i.e., Viṣṇuvardhana), by his general Biṭṭideva Hoysala Sāhāṇi (obviously Ganga Rāja), Adiyama fell on the Hoysala elephants and fought. On this occasion a Hoysala warrior named Bāsaya fought valiantly under the orders of the Hoysala general but died in the battle. The stone commemorates the death of this gallant Hoysala soldier.³

But the storming and burning of Talakāḍ did not mean the final collapse of the Coḷa power in Karnāṭaka. There were still two Coḷa Sāmantas who had to be beaten—Dāmodara "of the west," and Narasingavarmā of the Ghatas. The stone inscription found near the Gommaṭeśvarasvāmi image at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa and dated about A.D. 1175, cited above, relates how General Ganga encountered both. "Is not Dāma who, while the destructive point of the sharp sword in your

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1. E. C. IV, Ng., 32, p. 120.
2. Ibid., Ng. 19, p. 116, text. p. 332.
(Ganga Rāja's) hand raised with the desire of victory was lifting up the skin of his back, fell in the direction of Kañci enough? O Ganga, unable to expose his body to the turn of your sword once in battle, that Tīgua (i.e., Tamil) Dāma escaped and took refuge in the forest, and thinking of it again and again now, is frightened like the deer day and night causing palpitation in the hearts of his faithful wives. Having remained till now in Talakādu, astonishing people by his valour which put to flight many in any number of battles, the Sāmanta Dāmodara, turning now his back on the fight through great fear of the blows of Ganga Rāja's sword, lives like a Śaiva saint eating from a skull (or potsherd) from which (even) a dog will not eat."

There remained still one champion of Coḷa imperialism in Karnaṭaka—Narasingavarman. This Coḷa feudatory was at first defeated and then slain. We infer this from the above record as well as from the stone inscription found in the Aregallu basti. The former asserts that "Moreover, he (Ganga Rāja) put to flight Narasingavarman and all the other Sāmantas of Coḷa above the Ghats and brought the whole nāḍu under the dominion of a single umbrella." The other stone inscription dated about A.D. 1135 says that "making the abode of Yama a home for Narasinga, the general Ganga, "took Gangamaṇḍala and made it subject to the orders of king Viṣṇu." The reward which Ganga Rāja received at the hands of his royal master for thus asserting Hoysala supremacy in the east, will be presently mentioned.

The Tamil hegemony over Karnaṭaka, no doubt, once and for ever was ended; but there remained other rulers who were

2. Ibid.,
3. Ibid., 384, p. 166.
the allies or feudatories of the Tamil monarch, and whose existence was a menace to the growing Hoysala power. These were, among others, the rulers of the Kongudesā and Cengiri, and a chieftain whose name is effaced in the record but who seems to have been called Jam. . . . The Grāmadabasti stone inscription dated about A.D. 1135 cited above relates that after seizing Talakāḍ, Ganga Rāja took “possession similarly of Kongu, chasing away Jam..., pulling out Cengiri by the strength of his arm”, and gave Gangavāḍi to his royal master, as related above.¹ The Kongudesā comprised modern Salem, and was ruled over by the ancient Ceras, while Cengiri, as Rice correctly said, was the famous fortress of Señiji or Ginjee.²

But another danger which simultaneously threatened the Hoysala arms from the north also met with prompt action on the part of the Hoysala monarch. Here in the north lay the Empire of the Western Cālukyas, the distinguished ruler of which Vikramāditya VI, Tribhuvanamalla, had successfully maintained the supremacy of his ancestors throughout the length and breadth of the Western Cālukyan dominions. Viṣṇuvardhana himself had acknowledged the supremacy of the Western Cālukyan monarch at the beginning of his reign. But a clash between the Western Cālukyas and the rising power of the Hoysalas was inevitable. And this was brought about perhaps by the Hoysalas themselves, who stormed a stronghold of a powerful feudatory and ally of the Western Cālukyan monarch. The fortress of Ucchangī belonged to the Pāṇḍyas, the rulers of which from A.D. 1106 had become the masters of Noḷambavāḍi under king Vikramāditya VI.

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1. E. C. II, 384, p. 166; E. C. IV, Ng. 76 dated A.D. 1145, p. 31
2. Ibid., V, Intr., p. 13. (n).
version of the Pāṇḍya power in the north was necessary for the Hoysalas, if the latter were to be a great imperial power. This was done by king Viṣṇuvardhana in A.D. 1116 when in the great battle of Dumme, on the borders of the Shimoga and Chitaldroog districts, the Pāṇḍyas were attacked and defeated.¹ The Pāṇḍya ruler who was defeated could only have been Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya who ruled from A.D. 1101 till A.D. 1124.² Since he is described in A.D. 1128 as "the rod in Tribhuvanamalla's right hand,"³ and since the Tribhuvanamalla referred to was no other than Vikramāditya VI, Tribhuvanamalla, (A.D. 1076—A.D. 1126),⁴ we shall not be wrong in believing that he was the Pāṇḍya ruler who was defeated by the Hoysala king. But the credit of inflicting this defeat on the Pāṇḍya ruler of Ucchangi goes to the brave prince of Orissa, Cāma Deva, who was born in Karnāṭaka.⁵

We can only assume that it was to avenge this defeat which his trusted general had suffered at the hands of the Hoysalas that the Western Cālukya monarch himself marched to the south and encamped at Kaṇṇegāl in the Hassan district. But the Hoysala king had transferred his great Jaina general Ganga Rāja from the southern command at once to the northern scene of war. The Śāsana basti stone inscription of Śravaṇa Belgoḷa dated A.D. 1118 gives a spirited account of the battle which ended in a complete rout of the Western Cālukyas. "When the army of the Cālukyan Emperor Tribhuvanamalla Permmāḍi Deva, including twelve Sāmantas, was encamped at Kaṇṇegāl, this Ganga Rāja, saying 'Away with the desire to mount a horse, this will be a night battle for

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¹ E. C. VI, Cm. 99, p. 48.
² Ibid., XI, Intr. pp. 16-17.
³ Ibid., Dg. 90, p. 68; My. & Coorg., p. 76.
⁴ Rice, My. & Coorg., p. 73.
⁵ Ibid., p. 100.
me,' attacked and defeated with ease all the Sāmantas, so that people said that the sword in the arm of Ganga Daṇḍhādhipa caused the men of the army who were entering the camp (savanga) (?) to enter more, carried off the collection of their stores and vehicles and presented them to his own lord, who, being pleased with the prowess of his arm, said, 'I am pleased, ask for a boon!' But unlike ordinary men Ganga Rāja asked for a boon which we shall describe below.¹

The importance of these victories won by General Ganga was incalculable. Inspite of the admirable campaigns of king Viṣṇuvardhana’s predecessors, the Hoysala kingdom in the early years of that king’s reign still formed a part of the Western Cālukyan Empire. As long as the Western Cālukyan supremacy lasted, so long was a Hoysala Empire merely a dream. Further, the firm hold which the Coḷas had over Talakāḍ likewise precluded any idea of a permanent Hoysala government in the south and the south-east. It was only when both these powers had been broken that king Viṣṇuvardhana could think of "bringing all the parts of the compass under his command."² The crushing defeat which the Jaina general Ganga Rāja inflicted on the Coḷa Sāmantas at Talakāḍ and over the Ghats in a.d. 1117, and the signal success which he won in the attack on the Western Cālukyan Emperor himself in the next year, at once relieved the Hoy-salas of the two worst enemies they had viz., the Coḷas and the Western Cālukyas. How spontaneously these victories were reflected in the architecture and literature of the times is another story which is outside our purpose. Suffice it to say that they fully justified the praise given to the great

¹ E. C. II, 73, p. 39. See also. ibid., 125, text., pp. 49-50.
² Ibid., V, Bl. 58, p. 57.
Jaina general as the "raiser up of the kingdom of Viṣṇu-
vardhana Poysala Mahārāja."

His guru was Subhacandra deva, "an ocean of philosophy,"
disciple of Kukkuṭāsana Maladhārideva of the Pustaka gac-
cha and the Deśiya gaṇa. This we know from stone records
dated about A.D. 1117 and A.D. 1118.\(^1\) To his guru, as one of
these records relates, Ganga Rāja gave the village of Pārama
in A.D. 1118, which his son Commander Eci Rāja confirmed
in the same year.\(^2\) In the capital Dorasamudra itself, as the
epigraph on the pedestal of the image in the Pārśvanāthabasti
at Bastīhaljī in Hāxebīd says, Ganga Rāja caused Jina images
to be constructed. It is interesting to observe that in this
record he is styled merely Senior Danḍanāyaka Ganga-
payya.\(^3\)

Ganga Rāja was first a loyal soldier and, then, a devout
Jaina. In other words, he placed politics before religion.
This may be proved by the following epigraphs which give
us the standard of morality which he set before himself, and
which tell us how after doing his duty as a gallant soldier,
he asked his royal master for a reward. In an inscription
commemorating his death, we have the seven standards of
morality which Ganga Rāja had placed before himself. "To
be false in speech, one ; to show fear in battle, two ; to be ad-
dicted to others' wives, three ; to give up refugees, four ; to
leave suppliants unsatisfied, five ; to forsake those to whom he
is bound, six ; to live in treachery to his lord, seven ;—these
are the seven narakas (hells), says Ganga."\(^4\) The great Jaina
general made the opposite of every one of these seven
narakas his principle of life.

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2. Ibid., 73, p. 40.
3. M. A. R. for 1911, p. 44.
4. E. C. V, Bl. 124, pp. 82-83.
When he brought the whole of Gangavāḍi under the supremacy of his royal master, “the grateful king Viṣṇu, being pleased, said—‘I am pleased; ask for a boon.’ Thereupon, though he knew that the king would give (anything that was asked), he did not ask like ordinary people for any other thing, but intent on the worship of Jina, asked for Govinda- vāḍi (i.e., Gangavāḍi) amidst the plaudits of the earth. The nobleminded (Ganga) granted it with joy for the worship of Gommaṭādeva, so that the assembly of sages, expressing approbation again and again, exclaimed, ‘This is excellent!’”

It was after receiving Gangavāḍi as a gift that Ganga Rāja showed what a devout Jaina, who had done his duty to the State, could do for his religion. For, as all records of his own period inform us, Ganga Rāja after securing this unparalleled gift from king Viṣṇuvardhana, renovated all the basadis in Gangavāḍi and restored them to their former condition. He had the enclosure made around Gommaṭādeva at Śravaṇa Belgola.¹ This work alone earned for him the following praise from the engraver Vardhamānācāri A.D. 1118—“Was not Ganga Rāja a hundred-fold more fortunate than that former Rāya (i.e., Cāmuṇḍa Rāya) of the Gangas?”

The next statement in the same epigraph explains it thus—“Wherever he marched, wherever he was encamped, wherever his eyes rested, wherever his mind was attached, there he had rich Jina temples made, and thus the country was everywhere brought through Ganga Rāja to the condition in which it had been in days of yore.” Indeed, the engraver, who we may well assume perhaps only voiced the popular sentiment, attributes extraordinary powers to the great Jaina general thus—The reason why the world extols the distinguished Jaina devotee Attimabbarasi is because the Godāvari stopped flow-

ing. Now the Kāveri, though it swelled, surrounded and pressed forward its waters (obviously during his attack on Talakāḍ) did not touch the General Ganga. When this is said, how can the panegyrist adequately praise the greatness of his devotion?"¹

Lest this may be taken to be an exaggerated account of the munificence of the great Jaina general, we may cite the opinion of a later engraver who in A.D. 1184 wrote thus about him—By the restoration of numerous Jina temples, the re-building of ruined towns and general distribution of gifts, the Gangavāḍi 96,000 Province shone like Kopāṇa through Ganga Daṇḍanātha.²

As regards the place assigned to Ganga Rāja in the history of Jainism, we have the following estimate of that general in the record of about A.D. 1117—"The Koṇḍakunda line of the Mūla sangha is the most ancient in the Jina creed; and the promoter of that line is undoubtedly the general Ganga Rāja."³ And a later inscription dated A.D. 1159 in answer to the question—who were at the beginning firm promoters of the Jina dharma?, answers thus—"After him (Cāmuṇḍa Rāya) only Gangaṇa, praised by the learned, the excellent minister of king Viṣṇu."⁴

Both Ganga Rāja’s wife and his son were like him fervent Jainas. When the great general died in A.D. 1133, his eldest son Boppa, who was like his father also a military commander, erected a Jinālaya called after one of the titles of

². E. C. IV, Ng. 32, p. 120. In a record dated A.D. 1115 the same is said of Ganga Rāja. Ibid., II, 127, p. 55. But this inscription is dated two years before the actual conquest of Tala-kāḍ by Ganga Rāja. I am unable to explain this discrepancy.
³. Ibid., II, 73, p. 39.
⁴. Ibid., 345, p. 148.
his noble father, Droharagharatța Jinālaya, in the centre of Dorasamudra itself. The stone inscription dated in that year and found in the Pārśvanātha basti at Hājebid, informs us that that Jinālaya which "even Jalajabhava (i.e., Brahmā) could not excel in drawing, carving and moulding, and which shone like the silver mountain (Kailāsa), an ornament to the earth," was erected as a memorial to Ganga Rāja’s death. It was consecrated by the learned Nayakirti Siddhānta Cakravarti, and attached to the Mūla sangha, Deśiya gana, Hano soge balī, and the Pustaka gaccha.

Further interesting details concerning that Jinālaya and the ruler Viṣṇuvardhana Deva are given in the same record. The Indrar or priests of the Droharagharatța Jinālaya which contained the image of Pārśvanātha, took the consecrated food to king Viṣṇuvardhana Deva, who was then at Bankāpura, at a most opportune moment. It was just then that the Hoysala monarch had slain one of his enemies—Masana, the Kādamba general,1 and that a son was born to his queen Lakśmi Mahādevī. And, as we related in an earlier connection, king Viṣṇu "being filled with joy on account of both his victory and the birth of a son, seeing the priests who had brought the sandal water and consecrated food from the consecration of the god Pārśva, he ordered them to approach, and rising to meet them, saluted them with joined hands to his forehead, and took the sandal water and consecrated food, saying, 'By the merit of the consecration of this god I have obtained both a victory and the birth of a son, and have been filled with joy.' He therefore gave to the god the name of Vijaya Pārśva and to his son the name of Vijaya Nara-

simha Deva." It was to the Droharagharaṛṭṭa Jīnālaya in Dorasamudra and for the prosperity of his son and for the promotion of universal peace that the same monarch, we may be permitted to repeat, gave the village of Jāvagal together with others to the god.  

Commander Boppa maintained the liberal traditions of his illustrious father. For in addition to the above Jīnālaya at Dorasamudra, he built two more Jina temples. He erected the Śāntisvara basadi at Kambhadahalli, Nāgamangala tāluka. The name of the architect who designed it was Droharagharaṛṭṭacāri. It cannot be made out whether this temple was constructed as a memorial to Boppa’s father.  

As an inscription assigned to A.D. 1138 relates, he caused to be made the basadi of Trailokyaraṇījana, otherwise called Boppaṇa-caityālaya. In this record General Boppa is described as "the learned son of the General Ganga", "the affluent Ėcaṇa, friend of the learned, friend of the good."  

Learned works by Boppa, however, have not been discovered so far.  

But in regard to his martial nature we know a few details. He possessed the valiant qualities of his great father. He seems to have been entrusted with the work of subduing the Kongas. For in A.D. 1134 it is said that he attacked and put to flight the mighty enemies, and by force of arms subdued the Kongas.  

What influence the pious wife of Ganga Rāja and the

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1. E. C. V, Bl 24, pp. 82-83  
3. E. C. II, 120, p. 49. The image of this temple seems to have been transferred at some later date to Sravaṇa Belgola. Ibid., Intr., pp. 6, 55.  
mother of Boppa wielded will be made clear in a later context.

Ganga Rāja’s gallant comrade was General Puṣisa. He was descended from a family of ministers. His father was called Puṣisa Rāja Daṇḍādhīsa, and he had the *binuda* of *Sakala-śāsana-vācaka-cakra-vartti* (Universal emperor of those who read [interpreted] the orders of the king). To Puṣisa Rāja Camūpa and his wife Pōcale were born three sons—Cāvana or Cāma Rāja, Korāpa or Kumārayya, and Nākaṇa or Nāgadeva. The children of the eldest Cāvana by his wives Arasikabbe and Caṇḍale were Puṇisamayya and Biṭṭiga respectively. Of these the former Puṇisamayya is the general in question, and he was the *Sandhi-vigrahika* (Minister for Peace and War) of the king Viṣṇuvardhana. This pedigree of General Puṣisa is repeated in two inscriptions—one dated A.D. 1117 and found in the Pārśvanātha basti at Chāmarājanagara, and the other undated record found on the capital of the pillar in the Keśava temple at Belūr.²

General Puṣisa’s conquests did not certainly open an epoch in the history of Karnāṭaka as those of Ganga Rāja had done. Nevertheless his victories were very important, since they gave to the Hoysalas the key to the south and prepared the way for the sweeping campaigns of king Viṣṇuvardhana Deva. We have to remember the policy of that ruler which we have outlined in the previous pages. The great enemy of the Hoysalas in the south were the Coḷas. While General Ganga Rāja was actively engaged in subverting the Coḷa power in Talakāḍ, Puṇisa was deputed to the south there to crush the allies of the Tamil monarch—the Kongāḷivas, the Koḍagas, the Toḍas, and the Keraḷas. And in the same year (A.D. 1117) when Ganga Rāja stormed Talakāḍ, General Puṇisa also conquered the gateway to the south-Nilādri (mod.

Nilgiris). The Chāmarājanagara Pārśvanātha basti record dated A.D. 1117 gives the following graphic account of Puṇisa's success in the south—The Mahāpradhāna, Daṇḍanāyaka Puṇisa frightened the Toḍa, drove the Kongas underground, slaughtered the Pōluvas, put to death the Maleyāḷas, terrified king Kāla and entering the Nīlā mountain offered up its peak to the Lakṣmī of victory. On king Viṣṇu once giving the order, Puṇisa seized Nilādri and pursuing the Maleyāḷas, captured their forces and became the master of Keralā, and then again showed himself in the Bayālnāḍ (plain county).

But like Ganga Rāja Puṇisa was large-hearted. True to the Jina dharma, both looked upon humanity with an impartial eye. The above Chāmarājanagara Pārśvanātha basti inscription has the following interesting account to give of Puṇisa's broad-mindedness—The ruined trader, the cultivator with no seed, the ousted Kirāta (chief) with no power left, who had become his servant, he gave them all what they had lost and supported them—the Daṇḍanātha Puṇisa. And when about four years later (A.D. 1121) the Cālukya Hemmādi Deva's son Soyi Deva made certain grants to the god Jayangondēśvara in Brahmaśamudra, General Puṇisa was present along with General Ganga Rāja, their monarch king Viṣṇuvardhana Deva, the queen Mahādevī Sāntāladevi, and the four ministers. Obviously to Puṇisa endowments to non-Jaina deities were as sacred as those to the Jaina gods themselves.

But it must be remembered that so far as the cause of the Jina dharma was concerned, Puṇisa was a second Ganga Rāja. The above Chāmarājanagara Pārśvanātha basti record says

1. E. C. IV, Ch. 83, p. 10.
2. Ibid.
that "Without room for any fear, in the manner of the Gangas, he decorated (alankarisdan) the basadis of the Gangavadi 96,000." In the same record we are told that he granted lands for the basadis known as the Trikuta basadis which he had caused to be constructed in Arakoottara in the Edn. The Parsvanatha basadis at Chamarajanaagara and at Bastihalli in Dorasamudra owed their existence to his generosity. To a great Jina temple erected by his wife in the Hoysala capital Dorasamudra, as we shall narrate in the next chapter, he gave the two villages of Manikavojla and Mahinakere in Muddnadm as gifts. Further, to all the basadis in Manikavojla he made specified endowments of land and money. These gifts may be assigned to about A.D. 1117.

General Puniasamayya's guru was Ajitasena Panditadeva whose identity cannot be determined.

We may now mention the other six Jina generals of king Visnuvardhana. In about A.D. 1120 we have Commander Baladevana. He was the third son of king Aditya (or Arasaditya) and Acambike, his elder brothers being Pamparaya and Harideva. This stone inscription found at Sravan Belgoja styles Baladevana "the virtuous leader of the assemblage of ministers." The three brothers were ornaments of the Karnataka family, renowned in the world, uncles of Maciraj, fiercely valorous to enemies, devoted to the feet of Jina, and possessed of great fortitude. Baladevana was the chief of all ministers, subdued of enemies, eschewer of

1. E. C., IV, Ch. 83, p. 10.
2. M. A. R. for 1908, p. 9; ibid., for 1916, p. 53; ibid., for 1934, p. 84.
3. M. A. R. for 1920, p. 32. See E. C. IV, Kr. 37, p. 105 where an incorrect rendering of the record is given.
others' wives, a necklace to Sarasvati, of well known pure fame, of a celebrated noble form, and worshipper of the feet of Jinendra. His military achievements, however, are not known to us.

Under king Viṣṇuvardhana were two famous brothers, one of whom continued to guide the affairs of the Hoysala Empire in the reign of king Viṣṇuvardhana's son and successor king Narasimha I. These were Marīyāne Daṇḍanāyaka and Bharateśvara Daṇḍanāyaka, descended from Dākarasa of the Bharadvāja gotra. They were connected by marriage with the family of Ganga Rāja as well as with the royal Hoysala House itself. For the Aḷesandra stone inscription of A.D. 1184 contains the interesting information that Ganga Rāja was the brother-in-law of the senior Marīyāne Daṇḍanāyaka, whom we shall style the I of that name. Further, according to the same lithic record Ganga Rāja's son Boppadeva alias Eca's brothers-in-law were Marīyāne Daṇḍanāyaka (II) and Bharateśvara (I).² Now Marīyāne Daṇḍanāyaka II's three beautiful daughters Padmaladevi, Cāvaladevi, and Boppadevi, “skilled in art, singing, and dancing”, according to the Brahmeśvara temple stone inscription at Sindhagiri dated about A.D. 1103,³ had been married in one pavilion in Saka 1025 (A.D. 1103) to king Ballaḷa I.⁴ It may have been the same Senior Marīyāne Daṇḍanāyaka, as the late Mr. Narasimhacarya suggested, who may have set up the image of

1. E. C. II, 221, p. 95; ibid., Intr., p. 58, and n. (1) for other Baladevas.
2. Ibid., IV, Ng. 32, p. 120.
3. E. C. VI. Cm., 160, 56-57. The date circa A.D. 1103 is to be found in the earlier part of the record, the concluding portions of which are built into the ground. Ibid., p. 56, (n. 1).
4. Ibid., Cm. 160.
Jina in the *basti* at Haṭṣa, Tiptūr tāluka, along with the merchants of Belgere-paṭṭana.¹

Mariyāne Daṇḍanāyaka II and Bharateśvara I had served first under king Viṣṇuvardhana and then under his son king Narasimha I. The Brahmaśvara temple record styles them as those who under king Viṣṇu held the rank of great ministers of the whole kingdom, and “a rank descending from the line of the capturer of Kāṇci, Vikrama Ganga Viṣṇuvardhana”; as those who were “the jewelled earrings to the Lakṣmī the pure *syād vāda*; rejoicing in daily anointings and festivals of the Jina *pūjā*, delighting in the four manner of gifts, (and) eyes to the doctrine of Akalanka.” Of these two brothers Mariyāne II won greater fame at the hands of king Viṣṇuvardhana. For the Brahmaśvara temple record says that Mariyāne II was like the *paṭṭada-āne* (State elephant) to king Viṣṇuvardhana; while the Aḷḷaśandra inscription informs us that, looking upon Mariyāne as his *paṭṭada-āne*, king Viṣṇu appointed him as the commander of his army.²

Both the brothers held the offices of Sarvādhikāri, Māṇikabhaṇḍhāri, and Prāṇādhikāri (Commanders of the Life Guards) under the same monarch.³ Another record in the Sindhagiri Brahmaśvara temple dated A.D. 1137 praises General Bharata thus—All his wealth for the Jina *mandiras*, all his love for the subjects, all his good-will for the worship of Jina Rāja, all his generosity for the company of the good,

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1. *M. A. R. for 1918*, pp. 21, 45. Haṭṣa in the Nāgamangala tāluka was a Jaina centre. The Vīrabhadra temple at this place was a Jaina *basadi* dedicated to Pārśvanātha. Vīrabhadra is now made to stand on a Jaina pedestal! *M. A. R. for 1919*, p. 16.
2. *E. C. VI*, Cm. 160, op. cit., *ibid.*. IV. Ng. 32, p. 121.
all his gifts for holy munindas,—did he divide with great joy, the Camūpa Bharata.\textsuperscript{1} That this praise given to General Bharata was not unfounded is borne out by a stone record dated about A.D. 1160, which tells us that he erected Jaina images in Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, built eighty new basadis and renovated 200 old ones in Gangavāḍi “so that they met one’s gaze wherever one looked.”\textsuperscript{2}

From many records we know that his guru was Gaṇḍavimuktavrati, the disciple of Māghanandi of the Deśiya gaṇa and the Pustaka gaccha.\textsuperscript{3} We may incidentally note in this connection that the same Jaina sage was the guru of Bharata’s elder brother Mariyāne II;\textsuperscript{4} while the guru of Bharata’s wife (the junior) Hariyale was Māghanandi himself.\textsuperscript{5}

We may digress here a little in order to narrate a few more details about this illustrious family of the Jaina general who continued to serve under the next Hoysala ruler king Narasimha I. An inscription at Kambhadahāḷḷi relates that the brothers received a grant from this king in A.D. 1145.\textsuperscript{6} It was they who, while continuing in their hereditary office of great ministers,\textsuperscript{7} gave king Narasimha I 500 honnu as a gift obtaining in return a renewal of the grant of their ancestral estates of Sindagere, Baggavallī, and Daḍiganakere.\textsuperscript{8} Bharata II and Bāhubali, the sons of Mariyāne II (?), while serving under king Narasinga I’s son and successor king Ballāḷa II, obtained in A.D. 1184 a reconfirmation of their ancestral

\textsuperscript{1} E. C. VI, Cm. 161, p. 58.  
\textsuperscript{2} Ibid., II, 265, 267, pp. 122-123.  
\textsuperscript{3} Ibid., VI, Cm. 161, p. 58.  
\textsuperscript{4} Ibid., II, 64, p. 18.  
\textsuperscript{5} Ibid., VI, Cm., 160, p. 57, IV, Ng. 32, p. 121.  
\textsuperscript{6} M. A. R. for 1915, p. 51.  
\textsuperscript{7} Cf. E. C. VI, Cm. 160, op. cit.  
\textsuperscript{8} Ibid., IV, Ng. 32, pp. 121-122.
estates; and they themselves made certain specified grants for the new *basadi* which they had caused to be constructed at Anuvasamudra and for the old *basadi* at Cākeyanahāli. These grants were made over by them in A.D. 1184 to the priest Devacandra Paṇḍita, the disciple’s disciple of Gaṇḍavimukta-deva, of the Sāvanta *basadi* of Kollāpura (mod. Kolhapur) attached to the Mūla sangha and the Inguleśvara *bali.*

To the great circle of Jaina military leaders of the reign of king Viṣṇuvardhana Deva belonged three other generals—Boppa, Ėca, and Immaḍi Biṭṭimayya. Of these we have already seen a few details concerning General Boppa, the eldest son of Ganga Rāja. Boppa’s wife was Bāganabbe, the lay disciple of Bhānukīrti Deva. Their son was Ėca who also rose to be a *Daṇḍāḍhiśa.* About him it is said in A.D. 1134 that he made Jina temples in Śravaṇa Belgoḷa look like those in the tīrtha of Kopana and other places. Like his father Boppa, General Ėca was a large-hearted Jaina. This accounts for the specified grant of land which he made in the same year, along with his father and mother, for the god Mūlasthāna Gangeśvara of Belgali, in the presence of fifty families of the locality and the local officer Pērggaṇē Sōmayya. He died in A.D. 1135 by the rite of *sallekhanā* “after living for a long time in happiness, delighting in bestowing gifts and rejoicing in the advancement of the Jina dharma.”

1. *E. C. IV, Ng. 32,* pp 121-122.
3. *Ibid., II,* 384. This inscription makes Ėca son of General Bamma and Bāganabbe, and Bamma himself brother of Ganga Rāja. *Ibid.* Read, *ibid.,* Intr. p. 57. As in the case of Mariyānēs and Bharateśvaras, there is some discrepancy in the lithic records concerning these two generals of king Viṣṇu.
Another distinguished Jaina military leader under king Viṣṇuvardhana Deva was Immaḍī Daṇḍanāyaka Bīṭhīmayya. The Belūr Saumyanāyakī temple record dated A. D. 1136 contains a very interesting account of this remarkable boy-general. He too belonged to a well known family of hereditary ministers. His father was called Ciṅṇa Rāja Daṇḍa- dhīśa, the son of the celebrated Udayāditya and Śāntiyakka. Ciṅṇa Rāja “bore the burden of king Ereyanga’s territory”. To him and his wife Caudale were born several daughters and two sons Udayaṇa and Viṣṇu.

Of these Viṣṇu, who “daily increased in size and glory like the new moon,” was more fortunate than his elder brother Udayaṇa. On his growing up with indications of all good qualities, as a reward to the household of an hereditary minister and a meritorious family, the Hoysala king Viṣṇu treating him like a son, himself had his upanayanam performed with great festivities. And when he was seven or eight years of age, and was proficient in all the sciences of arms, obtaining for him a virgin-jewel, the daughter of his own chief minister (unnamed in the epigraph), king Viṣṇu himself lifted up a golden kalaśa and pouring water on his head, gave away the virgin, thus providing him with a marriage of unimagined happiness.

And at the age of ten or eleven, Viṣṇu having become as sharp as kuśa grass in intelligence, and perfect in the four tests of character—viz., loyalty, disinterestedness, continence, and courage, the king noting this and praising him with his own hand invested him with the title of Mahāpracanda-Daṇḍanāyaka, with double confidence, and giving him all authority, he (the young Viṣṇu) became the Sarvādhikāri and Sakala-janopakāri.

The young Viṣṇu, also known as Immaḍī Daṇḍanāyaka Bīṭhīmayya, proved his mettle in a brilliant campaign in the
south directed against the Kongudeśa which evidently had failed to pay the annual tribute. The same epigraph gives us further interesting details in regard to the expedition, and the reason which made the king entrust this lad with the great duty of completely subduing the Kongudeśa. "Among the titled Mārāyas (i.e., Mahārāyas or lords) who is there in the world like you? Bring quickly the tribute from Kongu!" On the king thus ordering, the boy-general in half a pakṣa put to flight Cengiri, burnt his city, plundered his territory, took an astonishing amount of tribute and brought it with a troop of lusty elephants.

But the conquest of Cengiri, which must have reverted to its independent state after the expedition led against it by General Ganga Rāja mentioned in a previous page, was only the prelude to the conquest of the Kongudeśa. The more experienced generals were doubtful about the boy-commander’s ability. They said half in jest and half in admiration, "This boy will take Kongu—will he not? He will bring in the troop of elephants with his golden smile—will he not?" Their anxiety and fear was but natural. A confederacy of the Cola, Cera, Pāṇḍya and Pallava kings had been formed, and the Hoysala king had sent his boy-commander against them! But young Viṣṇu was equal to the great task. In half a month he completed an expedition of victory directed against the south. The hostile kings who had assembled on the seashore were routed, their troop of elephants brought to his ruler, Kongu subdued, and Rāyarājapura burnt. And in the region of the south, adorned by the Sahya mountains, General Biṭṭimayyya erected pillars of victory to commemorate the victories he had won for his royal master.

This "right hand man" to king Viṣṇuvardhana was, however, a devout Jaina. When his youth had matured, having gained experience of all public affairs, and having made many
gifts in the great holy places, he erected a Jinālaya in the capital Dorasamudra itself, and like other loyal and dutiful citizens, christened it after his royal master—Viṣṇuvardhana Jinālaya. General Immaḍi Biṭṭimayya’s guru was the learned Śrīpāla Traividyadeva, a great logician and a Vādibhasimha. The engraver of this record asks the question—“The commentaries he (Śrīpāla) had made in prose, verse, and precept, embodying the rules of the six systems of logic, for the refutation of opponents, who can describe?” General Biṭṭimayya gave the village of Bijavoḷal (location given) which he had received as a gift from king Viṣṇu, and other lands which he had bought from citizens (named), to his guru for the worship of the god in the basadi and for its repairs and for food of the ṭsis.¹

We now come to the reign of the next Hoysala monarch Narasimha I (A.D. 1141—A.D. 1173). His age like that of his illustrious father became famous because of the activities of four Jaina generals and two ministers, one of whom, so far as the history of Jainism is concerned, ranked with Ganga Rāja and Cāmuṇḍa Rāya. These were Commanders Deva Rāya, Hūḷḷa, Sāntiyaṃma, and Īśvara, while the ministers were Sivarāja and Someya.

The great minister-general Deva Rāja belonged to the Kauśika gotra. His guru was Municandra Bhaṭṭāraka who is described as one adorned with the jewels of the thirty-six qualities and devoted to the five kinds of observances. Deva Raja was “a jewelled vase shining on the pinnacle of the Hoysala kingdom.” And king Narasimha pleased with his

¹. E. C. V, Bl. 17, pp. 48-51. It cannot be made out whether Immaḍi Biṭṭimayya is identical with Biṭṭimayya mentioned in the reign of king Narasimha. See E. C. IV, Intr. p. 21, where reference is given to Kp. 32 which is wrong.
meritorious wisdom and his faithfulness, bestowed on him Sūranahaḷḷi, where that devout Jaina general erected a Jaina caityālaya for which the monarch granted money payments. This temple was made over to Deva Rāja’s guru Municaṇḍadeva, and the village of Sūranahaḷḷi rechristened by the king Parvapura.¹

A more celebrated Jaina devotee and general was Huḷḷa. Details about the family to which this remarkable commander belonged are met with in stone records but with this peculiarity: whereas the lithic records found at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa uniformly give the names of his parents in one manner, other epigraphs, like that found in the Nāgamangala tāluka, have different names to give concerning them. All records, however, tell us that the family to which Huḷḷa belonged was called the Vāji kula. In the Śravaṇa Belgoḷa records ranging from A.D. 1159 till A.D. 1163, his father’s name is given as “the blameless” Yakṣarāja or Jakkarāja and his mother’s, “the well-behaved” Lokāṃbika. Huḷḷa’s wife was called Padmāvatī, and his younger brothers Laksmaṇa and Amara.² But the Madeśvara temple stone inscription found in Nāgamangala and dated A.D. 1164, while confirming the name of the family to which Huḷḷa belonged, says that Kaṇṭhimayya, Hariyaṇṇa, and Huḷḷa, and their younger sister Duggale were the children of Madhusūdana and Muddiyakke.³ It cannot be made out whether these latter names were the popular names of the parents of Huḷḷa.

Leaving aside this divergence in epigraphic evidence concerning the parents of Huḷḷa, we find that both as a great minister-general and a patron of Jainism he attained wide

1. E. C. IV, Ng. 76, p. 132.
2. Ibid. II, 64, 345, 349, pp. 147-9, 153.
3. Ibid., IV Ng. 30, p. 119.
celebrity in the land. He was not merely a pious Jaina; epigraphs praise him as a practical statesman. He held the posts of Great Minister, Senior Treasurer, Sarvādhikārī, and General. He was the honourable minister who managed the affairs of his royal master. He was cleverer than Yogandharāyaṇa in the management of affairs, and superior even to Bṛhaspati in the knowledge of politics. It is not surprising that such an eminent statesman should have served under three successive monarchs—Viṣṇuvardhana, Narasimha, and Ballāla II.

Minister-general Hulja’s lasting contribution for the cause of Jina dharma was the construction of the famous Caturvimśati jinālaya at Śravaṇa Belgola. Since the record dated A.D. 1159 mentions some details concerning this temple, it must have been completed by that year. “Together with its enclosures, dancing halls, two fine strongly built large Jaina dwellings at the side, and mansions with doorways resplendent with various elegant ornaments of foliage and figures, this matchless temple of Caturvimśati Tīrthankaras,” when completed (obviously in the year A.D. 1159) presented the appearance of a charming ornament of Gommaṭapura.

Such a piece of devotional and architectural beauty could not go unnoticed by the Hoysala monarch Narasimha II. When that ruler was going on an expedition for the conquest of regions, he saw, “with great regard the Jinas, Gummaṭa,

1. He is not to be confounded with Huljarasa, a Cāḷukya head-jewel, the son of Nāgarasa who was the son of Muddarasa, mentioned in a record dated A. D. 1079. E. C. V, Cn, 145, p. 188.
2. Ibid. II, 64, p. 18.
3. Ibid. II, 345, p. 147.
5. Ibid., Intr., 58; 101, 147.
and Pārśvanātha and this temple of Caturvīṁśati Tīrthankaras," did obeisance to the Jīna images, and gladly granted as a permanent endowment the village of Savaṇeru for the worship and offerings in the temple. Indeed, the king was so charmed with this Jīnālaya that, as we noticed in an earlier connection, he lovingly gave it the second name of Bhavya-cūḍāmaṇī after Hulḷa’s own title Samyaktva-cūḍāmaṇī. And General Hulḷa made the Mahāmaṇḍalācārya Nayakirti Siddhānta Cakravarti the Ācārya of the Caturvīṁśati basadi, and directed that from the money which the Ācārya obtained from the village of Savaṇeru, the latter was to meet the cost of repairs of the basadis of the Śravaṇa Belgoḷa sthāna, the worship and enjoyments of the gods, and the gifts of food to the assembly of ascetics.¹ In about A.D. 1175 the same village of Savaṇeru and two others called Bekka and Kaggere were received by General Hulḷa from king Ballāḷa II, and made over to the same Jīnālaya and for the worship of Gommaṭēśvara and Pārśvadeva.²

Before we pass on to the history of other basadis which were carefully looked after by General Hulḷa we may mention a word about his gurus. The Mangāyibasti record dated A.D. 1159 tells us that Hulḷa rejoiced in bowing at the feet of Maladhārisvāmi³; while one of the inscriptions on the Doḍḍabetti dated about A.D. 1175 explicitly states that he was the lay disciple of Nayakīrti Siddhāntadeva.⁴ The former

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1. E. C. II, 345, 349, pp. 148-9, 153. In the later record dated about A.D. 1175, it is said that while returning from the conquest of the regions, king Narasimha visited the Caturvīṁśati basadi. E. C. ibid., 240, p. 103. This point will not be discussed here.
2. E. C. II, 240, p. 103; see also ibid. V, Cn. 146, pp. 188-189.
4. Ibid., 240, p. 103.
was also known as Kukkutāsana Maladhārideva, and was merely his vrata guru.¹

Śravana Belgoḷa was not the only centre that tasted the generosity of General Huḷḷa. Three prominent strongholds of Jainism owed their prosperous condition to the liberality and devotion of that general. These were Kellangere, Bankāpura, and Kopāṇa. Inscriptions dated A.D. 1159 and 1163 tell us in what manner he strengthened the cause of the Jina dharma in these three well known places. In the mahātirtha of Kopāṇa, "after paying much gold," he purchased from the residents of that tīrtha (specified vṛtti of land) which he lovingly granted "amidst the plaudits of the whole world" for the assembly of the twenty-four Jina sages in that centre.

The same record tells us what he did at Bankāpura. Here he renovated beautifully Upaṭṭāyta’s great Jina temple which had gone to complete ruin. Moreover in that same place he rebuilt "as high as Kailāsa" the Jina temple which had completely been ruined and which had been built by a former chieftain named Kaliviṭa.²

At Kellangere General Huḷḷa’s munificence likewise showed itself. Kellangere was an original holy place (ādi-tīrtha). It had been founded by the Gangas and praised by the whole world. But after a lapse of time only the name remained!³

3. The reason seems to be that like many a Jaina centre, it passed into the hands of the Brahmans. For in A.D. 1174 it is called the immemorial agrahāra Kellangere alias Hariharapura. E. C. V, Ak. 112, p. 161.
Here General Hulḷa caused to be erected a splendid Jina temple, “from the base to the pinnacle so as to stand to the end of time.” Here too he built five great basadis “desirous of the five mahā-kalyāṇas” (i.e., birth, anointment, renunciation, enlightenment, and liberation). All these details are mentioned in a record dated about A.D. 1159. Another inscription dated A.D. 1163 has further information to give concerning General Hulḷa’s work at the same centre. In this year he caused to be made, as an act of reverence, an epitaph to his guru the Mahāmaṇḍalācārya Devakirtideva, who had built the Pratāpapura basadi at Kellangere. This basadi was attached to the Rūpanāraṇaṇa basadi of Kollāpura, and to the Deśiya gana and the Pustaka gaccha. General Hulḷa had this basadi of Pratāpapura renovated; and built an almshouse at Jinanāthapura, a village about a mile to the north of Śravaṇa Belgoḷa.

How did General Hulḷa pass his daily life? “Delighting in restoration of Jina temples, in assemblies for Jina worship, in gifts to groups of ascetics, in devotion to the praise of Jina’s feet, in hearing holy purāṇas of Jina, the General Hulḷa praised by the blessed, passes his time every day.” And his place in the history of Jainism is thus described: The firm promoters of the Jina doctrine were only three at the beginning—Cāmuṇḍa Rāya, and after him only Gangaṇa, “and after him again only Hulḷa, the excellent minister of king Nṛsimha.” If any other had (such claim), the engraver of this record dated about A.D. 1159 has the courage to ask, why not name him? Indeed, Hulḷa was a modern Ganga

1. E. C. II, Intr., p. 70, n. (1) ; 345, pp. 148-149.
2. Ibid., 64, pp. 18-19, and p. 19, n. (2)
3. Ibid., 345, op. cit.
Daṇḍanāyaka; and “a moon in causing to swell the ocean of gifts to all the Jina temples in the Ganga country.”

The third Jaina general under king Narasimha was Śāntiyāṇa. He was the son of Pāriṣaṇṇa and Bammaladevi. This lady was the daughter of Mariyāne Daṇḍanāyaka II. She is said in the lithic record dated A.D. 1159 to have been like Attimabbe in devotion. Her husband is called a Great Minister and Treasurer of the pattisa (a kind of spear). It is said of him that in the war with Āhumalla he destroyed the hostile forces which came close but died in the battle for his royal master king Narasimha. On this occasion Kari-gunda in Nirgundanāḍ was granted (evidently to Śānti-yāṇa) together with the lordship (of the same). This was obviously as war-relief to the son of the loyal general Pārvādeva who had died in State service. Śāntiyāṇa was the lay disciple of Mallāṣeṇa Paṇḍita, who was the disciple of Vasupūjya Siddhāntadeva. On being raised to the rank of a Daṇḍanāyaka, and on receiving the lordship of Kari-gunda, Śāntiyāṇa constructed a basadi there and granted specific lands for the same. On this occasion Malla Gauḍa and all the subjects were present, and they too granted the dues on the ferry in that village and the kalavatta (or share of grain at the threshing floor) for the temple repairs, god’s worship, and gifts of food for the sages in that basadi. These gifts were made over by the citizens to Mallāṣeṇa Paṇḍita.

Another Jaina general of the reign of king Narasimha was Īśvara Camūpati. He was the son of the Great Minister, Sarvādhikāri, and Senāpati-daṇḍanāyaka Ereyangamayya. Īśvara Camūpati repaired the basadi on the Mandāra hill,

1. E. C. II, 64, p. 18 op. cit.
2. Ibid., 349, p. 153.
3. Ibid., V, Ak., 141, pp. 174-176.
Tumkur taluka. We shall describe the pious deeds of his wife in the next chapter. These details are related in the stone record found in the same basadi and dated about A.D. 1160.¹

The two great Jaina ministers of king Narasimha in A.D. 1165 were Herggade Sivaraja and Herggade Someya, who granted in that year certain specified taxes to the Hoysala jinālaya of Mānikavōjal in order to provide for gifts of food to ascetics (in that temple).²

As we remarked while dealing with the question of royal patronage, the reign of the next Hoysala monarch Ballāja II opened another glorious chapter in the history of the land. Once again the military prestige of the Hoysalas rested to a very large extent on the prowess of the Jaina generals and ministers. Chief among them was the General Vāsadhaikabandhava (Sole Friend of the World) Rēcimayya, the son of Nārāyaṇa and Nāgāmbikā. He had seen State service first as a minister under the Kālacuriyas. It was he who had obtained the seven-fold wealth of empire for the Kālacuriya king Bijjaladeva (A. D. 1156—A. D. 1167), and “caused the same seven-fold wealth to be visibly enjoyed by the line of kings who succeeded that emperor”. Rēcimayya, who was a Great Minister, Master over 72 officials, and Mahāpracanda-dandaṇāyaka, delighted in council, policy, bravery, fortune and good character. On his arm “the vine the kingdom of the Kālacuriya kings might spread.” He was so liberal that he “shone as the only kalpadruma in the world.” Indeed, what Ganga Rāja had done for the whole of the Jaina world, Rēca did for the province under him: he set up a standard of liberality

1. E. C. XII. Tm. 38, p. 10.
which was all his own.

It was from the Kaḷacuriya kings that Rēcarasa had received the beautiful province of Nāgarakhandḍa which he “ruled with exceeding glory.” The stone inscription found in the old Jina basti (modern Cenna Basavaṇṇa temple) at Chikkamāgaḍi, Shikārpur tāluka, and assigned to A.D. 1182, dealing with this minister-general, does not enlighten us as to how he came to exchange his royal masters and serve under the Hoysala king Ballāḷa II.¹ We are to suppose that when Rēcarasa found that the Kaḷacuriya Empire was, like the Western Cāläkṣya dominion, crumbling before the attacks of the invincible Ballāḷa II,² he thought it wise to enter the service of the Hoysala monarch.

For the cause of the Jina dharma, General Rēcarasa’s efforts were unending. The above Chikkamāgaḍi stone inscription informs us that he once came to Māguḍi for the purpose of worshipping Jineśvara, together with the king Boppa Deva and Śankara Sāmanta. Having done obeisance to the Jina, Rēca Daṇḍāḍhīḍa inspected the Jina temple built by Śankara Sāmanta, and being greatly pleased, praised it, and granted the village of Taḷave to it for three generations. Further down in the same record it is said that the god in that basadi was called Ratnatraya, and that the priest who received the grant was Bhāṅkīrti Siddhāṁtadeva of the Krāṇūr gāṇa and the Tintriṇīka gaccha and Nunna vanaṇḍa.

But of all his endowments the most permanent was the construction of the Sahasrakūṭa Jinālaya in the rājadāḥani of Arasiyakere. A stone inscription found in this basadi

¹. E. C. VII, Sk. 197, p. 125. See also ibid., II, Intr., p. 62.
². Read Rice, My & Coorg., pp. 102-103 for an account of king Ballāḷa’s victories.
informs us that Rēcarasa, the eminent councillor of the Kaḷacuriya kula, hearing of the steadfastness of the Jaina citizens of Arasiyakere, and their ability to maintain dharma, “taking refuge at the lotus feet of that Ballāḷa” (i. e., king Ballāḷa II), set up in that city the image of Sahasrakūṭa Jina, and for the eight kinds of ceremonies of that god, for the livelihood of the priests and servants and repairs of the basadi, obtaining the village of Handarāhāḷu from king Ballāḷa, granted it to his own guru Sāgaranandi Siddhāntadeva of the Desiya gana and the Ingulesvara bali. We shall see that the city which General Rēcarasa thus adorned with a basadi was a well known Jaina centre.¹

He also set up in about the same year A. D. 1200 the god Sāntinātha at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, and made over the basadi to the same guru mentioned above. From this epigraph we learn that Sāgaranandi Siddhāntadeva, the disciple of Subhacandra Siddhāntadeva, was connected with the Sāvanta basadi of Kollāpura which belonged to the same sangha, gana, and lineage.²

We have had an occasion of mentioning the two brothers Bharata and Bāhubali who had taken service under the king Ballāḷa.

Būci Rāja was another well known Jaina general of the same ruler Ballāḷa II. He was the Great Minister for Peace and War, skilled in both Kannada and Sanskrit, and he could compose poetry in both the languages. On the coronation of the king in A. D. 1173, Būci Rāja erected the Trikūṭa Jīnālaya in Mārīkali in Sigeṇḍ, and granted that village itself for the worship, offerings, and gifts of that temple. His guru is mentioned as Vasupūjya Siddhāntadeva, the

1. E. C. V, Ak, 77, pp. 140-141.
2. Ibid., II, 380, p. 164.
disciple of Śrīpāla Traividya of the Arungulānvaya and the Dramila sangha. ¹

An equally conspicuous example of a liberal State servant was minister Candramauḷi, the son of Śambhudeva and Akkavve. He was praised by learned men versed in music (Bhārata śāstra), Āgamas, logic, grammar, Upaniṣads, Purāṇas, dramas, and poetry. Indeed, he was “praised by all the learned men without exception”. He was of “established merit,” an ornament of ministers, a councillor, and “the rod in the celebrated king Ballāla’s right hand.” Himself a staunch Śaivite, Candramauḷi was nevertheless benevolent towards the Jina dharma. When his wife, whose work we shall describe presently, erected a Jinālaya in Śravaṇa Belgola, it was he who begged his royal master to grant him the village of Bammeyanahaḷḷi to provide for its worship. Of course the great councillor’s request was, as we shall see, granted in A. D. 1182. ²

The reign of king Ballāla II could also boast of other well known Jaina ministers. Nāgadeva was one of them. He was the son of the minister Bammadeva who himself belonged to a famous family of State officials. Nāgadeva was the Paṭṭanasvāmi of king Ballāla, and was “a protector of Jina temples”. His guru was Nayakārtti Siddhāntadeva who will be mentioned again in the following pages of this treatise. Nāgadeva caused to be made in A. D. 1195 a dancing hall and a stone pavement in front of the god Pārśva at Śravaṇa Belgola. As an act of reverence in memory of the departed Nayakārtti Siddhānta, he caused an epitaph to be made in the same year. Nagadeva’s lasting work for the cause of the Jina dharma was the construction of

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¹ E. C., V, Hn., 119, p. 35.
² Ibid., Cn., 150, pp. 192-193.
the Nagara Jinalaya at the same great centre, for which he left munificent gifts. This monument seems to have been originally called Srinilaya and it was placed in the charge of certain men who will figure later on.¹

The Great Minister Mahadeva Danḍanātha came also of an illustrious family of State officials. His wife was Lokaladevi, an equal to Attimabbe in devotion to the Jina dharma. And his guru was Sakalacandra Bhatṭāraka, the disciple of Kulabhūṣaṇa Traividya Vidyādhara, of the Kraṇūr gana and the Tintriṇīka gaccha. Mahadeva Danḍanātha erected in a. d. 1198 “a splendid Jina temple” in Uddhara called Eraga Jinalaya for the worship and repairs of which he gave, in the presence of the Mahāmanḍaleśvara Ekkalarasa and others, specified lands. And the Paṭṭanāsvāmi Śeṭṭi and others (citizens) and oilmongers gave specified customs dues. The Mahāmanḍaleśvara Ekkalarasa and his retinue added to this benevolent deed by granting the ancient dues on sheep and cattle in and around Uddhara.²

In about a. d. 1200 mention is made of the Great Minister, Sarvādhikārī, Superintendent of Ceremonies, Kammatā Mācayya, who together with his father-in-law Ballayya granted the tax on oil mills for the Paravādimalla Jinalaya in Kumbeyanahāḷḷi.³

Towards the end of the reign of king Ballāla II there appears General Amṛta. He came of a Śudra stock, the names of his parents being Hariyama Śeṭṭi and Suggavve. Amṛta or Amitayya had three younger brothers named Kallayya, Masanayya, and Basavayya. Amṛta was a Great minister, Sarvādhikārī, Mahāpāyasam (master of the

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1. E. C., II, 335, p. 143.
2. Ibid., VIII, Sb. 140, p. 20.
3. Ibid., V, Cn. 151, p. 193.
robes?), and *Birudanamottadistāyakam* (master of the company of the titled). His birth place was Lokkuṇḍi which was, as we know from other records, one of the capitals of king Ballāla II. Nayakīrti Paṇḍitadeva, the disciple of Jinacandra, was the spiritual guru of Amṛta Daṇḍanāyaka. Together with his three brothers, Amṛtayya set up in A. D. 1203 the Yekkoṭi *Jinālaya* in Okkalugere; and in the presence of certain Nāyakas (named) and all the citizens and farmers, made a grant of land for the eight kinds of ceremonies of the god Śāntinātha and for gifts of food for ascetics.¹

But General Amṛta was liberal towards the non-Jainas as well. It was he who set up a temple and built an agrahāra in his birth-place Lokkuṇḍi in A. D. 1203, and established the god Amṛteśvara in Amṛtapura, Tarikere taluka, as is related in a record dated A. D. 1206.²

The benevolent work of the Minister for Peace and War Ēcaṇa also falls within the reign of king Ballāla II. Ēcaṇa in about A. D. 1205 caused a *Jinālaya* to be constructed. It had not its like anywhere in Belagavattināḍ, and this made that centre equal to Kopanā.³

An unidentifiable patron of Jainism may be mentioned here. In an inscription found on the pedestal of the Caturvimśati Tīrthankara *basadi* at Kopanā, it is said that the image was caused to be made by Bopaṇa, whose descent is stated, and who was the disciple of Māghanandi Siddhāntadeva; and that it was presented by him to the *basadi* of the Mūla *sangha* and Desīya *gana* at Kopanā erected by Mādhava Daṇḍanāyaka at the conclusion of some obser-

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vances. The identity of this general is uncertain; but if the supposition of the late Mr. Narasimhacarya that the Māg-
hanandi mentioned here was perhaps the sage of that name mentioned in a Sravana Belgoj record dated A.D. 1283, is accepted, then, we may place Mādhava Daṇḍanāyaka in the reign of king Narasimha III (A.D. 1254—A.D. 1291).¹

In the reign of the last great Hoysala ruler Vīra Ballāla III, we have a prominent Jaina general named Kēteya Daṇḍanāyaka. He is mentioned as a Great Minister, General, and Sarvādhikāri in A.D. 1332 under that Hoysala ruler. He made in that year a grant of the excise revenue of Kondatur and another village the name of which is effaced in the inscription, for the basadi of Kolugāṇa in Eḍenāḍ.²

1. *M. A. R. for 1916*, p. 83; *E. C.,* V, Hn. 61, pp. 17-18; Rice, *My. & Coorg.*, p. 97. Whether this Mādhava Daṇḍanāyaka was the same as his namesake, who was the brother of Rāja Jai Bhaṭṭayya Nāyaka mentioned in a record of A.D. 1218 (Hn. 61 op. cit.) is uncertain.
2. *E. C.* IV, Ch. 182, p. 22.
CHAPTER V.

WOMEN AS DEFENDERS OF THE FAITH


WOMEN have never been a negligible factor in the history of mediæval Karnaṭaka. The vitality which characterized Karnaṭaka's glorious epoch that culminated in the establishment of the Vijayanagara Empire, was to an appreciable extent due to the integrity, patriotism, and intelligence of Karnaṭaka women to whom love for the land and their dharma was of primary importance. Their devotion, service, and determination made them take an active part in some of the most important affairs of the day. But we are concerned here only with their great work for the cause of the anekāntamata. While studying this aspect of the question it is interesting to note that the women who figured most conspicuously as champions of the Jina dharma, were drawn from all sections of the people, notably from the royalty, the nobility, and the houses of the great ministers and generals.

So early as A. D. 776 we have an instance of a noble
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lady of the Nirgunda family championing the cause of the Jina dharma. She was Kandācchi, the wife of Parama Gūla, who was the son of Duṇḍu, the Nirgunda Yuvarāja about whose instruction in politics at the hand of Vimalacandara Ācārya we have already mentioned above. This lady was the daughter of Maruvārmā, who belonged to the Sāgara-kula, and his wife (unnamed) who was the daughter of Pallavādhitrāja. Kandācchi “ever promoting works of merit,” caused to be constructed a Jina temple named Lokatilaka adorning the northern side of Śrīpura. For the repairs, worship, and other works of merit connected with it, the village of Poonalī along with other lands, in the Nirgunda country, was granted by the Ganga monarch Śrīpuruṣa, on the application of Kandācchi’s husband Parama Gūla, Pṛthvī Nirgunda Rāja. We may observe here that to this royal grant made in A.D. 776 the witnesses were the eighteen officials.¹

In the first quarter of the tenth century A. D. figures a remarkable Jaina woman administrator and champion of Jainism. This was during the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Kiśṇa III in A. D. 911, when the Mahāsāmanta Kalivīṭtarasa of the Kāḷki-dēvaysar-ānvaya was the official placed over the Banavase 12,000 province. In that year Sattarasa Nāgārjuna, the Nāl-gāvunḍa of the Nāgarakhaṇḍa 70, died. The Government appointed Sattarasa Nāgārjuna’s wife Jakkiyabbe in her husband’s place as the Nāl-gāvunḍa of the Nāgarakhaṇḍa 70. This lady who was “skilled in ability for good government, faithful to the Jinendra sāsana, (and) rejoicing in her beauty”, protected the Nāgarakhaṇḍa 70. And “though a woman, in the pride of her own heroic bravery”, committed an act which won for her still greater

¹. E. C. IV. Ng. 85, pp. 135-36.
renown in the eyes of the Jaina world. When she was thus ruling her principality, “bodily disease having made inroads,” she decided that worldly enjoyments were insipid; and sending for her daughter, made over to her posterity, and freeing herself from the entanglements of the chain of desires, while in the holy place of Bandanike, in full faith performed the vow of sallekhana and died in the basadi of that city.  It cannot be made out whether she is the same Jakkiyabbe who in a record discovered in the Rāmeśvara temple at Chikka Hanasoge, Yeḍatore tāluka, is said to have been the wife of the great warrior Nāgakumāra, and to have gladly gone to the other world, having realized the loathsome nature of this body. In this record she is praised as a devoted Śrāvakī who excelled even Rōhinī by her good qualities. If the identification of the Jakkiyabbe mentioned in this record with her namesake spoken of in the above inscription dated A.D. 911 is accepted, then, the epigraph found in Chikka Hanasoge should be dated to a period after A. D. 911 and not in A. D. 900, as has been done.  

To the tenth century A. D. belongs the most celebrated name amongst women in Jaina history. It is that of Attimabbe who was the daughter of General Mallappa, and the wife of Nāgadeva and the mother of Paduvela Taila. General Mallappa was a commander under the Western Cālukya ruler Tailapa (A.D. 973—A.D. 997). Attimabbe was an ideal devotee. She had 1,000 copies of Ponna’s Šāntipurāṇa made at her own expense, and 1,500 images

1. E. C., VII. Sk. 219, pp. 130-131. For the date see the text, p. 298. It cannot be made out why the date A. D. 918 is given by Rice, when the text says—Saka-nrpa kālātita Samvatasarāṅgaleṇṭumūraviṁvattanālkāneya Prajakāpatisamvatsara, etc, which corresponds to A.D. 911. Swamikannu, Indian Ephemeris, V, pp. 224.
of gold and jewels.\textsuperscript{1} We have seen that some women devotees have been compared to Attimabbe in their piety.

In A.D. 968 during the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kōṭṭigadeva, Nityavarṣa, Paṇḍiga, born in the line of the Western Cālukya king Vikramāditya, was placed over the Kadambalige 1,000. His wife was Jakkisundarī, who caused a basadi to be built in the famous Kākambāl. For the temple thus erected, Paṇḍiga granted the villages of Madalūr and Malagavāḍi to the priest Rāmacandra Bhaḷāra, the disciple of Aṣṭopavāsa Bhaḷāra alias the Kavali-gaṇā-ācārya.\textsuperscript{2}

Towards the end of the same century we have the example of a very austere Jaina lady. She was Pāmbabbe, the elder sister of Bhūtuga (the Ganga king?) and the senior consort of Paḍiyara Dōrapayya. She was the disciple of Nāṇabbe-kanti who was herself the disciple of Abhinandi Paṇḍitadeva of the Deṣiya gaṇa. Pāmbabbe having made her head bald (by plucking out the hair), performed penance for thirty years, and observing the five vows expired in A. D. 971. The scribe tells us that when the earth honoured her as Bhūtuga’s elder sister, saying “Jiya! What are our commands?”, she replied—“All that I have received is truely renounced as if never received!”\textsuperscript{3}

But women also could actively promote the cause of the Jina dhārma. Padmāvatiyakka was the lay disciple of the priest Abhayacandra. On his death some time in A.D. 1078, she completed at a cost of seventy gadyāṇa the construction of the basadi which he had left half built, and erected an enclosure to the shrine of the god with a wooden

\textsuperscript{1} Rice, Karnātaka Sabdānuśāsanam, Intr., pp. 28-29; Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1883, pp. 301-2.

\textsuperscript{2} E. C. XI, Cd. 74, p. 16.

\textsuperscript{3} Ibid., VI, Kd. 1, p. 1.
pillar. Three respectable citizens and two managers of the temples were the witnesses to this charitable deed.¹

Turning to the other parts of Karnāṭaka we find the same devotion and patronage of the Jina dharma among the royal ladies. The Kongāḷvas, as we have already seen, had set an example for the people to follow. Pōcabbarasi was the mother of Rājendra Kongāḷva. In about A. D. 1050 she had a basadi constructed, and an image of her guru Guṇasena Paṇḍita of the Drāvīḷa sangha, the Tavuḷa-gana, and Irun-gulānvaya, and presented lands to the basadi in the prescribed manner in A. D. 1058.²

In about the same year (A.D. 1050—A.D. 1051) there were two examples of Jaina devotion. The lord of Madhuvankanāḍ Ayya of Kaviri, performing the vow for twelve days in the Cangāḷva basadi died. His sons Baki and Buki set up a memorial stone. Dāya-tigamati had become famous in the country as the "benefactress of others." She died in the orthodox Jaina manner. Unable to hear this news, Jakki-yabbe, the mantraki of Candiyabbe Gāvūṇḍi, and the wife of the Śravaka Eḍlaya, obtaining the consent of her relatives, performed the saṁnyasana and died.³

But constructive work could certainly be done by the royal ladies of Karnāṭaka. The Kāḍamba queen Māḷala Devī, the senior consort of the Kāḍamba ruler Kīrti Deva, had in A. D. 1077 the Pārśvadeva-caityālaya in Kuppatūr consecrated at the hands of Padmanandi Siddhāntadeva. This sage belonged to the Mūla sangha and the Tintrinīka gaccha. For this Jināyala she obtained from the king

¹ M. A. R. for 1926, p. 42. The date of this record is based on the name Bhāsa mentioned in it.
² E. C. IX, Cg., 35, 37, pp. 173-174.
³ Ibid., Cg., 30, 31, pp. 172-173.
Siddani, “the most beautiful place in Edenād.” What is interesting to observe is not the construction of the Jinālaya but the fact that the Kādamba queen after worshipping all the Brahmans of the immemorial agrahāra of Kuppaṭūr, had the Jinālaya christened Brahma Jinālaya by them, and had the satisfaction of seeing not only endowments made by them but also by the priests of the Koṭiśvara Mūlas-thāna and of the eighteen temples in the neighbourhood of Kuppaṭūr. The donee Padmanandi Ācārya was the priest of the Bandanike tirtha and of all the other caityālayas.¹

Equally interesting examples of royal devotion are met with in the history of Nāgarakhaṇḍa in the Banavase 12,000 province. These substantiate the statement that was made above concerning the ideal which Karnāṭaka women had placed before them. We have already seen that the Śāntaras were devout Jainas. A great name in this royal house was that of Caṭtaladevi, the grand-daughter of Rakkasa Gaṅga, and the queen of the Pallava king Kācuveṭṭi. She seems to have lost both her husband and her son Goggi, on which she attached herself to Taila, Goggiga, Oḍḍuta, and Barma—the four sons of her younger sister who had been married to the Śantara king but who was also dead. She spoke of these children as if they were her own, and together with them constructed Jinālayas at Pombucchapura, the capital of the Śāntaras. One of these was the Pańca-kūṭa or Pańca basadi, known also as Urvitilakam (An Ornament to the World). It is in regard to the construction of this basadi that we have the following statements made—Thinking on the text—Dharma is the first concern—and saying ‘Let me make a memorial for the departure of Arumulideva, Gāvabbarasi, Virala Devī, and Rājādityadeva’—

¹ E. C. VIII, Sb. 262, pp. 41-42.
Caṭṭaladevī undertook the task of making the Pañcabasadi in A.D. 1077. This Sāntara lady’s other meritorious works were the following—the construction of tanks, wells, basadis, temples, watersheds, sacred bathing places, satras, groves, and bestowing gifts of food, medicine, learning and shelter. We may observe here that Caṭṭaladevī’s preceptor was Śrīvijaya Bhāṭṭāraka, also known as Paṇḍita Pārijāta, who was proficient in all the Śāstras and Āgamas, and who was the head of the Nandi gana of the Arungulānvaya of the Nidambare tīrtha of the Tiyan-gudi. He was also the guru of Rakkasa Ganga, the father of Caṭṭaladevī, and of Bira Deva and Nanni Śāntara.¹

In a later record dated A. D. 1103 we learn that the same Sāntara lady, who is called “a cow of plenty to the glorious Jina congregation,” along with her own sons Bhujabala Sāntara, Nanni Sāntara, and Vikrama Sāntara, granted specified lands to the same Pañcabasadi. And opposite to that Jinalaya, in Ānandūr, she and Tribhuvanamalla Sāntara, as a memorial for the death of Bīrabbarasi, laid the foundation stone of another basadi, pronouncing the name of Vādigharaṭṭa Ajitasena Paṇḍita.²

Ladies of the Ganga royal family were also noted for their liberal endowments for the cause of the Jina dharma. For instance, in about A. D. 1112 Ganga Mahādevī, the paṭṭada mahādevī (crowned queen) of Bhujabala Ganga Hemmādi Māndhātabhūpa, the king of Gangavādi and Meghuṭṭi-Mandaḷi 1,000, was one of such patrons of the anekāntamata. She is styled in this record as “a female bee at the lotus feet of Jinendra.” Her husband king Hemma had another consort named Bācaladevī who erected in Bannikere

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² Ibid., T. 192, pp. 204-205.
a beautiful Jina temple. She was the disciple of Śubhacandrādeva of the Deśiya gaṇa. For this caityālaya which was an ornament in the Mandaḷi 1,000, her husband, Ganga Mahādevī, and the principal officers together with the Nāḍ-prabhush, gave as a gift the village of Būdanagere in the same province and certain lands in Bannikere along with specified money payments. King Hemmādi, we may observe by the way, himself was a Jaina. It was he who had built a Jina temple at Kuntalāpura attached to the Krāṇūr gaṇa of the Meṣapāśaṇa gaccha and the Mūla sangha. His guru was Prabhācandra Siddhāнтadēva. And one of his sons Satya Ganga in A.D. 1112 had built the Ganga Jinālaya in the Kuruḷī tīrtha granting lands to it to his guru Mādhavacandrādeva. These details are gathered from records dated A. D. 1112, 1113, and 1115.1 With such relatives who were devout Jinas, it is no wonder that Caṭṭaladevi’s benevolent deeds should have been so successfully carried out.

Another Sāntara princess who promoted the cause of the anekānantamata was Pampādevī, the daughter of king Taila and the elder sister of Vikramāditya Sāntara. Epigraphs highly praise this lady. “All the world filled with newly raised towers of painted caityālayas, the ears of all the elephants at the points of the compass filled with the sounds of trumpets and drums in Jina festivals, all the sky filled with flags for Jina worship—Pampādevī shone everywhere with the glory of the Arhad śāsana. Considering the stories of Jinaṇātha in the well-known Mahāpurāṇa her earrings, the bestowal of the four kinds of gifts to Jina munis her bracelets, devotion and praise of Jina patron her beautiful necklace, could king Taila’s daughter care for the weight of ornaments on her person?” In one month she herself caused

1. E. C. VIII, Nr, Sh. 60, 64, 97, pp. 22-25, 35.
M. J. 6
to be made Śāsanadevate in the same manner as the famous Urvitilakam had been constructed. Pampādevi’s foremost desire was the following—the performance of the aṣṭa-vidhārccane, the mahābhīsekaṃ, and caturbhakti. Her daughter was Bācaladevi who was reckoned to be a second Atimabbe. This devout and generous lady “was ever regular in morning worship at sunrise of the feet of Arhan.” Both mother and daughter, so we are informed in the inscription dated A. D. 1147, were the disciples of the illustrious Vādībhasimha Ajitasena Paṇḍita. They and Vikrama Śāntara had the northern pattaśāle to the Urvitilakam constructed.¹ We cannot make out whether Bācaladevi mentioned here was identical with her namesake to be mentioned later on, who was one of the two consorts of the Ganga king Bhujabala Permmāḍideva.

The credit of maintaining the anekāntamata was also shared by the wives of the great Jaina generals. Foremost among them was the wife of the celebrated Jaina general Ganga Rāja, Lakkale or Lakṣmīmatī. She was styled Lakṣmīmatī Daṇḍanāyakiti. And she was the disciple of Subhacandra, who is described as “a Siddhanandī in philosophy.” Lakkale is described in a record assigned to A. D. 1118 as “the lady of policy in business,” and “the lady of victory in battle,” to her husband Ganga Rāja. She caused a new jinālaya to be built in Śravana Belgoḷa in about the same year.² It was to some of the Jina temples erected by her that Ganga Rāja, as we related in an earlier context, granted liberal endowments.³ Like her husband Lakkale bestowed the gifts of food, shelter, medicine, and

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1. E. C. VIII, Nr. 37, pp. 141-142.
2. Ibid., II, 130, pp. 57-58.
3. Ibid., II, 73, op. cit.
learning, and acquired thereby the name of being "a mine of auspiciousness." Indeed, such was her unparalleled devotion that the scribe who wrote the epigraph dated A. D. 1121 asks the question—"Can other women in the world equal Lakṣmīyāmbike, wife of Ganga Rāja, in skill, beauty, and deep devotion to God?" In that same year, however, Lakṣmīmati Daṇḍanāyakīti adopting the samānyasana ended her life by samādhi; and her husband as an act of reverence, set up an epitaph (at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa) and consecrated it with great gifts and worship.

Ganga Rāja, as we have already seen, had an elder brother whose wife was called Jakkaṇabbe. This lady too was called Daṇḍanāyakīti, obviously, as the late Mr. Narasimhacarya suggested, after her husband's title. Jakkaṇabbe was also the disciple of Śubhacandraśe. She was the mother of General Boppa. After observing the vow known as mokṣatilaka, she caused the god to be carved on the boulder Nōmbare (Nōmbare-nayaṇade dēvaru) and had it consecrated at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa in about A.D. 1120. In that same year a tank was built there by her. In A. D. 1123 she is praised in very high terms. She "was always admired and praised by the whole earth as one who with the greatest reverence caused the worship of Jina to be performed, and as the possessor of pure conduct and many qualities."

The same name Jakkiyabbe was also borne by the wife of another remarkable Jaina general Puṇisamayya. This lady is likewise styled a Daṇḍanāyakīti; and a record assign-
ed to A.D. 1117 informs us that she constructed a stone *basadi* in Basti Hosakōte, Krishnarājapēte tāluka, to the north of which her husband built the Mūlasthāna *basadi* attached to the Viṣṇuvardhana Poysala *Jinālaya*. It was to this *basadi* which he built that, as narrated in another context, he granted specified villages. Another stone inscription found in the same place (Basti Hosakōte), we may incidentally note, asserts that the only women who could compare with her were Sītā and Rukmiṇī.¹

The history of a Jina temple in Sembūr (mod. Šambanūr) in the Dāvanāgare tāluka, brings to light the devotion of another Jaina patroness. She was the Senior Daṇḍanāyakī Kāliyakī, the wife of Sūrya Daṇḍanāyaṅaka. This official was a minister-general under the viceroy Pāṇḍya in the reign of the Western Cālukya monarch Tribhuvanamalla Permmāḍi Deva. The Senior Daṇḍanāyakī having made a vow in A. D. 1128 constructed a beautiful Jina temple in Sembūr, and for the company of Pārśvadeva, the service of the god, and livelihood of the priests, gave specified lands as gifts to Sāntiśayana Paṇḍita.²

In A. D. 1139 we are introduced to three noble ladies whose pious deeds centred round the great stronghold Uddhare. The events to be narrated took place in the reign of the king Mārasinga of the Gangavamśa, who ruled over the Kuntala *viṣaya* in which was situated Uddhare. Under him was his son Ekkala, while the suzerain lord was the Western Cālukya monarch Jagadekamalla (II, Permma) (A.D. 1138—A.D. 1150). The younger sister of king Mārasinga was Suggiyabbarasi, whose *guru* was Māghanandi. She gave gifts of food to Jaina sages and decorated the Paṇica *basadi* in Uddhare,

2. E. C. XI, Dg. 90, pp. 68-69.
granting lands in Savanabili for the same. After some time that estate was added to by Kanakiyabbarasi. Of this lady it is said that wherever there was no Jina temple, there she provided a Jina mandira; and wherever the Jina munis had no place which produced an income, she gave them grants. Mention is made in the same epigraph of Śāntiyakka, whose father was Kōti Šeṭṭi and mother Boppavve. Her uncle was Boppa Daṇḍanāyaka, and her husband was also called Kōti Šeṭṭi. This person who made the basadi in Uddhare, is styled the "supporter of the Jina dharma." King Ekkala mentioned above, we may note in passing, was the disciple of Bhānukırti Siddhāntadeva of the Tintriṇika gaccha and the Krāṇūr gana. He is said to have constructed the Kanaka jinālaya in Uddhare, and given it over to the charge of his guru along with specific lands.¹

To this period belongs the saintly figure of Śaṅtaladevi, the queen of the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhanadeva. Lithic records found at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa and elsewhere eulogize the beauty, skill, piety, and devotion of this remarkable queen. She was the eldest daughter of the Senior Pērggaḍe Māra-singayya, a staunch Śaivite, and the virtuous Mācikabbe, an ardent Jaina! Her younger brother was Dudda Mahā-deva, while her uncle was the Pērggaḍe Singimayya.² An expert in singing, instrumental music, and dancing, she was also renowned for her beauty. An inscription dated A.D. 1123 praises her beauty in two exquisite verses.³ Her guru was Prabhācandra Siddhāntadeva, the disciple of Megha-candra Traividyadeva, of the Pustaka gaccha and the Deśiya gana.⁴

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2. Ibid., II, 132, pp. 60, 73.
3. Ibid., 131, p. 58, text, p. 57.
4. Ibid., 132, p. 60. He died in A.D. 1145. Ibid., 140, p. 67,
Queen Śāntaladevi’s work to promote the cause of the Jina dharma was lasting. She was the cause of the elevation of the four samayás (or creeds), and she delighted in gifts of food, shelter, medicine, and learning, and in the narration of stories relating to Jainism. It was she who had the image of Śānti Jinendra at Śravana Belgoḷa made in A.D. 1123. In the same year she caused to be erected the Savatigandhavāraṇa basadi in the same holy place; and with the permission of king Viṣṇuvardhana, granted the village of Moṭṭēnavile (situation specified) to her guru for the worship of the god and food for ascetics in the same basadi. To this gift was added in the same year specified lands below the Gangasamudra.¹ To the same basadi she (called in this record Cantaladevi) gave the village of Kāvanahalḷi (location specified), along with her younger brother Dudda Mahādeva, in order to meet the expenses of the god in the Vira Kongāḷva Jinālāya (the situation of which is indistinct in the record).² All this work earned for her deserved praise. She was the “crest jewel of perfect faith,” and “a rampart to the Jina faith.”³

True to the instruction of the Jina dharma, she died by the orthodox manner of sallekhanā in A. D. 1131 at the holy place of Śivaganga (thirty miles to the north-west of Bangalore). The inscription dated in that year continues to narrate that on her death, her parents too died. Of the death of her mother, we have some details. “The queen has attained to the state of the gods; I cannot remain (behind)”, thus saying her mother Mācikabbe, coming to

¹ E. C. II, 131, 132, pp. 60, 75.
² M. A. R. for 1927, p. 104.
³ E. C. II, pp. 60, 75. Read also M. A. R. for 1917, p. 10, for the work she did in Sāntigrāma, according to tradition.
Belgola, adopted severe sannyasana, and renouncing the world died. The half closed eyes, the repetition of the five expressions, the method of meditating on Jīmendra, the dignity of taking leave of relations, indicating sannyasana, Mācikabbe fasting cheerfully for one month, easily attained the state of the gods by samādhi in the presence of all the blessed, among whom were Prabhācandra Siddhāntadeva, Vardhamānadeva, and Ravicandradeva. If the queen Sāntaladevī was an austere follower of the Jina dharma, her mother was a still more puritan devotee; and it is not surprising that the engraver Bōkimayya should inform us that “the whole world is extolling her (Mācikabbe) and that it is impossible for the panegyrist to describe her.”¹

The noble example set by the queen Sāntaladevī and her mother Mācikabbe could not but have had a profound effect on the women of the times. Royal ladies showed how firm was the hold which the Jina dharma had on the Hoysala House. King Viṣṇuvardhanadeva’s daughter was Hariyabbarasi, who is called “the eldest younger sister of Kumāra Ballāla Deva,” (i.e., king Narasimha I). She was a devout Jaina, and the wife of the lord (vibhu) Singha, and the lay disciple of Gaṇḍavinukta Siddhāntadeva. In Hantiyūr in Koḍangināḍi she caused to be erected in A.D. 1129 a lofty caityālaya with gopuras surmounted by round-ed pinnacles which were set with all manner of jewels. And to provide for the repairs, etc., of this temple, she obtained land freed by the Hoysala king her father, from Cinna of Gotti and the fisherman Bamma at a special price, granting it to her guru named above.²

Other examples of unvarnished devotion among royal

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1. E. C. II, 143, pp. 73-74.
2. Ibid., VI, Mg., 22, pp. 62-63.
ladies may also be given here. Jakkavve or Jakkale was the wife of Cāvimayya, the Great Minister and Senior Betel-bearer of king Narasimhadeva. Hearing that Heragu was praised by all as a good place, she had a basadi built there dedicated to Cenna Pārśvanātha to which she granted land, after having made an application for the same to the Hoy-sala king Narasimha, in the presence of all the chiefs of that locality. Her guru was the learned Nayakīrti Siddhanta deva, who was “skilled in all grammar, in logic, in poetry, in composing verse with purpose, in philosophy, in religious lore, in worldly wisdom, in all arts, (and) in agreeable speech.”

Māciyakke, the wife of the Commander Īśvara, who has already figured in the above pages, was another lady who set a good example. She was the daughter of Sāhāni Biṭṭiga, and the disciple of Gaṇḍavimuktadeva. She was considered to be the protector of the creeds of the four castes. In the holy place of Māyadavoḷal she had a Jina mandira made for which she presented a tank called Padmāватikere along with specified land in about A. D. 1160.

To the same reign of king Narasimha is to be assigned the work of Siriyādevī, one of the wives of the feudatory Sāmanta Gōva about whom too we have narrated a few details in the preceding pages. From the pedestal of the Viṣṇu image in the Ranganātha temple at Huḷiyyūr, Chikamagalūr tāluka, we learn that she caused a Jina image to be constructed in the basadi at Huḷiyyūr obviously at the instance of her guru Candrāyaṇadeva.

3. *M. A. R.* for 1918, p. 45. There is no Jaina image now in this Hindu temple.
Lest it may be supposed that the example thus set by the noble ladies had hardly any effect on the mass of the people, we may proceed to give a few instances of Jina devotees among the citizens of the Hoysala Empire. A rare type of a strict adherent of the Jina dharma was Haryyale who, as is related in a record assigned to A.D. 1174, called her son Bhûvaya Nâyaka, and said—“Even in your dream think not of me but think of dharma. Always perform dharma, for by doing so you will reap the rewards (named)—thus, Bhûvaya Nâyaka, do I beseech you. That both you and I may obtain boundless merit, make a Jina temple, Bhûvi Deva. Always honour the friends of my god, and take special care of your junior uncle.” After this, anointing Jinapati, she received the sandal water with the resolve to wash away her sins. Then, in the presence of the feet of Jinendra, repeating with a loud voice the five words, without forgetting them, Haryyale, by means of the tomb died.\(^1\)

And like her in the same year died Hariharadevi, the disciple of Candrâyana-deva.\(^2\)

In the succeeding generations, too, it was the ladies of the higher rank that set the example. The Senior Hêrggaḍiti Acaladevi was the wife of the Śaivite General Candramauli. She had become pre-eminent for the four traditional gifts she gave. The learned Nayakîrti was her guru. She had a fine Jînâlaya dedicated to Pârśvanâtha constructed in Sravana Belgola; and it was to this temple, as we saw in an earlier context, that on the application of Candramauli the king Ballâla gave the village of Bammeyanahaḷli. And the merchants (nâmâdesis) together with the representatives of the nāḍu and the nagara (the city corporation) likewise

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1. E. C. XII, Tp. 93, p. 60.
2. Ibid., Tp. 94, p. 61.
granted specified money dues for the maintenance of the temple. These gifts were received by Nayakirti’s disciple Bālacandradeva in A.D. 1182. In the same year the Hoy-sala king added the village of Bekka to the above gift.

Somaladevi was the wife of the devout Jaina minister Ecaña. She too had a basadi erected in A.D. 1207 in Beļagavattinad for the worship of which she granted specified lands.

The sincerity of purpose which lay behind the lives of the common people is seen in the numerous cases of self immolation by the rite of samādhi towards the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. In about A.D. 1190 Sāntiyakka or Sāntale, the daughter of Sankaya Nāyaka and Muddavve, and the disciple of Nayakirti, attained salvation by this method. Ten years later Mālavve, on hearing the news of the death of her daughter-in-law Cauṇḍiyakka, displayed the six virtues of devotion allowed for the females, and died by the same manner (in circa A.D. 1200). Jakkave, the disciple of Kamalasenaddeva, in A.D. 1206, followed suit according to the prescribed method. About six years later (in A.D. 1212) another woman of the same name but the daughter of Mandaṇa Mudda, and the wife of the renowned Bharata, won celebrity in a like manner. "Through imbibing the

1. E. C. II, 327, pp. 136-139; see also 331, p. 140; V, Cn. 150, pp. 192-193, op. cit.
2. Ibid., II, 256, p. 115.
3. Ibid., VII, Sk. 320, p. 115.
4. Ibid., Sk. 200, p. 127.
5. Ibid., XII, Gb. 5, p. 17.
nectar of Jina teaching, having given up the false impressions of the mind, and being filled with desire to attain to the purity set forth in the doctrine, having given up all, saying, ‘Not so much as a gain is mine’, Jakkavve thinking on her god, came to a decision. Thus placing herself at the lotus feet of Jina, fixing her eyes on the tip of the nose, and listening to the words of the Āgama, with ears and eyes having completed sanñyasana, by the rite of samādhi”, Jakkavve died.¹

¹ E. C. VII, Sk. 196, p. 123.
CHAPTER VI.

POPULAR SUPPORT


Ever since the advent of Jainism into southern India, Jaina gurus had striven as much for their ancient religion as for the interests of the country. And in this they had wisely had recourse to a policy which appealed to all classes of people. From the foregoing pages it must have been apparent to the reader that the methods adopted by the Jaina sages to gain their ends were, indeed, well devised and comprehensive. By playing the part of king-makers, they had secured for generations royal patronage. Winning over the feudal lords and the great commanders assured them of success in the various provincial seats over which these high officials were placed. And the next element to be brought within the fold of the Jina dharma was the popu-
lace. Here too the Jaina leaders showed the practical side of their philosophical teachings by securing the allegiance of the most important section of the middle classes—the Vīra Baṇajīgas and the commercial classes, whose financial aid was of inestimable value for the cause of the anekāntamāta. With the immense wealth of which the Vīra Baṇajīgas were the traditional custodians, the Jina sages had magnificent Jinālayas and images constructed. The spectacular effect of these noble monuments together with the active support which kings, feudatories, royal ladies, and generals gave Jainism, must have been greatly responsible for the popularity and strength of that religion throughout the land. But the most practical means which they adopted to win for themselves the allegiance and devotion of the masses was that relating to the four gifts of learning, food, medicine and shelter—the primary needs of humanity. The insistence of these gifts on the part of the richer sections of the people must have had the inevitable effect of drawing to the Jina fold the larger sections of the populace among whom Jainism had made rapid strides from the ninth onwards till the fourteenth century A.D.)

Profound Jaina teachers had certainly contributed to the strength of the Jina dharma in the early centuries of the Christian era. But it is only when we come to the ninth century and after that we meet with the widespread prevalence of the anekāntamāta. This will be evident when we have narrated a few details concerning some of the most important Jaina centres. Among these figures Cikka Hanasōge a lithic record of which assigned to A.D. 910 refers to a remarkable citizen. It was in the reign of Ereya, evidently the Ganga king Ereyappa, when a Jaina teacher named Eḷācārya, who subsisted on water for one month, died by somādhi. It is in connection with the death of this teacher that we come
across Asṭopavāsa Kalnele Devar who set a niśidhi in memory of his guru. This person is described as having been a moving tirtha suggesting thereby that he was a citizen of exceptional piety.\footnote{1}

Evidence concerning the genuine endeavours made by the people to perpetuate the Jina dharma became more and more prominent in the succeeding generations. In about A.D. 1060 during the reign of the king Kacchara Kandarpa Senamāra, Niravadyayya was granted Mahendravojalu. This citizen was the disciple of Mahadeva Bhalāra of the Devagaṇa and the Pāṣāṇānvaya. Niravadyayya erected a Jinālaya after his own name on the Melasa rock, and bestowed on it the village he had received from the king. And the representatives of the adjoining country called the Edemale 1,000 granted each from their paddy fields a specified measure of rice.\footnote{2}

The real clue to the understanding of the high position which Jainism held in the land is seen in the ardour and devotion of the commercial classes. One of the powerful officials of the king Vīra Sāntara Deva in A.D. 1062 was the Paṭṭanāsvāmi (Lord Mayor) Nokkayya Ṣeṭṭi. This commercial magnate constructed the Paṭṭanāsvāmi Jinālaya in Humcca for the worship, etc., of which he presented the village called Moḷakere which he had bought from the king for 100 gadyaṇas. The donee is called the Sakadharma Sakalacandradeva, but Nokkayya’s guru was Divākaranandideva. Nokayya, who had the title of Samyaktva-vārāsi, had images of the Jina gods in

\footnote{1. M. A. R. for 1913-1914, p. 38. The late Mr. Narasimhacarya identified the guru mentioned here with his namesake spoken of in another record as having been the disciple of Śrīdharadeva. 
2. E. C. VI. Cm, 75, pp. 43-44.}
gold, silver, precious stone, and the five metals constructed in Māhura, together with five large tanks named Šantagere, Moḷagere, Paṭṭaṇasvāmigere, and Talaviṇḍegere. Further by spending 100 gadyāṇas he made the Ugure stream enter the Pāgimagalā tank. The beneficial works of Nokkayya Šetti, therefore, were not confined merely to works of religious merit but to those which brought much material good to the people.

The king rewarded such benevolent persons. And, as the same epigraph relates, Nokkayya was presented with a badge (paṭṭa) of gold by his king for his good works. And another inscription dated about A.D. 1077 relates that he was styled “a portable tīrtha in the middle of the forest the Sāntali country”, a Kānīna in making gifts of food, shelter, medicine, and learning”, and an ocean of good character. This latter record informs us that he erected another Jina temple also in Humcca, called the Tīrthada basadi, for which the next Šantara ruler Tailapa Deva granted the village of Bījakana Bayal as an endowment. It is from this record that we learn that this guru Divākaranandi, who possessed the five mahākalyāṇas, the eight mahāpratīhāryas, and the thirty-four atisaysas, who was well versed in both Siddhāntas, wrote a vṛtti in Kannada to the Tattvārthasūtra.

The importance of the commercial classes is also seen from the fact that well known Jina temples were entrusted to their charge. For instance in A.D. 1195 the Nagara Jinaḷaya at Sravana Belgoḷa, which had been constructed by the minister Nāgadeva, was placed in the custody of the Vīra Banaṇjīgas

of the locality. This is proved by the concluding lines of
the epigraph which run thus—“The merchants who were
the protectors of that Jinālaya, born in the eminent line
of Khaṇḍali and Mūlabhadra, devoted to truth and purity,
possessed of the lion’s valour, skilled in conducting various
kinds of trade with many seaports, adorned with the famous
three jewels (viz., samyak-jñāna [right knowledge], samyak-
darśana [right faith], and samyak-carita [right conduct]),
the merchants residing at the holy Belgoḷa acquired celebrity
on earth.”1

For more than a century this noble monument continued
to be under the protection of the Jaina merchants of the
same tīrtha. This is proved by the records dated A.D. 1279
and A.D. 1288. In the former it is said that the Pūjāris of
the Nakhara Jinālaya, agreeing among themselves, gave a
deed to all the merchants of Belgoḷa in which the priests pro-
mised the merchants to carry on all the services in the
Nagara Jinālaya “agreeable to the scale fixed by the mer-
chants.”

The latter epigraph dated A.D. 1288 is more explicit on the
question of the direct control exercised by the merchants
of Śravaṇa Belgoḷa in the management of the Nagarā Jinā-
laya. All the jewel merchants of that place and Jinanāṭha-
pura agreeing among themselves, signed a deed by which
they unanimously gave for the repairs of the temple of the
god Ādi of the same Jinālaya, certain specified duties. The
penalty imposed on those who violated this agreement and
the signatures of the merchants clearly prove the corporate
nature of the deed. The penalty is expressed thus—“If one
denies or conceals (his income) in this matter, his race shall
be childless; he shall be a traitor to the god, a traitor to

1 E. C. II, 335, p. 143. See also ibid., Intr., p. 33, n. (1).
the king, and a traitor to the creed.” The deed was signed by all merchants, and it included their sign-manual Śrī Gommaṭa.¹

Piety sometimes was combined with learning. There were two brothers named Māci Śeṭṭi and Kāli Śeṭṭi in the reign of king Ballāla I. The elder Māci Śeṭṭi was learned in logic and grammar, able in commentating, supremely wise in all the sayings of the scriptures, and celebrated for devoting his wealth to works of piety. His equal in liberality was his younger brother Kāli Śeṭṭi. For the Nakhara Jinālaya of Belgola they granted lands (specified) together with customs dues in A.D. 1078, and to these the Śeṭṭis of the locality added further grants of land.²

(The good feeling that existed between the followers of the Jina dharma and those who belonged to the other religions which must have been apparent to the reader from the preceding pages, is further borne out by the following instances of devout Jainas helping the benevolent work of Brahmans.) Padmōja, who is described as “the frontal ornament of sculptors, a bee at the lotus feet of the Sarasvatī gana, and a worshipper of the feet of Jina”, was the official who advertised the grant of land for a satra (alms house) made by Divākara Sarvātithya, the chief of the Brahmans of the agrahāra of Ḫsavūra in Hosavūr in A.D. 1080.³ About the same year Bīnēya Bammū Śeṭṭi built and endowed a Jinālaya in Sikārpura, and erected a satra for the thousand Brahmans of an agrahāra the name of which is effaced in the record.⁴

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2. Ibid., XII, Tp. 101, pp. 61-62.
3. Ibid, VII. Sk. 293, p. 149.
4. Ibid, Sk. 8, p. 39.
Such spontaneous liberality was appreciated by the State. The following example further proves our assertion. Nokkayya was the son of Poleyamma and Keleyabbe.¹ Once when he was in Taṭṭekere, the king Tribhuvanamalla Ganga Permmāḍi Deva paid a visit to that town in A.D. 1085, and gave him the whole of the government of that city. The great minister, Senior Pērggade Nokkayya, who was the disciple Prabhācandra Siddhāntadeva of the Meṣapāśaṇa gaccha, enlarged a tank, formed paddy fields, erected a temple, and established places for distribution of food. He built a basadi with the big tank of Taṭṭakere surrounding it. His elder son Gujjaṇa was opposed to it; but on the latter’s death, Nokka Pērggade erected two Jina basadis in Harige and Nelavatti. And when Nokka’s second son Jinadeva too died, the ruler Ganga Permmāḍi himself, as a reward for Nokka’s liberality and boldness, for the two basadis which the latter had built, granted the following royal rewards—the royal insignia of two horses, canopy, cāmaras, and big drums, along with the gāvundavṛtti of eight specified villages, twenty horses, and 500 slaves together with the fixed rent of the villages, (named), free of all imposts, as a perpetual gift.

The Great Minister Pērggade Nokkayya’s liberality was now doubled. He erected four basadis and granted specified lands for the Sthanāpati of the Jina settlements belonging to the Gaṇa gaccha. And once again the generous monarch granted the shop-tax and customs dues of Taṭṭekere to his

¹. He is not the same as Paṭṭanaśvāmi Nokkayya mentioned above, since the latter is called the son of Ammana. E. C. VIII. Nr. 57, p. 153. Moreover the difference in the names of their gurus is to be also noted in this connection.
liberal minister.¹

Not officials alone but merchants of the royal household and other high dignitaries as well were responsible for the continuance of the Jina dharma. Bhujabala Ganga Permādi, Bamma Gāvunḍa, Biṭṭideva, and the Nāḍ-prabhū whose name is not given in the record dated A.D. 1111, granted specified land for a basadi in Shimoga along with six houses and an oil mill.² Their work was insignificant when compared with what the royal merchants (rāja-sreṣṭhi) Poysala Śeṭṭi and the graceful and sagacious Nēmi Śeṭṭi did in A.D. 1117. They were the royal merchants to king Poysala, and were famous as “the warm supporters of the Jina dharma (which) spread widely (over the earth).” For the Jina temple and a mandāra (which was a car-like structure sculptured on all sides with fifty-two Jaina figures, supposed to represent the island of Nandīśvara) which their mothers Mācikabbe and Sāntikabbe had caused to be constructed, Poysala Śeṭṭi and Nēmi Śeṭṭi made suitable gifts.³

Some interesting details concerning Hoysala Śeṭṭi are available in epigraphs. He had the title of Tribhuvanamalla Caladanka Rāva, and his wife was called Caṭṭikabbe. This lady was a devout Jaina who delighted in the four kinds of gifts. When in about A.D. 1130 her husband, after bestowing the title Caladanka Rāva Hoysala Śeṭṭi on Malli Śeṭṭi of the Passport Department (yundigeya) of Ayyāvole, died by the rite of sallekhana, she caused an epitaph to be made as an act of reverence to her husband and her son Būcaṇa.⁴

1. E. C. VII. Sh. 10, pp. 11-12.
2. Ibid, Sh. 89, pp. 34-35.
3. Ibid, II., 137, p. 64, and ibid, n. 1.
The ordinary title Caladanka, however, was borne by other merchants as well. Thus in A.D. 1120 Caladankavāra Heḍe Jiya along with two merchants who bore the same name Māci Seṭṭi, and another merchant called Madi Seṭṭi, repaired a pit to the right of Gommaṭeśvara at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa granting dues for the same.¹

The commercial classes were not the only adherents of the Jina dharma. The agricultural sections of the people too were devout Bhavyas. When in A.D. 1154 Pāriśvasena Bhaṭṭāraka repaired the ruined basti of Sāntinātha at Hoḷalkere, and when the grants made by Voddama Gauḍa and others had been interrupted, it was that Gauḍa’s sons (named) and others who petitioned the government official Pratāpa Nāyaka, after paying 100 gadyāṇas, to grant the lands behind the Hiriyakere tank and the tribute from the houses of the citizens for the worship and offerings of the Sāntinātha basadi.²

But it must be confessed that from the practical point of view the piety of the Vīra Baṇajigas was more important for the cause of Jainism than the devotion of the Gauḍas. This will be evident when we examine a few inscriptions of the latter half of the twelfth century. The earliest among these is that dated A.D. 1165 relating to the construction of a Jinālaya by the Śilahāra general Kālana mentioned in an earlier connection. The protectors of the public charity made by the Raṭṭa king Kārtavirya and others, were the Vīra Baṇañju merchants and their leaders, the 500 Svāmis of Ayyāvole and the 1,700 Gavare, Mumuridanḍa, Udbhaya-nārādeśis, and the Tāla-samasta of Ekkasambuge who, in addition to the above duty, unanimously agreed to

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2. Ibid. XI, Hk. 1, p. 115.
pay certain specified dues for the worship, etc., in the basadi.\footnote{M. A. R. for 1916, p. 49.} For the worship of the splendid Jina temple at Māguḍi constructed by Śāṅkara Sāmanta in about A.D. 1182 which we mentioned in connection with Rēca Daṇḍanātha's endowments, the Baṇaṇju of the four places and the Mummuri Daṇḍa granted certain specified dues on the value of the treasures brought by all the merchants of various countries.\footnote{E. C. VII, SK. 197, p. 127.} And in A.D. 1195 a dancing hall and a stone pavement in front of the god Kamaṭha-Pārśvadeva at Śravaṇa Belgola, we may be permitted to repeat, constructed by the Paṭṭaṇaśvāmī Nāgadeva were likewise entrusted to the charge of the merchants born in the eminent line of Khaṇḍali and Mūlabhadra, and skilled in conducting various kinds of trade with many ports, but residing at Śravaṇa Belgola.\footnote{Ibid, II. 335, p. 143.}

The popularity of the Jina dharma among the masses is seen from the many examples of devotion met with in the lithic records. In A.D. 1199 the god Mallikāmoda Śāntinātha of the Hiriya basadi at Balligāme stood in need of voluntary aid. Heggade Hiriyaṇṇa, the Adhikāri of the city, and a few others (named) granted certain customs dues to the priest Padmanandīdeva for the worship in the basadi. This was in the reign of king Ballāla II.\footnote{M. A. R. for 1911, p. 46.} Honni Śeṭṭi and other Bhavyas of Śāntigrāma in the Hassan district, in the reign of the same monarch, set up in about A.D. 1200 the image of Sumati Bhaṭṭāraka of the Inguleśvara bāḷi and the Deśiya gaṇa.\footnote{Ibid for 1917, p. 60} Malli Śeṭṭi had the outer wall of the Ādiśvara basadi of Niṭṭūr in the Gubbi tāluka, adorned with
images all round in about A.D. 1219.\(^1\)

In the thirteenth century A.D., too, the ardour of the citizens for the cause of the anekāntamata never flagged. \(^{\dagger}\) Paduma Śeṭṭi was a typical Bhavya. Possessed of all good qualities, he was devoted to stories relating to the Sad-dharma (i.e., Jainism), delighting in the four kinds of gifts. \(^{\ddagger}\) His son was Gommaṭa Śeṭṭi, who in A.D. 1131 gave specified sum of money for the worship of Gommaṭadeva at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. This was in the reign of the Hoysala king Narasimha II.\(^2\)

Gangeyana Māra’s charitable endowments were more creditable. He was the disciple of Nēmi Paṇḍita of the Vāṇada-balī, Pustaka gaccha, and the Mūla sangha. His great work was the construction of the Pārśva Jinālaya at the top of the rock to the south of the Badara tank on the inaccessible hill-fortress of Niḍugal which had the other name of Kāḷāṇjana. This basadi was also named Jōgavaṭṭige basadi. For the daily worship and distribution of food in this basadi, Gangeyana Māra and his wife Bācale obtaining lands from their royal master the Coḷa ruler Irungoḷa Deva, granted them, while some of the neighbouring cultivators granted specified betel leaves, arecanuts, and oil for the same purpose.\(^3\)

\(//\) Purchasing land and freeing it from all obligations and bestowing it as charitable endowments for the Jaina institutions was a noteworthy feature of the times. Having purchased specified lands at Mattiyakere from the Mahāmaṇḍa-

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1. E. C. XII Gb. 8, p. 17.
2. Ibid, II. 186, p. 90.
3. Ibid, XII. Pg. 52, pp. 124-125. The image of Pārśvanātha in the same Pārśvanātha basadi on the Niḍugal fort was constructed by the Bhavyas of Belḷumbaṭṭe, who were also the disciples of the same Nēmicandra Bhaṭṭāraka. M. A. R. for 1918, p. 45.
Lācārya Nayakīrtideva’s disciple Candraprabhadeva, Śambhudeva and three others (named) granted the same for the milk offerings of Gommaṭadeva and the twenty-four Tīrthankaras at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa in A.D. 1273 in the reign of the Hoysala king Narasimha III.¹ Likewise in A.D. 1280 in the reign of the same monarch, all the farmers of Arakoṭṭāra having freed the basadi of that locality from all the obligations of money payments, granted the water-rate, alms, house-tax, poll-tax, the nicanḍi, and other dues for the same basadi.²

The same procedure was adopted in A.D. 1282 when all the jewel merchants (mānikya nagaranāl) of Belgoḷa desired to make some endowments. Together with the royal guru Nēmicandra Paṇḍita’s disciple Bālacakradrādeva, these merchants, who belonged to the Balāṭkāra gāna, and who were the disciples of the Mahāmāṇḍalācārya Māghanandi, purchased wet land from Bālacakradrādeva, and gave it along with other lands for the worship of the god Ādi of the Nagara Jīnālaya.³

If there were devout Bhavyas who could purchase lands and give them for the offerings in a basadi, there were also austere Jainas who could lay down their lives in the orthodox manner. Soma Gaṇḍa was the eldest son of Masana Gaṇḍa of Cikka Muguḷi, and the disciple of Śreyāmsa Bhaṭṭāraka of the Pustaka gaccha and the Hanasoṅge bali. When Soma Gaṇḍa died in A.D. 1280 by samādhi, his son Heggaṇe Gaṇḍa not only set up a memorial stone but also gave lands (specified) for the eight kinds of worship in the local basadi.⁴

¹ E. C. II. 246, p. 104.
² Ibid, IV. Ch. 84, p. 10.
³ Ibid., II. 334, pp. 141-142.
⁴ Ibid, VI. Cm. 2, p. 35. For an earlier example in A.D. 1132, see Ibid., VIII, Sb. 97, p. 14.
In the reign of the next monarch Ballāla III, whose age heralds the Vijayanagara epoch, a large section of the people was still devoted to the anekāntamata. Bāhubali Śeṭṭi and Pārisēṭṭi had constructed the Ekkōṭi Jinālaya which contained the god Padmaprabha. A tank was needed for the Jinālaya and lands to meet the expenses of worship. And Areya Māreya Nāyaka built the tank, while the lands below it were given as a gift to the basadi by various Nāyakas (named) of Kabbālu, along with the Jaina gurus Nēmicandra Paṇḍita and Bālacandra mentioned above. These latter, we may note by the way, were the disciples of the rājaguru Nayakīrti. But we are unable to determine whether Nayakīrti was the rājaguru of king Ballāla III. These details are gathered from a stone record dated only in the cyclic year Śrīmukha Vaiśākha.¹

Nēmicandra mentioned above may be identified with his namesake spoken of in an undated and defaced inscription found at Toḷālu. In this record it is said that the village of Navilūr was granted to that Jaina guru, for the services in the basadi at the same place, by Hiriya Mudda Gāvunḍa, Bili Gauṇḍa, and fifty-two residents of that locality.²

Turning now to the various centres in and outside Karnāṭaka from where Jainism radiated, we find that, while most of them completely passed into the hands of the votaries of other religions, a few continued to remain strongholds of Jainism throughout all the ages. In the centres which fell into the hands of the non-Jainas, only mutilated Jaina images and broken slabs bear silent testimony to the once prosperous condition of Jainism in the country. The centres of Jainism may be divided into two groups—the major centres

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¹ M. A. R. for 1927, p. 46.
² Ibid, p. 44.
and the minor places of Jaina influence. We shall first enumerate the major Jaina strongholds, and then pass on to the description of the lesser places of importance.

From the earliest times when Jainism had first made its appearance in the south, it had followed a policy of widespread diffusion which soon secured for it great strongholds in the centre, north, south and west of modern Mysore. These were the following places—Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, Paudanapura, Kopāṇa, Punnāḍ, Hanasoge, Talakāḍ, Humcc, Balligāme, Kuppaṭūr, and Vanavase. Of these two were undoubtedly renowned as mahā-tirthas—Śravaṇa Belgoḷa and Kopāṇa, while Paudanapura seems to have been one of the earliest places associated with the statue of Gommaṭēśvara. The reader must have already surmised from the introductory remarks to this work that the traditions of the great Śrutakevali Bhadrabāhu are connected with Śravaṇa Belgoḷa and Punnāḍ.¹ The populous and wealthy region to which the entire sangha was directed, as is related in the earliest rock inscription at Candragiri assigned to A.D. 600, could have been no other than the northern part of Punnāḍ itself.² In Kiṭṭūr (Kīrtipura), the capital of Punnāḍ, Vasupūjayadeva of the Tintriṇīka gaccha, consecrated an image of Pārśvanātha in A.D. 1179.³

As regards Paudanapura we base our remarks concerning its importance on the Śravaṇa Belgoḷa inscription dated A.D. 1180 cited already in connection with the activities of Cām-

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¹ E. C. II. 1, 2, 31, pp. 1, 2, 7. Read also M. A. R. for 1912, pp. 3-9.
² E. C. II, 1, p. 1; Saletore, Ancient Kingdom of Punnāṭṭa in the Indian Culture, III, pp. 303-317.
³ M. A. R. for 1913-4, p. 37. But all traces of Jainism in Punnāḍ have been obliterated.
uṇḍa Rāya. While narrating the history of the great image which that Minister-General had caused to be built, it was said that the Emperor Bharata, the son of Purudeva, caused to be made near Paudanapura an image of 525 bows in length, resembling the form of the victorious-armed Bāhubali-kevali; that after a lapse of time, a world-terrifying mass of innumerable kukkanasarpa grew around it; and that Cāmuṇḍa Rāya, on being advised that that place was inaccessible, determined to construct another image of similar proportions at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa.¹

The Paudanapura mentioned here could have been no other than Podan, modern Bodhan, a village lying in Lat. 18° 40' and Long. 77° 53' in the Nizāmabād district of H. E. H. the Nizam’s Dominions. It was the capital of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Indravallabha, Nityavarsha, Indra IV. (A.D. 915—A.D. 917). This village is now strewn with an array of antiquities, both Jaina and Brahmanical, which undoubtedly go to prove the antiquity of the place.² This fact of its having been the capital of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king in the first quarter of the tenth century A.D., and the fact that in one of the Śravaṇa Belgoḷa inscriptions it is said to have contained an image of Gommaṭeśvara, suggest that long before the days of king Indravallabha, it had already come into prominence as a great Jaina centre. But in the reign of that Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, a Vaiṣṇavite temple was built there.³ Perhaps it is this fact of the rājadāṇi of Bodhana having completely passed into the hands of non-Jainas, which explains why in the same age Cāmuṇḍa Rāya was informed that it was “an inaccessible” place.

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1. E. C. II, 234, p. 98 op. cit.
Next in importance to Śravaṇa Belgoḷa was the mahā-tīrtha of Kopāṇa (mod. Kopbal in the south-west of the Nizam's Dominions). This place has not yet been properly surveyed and examined. However the researches conducted since the days of Rice, enable us to give a meagre account of the mahā-tīrtha of Kopāṇa. From the seventh century A.D. till the sixteenth century Kopāṇa was reckoned to be a holy place of the Jainas. But there are valid grounds to assume that it was a place of considerable importance to the Buddhist world before it sprang into fame as a mahā-tīrtha of the Jainas. Like some other holy places it passed from the hands of the Buddhists into those of the Jainas only to come into the custody of the Hindus afterwards.

The word Kopāṇa has been derived from kuppe (hill, heap, elevated spot) + ane (situation, direction), signifying thereby its location on a hill top. This derivation seems to be correct in view of the fact that in some records to be cited pre-

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1. This is admitted by Mr. C. Krishnama Charlu who, on behalf of the Government of H. E. H. Nizam, conducted the first official survey of Kopāṇa, although just before him, Mr. Panduranga B. Desai, M.A., had made personal investigations on his own initiative and discovered many interesting inscriptions in Kopbal and its neighbourhood. Mr. Charlu's results are embodied in *Hyderabad Archæological Series*, No. 12. *The Kannada Inscriptions of Kopbal*; while Mr. Desai's in the *Karnataka Historical Review*, II, pp. 11-15. The late Mr. N. B. Shastry of Kopbal is said to have written an excellent paper on the antiquities of Kopbal, which seems to have been forwarded to the Hyderabad Archæological Dept. This, however, is not accessible to me. The researches of Fleet and Narasimhacarya should also be noted in this connection.

sently Kopaṇa is styled the hill of Kopaṇa. The modern name Kopbal seems to have been in vogue in very early times, since in an inscription also to be cited anon, it is called Kuppāl. The identification of modern Kopbal with Kopaṇa was first made by Rice, and it has been confirmed by recent scholars.\(^1\)

It was the same scholar who provisionally identified Kopaṇa with Konkinapulo mentioned by Yuan Chwang (A.D. 635-A.D. 643).\(^2\) Rice gave no reasons for identifying Kopaṇa with Konkinapulo;\(^3\) but we are now in a position to state that his identification was correct. Yuan Chwang went from the Drāviḍa country northwards into a jungle and passing through an isolated city and a small town, after a journey of above 2,000 li towards the north-west, reached Konkinapulo.\(^4\) He describes the country as being above 5,000 li, and its capital above 30 li in circuit. It contained more than 100 Buddhist monasteries and above 10,000 Brethren who were students of both the Vehicles. Close to the capital was a large monastery with above 300 Brethren—all men of great distinction. In the temple of this monastery was a tiara of Prince Sarvārthasiddha (i.e., Gautama Buddha); in the temple of another

2 E. C. V, Intr. p. 15.
3. On Konkinapulo, read Burnell, I. A., VIII, 145-6; see also his *Elements of South Indian Palaeography*, p. 33, ns. (1) and (2) (2nd ed.) ; Fleet, I. A., XXII, p. 113 seq.; Burgess refuting Fleet, *ibid.*, XXIII, p. 28; Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, p. 253, n. (46); Rice, *Karnataka Sabdānuśāsanam* Intr. p. 15, ns. (2) and (3); *My. Gazetteer*, II, p. 206; read also *Jl. of the Bombay R. A. S.*, XI, p. 270, where the city of Kongaṇa is mentioned in A.D. 1157; *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, II, pp. 237-239.
monastery near the capital was a sandal wood image of Maitreya. To the north of the capital was a wood of tāla trees above 30 li in circuit in which was a tope where the past Four Buddhas had sat and walked for exercise. Near the capital on the east side was a tope which had associations with Buddha’s preaching. To the south-west of the capital was an Aśoka’s tope at the spot where the (arhat) Śrōṇavimśatikoti made miraculous exhibitions and many converts, and beside the tope the remains of a monastery built by that Arhat.¹

From the above the following may be deduced:—

(a) That in the second half of the seventh century A.D. Kōnkinapulo was noted for the many relics of Buddhism;

(b) That, on the whole, it contained many monasteries, which are styled by the Chinese traveller Buddhist monasteries; and

(c) That in its neighbourhood, as distinct from the monasteries, was an Aśokan tope.

Now it is precisely in the village of Kopbal that the so-called Gavīmatha and Pālkīgūḍu Edicts of Aśoka have been discovered.² And it is only fifty-four miles as the crow flies that another Edict of Aśoka—the Maski Edict—was discovered; while ninety-four miles from Kopbal was found the Erragūḍi Edict of Aśoka.³ These discoveries of Aśoka’s Edicts in and around Kopbal prove beyond doubt that that place was of considerable importance in the days of the Mauryan Emperor. And they fully justify the epithets—ādi-tīrtha


and mahā-tīrtha given to it in epigraphs.¹

As regards the second point mentioned above, viz., that Kopbal contained many monasteries, tradition current at Kopbal today asserts that there were not less than 772 basadis in that place.² Hence current tradition connects Kopbal, not with Buddhism, but with Jainism.

And, finally, Yuan Chwang speaks of the many relics of Buddhism at Kopaṇa. These no doubt have yet to be discovered; but the many ruins pertaining not only to Buddhism as narrated above, but also to Brahmanism and Jainism, that are found in and around Kopbal justify the statement of the Chinese traveller that that centre was noted for its sanctity.³

But here some objection may be raised against our assumptions. Firstly, as regards the name. Yuan Chwang gives it as Kongkin(kan)napulo which may have been another rendering of Kopaṇapura. Secondly, the Chinese traveller does not give any detail concerning one special feature of Kopaṇa—the hill-top and the dolmens in that village.⁴ While he speaks of the fertile nature of the country, the swarthy complexion of the people, of their rude and rough ways, and of their addition to intellectual and moral acquisitions,⁵ he

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1. Charlu, The Kannaḍa Inscription at Kopbal, p. 3.
2. This detail we owe to Mr. N. S. Rajapurohit and the late Mr. N. B. Shastry. See Charlu, Kannada Insct., p. 14.
4. These dolmens are called Moreyana angadi, meaning not, as Mr. Charlu says, "the shops of the Mauryas", (Kann. Inscr., p. 1). but as Mr. Desai correctly says "the stalls of the pygmies" called Morayas, K. H. R. II, p. 15. In support of Mr. Desai, read Rice, E. C. XI, Intr. p. 32.
says nothing about the little detail of the dolmens which would have settled once for ever the identity of Konkinapulo.

However we may all the same observe that, both on the strength of his own statements and on that of the lithic records, the description of the holy place as given by Yuan Chwang seems to point to a Jaina centre rather than to a Buddhist stronghold. In the first place, the Chinese pilgrim uses an epithet in regard to Śrōṇavimśatikōṭi which is striking. He calls him Arhat Śrōṇavimśatikōṭi, and he tells us that the latter constructed an image of Maitreya in Konkinapulo; that near the Aśokan tope was the spot where the same Arhat made miraculous exhibitions; that there were the remains of a monastery built by that Arhat; and that there was a tope in the neighbourhood of Konkinapulo which contained the relics of Śrōṇavimśatikōṭi. This Arhat Śrōṇavimśatikōṭi was no other than the bhikṣu Śrotavimśatikoṭi, who is said to have been born in a place which lay south-west of the capital of I-lan-na-po-fa-to country. While it is certainly admitted that the term Arhat was commonly applied in Buddhist canonical literature to Buddha himself and to transcendental beings, it cannot be understood how the Chinese traveller came to transform his bhikṣu into an Arhat. The only supposition is that, notwithstanding his close observation of the Digambara and Śvetāmbara Jainas in other parts of the country, Yuan Chwang seems in this one


2. On the wrong use of this name by the Chinese traveller, read Watters, ibid., II, pp. 180, 238.


4. Watters, ibid., II, pp. 2, 154, 155, 252. On the term Arhat used in regard to Buddha, read Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, Part I, p. 2. See also ibid., pp. 63, 105, 138, 264, where the term is used in regard to laymen, the real Brahman, and priests of God. (S. B. E. Vol. II).
instance to have confounded the Jainas with the Buddhists of Kopāṇapuṣṭa.

This supposition is strengthened when we note that in the seventh century A.D. Kopāṇa was essentially a Jaina tīrtha. Epigraphic evidence proves this. In the Halagēri stone inscription of the Western Cālukyan king Vijayāditya (A.D. 696-A.D. 733) mention is made of this great Jaina sanctuary.¹

A rapid survey of the epigraphs and one or two notices in literature conclusively shows that Kopāṇa remained a great tīrtha for the Jainas from the seventh till the sixteenth century A.D. In the Ganjam plates issued by the Ganga king Mārasinga Ereyamma, and assigned by Rice to circa A.D. 800, we have one of the witnesses styled thus—Mādhava of Kuppāl.² This may be taken to be the earliest variant of the name by which Kopāṇa is known to-day—Kopbal. As Rice pointed out long ago, Kopāṇa is mentioned by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Nīpatunga (A.D. 814—A.D. 877) in his Kavirājamārga, as one of the four cities in which the pith of the Kannāṭa language was spoken.³ In this connection it is interesting to observe that in one of the stone inscriptions discovered near the grave of Kādalaralinga in the Maunakōṭe at Kopbal, in the characters of the same century (the ninth century A.D.), mention is made of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty and of the monarch Nīpatunga.⁴ Another stone

1. We owe this to the labours of Mr. P. B. Desai, K. H. R., II, no. 1, p. 48.
2. E.-C. IV Sr. 160, p. 143.
3. Ibid., I. Intr. p. 15; Kavirājamārga, Piṭhika, V, 37 See also Charlu, Kannada Ins., p. 2; E. I. XII. 148. The late Mr. Narasimhacarya disproved Fleet’s contention that Kaviśvara, and not Nīpatunga, was the author of Kavirājamārga. (I. A. XXIII 258). Read Kavīcārite I, pp. 14, 17-20.
inscription on the rocky side of Candramabandi or Vaṇṭikoḷa in the same place, records the death of Sarvanandī, the disciple of Ekkacaṭṭugada Bhaṭāra in Śaka 803 (A.D. 881). To this period (the ninth century) may be assigned the death of Sukumārasena muni on the hill of Kopāṇa (Kopāṇādri), mentioned by Cāmuṇḍa Rāya in his Cāmuṇḍarāya Purāṇa.

When we come to the tenth century A.D., we find Kopāṇapura the seat of a branch of the Śilāhāras. It remained so till the thirteenth century A.D. From the inscriptions discovered at Cinnamonālī and Bankūr in the Gulbarga district and in Salōṭgi and Muttagi in the Bijapur district, we learn that the Seḷāras or Śilāhāras of this branch styled themselves Kopāṇapuravarādhiśvara and Jīmūtavāhanānvaya.

The eleventh century A.D. saw Kopāṇa becoming still more conspicuous. This was because in addition to its having been a holy place, it was the seat of a great battle. Some pilgrims from Śrī Kopāṇa tīrtha visited Śravaṇa Belgoḷa in about A.D.


2. This was first pointed out by Rice, Kornāṭaka Šabdānuśāsana, Intr. p. 15, nos. (1) and (2). Then Narasimhacarya referred to it quoting the passage in Kavīcaritē, I. p. 48, n. (1) Mr. N. S. Rajapurohit also has come across this passage, and has added to it notices in Ajīta Purāṇa. So we are informed about Mr. Rajapurohit by Charlu, Kannāḍa Ins., p. 14. For another inscription assigned to the tenth century A.D. mentioning the guru Jaṭāsinganandi and his disciple Cāvavya, see Charlu, ibid., p. 8.

3. Only one inscription hailing from Salōṭgi was noticed by earlier scholars, the others were discovered by Mr. Desai. Kielhorn—Sastri, E. I. IV, p. 59; Desai, K. H. R. II, no. 1, p. 48; Charlu, ibid., p. 2.

M.J. 7.
1000. It is in connection with the redoubtable Cola king Rājādhiraṭa’s and his younger brother Rājendra deva’s conflicts with the Western Cālukyan king Someśvara Āhamalla that we learn about the importance of this place. In one stone inscription it is called “the beautiful great tirtha of Koppam.” This name was rightly identified by Rice with Kopaṇa. Here was fought a great battle between the Cola king Rājādhiraṭa Deva and the Western Cālukyan king Someśvara Āhamalla. The former was an irresistible warrior and had a great many victories to his credit. But he was an enemy of the Jainas, and a ruler of blood-thirsty disposition. The anti-Jaina propensity in king Rājādhiraṭa is proved beyond doubt by the Aṇṇigere stone inscription of Dharwar which calls him a wicked Cola who had abandoned the religious observances of his family, penetrated into the Belgoḷa Country and burnt the Jaina temples erected there by Ganga Permmāḍī (i.e., the Western Cālukyan ruler Vikramāditya VI, who was the younger son of king Someśvara I by a Ganga princess). The blood-thirsty disposition of the Cola ruler is attested by the Someśvara temple

2. Ibid, IX. Intr, p. 16. n. (3) And again in My & Coorg., p. 90. Mr. Charlu seems to suggest that Messrs Kielhorn and Sastri were the first to identify this place. Kannada Ins., p. 2. This is wrong. It cannot be made out how Mr. Charlu failed to notice the works of Rice. Koppam was wrongly identified by Hultsch with Kuppam and Koppa. South Indian Inscriptions, I. p. 134; II, p. 232. Rice refers to this wrong identification. E. C. IV, Intr. p. 15, and n. (1). Mr. Charlu rejects it. Kannada Ins., pp. 3-4.
record found in Gangāvara, Dēvanahalli tāluka, Mysore state, and dated A.D. 1046. In the great battle of Koppam which Rice assigns to A.D. 1052, king Rājādhīrāja was killed by the Western Cālukyan king Someśvara Āhavamalla. But the valiant younger brother of that Coḷa ruler by name Rājendra-deva retrieved the prestige of the Tamil army, and inflicted such a crushing defeat on the Western Cālukyan king that the latter retreated in order. It is in connection with the great victory won by Rājendra-deva that we learn that Kop-pam was “a beautiful tīrtha,”

Its situation is given in another lithic record dated A.D. 1054 which, while repeating the earlier details of Rājendra-deva’s having terrified Āhavamalla at Koppam, informs us that that place was on the bank of the great river. The “great river” (Pērāru) mentioned here has been identified with Hirehabba on the right bank of which Kopana is situated.⁴

1. E. C. IX. Bn. 108, p. 21 ; My & Coorg., pp. 90-91. According to E. C. VII. Sk. 118, text, p. 218, the death of Rājādhīrāja is to be placed in Śaka. 976=A.D. 1054.
3. Ibid., X. Kl. 107, p. 35; ibid., Intr. p. 15.
4. We owe this accurate detail to Mr. Charlu. Kannada Ins., p. 5. But Mr. Charlu himself says that Kopbal is situated on the left bank of the same stream! Ibid, p. 1. If this identification of Pērāru is correct, it will be a unique instance of a mere halla, or stream, called by the name of “great river”? The difficulty may be solved thus: the greatness of the tīrtha has been transferred to the stream itself. Usually the Kṛṣṇa, called Kaṇa-bennā in Khāravela’s Hathigumpha Cave inscription (E.I. XX, p. 87), Kara-benā in the Nasik cave inscription, no. 10 (E. I. VIII, p. 78), and Kṛṣṇa-bennā in a Western Cālukyan inscription of king Vinayāditya dated A.D. 692 (which will be edited soon by Mr. D. B. Diskalkar of Satara), is called Pēr-ddore which name, as Rice has pointed out, has been sometimes
Inscriptions assigned to the same century (the eleventh century A.D.) reveal the names of Jaina gurus and their disciples, and show the great popularity of Kopaṇa. For instance, a stone inscription of the first year of king Vikramāditya informs us that Simhanandi Ācārya died by saṁnyasana. The lay disciples of the latter (four in all) are named, while Simahanandi Ācārya’s disciple Kalyāṇakārīti is extolled as one who had observed the cāndrāyaṇa, and through whose administering of the law of Jina (Jina śāsana) many effected the karma kṣaya (destruction of the evil effect of human action). Kalyāṇakārīti is said to have built the Jinendra caityālaya at the spot where his guru Simhanandi Ācārya had died, and also consecrated the image of Śāntinātha in the village of Buccukundi. It is conjectured that the king Vikramāditya mentioned here was the Western Cālukyan monarch Vikramāditya V who reigned from A.D. 1009 till A.D. 1017. This is inadmissible. It is more probable that the name refers to king Vikramāditya VI of the same dynasty, whose benevolent work as a Jaina we have already noted in this treatise.

Evidence is not wanting to prove that Kopaṇa continued to be a great Jaina centre in the twelfth century A.D. In about A.D. 1112 Kopaṇa tīrtha is said to be “distinguished

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given to the Tungabhadrā, and in two instances to Lakṣmaṇa-tīrtha. E. C. X., Intr. p. 18 n. (1). For other notices of the battle of Koppam, read S. I. I., III, no. 55; ibid, VII. no. 827 E. I. XII p. 297; E. C. IV. Ch. 69, p. 8.

1. Charlu, Kannada Inscr., p. 9. Mr. Desai also notices the same but makes Ravicandra, Guṇacandra; Abhayacandra, Kavicandra; and Desaṇacandra, Ajayanandi respectively. K. H. R. II. no 2, p. 14.

2. Charlu, ibid, p. 9.
among the millions of Jainas sacred places."1 We have seen in connection with the great Jaina general Ganga Rāja that, as is related in an epigraph dated A.D. 1115, his liberality converted Gangavādi 96,000 into Kopāna.2 The same is repeated in another stone inscription dated A.D. 1133.3 Of his grandson Ēca Daṇḍādhipa it is also said in A.D. 1134 that he made Jaina temples in Belgoḷa like those in the tīrthas of Kopāna and other places.4 Another record dated A.D. 1135 of the same general, while repeating the above fact, calls Kopāna an original tīrtha (Kopāṇa-ādi-tīrthadalu).5 As is related in a record dated A.D. 1159 it was General Hūḷḷa that, as we noted in an earlier context, granted gifts to the assembly of twenty-four Jaina sages in the great holy place of Kopāna (Kopāṇa mahā-tīrtha).6 Gangavādi 96,000 shining like Kopāna through the liberality of Ganga Rāja is again mentioned in A.D. 1184.7 The wealth and sanctity of the place is further attested by a stone inscription found on the pedestal of a Jaina image in the Candranātha basti at Kopbal itself which calls it Śrī-Kopāna tīrtha.8

Belagavattināḍ is compared to Kopāna in about A.D. 1205 because of the charitable work done by Ēcaṇa.9 The wealthy Kopāna had in about A.D. 1206 a Senabova named

1. E. C. VII. Sh. 64, p. 25.
3. Ibid, V. Bl. 124, p. 82.
4. Ibid, V. Ch. 248, p. 229.
7. Ibid, IV. Ng. 32, p. 120.
8. M. A. R. for 1916, p. 83. See also Charlu, ibid, pp. 11-12.
Sāteya who wrote the stone inscription of that date.¹ Stone inscriptions found at Kopbal, and assigned to the thirteenth century A.D., mention the names of Sāntaladevi basadi, the Arasiya basadi, the Tīrthada basadi, and the Timmabbarasiya basadi at the same place.²

That Kopaṇa did not lose its fame and importance in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A.D. is proved by later epigraphs. In about A.D. 1400 Candrakīrtideva, Master of all Arts (sakala-kalā-pravīṇa) and the chief disciple of Subhacandradeva, of the Mūla saṅgha and the Inguleśvara baḷi, caused an image of Candraprabha to be set up “intending it for his own tomb.”³ Under the Vijayanagara Emperor Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great, Kopaṇa was styled a simā. It had been assigned by that monarch to the Treasurer Timmappayya for his nāyakship. But in this age or before one of the famous Jaina shrines at that place had been turned into a Śaivite temple. This is concluded from the same record dated A.D. 1521 in which the Treasurer Timmappayya is said to have granted the village Hiriyasindogi to the Cenna Keśava god of Kopaṇa.⁴ It has been surmised that this temple of Cenna Keśava was originally a Jaina temple from the fact that the temple still contains Jaina sculptures.⁵ One of the greatest scholars of the sixteenth century, by name Vādi Vidyānanda, is said to

1. E. C. IX, Cg. 45, p. 175.
2. Desai, K. H. R. II. no. 2, p. 12. Charlu, ibid., p. 14. where Mr. Charlu has based his remarks on the admirable note on Kopaṇa supplied to him by the late Mr. N. B. Shastry of that place.
3. E. C. IV. Ch. 151, p. 20.
4. Desai, ibid., p. 12; Charlu, ibid., p. 10.
5. Desai, ibid.
have won distinction thus in about A.D. 1530—in Kopāna and other tīrthas he held great festivals with immense wealth, and by means of the rite of dehājñā in order to gain the reward of salvation, became famous.¹ We shall see in a later context that in the first quarter of the sixteenth century A.D. Kopāna still boasted of traders and merchants. So that our account of Kopāna may be brought down to the eighteenth century A.D., we may mention here that, according to a stone inscription of Kopbal assigned to that century, Vardhamānadeva, the disciple of Devendrakirti Bhaṭṭāraka, had the image of Cchāyā Candranātha made and set up there.²

There were other prominent Jaina centres as well. Cikka Hanasōge in the Yeḍatore tāluka, which figures conspicuously in records ranging from the ninth century A.D. till the first quarter of the twelfth century,³ had at one time sixty-four basadis. To-day, however, it is filled with ruins amidst which may be seen the beautiful basti built in the fine Cālukyan style.⁴ In about A.D. 1080 a relative of Dāmanandi Bhaṭṭāraka, the senior guru of Divākaranandi Siddhāntadeva of the Pustaka gaccha, is said to have been the head of all the basadis of the Cangāḷvatīrtha of Panasōge, and of the Abbe basadi as well as of the basadi of Bālivane of Torenāḍ.⁵ It is interesting to note here that in an inscription assigned to the eleventh century and found in the Tīrthada basadi in the

¹. E. C. VIII. Nr. 46, p. 147. See below Chapter on Jaina Celebrities in Vijayanagara.
⁴. Ibid. for 1912-3, p. 18.
same centre, it is said that that basadi had been originally endowed by Rāmaswāmi of the Mūla sangha, Deśiya gaṇa, and Pustaka gaccha, and the son of Daśaratha, and the elder brother of Lakṣmana, and the husband of Sītā and descended in the line of Ikṣvāku. The same basadi was afterwards successively endowed by the Śakas, Naḷas, Vikramāditya, the Gangas, and the Cangāḷvas, and then renovated by Samayābharaṇa Bhānukīrti Paṇḍita, the disciple of Nāgacandradeva of the Balātkāra gaṇa.¹ We have had an occasion of noting the work of the Cangāḷva king Rājendra Cola Nanni Cangāḷvadeva in Hanasöge in an earlier context.²

An equally well known place in the ninth and tenth centuries was Pombucca (mod. Humccca), twenty-two miles to the north of Tīrthahalji in Nagar tāluka. We have already narrated how from the days of the founder of the Śāntara line, Jinadatta Rāya, in the ninth century A.D. and afterwards, Humccca was a Jaina centre. The most ancient temple in that place is called the Pāliyakka basadi constructed in about A.D. 878. The large Jaina maṭha and the Jaina temples dedicated to Pārśvanātha and Padmāvatī— the latter being the original and presiding deity of the locality—, and the finely executed Paṅcakūṭa basadi attract even today large numbers of Jaina pilgrims from all parts of India.³ The Paṅcakūṭa basadi was no other than the famous Ūrvītilakam which we described while dealing with the charitable endowments of the Śāntara princesses

¹. M. A. R. for 1912-3, p. 50. Cf. E. C. IV. Yd. 25, p. 56. Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, is also mentioned in connection with another Jaina temple described elsewhere in this treatise.
Caṭṭaladevi and Pampādevī.¹

In the course of the description of the benevolent work of General Huḷḷa, it was remarked that one of the centres where he built five great basadis was Kellangere. This, we may be permitted to repeat, was an original holy place (ādi-tīrtha) formerly founded by the Gangas.² Evidence of the centre having been founded by the Gangas, however, is not forthcoming in history. But all the same there cannot be any doubt that the antiquity of Kellangere can be carried to at least two centuries earlier than the age of General Huḷḷa. We prove this by the Lakkaṇṭha Bīrāṇa stone inscription found at Bastihal-li, Halebīḍ, and dated A.D. 952, in which the following is narrated—That in the reign of the Ganga king Bhūtuga (A.D. 938—A.D. 953), Ballappa captured Kellangere with the aid of archers. Moni (Mauni ?) Bhaṭṭāraka, the disciple of Guṇaśāgara of the lineage of Koṇḍakunda, was then in Kellangere. When Ballappa besieged that centre, Moni Bhaṭṭāraka, so it is said in the record, “gained the approval and affection of the world,” on which Kiriya Moni Bhaṭar, the disciple of Abhaya-candra Paṇḍita, erected a monument for him. It cannot be made out whether we are to infer that the (senior) Moni Bhaṭṭāraka valiantly withstood the attack on Kellangere by Ballappa, and that he died in its defence. This doubt arises from two considerations—the fact of the death of Moni Bhaṭṭāraka having been made immediately after the attack on that town by Ballappa; and secondly, from the opening lines of the praise bestowed on the Jaina guru, *viz.*, that praise was not to be given to the effeminate but (only) to the beloved, the treasury of virtues—Moni in Kel-

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1. M. A. R. for 1929, p. 7. See *above* Ch, V.
Let us now pass on to the other great centre—Balligāme. Throughout the eleventh century A.D. Balligāme figures as a prominent Jaina centre, although during the same age it was the home of all the different religious creeds. And of the various religious organizations that had made Balligāme their home, no doubt the Kālāmukha order deserves the highest praise. It is in connection with one of the greatest figures in Kālāmukha history, Vādi Rudraguṇa Lakulīśvara Paṇḍita, that, as we said in the above pages, we come across statements pertaining to Jainas in Balligāme. In all likelihood the three great Jaina teachers Abhayacandra, Vādibhasimha Vādigharaṭṭa Ajitasena, and Vādiraja—whom Lakulīśvara Paṇḍita defeated in disputation—excluding others whose identity is still unknown, could only have been worsted by the great Kālāmukha teacher either in the court of the Western Cālukyan ruler Jayasimhadeva at Paṭṭalakere or in Balligāme itself.

We presume that it was in the latter city that the disputation took place on the following grounds—In the first place, Balligāme by virtue of its having been the centre of the then existing creeds was pre-eminently suited to be the meeting ground of all the religious disputants. But a more valid reason in support of our assumption is that supplied by the stone inscription dated A.D. 1048; that is to say, only twelve years after the above inscription relating to the achievements of Lakulīśvara Paṇḍita. The lithic record found in the Someśvara temple at Shikārpur, opens in the acknowledged Jaina manner. It deals with the work of the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Cāmuṇḍa Rāyarasa, who was the

1. E. C. V. BL. 123, p. 80. See also Rice’s note on pēnigalam, *ibid*, p. n. (3)
viceroy of Banavasepura under the Western Cālukyan king Trailokyamalla Someśvara I (A.D. 1042—A.D. 1068). While in the royal city of Balligāme in A.D. 1048, the Mahāmandalesvara Cāmunḍa Rāyarasa granted specified land in the same capital for the worship of a basadi of Keśavanandi Aṣṭopavāsi Bhalāra. This Jaina guru was the disciple of Meghanandi Bhaṭṭāraka of the Baḷagāra gana connected with Jajāhuti Sāntinātha. We shall mention later on the place occupied by the Mahāmandalesvara Cāmunḍa Rāyarasa in the history of Jainism.¹ We may well assume that Balligāme which possessed a basadi in A.D. 1048 may have been a Jaina centre in the days of Vādi Rudraguṇa Lakulīśvara Paṇḍita.

Our surmise is further strengthened by the lithic record dated A.D. 1068 which we have already cited above in connection with General Sāntinātha. The work of that Jaina General may be recalled here; and we may observe that in Balligrāma was the ancient Mallikāmoda Sāntiturthesa basadi which was built of wood and which in that year General Sāntinātha rebuilt in stone. The Jaina guru who received a specified grant from the Mahāmandalesvara Lakṣmarasara, the viceroy of the Banavase 12,000 province, was Māghanandi Bhaṭṭāraka who belonged to the Deśiya gana and Tālakolānvaya. The concluding lines of the record are all defaced;² but they prove all the same that in earlier times Jagadekamalla Deva (evidently Jayasimha III, Jagadekamalla, who ruled from A.D. 1018 till A.D. 1042, and after him the Western Cālukyan king Ganga Permmādi Vikramāditya VI, both of whom have figured in this treatise), gave grants to the basadi in Balligāme. The statement that “from of old” some land belonged to Nandana basadi (at Balli-

¹. E. C. VII. Sk. 120, p. 91. See also I. A. IV, p. 181 ; Moraes, op. cit. pp. 116-117.
². E. C. VII, Sk. 136, pp. 103-104.
gāme) appearing in the same epigraph, is a further proof that that centre belonged to the Jainas in the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D.²

Balligāme remained a Jaina stronghold in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. We have to recount here the donations given to the Cālukya-Ganga-Permmāçi Jinālāya in Balligāme by the king Vikramāditya VI, as recorded in a stone inscription dated A.D. 1077 cited by us already.³ As regards the importance of the same city in the reign of the Hoysala king Vīra Ballāja, we know from a lithic record dated A.D. 1199 that certain officers of the provincial government of Nāgarakhanḍa and Jiḍḍulige 70, during the régime of 'Daṇḍanāyaka Malliyaṇṇa remitted certain specified dues to Padmanandideva. The object of this endowment was the continuation of the eight-fold worship of the god Mallikāmoda Śaṅtinātha in the Hiriya (i.e., senior, in other words, ancient) basadi of the capital city of Balligāme.⁴ Like many a great Jaina centre Balligāme today possesses no traces of Jaina worship except broken Jaina images.⁴

Another stronghold of the anekāntamata which was as well known as the former was Kuppatūr in the Sohrab tāluka. This place figures in inscriptions of the eleventh

1. E. C. VII. Sk. 136, pp. 103-104.
2. Ibid., VII. Sk. 124, op. cit.
3. M. A. R. for 1911, p. 46. Dr. Krishna gives the text and translation of this inscription in full, and opines that the record may be assigned to the reign of king Ballāja III, and that Padmanandideva mentioned here may be identified with his namesake who died in A.D. 1313. (M. A. R. for 1929, pp. 128-130) Another Padmanandideva has figured in a record of A.D. 1077 cited above.
and thirteenth centuries A.D. It was here that in A.D. 1077 the Kadamba queen Māḷala Devī constructed the Pārśvadeva caityālaya which we have described above. To the same Tintriṅika gaccha to which Māḷala Devī’s guru Padmanandi Siddhāntadeva belonged,¹ was attached Parvata, a Jaina guru, who is said to have had something to do with the consecration of the same Jina temple.² The same Jaina order held possession of the Kuppaṭūr basadi in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Sāvanta Muddayya, who will figure in a later context, is said to have constructed a basadi in Kuppaṭūr in about A.D. 1207.³

In the Banavasenāḍ were also other great seats of Jainism which have been mentioned in contemporary records. We have, for instance, Uddhare which was one of the ornaments of the Jiḍḍulige country. Reference already has been made to the Kanaka Jinālaya, Paṅca basadi, and the splendid Eraga Jinālaya in that famous town, as gathered from records dated A.D. 1139 and A.D. 1198 respectively.⁴

Heggare (about seven miles from Huḷiyūr) in the Chitaldroog district was likewise noted for its Jaina structures. The Cenna Pārśva basadi of this locality was constructed in A.D. 1160 by Sāmanta Gova, as related in an earlier context.⁵ It is a simple but elegant specimen of Hoysala architecture.⁶ Here in A.D. 1163 died by the orthodox saṃnyasana rites Meghacandra Bhaṭṭāraka, the disciple of Māṇikyanandi

¹. E. C. VIII. Sb. 262, pp. 41-42, op. cit.
³. Ibid., p. 47. See ibid., p. 20 for ruins of Jina images in Kuppaṭūr.
⁴. E. C. VIII. Sb. 233, p. 35 ; Sb. 140, p. 200, op. cit.
⁵. Ibid., XII. Ck. 21, pp. 77-78, op. cit.
Siddhāntadeva of the Deśiya gaṇa and the Pustaka gaccha. And when in A.D. 1279 Candrakīrti, who belonged to the same Jaina congregation, but who was the disciple of Maladhāri Bālacandra Rāvuḷa, died by the same method, all the chief Bhavyas of Heggare had a monument made in his name.

Another seat of Jainism was Śringeri. The one prominent basadi in this well known seat of Advaitism was the Pārśvanātha basti. It cannot be made out when it was constructed. But by the middle of the twelfth century A.D. it had already become popular. For in A.D. 1149 certain donors who belonged to the Krāṇūr gaṇa, are mentioned in a damaged record of that date found in the Pārśvanātha basadi. The basadi built in memory of Mārī Śeṭṭi, who was descended from Vijaya Nārāyaṇa Śeṭṭi of Niḍugod, in A.D. 1160, must have been a separate temple. To this basadi certain lands and customs dues were granted by the Baṇa-jamu (i.e., the Vīra Baṇajigas) and the Nānādesis.

Dr. Krishna mentions another inscription which contains only a salutation to Pārśvanātha, and belongs to the same date as that found in the Pārśvanātha basadi.

To the same age should be assigned the importance of Kolhāpur as a Jaina centre. The credit of turning it into a tīrtha for the Jainas is to be given to the great philosopher Māghanandimuni, the disciple of Kulacandradeva. This we infer from a stone inscription dated A.D. 1163 of the

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1. E. C. XII. Ck. 23, p. 78.
2. Ibid., Ck. 24, p. 79.
4. Ibid., for 1933, p. 123. The late Mr. Narasimhasacarya opined that this was the earliest record found in Śringeri. M.A.R. for 1916, pp. 17, 83. But in view of the inscription dated A.D. 1149 cited above, that opinion is untenable.
time of Māghanandi himself. The same source speaks of Pratāpapura of Kellangere which belonged to the Rūpanāra-yaṇa basadi of Kollāpura of the Pustaka gaccha, the Desiya gana, and the Mūla sangha.1 A later record dated about A.D. 1200 informs us that Māghanandi Siddhāntadeva was connected with the Sāvanta basadi of Kollāpura. This basadi belonged to the same Jaina congregation as the previous one.2

Neither Kolhāpur nor Śringeri was so conspicuous as Bandanike, one of the most well known centres of Jainism. Today Bandanike (mod. Bandalike) is a village overgrown with teak trees, with a number of mutilated Jaina figures lying all about. But Bandanike, called in later records Bāndhavanagara and Bāndhavapura, was a seat of the Bhavyas so early as A.D. 902, when it was called a tīrtha. In this year Bīṭṭayya, the Pērghade of the Nāḍu in the province governed by Lōkateyarasa, caused to be built in that holy place a basadi for which the viceroy and others granted specific villages as a gift. The interest of this stone inscription lies also in the fact that both Bīṭṭayya and his wife, who was the gāmunḍi of Bhārangiyur, renounced the world, evidently after the construction of the basadi. These events took place in the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II, Akālavarṣa.3

Bandanike sprang into fame under the scions of the Kādamba family. It was the capital of Boppa (or Brahma) Dēva. The god Śaṅtinātha of this city is praised thus in

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1. E. C. II. 64, op. cit.
2. Ibid., II. 386, p. 164. See also ibid., Intr. pp. 61, 74, 85.
3. M. A. R. for 1911, p. 38. Dr. Krishna speaks of a record dated A.D. 918 found in the same place Bandanike (M. A. R. for 1931, p. 66) which I am unable to trace.
a record assigned to A.D. 1182:—“With however much milk he is bathed, it disappears; though garlanded with flowers down to his feet, they vanish; though bathed with hot water, he on the contrary becomes cold—is this not sufficient to describe the greatness of Śāntinātha?” The Ācārya of this temple of Śāntinātha was Bhānikīrti Siddhānta of the Krānūr gāna, Tintriṇīka gaccha, and Nunna-vamśa. He was the disciple of the learned Municandra, who had published commentaries, made the science of grammar his own, adopted the rules of logic, explained poems and dramas, and despised the god of love. It was to this same Bhānikīrti that, as we related above, the General Rēca had granted a specified village as a gift. The basadi of Ratnatraya of Māguṇḍi, of which Bhānikīrti was the priest, we may note, was the creation of Śankara Śāmanta, the first person in the kingdom of the ruler Boppa Deva. The temple thus built was so beautiful that it was praised by Śūryābharaṇa, the Tripurāntaka Sūri of Balipura. And to both the Bhavyas and the devout followers of Śiva it was a source of joy! It was to see this lovely jinālāya that Rēca Daṇḍādhiśa had come all the way from his own city, as we narrated in an earlier connection.1

Bandāṇike is called a tīrtha in A.D. 1075 when the Western Cālukyan monarch Someśvara had made specified gifts to the Śāntinātha basadi.2 The same epithet is given to it in A.D. 1204 when Kavaḍe Boppa was its ruler. This officer is called “half a Rēca in promoting the Jina dharma in the world.” He belonged to the trading class, as his name Kavaḍya Boppa Śētti implies. He erected a manṭapa for the god Śāntinātha. But he was not the only person who

1. E. C. VII. Sk. 197, p. 126, op. cit.
2. Ibid., Sk. 225, pp. 132-133.
was responsible for the prosperity of Bandanike as a centre of Jainism. Subhacandra Paṇḍita, the disciple of Lalitakirti Siddhânta, "raised up the tīrtha of Bandanike as its favourite ācârya", and he obtained the pūrpatya (or management) of the Sântinâtha tīrtha. And the Hoysala king Ballâla Deva's celebrated (Brahman?) minister Malla "protected this Bandanike with affection." The remarkable spirit of goodwill which prevailed in the land in those days is seen in the manner in which provision was made for the worship and ceremonies of the god Sântinâtha of Bandanike to be described later on.¹

The Sântinâtha basadi of Bândhavanagara figures also in A.D. 1207, when king Brahma of the Kâdamba family ruled over it. The Jaina priest in charge of the basadi in that year was Anantakirti Bhaṭṭâraka of the Krâṇur gaṇa and the Tintriṅika gaccha. Mudda Sâvanta, also called Sâvanta Muddayya, was his disciple. He was an ornament to the kingdom of Ballâla Deva, a pious and liberal Jaina, and a worthy successor of Rêca Camûpati. He erected a basadi at Mâguṇḍi and granted lands to it. We have already seen how the same Sâvanta built a basadi at Kuppatûr.² Five years later in A.D. 1213 Subhacandradeva, the disciple of Lalitakirtimuni, died by the orthodox manner in the same holy place.³

The Jainas could also boast of another great stronghold of theirs in the famous capital of the Hoysala rulers—Doraszamudra itself. This city comes into prominence as a Jaina centre from the time of the ruler Ballâla II. To the reign of this monarch we have to assign a stone record found in the

same capital, in which the death by *sallekhanā* of the Jaina merchant Nāmi Śeṭṭi is registered. The main ground on which this inscription is placed in the early years of the king Ballāla II is the fact that Nāmi Śeṭṭi is mentioned as the disciple of the Jaina *guru* Nayakīrti. Dr. Krishna rightly identifies Nayakīrti with his namesake spoken of in a Śravaṇa Belgoḷa record. But we have to fix the date of Nayakīrti in order to prove the validity of our assertion that Nāmi Śeṭṭi died in the reign of king Ballāla II.

This can be done by ascertaining a few facts concerning Nayakīrtideva. From the epigraphic evidence cited in connection with the great Jaina generals in the previous pages, it may be recalled here that Nayakīrti figures in many of the Hoysala records. This *guru* was the disciple of Guṇacandra and the colleague of Mānikyanandī. Both these pupils of Guṇacandra were great philosophers. Nayakīrti was “an emperor of philosophy”, while Mānikyanandī was one who “had reached the other shore of the ocean of philosophy”. Nayakīrti was “superior to the lord of Khacchara (Jimūtavāhana) and Bali in liberality, was superior to Meru and the famous Kailāsa in weight (dignity), was the *guru* of the praiseworthy Irungoḷa, and a true *guru* of the whole world.” He belonged to the Deśiya *gana* and the Pustaka *gaccha*. He is highly praised as one who was proficient in literature, the Jaina scriptures, and as “a crest jewel of good conduct.” For he was one who “destroyed the three *śalyas*, the three *gāravas*, and the three *daṇḍas*. The same

2-4. The three *Śalyas* are the following—*mithyā-śalya* (falsehood), *māyā-śalya* (fraud), and *nindāna-śalya* (covetousness). The three *gāravas* are the following:—*paṇca-sunā* (cutting, grinding, cooking, carrying of water, sweeping); *stri-mohādi* (love of woman, etc.) ; and *parigraha* (land, house, cattle, grain, bipeds,
epigraph tells us that he died in Śaka 1099 (A.D. 1176-1177). On the strength of these facts, we may assign the event mentioned concerning Nāmi Ṣeṭṭi to a period before A.D. 1177 in the reign of king Ballāla II or earlier.

That quarter of Dorasamudra which contained Jaina temples was called Bastihālī. The basadis which lie in ruins in this village, as well as the inscriptions in its neighbourhood, enable us to conclude that Bastihālī was, indeed, a prosperous centre of Jainism under the Hoysalas. In A.D. 1236 the guru Sakalacandramuni, a disciple of Bāhubali Siddhānta of the Desiya gana and the Mūla sangha, after wandering through villages, cities, and hamlets, and causing Jainism to spread, at last died in the caityagṛha of the village of Bilicā (in modern Basavapattana of the Channagiri tāluka?) after starving himself for three days. At this all the Jaina citizens (Bhavya-nagarangal) of the capital Dorasamudra erected a monument in his memory. From the statement made above concerning this guru, it is not improbable that he had popularized Jainism in the country.

Of the three temples now existing in Bastihālī—the Pārśva-nātha, Ādinātha, and Sāntinātha—we have a few details

quadrupeds, conveyance, bed, servants, vessels). The three dandaś which are hurtful are—acts of body, speech, and mind. E.C., II, p. 22, ns. 1-3.

1. E.C. II, 66, pp. 22-23. On the basis of this the date given to inscription number 182 (circa A.D. 1200), p. 90 (ibid) should be changed to an earlier date. See also 187, 333, pp. 91, 140. In the latter record we are introduced to the solitary figure of Someśvara described as a son of Vira Ballāla—a statement which is not met with elsewhere. Nayakirti’s charter to the Jain merchants of Belgoḷa is also to be noted in this record.
about the last one.¹ An inscription on the pedestal of the image in the Śāntinātha temple relates that in A.D. 1257 Vijayaṇṇa (descent stated) of Kothāņḍu and the Jaina merchants of Dorasamudra erected the temple of Śāntinātha. It was attached to the Deśiya gaṇa and the Pustaka gaccha. The donors obtained the village of Hiraguppe (location specified) from the king Narasimha Deva III in A.D. 1257, and gave it over to Nayakīrti Siddhānta and his descendants.²

The Jaina citizens of Dorasamudra witnessed a remarkable spectacle in A.D. 1274. Bālacandra Paṅditadeva of the Deśiya gaṇa and the Inguḷesvara baḷī and the Śrī-samudāya, was a learned and austere guru. He had become famous in the world for his teachings on penance. When he made comments on the Sāracaṭuṣṭa and other works, his dīkṣā guru Nemicandra Bhatṭāraka listened. Once Bālacandra announced to the four castes thus—“At noon (on the date specified) I shall enter the tomb”, and he commanded them thus—“You should all obtain dharma; you must forgive me!” Having performed all the rites of saṁnyasana, seated on palyankāsana (or couch), praising the forms of the paṅca-parameśṭis, in a manner that gained the approval of his own and other sects, he suffered perfect entombment. At which all the Bhavyas of Dorasamudra performing all the ceremonies suitable for the occasion, as a memorial for his departure, made images of that guru and of the paṅca-parameśṭis, and setting them up, extended his merit.³

Five years later (A.D. 1279) another great Jaina guru died

¹. For a detailed account read M. A. R. for 1930, pp. 52, 55, 59.
². Ibid., for 1911, p. 49.
³. E. C., V. Bl. 131, p. 87.
amidst equally orthodox circumstances. This was Abhayacandra Siddhāntadeva who, both according to the above records and the one under review, was the Šruta guru of Bālacandra Paṇḍitadeva. It is said of Abhayacandra that with the pramāṇa-dvayi he expounded prosody, logic, vocabulary, grammar, philosophy, and rhetoric. He was a great disputant. On the night of the date specified (A.D. 1279) knowing it was his time for the tomb, forsaking all food, purifying his body, without fear, so that all the world applauded, taking to the palyankāsana, as if saying, “I will certainly show my brightness in heaven”; Abhayacandra, the great Siddhāntika, died. And once again all the Jaina citizens of Dorasamudra raised a high monument for him in reverence.¹

And twenty years after his death, the pious Jaina citizens of Dorasamudra once again lost an equally remarkable Jaina teacher. He was Rāmacandra Maladhārideva, the senior disciple of Bālacandra Paṇḍitadeva. The epigraph gives a unique account of this austere guru. “In walking he did not swing his arms; he did not go the length of a yoke without looking well before him; women and gold he never touched; rough words he never spoke; night and day he never forgot himself and uttered boastful words; (and he) never fell into the net of ignorance”. Rāmacandra Maladhārideva discourse to his beloved pupil Subhacandradeva on the šreyo-mārga. Like his great guru Bālacandra, Rāmacandra informed the four castes of the exact time of his death; and commanding them to cultivate dharma, and having performed all the rites of saṁnyasana from his palyankāsana, he died in A.D. 1300. And once again the Jaina citizens of Dorasamudra had images of their leader made together with

¹ E. C. V 133, p. 88.
those of the pañcaparamesṭis, and they undertook to spread his merit and fame.¹

The thirteenth century saw other prosperous Jaina centres. For instance, there was Arasiyakere. This city was one of the most famous spots in Karnāṭaka. Here was the Sahasrakūṭa Jinālaya about which we have already mentioned a few details while dealing with General Rēca. The above inscription dated A.D. 1220 which commemorates the setting up of the Sahashrakūṭa Jina image by General Rēca, gives us an admirable account of the citizens of that rājadhāni. Here lived both Brahmans and Jainas in the utmost freedom and goodwill. “To those who properly observe, in the celebrated Arasiyakere the Brahmans were versed in the Vedas; the guards, brave; the traders, wealthy; the fourth caste, of unshaken speech; the women, beautiful; the labourers, submissive; the woods, full of fruits; the gardens, full of flowers.” With lotuses covered with bees, with groves filled with parrots and cuckoos, with tanks overflowing, pervaded with the perfume of gandhasali rice, filled with flower, sugarcane and wells, having lofty and handsome temples, crowded with an increasing population, and ornament to the earth—who can describe Arasiyakere? The Jaina dharma and all other dharmas are cultivated without opposition by the thousand families of the good in Arasiyakere. The Bhavyas who aided those thousand families are described thus—Their speech, a home of truth; their conduct, according to Jina dharma; in worship of the two feet of Jina, fourfold of Indra; their (material) greatness, equal to that of Kubera; their gifts bestowed upon only the worthy; in acquiring wealth, giving pleasure to all; on whatever side observed this was

¹. E. C., V. Bl 134, p. 89.
the case—who then can compare with the Bhavyas of Arasiyakere?\footnote{E. C., V, Bl. 77, \textit{op. cit.} See also \textit{M. A. R. for 1918}, p. 28, for a short note on the Sahasrakúta temple.}

Such were the Jains of Karnāṭaka who made our land rich and prosperous in the mediæval times.
CHAPTER VII.

CRITICAL TIMES

Importance of the 8th and 9th centuries in Jaina history—The identity of the Ajivikas with the Jainas disproved—Stages in the spread of Jainism—I. The age of Samantabhadra—II. Akalanka—III. Vajranandi—The establishment of the Drāviḍa Sangha—Other gurus who spread Jainism—Kanakanadi & Guṇaseṇa—Elācārya—Jaina centres in the Tamil land and Travancore, the Andhradeśa and Karnāṭaka from the early times till the rise of Vijayanagara—Contribution of Jainism to the history and culture of the Tamil land, the Andhradeśa and Karnāṭaka—Literature—Grammar—Mathematics—Astrology—Medicine—Arts and Architecture—Contribution to the culture of India—the four gifts—Ahimsā—toleration—General causes of the decline of Jainism in the Tamil and Telugu lands and Karnāṭaka—The work of the Saiva and Vaiṣṇava saints in the Tamil land.

THE eighth and ninth centuries of the Christian era were ages of Jaina diffusion in the south. But this expansion brought it into conflict with certain forces which proved detrimental to its life not only in the new kingdoms over which it spread, but also in the land of its domicile where undoubtedly it had moulded the destinies of the people for centuries. In the previous pages we saw the history of
some of the major centres of Jainism. Here we shall be concerned with the account of some of the minor seats of that religion which will enable us to understand the story of its struggle in the south, and to appreciate the stand it took in the age when the great mediæval Empire of Vijayanagara was founded.

There is every reason to believe that the anekāntamata radiated to the southern centres from its strongholds in Karnāṭaka. But it must be admitted at the same time that considerable uncertainty prevails in regard to the question of the exact age when Jainism was introduced in the Tamil land, and the names of the great teachers who were instrumental in propagating the tenets of the Jina dharma.¹ We meet with many references to Jainism and to a sect which has been identified with a sect of that religion, in certain works ascribed to the early period of Tamil literature. Mr. Ramaswami Ayyangar pointed out long ago detailed references to Jainism in the famous Tamil works which belong to the so-called Šanghham age, viz., Tolkāp-

1. Devacandra’s statement that Viśākhamuni, the immediate disciple of Bhadrabāhu (who is supposed to have died in B.C. 297), travelled in the Coḷa and Pāṇḍya lands and spread the Jina dharma, as given in his Rājāvalīkathe, is rightly doubted by Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Ayyangar (Studies in South Indian Jainism, pp. 20, 32), because Devacandra’s testimony is not supported by any other source. But Mr. Ramaswami assumes that the lithic record in the Brahmi script, found in the Ramnad and Madura districts, and assigned by the Madras Government Epigraphist to the beginning of the third century B.C. (Ep. Report of the Southern Circle for 1907, pp. 60-61), probably were Jaina inscriptions; and that the Jaina Sages may have commenced their preaching of the Jina doctrine in the Tamil land in that remote age. Studies, pp. 33-35.
piyam, Kural, Maṇimekhalai, and Śilappadikārām. It is interesting to note that, according to some scholars, the author of Toṭkāppiyam was himself a Jaina; that Vaḷḷuvar, the author of Kural, was likewise a follower of Arhat; and that Iḻangōvaḍigal, the author of Maṇimekhalai, and the author of Nāḷadiyar were both Jainas. The Kural, we may note by the way, contains undoubted references to Jainism.

A prominent sect met with in early Tamil literature has been identified with one of the Jaina sects. Thus, for instance, in the work called Maṇimekhalai we have the teachings of the Ājīvikas in detail. These Ājīvikas or naked ascetics are supposed by some to be no other than one sect

1. Ramaswami Ayyangar, Studies., pp. 36-50. Other scholars of late including S. K. Ayyangar and C. S. Srinivasasachari, have noted a few references to the same after him. See for the remarks of these two scholars. Jainācārya Śri Ātmānanda Centenary Commemoration volume, (Bombay, 1936).


3. Seshagiri Shastry, Essay on Tamil Literature, p. 43; Ramaswami, ibid, p. 41.

4. Ramaswami, ibid, pp. 46, 56.

5. Ramaswami, ibid, pp. 41-42. Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitār has unsuccessfully tried to show that the epithets malarmiśai, yekkinān, aindavittān, and arāvāliyantaṇam—which Ramaswami, following Seshagiri Shastry, showed to be Jaina epithets (Studies, p. 41)—were Vedic ideas. Studies in Tamil Literature, pp. 136-37. Prof. A. N. Upadhye merely follows Ramaswami Ayyangar where he maintains that the Kural contains many Jaina indications, and that the commentator of Nilakesi calls the Kural "our own Bible" (emmothu). Upadhye, Pravacanasāra, Intr. pp. xx, seq. See Ramaswami, Studies., pp. 41-43.

of Jainas identical with the Kṣapaṇakas Yāpanīyas, Nagna (or naked), and Bhagna (wounded) beggars mentioned in literature and epigraphic records. But the Ājīvikas were not Jainas; and it is doubtful whether they can be identified with the Yāpanīyas mentioned in Jaina literature and in stone inscriptions. In the first place, we may note that the Ājīvikas are mentioned as distinct from the Jainas in Buddhist literature. Secondly, in

1. Rice, E. C. X. Kl. 28, p. 7. The Ājīvika sect was founded by Gośala, a contemporary of Mahāvīra and Gautama. Charpentier is of opinion that the Ājīvikas were older than Gośala himself. J. R. A. S. for 1913, pp. 669-674. But there is nothing new in this opinion, for Monier Williams expressed it long ago. J. R. A. S. XX, p. 277. (O.S.). Ramaswami makes Gośala a quondam disciple of Mahāvīra, Studies; p. 7. The Ājīvikas mentioned in the Edicts of Aśoka, have been variously identified with Buddhist Bhikṣus, Jaina mendicants, and even with Vaiśṣāvites! Read Hultzsch, Inscriptions of Aśoka (Corpus Insoc. Indicarum, Vol. I.), pp. 136, and ibid., n(3), 181. They figure in Buddhist literature. Cowell, The Jataka; I, pp. 124; 206, 229, 307; II. pp. 181, 187; III. p. 159; V. p. 8, 42, 45; VI. pp. 115, 119, 121; Geiger, Mahāvamsa, p. 75, and ibid, n (2); Neumann, Dīgha Nikāya, pp. 2,248, and ibid, n(139); A. Banerjee Sastri, J. Bihar Or. R. S. XII, p. 532-562. For a full note on the Ājīvikas read Hoernle’s admirable account in Hastings, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, I., pp. 259-268. Read also Benimadh Barua, A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, Ch. XXI, pp. 297-318 (Calcutta, 1921) [I owe this reference to Dr. Barua’s work to Dr. S. M. Katre]. Amulya Candra Sen, Schools and Sects in Jaina literature (Viśvabhārati Studies. No.3). On their identification with the Vaiśṣāvas, read Bühler, I. A. XX, pp. 316 seq. This is rejected by D. R. Bhandarkar, J. Bom. R. A. S., XXI, pp. 399 seq; I. A. XLI, pp. 88, 286 seq.

the account of the Jaina scholars as given in the *Sthanānga, Uttarādhhyāyana*, and other Jaina Sūtras, no mention is made of Markali Gosala at all. On the other hand, we have the names of seven leaders of the Jaina schism during and after the time of the great Mahāvīra. The *Sthanāṅgasūtra*, for instance, speaks of Jamali who preached the doctrine of work in unlimited time; Tiṣyagupta, the doctrine of the soul’s extension; Aṣādhācārya, the doctrine of Avyaka; Aśāmitra, the doctrine of momentary existence; Ganga, the doctrine of double sensation; Aulukya alias Rohagupta (who was called Kanāḍa in Brahmanic literature) the doctrine of three or six categories; Goṣṭa Mahila, the doctrine of no bondage.  

Further, the so-called naked ascetics seem to have seceded from the Brahmanical faith. For in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* it is said that those who seceded from their original belief are said to be naked, because they have thrown off the garment of the *Vedas.* This seems to point to a Hindu origin of the Ajīvikas.

But the reason why they have been confounded with the Jainas is that like the Digambaras they went about naked. Thus in the immortal hymns called the *Tevāram* of the great Śaiva saints Tirujñānasambandhar and Appar, the Jainas are described as naked ascetics who pulled out their hair from their heads and stood unabashed before women. Among Hindu writers the naked ascetics are said to have been known by the name Siddhas, a term which is not uncommon among the Jainas too. The naked wandering ascetics

1. The *Sthanāṅga Sūtra*, pp. 468-469 quoted by Dr. Shama Sastry in *M. A. R. for 1927*, p. 23. These *sūtras* are assigned by Dr. Sastry to the sixth century A.D. *Ibid*, p. 22.


3. Ramaswami, *Studies* ; p. 69 where in n. (7) reference to the original is given.
whom the queen Vilāsavatī, desirous of getting a child with a mind prostrate in adoration prays and whom Bāna calls by the name Siddha, were no doubt Ājīvikas.¹ A certain amount of reproach was attached to them. This will be evident from Kauṭalya’s Arthaśāstra in which it is said that a person who entertains in a dinner dedicated to the gods or ancestors, Buddhists, Ājīvikas, Śūdras, and exiled persons (pravrajita), will be fined 100 paṇa.²

From the Tamil classic Maṇimekhalai it is clear that the Ājīvikas were not the same as the Jainas. For Maṇimekhalai after listening to the essence of the teaching of Markali and finding it self-contradictory, passed on to the teaching of the Nirgrantha,³ thereby showing that the teaching of the latter was quite distinct from that of the former.

Moreover, in a record dated A.D. 1162 the naked (magna) ascetics are spoken of as distinct from the bhagna (wounded) ascetics and the Kṣapaṇakas, Ekadanḍis, and others, proving that the people did not associate the Ājīvikas or naked ascetics with the Jainas at all.⁴

And, finally, the State in southern and western India differentiated between the Ājīvikas and the Jainas. In the Tamil stone inscriptions discovered in Kamāṭaka the Ājīvikas were taxed per capita, while the Jainas like other citizens were taxed per house. In the Tamil records the Ājīvikas are styled Āśuvimakkal. In an inscription dated A.D. 1072 of the 3rd regnal year of the king Rājendra Cōla, the inhabitants of the Eighteen viṇāya, the Valangai sec-

¹. Kadambapī, p. 56 (Ridding). Even modern scholars have confounded the Digambaras with the Ājīvikas. Takakusu commits such an error. I-Ts'ing's Travels, p. 2.
². Kauṭilya, Arthaśāstra, p. 224.
⁴. E. C. VII, SK. 102, p. 73.
tions, and the Padangoṇḍu, enacted certain measures among which was one which declared that the Āśuvimakkaḷ should pay one kāśu each for the minor tolls; and that if they failed to do so, they should pay an additional kāśu.¹ In about A.D. 1291 in the 37th year of another Tamil monarch Jayangonoḍa Coḷa, a tax on Ājīvikas is mentioned.² A nobleman called Śikka Dēvaṇṇa Daṇḍāyaka Anṇāmalai Devar is said to have remitted, among other taxes, the tax on the Ājīvikas, for the worship of a certain god in order to invoke success for the arms of the king Rāmanātha Devar.³ We may contrast these instances with those mentioned in the famous record dated A.D. 1368 which will be examined in minute detail in a later context, in which the following is stated:—That out of the money levied at the rate of one haṇa a year for every house according to the door from the Jainas throughout the whole kingdom, a certain amount was to be set apart for the bodyguard of the holy place of Belgoḷa.⁴ These facts are enough to demonstrate that the people as well as the State in mediæval India distinguished the Ājīvikas from the Jainas.

As regards the identification of the Ājīvikas and the Yāpaṇīyas, it may be observed that this, too, is untenable. The Yāpinīyas were an unorthodox Jaina sect with the appearance of the Digambaras but with the observances of the Śvetāmbaras.⁵ In the epigraphic notices we have of this sect,

¹. E. C. X. Mg. 49 (a), p. 87.
². Ibid, Kl. 28, p. 7.
³. Ibid, Kl. 18, p. 4.
⁴. Ibid, II, 344, p. 146.
⁵. Read Lüders' detailed note on them in E. I. IV, pp. 338-339, where reference is given to Bhadrabāhu carita, IV. v. 133, seq., which describes the origin of their sangha as well. See also Zeitschrift der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, XXXVIII, p. 39 seq.
especially in Karnāṭaka, the Yāpanīyas are never confounded with the Ājīvikas at all. How the Yāpiṇīyas have figured in Palāṣika in the days of the Kādamba king Mṛgeśavarmā (fifth century A.D.) and Devavarmā has already been noticed in connection with the patronage extended to Jainism by the Kādamba monarchs.¹ We have likewise seen that Śālagrāma to the west of Mānyapura was a centre of the Yāpanīya Nandi sangha, which belonged to the Punnāgavṛk-ṣamūla, in the first quarter of the ninth century A.D., during the rule of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda Prabhūtavarṣa.² And, further, the Ekkasambuge stronghold of the same sect in the reign of the Śilahāra king Vijayāditya in A.D. 1165 has also been dwelt upon.³

This digression is necessary if we are to invalidate the alleged identity between the Ājīvikas and the Jainas on the one hand, and the Ājīvikas and the Yāpanīyas on the other.⁴ The spread of Jainism in the Tamil land, therefore, is not to be traced to the advent of the Ājīvikas in the south, but to the activities of the celebrated Jaina teachers whose great

¹. For further notices, See Bombay Gaz., II, Pt. II, 288; I. A. VII 38; J. Bom. R. A. S. XII, p. 332.
². E. C. XII. Gb. 1, op. cit.
⁴. As regards the identification of the Ājīvikas with the Kṣapaṇakas, it may be noted that Kṣapaṇaka is said, according to tradition, to have been one of the nine jewels in the court of king Vikramāditya. (Satiscandra Vidyābhuṣana referred to by Hiralal, Cat. of MSS in the C. P., etc., p. xiii.) Since the identity of king Vikramāditya himself is a matter of uncertainty, nothing can be said about Kṣapaṇaka and the creed he promulgated. In a kaḍita found in the Śringeri maṭha, Bhāratītīrthha Śripāda of Śringeri is said to have defeated the Kṣapaṇakas whom Dr. Krishna identifies with the Jainas. M. A. R. for 1933, p. 219.
achievements in the field of religion and philosophy brought the Tamil land into close touch with Karnāṭaka.² Prominent among the Jaina gurus who were responsible for the diffusion of Jainism in the Tamil country were Samantabhadra, Akalanka, Kanakṣena, and Guṇanandi.

Samantabhadra is a celebrated name in Jainism. Deva-candra in his Rājāvalīkathe (A.D. 1838) tells us that Samantabhadra performed penance in the village of Maṇuvaka.² This statement of a later writer is insufficient to assert that Samantabhadra was a Kannāḍiga. No original Kannāḍa work of this great Jaina teacher is available; but his commentaries in Kannāḍa to Sanskrit and Prakrit works have been discovered.³

The date of this renowned teacher is still unsettled. He may have lived in the earlier part of the second century A.D. This supposition is based on the following considerations. In the first place, it may be observed that in Jaina literary accounts, there is no unanimity at all concerning Samantabhadra’s date. In the Vīravamsāvalī of the Śvetāmbaras, Samantabhadra is said to have been the sixteenth Pontiff (from ?), who lived in 889 after Nirvāṇa which corresponds, according to Hiralal, to A.D. 419 as the date of that Jaina guru.⁴ But, according to another Jaina tradition,

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1. Ramaswami assumes on the strength of the statements made in the Mahāvamsa (pp. 49, seq), that Jainism—which, according to him must have been introduced in Ceylon in the fifth century B.C.,—must have left its trace also in the extreme south of India at the same time. Studies; p. 33. These assumptions do not rest on sure grounds.
Samantabhadra lived in Şaka 60 (A.D. 138).  

Credence may be given to the tradition that Samantabhadra lived in the second century A.D., when we examine the pontifical pedigrees of the Jaina gurus as given in the epigraphs ranging from the beginning of the twelfth to the fifteenth century A.D. Thus in a record dated A.D. 1129 we have three names in succession without their relationship being explained: Bhadrabâhu, Konḍakunda, and next to him Samantabhadra, thus showing that in regard to spiritual greatness these three names come one after the other. In another record dated A.D. 1163 it is said that in the line of Bhadrabâhu arose Konḍakunda, who was also called Padmanandi, Umāsvāti, and Gṛdhrapiṇḍchācārya. His disciple was Balākapiṇḍccha. "In such a line of great ācāryas arose (with praise) Samantabhadra" after whom came Pujya-pāda. The same is repeated in a later record of A.D. 1398 in which we are told that Konḍakunda wrote the Tattvārthasūtra, and that Samantabhadra’s disciple Śivakoṭisūri "ornamented the Tattvārthasūtra", evidently meaning thereby that he wrote a commentary on that work. Then, again.

3. Ibid, 64, p. 17.
4. Ibid, 254, p. 110. If we are to rely upon this inscription, —and there is no reason why we should doubt its authenticity—then, Śivakoṭi was the earliest Jaina scholar to write a commentary on the Tattvārthasūtra. Hence Prof. Upadhye’s remark that Pujya-pāda—who, as pointed out elsewhere in this treatise, came sometime after Samantabhadra,—was the earliest Digambara commentator on Tattvārthasūtra (Pravacanasāra. Intr. p. xxi) has to be modified.
in an inscription of A.D. 1432 we have the fact of Samantabhada’s being mentioned immediately after Balākapiṅccha.\(^1\)

Although the above records unmistakably point out to the proximity in time of Samantabhada to Balākapiṅccha, who was the disciple of Koṇḍakunda, yet they do not assert that Samantabhada was the immediate disciple of Balākapiṅccha. This is not surprising when we know that Balākapiṅccha had a famous disciple called Guṇanandi, as is proved by epigraphs dated A.D. 1115 and A.D. 1176.\(^2\) Nevertheless it may not be too much to assume that Samantabhada was near enough in time to that Jaina teacher. This explains why he is placed immediately after Balākapiṅccha in the records cited above.

But the difficulty concerning Samantabhada’s date is not thereby solved. For the date of neither Koṇḍakunda nor Balākapiṅccha is known. Professor Upadhye after a careful discussion of all available evidence places Koṇḍakunda at the beginning of the Christian era.\(^3\) On the basis of this

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1. *E. C. II.* 258, p. 117. But in this inscription Umāsvāti-muni is said to be born in the line of Koṇḍakunda, which, as pointed out by Narasimhacarya, is not borne out by other records. *Ibid*, p. 117, n(1).


3. The same conclusion was arrived at by Ramaswami. *Studies*, p. 43. Professor Upadhye relates that a Jaina Kannaḍa magazine called *Vivekābhūdaya*, I. pp. 3-4, has discovered the village where Koṇḍakunda lived. It is identified with Koṇḍakund about four or five miles from the Guntakal railway station. *Pravacanasāra*, p. xxiii, n(2). But this discovery is not new. It was made long ago in the *Epigraphical Report of the Southern Circle for 1916*, p. 134, where it was said that Koṇḍakunda’s village was called Konakonala, Konakunṭla, or Konkakunda. This suggests that we have to look for the domicile of the great Jaina teacher in an essentially Karnāṭaka locality, and not in
date it may be argued that Kōṇḍakunda’s immediate disciple Balākapiṭccha may be placed in the middle of the same century. Admitting that one or two names intervened between Balākapiṭccha and Samantabhadra, it is not

Kāṇci, as suggested by Prof. Upadhye. (Op. cit., p. xxiii). Among the arguments advanced by this learned writer in order to arrive at the conclusion, we may note two:—The spelling of the name Kōṇḍakunda, and the name of the great guru being associated with the Drāviḍa sangha.

As regards the first supposition, it may be observed that kōṇḍa means a hill in Kannaḍa. (Kittel, Kannada-English Dictionary, p. 485), and kūṇḍa, means a hole in the ground, a pit. (Kittel, ibid., p. 437), while kunda means a pillar of bricks. (Kittel, ibid., p. 441). The first of the name (kōṇḍa) is Kannaḍa, as is proved by the names Kōṇḍabhaṭṭa (a male person), Kōṇḍaganale (a village), Kōṇḍakūru (village) Kōṇḍali (a village), Kōṇḍalināḍ (district), Kōṇḍadaṇḍ (a province), Kōṇḍamma (a female person), etc. (E. C. IV. Yd. 54, pp. 60-61; VIII. Sb. 559, p. 89; VI. Mg. 76, pp. 282-3; V. Bl. 136, p. 90; VII. Sk. 129, p. 99; V. Ag. 22, p. 249). These and other names beginning with kōṇḍa appear in numerous Kannaḍa inscriptions. As regards the second half of the name kunda, it is undoubtedly earlier and more common than kūṇḍa. (On Kōṇḍakunda, see, E. C. V. Bl. 124, p. 83). Inscriptions give us the names of villages and centres that bore the name kunda. Thus in a record assigned to A.D. 900 we have the peak of Kunda (kundaśilā) situated to the west of Nimbagrāma in the village of Sandhikavāta. Here on the hill of the Kunda many companies of Jaina sages (bahavo munipungavāḥ) attained siddhi, and here Candrasena, the disciple of Śriśeṇa obtained mukti in about A.D. 900 (E. C. IX Cp. 69, p. 145, text, p. 323). A number of Jaina devotees (among whome are mentioned two Jaina women) died in the orthodox manner here. This place seems to have been called also Kirukunda. (E. C. IX. Cp. 70 dated circa A.D., 900, ibid page).
arbitrary to assume that Samantabhadra, who, as related above, is always spoken of in inscriptions as having come almost soon after Balākapiṅccha, lived in the first quarter of the second century A.D.1

From epigraphs as well as literature we know that Samantabhadra visited Kañcipura. Thus the record dated A.D. 1129 already referred to above, gives the following graphic description of the career of Samantabhadra:—“At first the drum was beaten by me within the city of Pāṭaliputra, afterwards

Now to the word koṇḍa, we have a fort of Koṇḍa (Koṇḍadakōṭe), which is unidentifiable, where the founder of the Sāntara line, Jinadatta Rāya, is said to have defeated and put to flight Kara and Karadūśaṇa (E. C. VIII. Nr. 35, p. 134. Nr. 48, 151). A Koṇḍa village in Āgumbesime is mentioned in A.D. 1681 (Ibid., TL. 89, p. 181). Koṇḍagaṭṭa was in the Hodināḍ ēime (Ibid, IV. Ch. 77, p. 9).

These examples show beyond doubt that for the origin of the words koṇḍa, kuṇḍa or konda, we need not look for it in the Tamil land, but only in Karnāṭaka.

Then there is the other argument—that Koṇḍakunda’s name is associated with the Drāvida sangha. Since this sangha, as has been amply proved in this treatise, was established after the original Mūla sangha had been divided into four sanghas, and that long after Koṇḍakunda’s time, one cannot maintain at all that Koṇḍakunda’s having been associated with the Drāvida sangha means that he belonged to the Tamil land.

Further, there is one more argument—Koṇḍakunda’s association with a king who is supposed to have belonged to the Pallava dynasty. This, as Prof. Upadhye himself admits (Pravacanasāra, Intr. pp. xxiii–xxiv) is a hollow argument. All these considerations lead us to the conclusion that Koṇḍakunda must have been a Kannada, hailing from the village of Konakonala in the neighbourhood of Guntakal.

1. Ramaswami in another connection asserts that the Jainas had penetrated into the extreme south under Koṇḍakunda in the first century A.D. Studies, p. 44.
in the city of Mālava, Sindhu, and Thakka, at Kaṇcipurā, and at Vaidisa. I have now arrived at Karahāṭaka, which is full of soldiers, rich in learning, and crowded (with people). Desirous of disputation, O King, I exhibit the sport- ing of a tiger. When the disputant Samantabhadra stands in thy court, O King, even the tongue of Dhūrjaṭi (Śiva), who talks clearly and skilfully, turns back quickly towards the nape of the neck. What hope can there be for others?"1

So far as the above record is concerned, Samantabhadra went from Kaṇcipurā to Karahāṭaka. This epigraph does not tell us what he did at Kaṇcipurā, although in an earlier context it narrates that Samantabhadra was skilful in reduc- ing to ashes the disease bhasmaka (morbid appetite).2 Further details of this disease and the name of the Tamil king who became his disciple are given in Jaina literature and epigraphs, with no doubt some discrepancies. For in- stance, Prabhācandra in his Ārādhanaṃkathākōsa makes Samantabhadra, a victim to the bhasmaka disease, roam from Kaṇci to Paunḍrapura, Daśapura, and Benares where he performed the miracle of bringing out Pārśvanātha from an image of Śiva and converted the king Śivakoṭi into Jainism.3

But Kāraṇṭaka tradition as recorded by Devacandra in his Rājaṇvalikathe has a different version to give of the same story. Unable to get himself cured of the morbid disease, Samantabhadra approached his guru (whose name is unfortu- nately not given) with a request to permit him to end his life by sallekhana. But the guru, foreseeing that Samanta- bhadra was destined to be a great promoter of the faith, re- fused to give him permission, and directed him to go to any place where he might appease his hunger and take dikṣā

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3. Prabhācandra cited by Harilal, Cat. of MSS., p. x.
again. Then Samantabhadra went to Kañci where lived king Śivakoṭi, whose devotion consisted, among other things, of daily distributing twelve khaṇḍugas of rice in the temple of Bhīmalinga. Samantabhadra assured the king that he would make the god accept the food; and one day while alone in the temple, ate up all the twelve khaṇḍugas of rice. On opening the temple doors the astonishing king found that all the food was gone! The next day Samantabhadra left a quarter, and on the following day half of the food, explaining that the god had granted it for prasāda. But the suspicions of the king being aroused, he had the temple surrounded with his troops with orders to burst open the door. At this Samantabhadra was so frightened that he prayed to the Tirthankaras, whereupon Candraprabha appeared in his full glory in the place of Bhīmalinga. Samantabhadra at once threw open the doors, and the bewildered king fell at his feet begging for instruction in the Jina faith. Making over his kingdom to his son, the king took dīkṣā and became known as Śivakoṭi Ācārya.¹

From the above it is clear that Śivakoti was king of Kañci and not of Benares, as is narrated by Prabhācandra.² But it must be confessed that the age and identity of this king, as well as that of the king of Karahāṭaka, mentioned in one of the records cited above, will remain unsettled for want of sufficient data. All the same it may be suggested that it was in the second century A.D. that the tenets of the anekāntamata were spread to the great city of Kañci; and

² Probably the north Indian tradition associated Śivakoṭi with Benares. Hirralal refers to Brahma Nemidatta who is said to have noticed it. Cat. of MSS. p. xix.
that, as an inscription of A.D. 1129 relates, it was through Samantabhadra that "the auspicious Jaina faith became again and again auspicious on all sides."¹ Even so late as A.D. 1432 he is called "the promulgator of the doctrine of Jina."²

It was also in the Tamil land that another celebrated Jaina preceptor won a great victory, thereby planting firmly the Jina faith in the southern parts of the country. This was the famous Akalankadeva about whose personal history no particulars are available. Jaina tradition relates that he was the son of a Brahman named Puruṣottama, who was the minister to the king Śubhatunga of Māñyakheṭa. This is related in the Ārādhanakathākośa by Prabhācandra, versified by Brahma Nemidatta.³ But Akalankadeva himself in his Rājavārtika tells us that he was the son of a certain king called Laghu Havva.⁴

An equally inconclusive detail is in regard to the king in whose court Akalanka won a great victory. While there can be no doubt that he did win a notable victory in disputation, there is some discrepancy concerning the kingdom over which the monarch ruled. The earliest reference to the victory is in a stone inscription assigned to the tenth century A.D. In this record we are told that after Guṇanandi Śabdabrahmā came Akalankasimhāsana, who defeated the Buddhists and the Sāṅkhyas in a religious dispute. The name of the place where the dispute was held is not given in the record.⁵ Guṇanandi mentioned in this inscription was pro-

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2. Ibid, 258, p. 117.
3. Hiralal, Cat. of MSS., Intr, p. xxvi
bably the disciple of Balākapiṇccha. He is described in a record of A.D. 1115 as "an emperor of good conduct, proficient in logic, grammar, and the other sciences, a master of literature, a lion in smiting the herd of intoxicated elephants, the false disputants, etc."¹

As regards Akalanka's great powers, we have a graphic account of this teacher in a record dated A.D. 1129. "Who can comprehend (the greatness of) the blessed Akalankadeva, by whom Tārā that had become secretly manifest in a pot as her abode was overcome along with the Baudhās...in the dust of whose lotus feet Sugata (i.e., Buddha) performed an ablution as if in expiation of his sins?" In the court of a king called Sāhasatunga, Akalanka, as we have already seen above, while describing his own greatness said that it was not influenced by self-conceit or hatred, but through mere compassion that he overcame all the crowds of Baudhās and broke Sugata with his foot, and that he achieved this fact in the court of the shrewd king Himāṣītala.²

Numerous epigraphs, which are not cited here, refer to this victory won by Akalankadeva. But the identity of the king Himāṣītala is still a matter of uncertainty. Wilson made him a Pallava king and assigned him to A.D. 788.³ The same scholar is responsible for the assertion that Akalanka studied Buddhism in the Buddhist college at Ponataga Nagaram near Trivāṭur.⁴ But Brahma Nemidatta informs us that

¹. E. C. II. 127, p. 52; Cf. 65 of A.D., 1176 p. 21.
². Ibid., II, 67, op. cit.
³. Wilson, Mackenzie Collection, Intr. p. 40. How Prof. S. K. Ayyangar came to date this event in A.D. 855 is unintelligible. Ancient India, p. 269.
Himaśītala was the king of Kalinga;² while a later Sanskrit work entitled Bhuvanapradīpikā written in A.D. 1808 by Rāmakṛṣṇa Sāstri, makes Himaśītala a Jaina king of Tuṇḍiradesa, and a descendant of Lokapāla, born in the line of Guṇapāla. We are told in this work that Himaśītala ruled in Kali 1125 Pingala.³

Without discussing this question further, it may be observed that the contemporaneity of Akalanka with king Himaśītala (A.D. 788) and with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Sāhasatunga Dantidurga, suggests that Akalanka’s great victory over the Buddhists may have been won in the latter part of the eighth century A.D. This period, therefore, reckoning from the time of Samantabhadra may be said to be the second phase in the progress of Jainism in the south.⁴

The third stage in the growth of Jainism in the Tamil country is reached when we come to the age of the Jaina sage Vajranandi. Devasena in his historical work dealing with the origin of the various Jaina sanghas, called Darśanasāra, composed in Vikrama Samvat 900 (A.D. 933), tells us

1. Harilal, Cat. of MSS., p. xxvi.
2. M. A. R. for 1918, p. 68. But this writer is unreliable. Among the other wrong statements he makes are the following—That Cāmuṇḍa Rāya built the statue of Gomaṭa in Kali 600; that Vinayāditya Ballāla built Yādavapuri (Doraramudra?) in Saka 778 ; and that Vijayanagara was founded in Saka 1093 by the Narapati kings.
3. This explains why Akalanka is styled in A.D. 1163 as one “through whom the Jaina doctrine, which had been stainless from the beginning, became respondent without any stain”. (E. C. II. 64, p. 17.) We may note in this connection that Rice placed Akalanka in the eighth or ninth century A.D. (My. & Coorg., p. 203) ; while Pathak assigning the same date to the Jaina guru, identified Sāhasatunga with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa I. (J. Bom. R.A.S. XVIII, p. 219).
that the Drāviḍa sangha was established in Madura by Vajranandi. This piece of information is interesting, since it furnishes an additional detail concerning the famous sanghas established in Karnāṭaka and the south. The division of the original (Śrī Mūla) sangha, which was attached to the lineage of Koṇḍakunda, into the four famous branches of Deva, Nandi, Simha, and Sena was, according to the inscription dated A.D. 1398, the work of Ardhabali, who did so in order to minimize the hatred and other evils that might arise owing to the nature of the times. He is mentioned in the same record as having come after Guṇabhadrā, the disciple of Jinasenācārya. A later record dated A.D. 1432 merely states that the division of the original sangha took place after the death of Akalanka.

The institution of the Drāviḍa sangha was, we may presume, in honour of the Tamil people among whom Jainism must have made considerable progress since the time of Samantabhadra. That is to say, the Drāviḍa gana, which, according to Devasena, was established by Pūjypāda, and of which that celebrated grammarian was the first ācārya, must have had, in the course of the four or five centuries from Pūjypāda to Vajranandi, such an enormous following that the latter Jaina preceptor found it advisable to raise it to the dignity of a sangha. Whatever that may be, the identity of Vajranandi deserves some notice. The inscription dated A.D. 1129 referred to above, places Vajranandi immediately after

3. Ibid., 258, p. 117.
Vakragriya, and tells us that Vajranandi was the author of Navastotra, "an elegant work embodying the variety of the teachings of all the Arhats." ¹

With the help of the above facts, we argue thus in order to ascertain the date when Vajranandi established the Draviḍa sangha in Madura:—

(a) The four sanghas were, according to the record dated A.D. 1432, divided after Akalanka's death. Since Akalanka is assigned to the latter part of the eighth century A.D., we have to suppose that the division into the four sanghas took place after the eighth century A.D.

(b) The four sanghas were the creation of Ardhabali who is placed after Guṇabhadra. Now Guṇabhadra was the disciple of Jinasena of the Sena gana; and we know the date of both these scholars. From the praśasti of the work called Jayadhavala-ṭikā begun by his guru Vīrasena, we know that Jinasena II completed it in Śaka 760 (A.D. 838) during the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amogha-varśa I.² Jinasena's disciple Guṇabhadra wrote the Uttara-purāṇa which he completed in Śaka 820 (A.D. 898).³ We may therefore, legitimately place Guṇabhadra's successor Ardhabali in about A.D. 900. This would mean that the division of the original sangha into the four branches by Ardhabali took place in the last quarter of the ninth century or in the first quarter of the tenth century A.D.

(c) The fact of Devasena's mentioning the establishment of the Draviḍa sangha suggests that that sangha was founded

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2. Hiralal, Cat. of MSS., Intr. p. xxiii. This Jinasena is to be distinguished from Jinasena I, the author of Harivamśa. Ibid, p. xxii.
3. Hiralal, ibid, p. xxiv.
either during his life time or just before him. Since the Drāviḍa sangha was not included among the four sanghas into which Ardhabali divided the original Mūla sangha, it may be inferred that it was a later creation.

The validity of the above assumptions will be clear on examining the following points—Firstly, when we ascertain the sangha to which the Drāviḍa sangha was attached; and, secondly, the name of the successors of Ardhabali who were directly responsible for the growth of the Drāviḍa sangha.

As regards the first point, it may be observed that the Drāviḍa sangha to which was attached the Irungulānvaya from which hailed many great Jaina gurus, was itself a subdivision of the Nandi sangha. Epigraphic evidence proves this. An inscription assigned by Rice to circa A.D. 1050 speaks of Guṇasena Paṇḍita as having belonged to the Drāviḍa sangha (of the) Nandi sangha and Irungulānvaya.¹ This is further proved by a record dated A.D. 1064 which registered the death of the same guru whose preceptor we are told in the same inscription was Puṣpasena. Guṇasena is called the lord of the great Irungulānvaya of the Nandi sangha of the Drāviḍa gana.² Instances may be multiplied to prove this further.³

Now in regard to the successors of Ardhabali who were

1. E. C., IX, Cg. 37, p. 174. See also ibid., Cg. 38 dated about the same year.
2. Ibid., Cg. 34, p. 173.
3. See Ibid., IV. Gu. 27 of A.D. 1196, p. 40; V. Hn. 131 of circa A.D. 1117, p. 37; Hn. 128 undated, p. 80 (translit); Ak. 1 of A.D. 1169, p. 112; Ak. 141 of A.D. 1159, p. 175; VI. Mg. 18 of circa A.D. 1040, p. 61 where Draviḍa sangha is said to belong to the Mūla sangha; VIII Nr. 36 of A.D. 1077, p. 139; Nr. 37. of A.D. 1147, p. 142; Nr. 39 of circa A.D. 1077, p. 143; Nr. 40, of A.D. 1077, p. 144; XI, Dg. 90, p. 69.
directly associated with the Drāviḍa sangha. Although convention and respect for the memory of the great leaders of the past made the scribes of some inscriptions associate the names of Bhadrabāhu, Koṇḍakunda, and Samantabhadra with the origin of the Drāviḍa sangha, yet we know from inscriptions that only four Jaina preceptors were primarily connected with the Drāviḍa sangha. These were Bhūtabali, Puṣpadanta, Vajranandi, and Patrakesarrisvāmi. Thus in a record of A.D. 1160 we have the following:—“...Arungulānvaya of the Drāviḍa sangha which had come down increasing from Bhūtabali and Puṣpadanta Bhaṭṭāraka, from Samantabhadraśvāmi and Akalankadeva, from Vakragrīvacārya, from Vajranandi Bhaṭṭāraka”, and others down to Vasupūjyasvāmi. The same with slight variations is repeated in a record dated A.D. 1169. The first two Bhūtabali and Puṣpadanta were the disciples of Ardhabali. This is proved by the record of A.D. 1398 which asserts that Ardhabali “shone with his two disciples Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali.” Therefore, it was the immediate disciples of Ardhabali who were responsible for the growth of the Drāviḍa sangha. And as regards Patrakesarrisvāmi, who is called in a record of A.D. 1136 the head of the Dramiḷa sangha, we know from the inscription of A.D. 1129 that he came after Vajranandi, and that by the grace of Padmāvatī he refuted the trailaksana theory.

Hence it is clear from the above facts that, in spite of the occasional reference to the earlier preceptors like Bhadrabāhu, etc., the institution of the four sanghas from the ori-

2. Ibid., V. Ak. 1, p. 112.
3. Ibid., II. 254, p. 110.
4. Ibid., V, Bl. 17, p. 51.
ginal Mūla sangha was the work of Ardhabali; that the Drāviḍa sangha was a sub-division of the Nandi sangha which was most famous of the four sanghas; that the prosperity of the Drāviḍa sangha is to be attributed to the activities of the two disciples of Ardhabali—Bhūtabali and Puṣpadanta;¹ and that the establishment of the Drāviḍa sangha at Madura was the work of Vajranandi in the last quarter of the ninth or in the first quarter of the tenth century A.D.²

Two other names are associated with the spread of Jainism in the Tamil land—Kanakasena and Guṇasena. Kanakasena was connected with Dharmapuri (Tagḍūr in the Salem district). A stone inscription dated Śaka 815 (A.D. 893) relates that a nobleman in the reign of Mahendrarājādhīrāja Nolamba gave a grant to the basadi at Dharmapuri and to Kanakasena Bhaṭṭāraka.³ A Guṇasena also figures in the

2. On Vakragrīva, the predecessor of Vajranandi, read E. C., II, 67, p. 26; IV. Ng. 100, pp. 139-141; V. Bl. 17 p. 51; Ak. 1, p. 112; Ak. 141, p. 175; VI. Kd. 69, p. 13; M.A.R., for 1926, p. 51. A disciple of Vajranandi by name Mugulina Pārśvadeva is mentioned in a record the cyclic year of which cannot be determined. E.C., V. Hn. 128, p. 8. (translit.) These conclusions based upon epigraphic records invalidate the assertion made in the Digambara Darśana (J. Bom. R. A. S., XVII. p. 74) that Vajranandi founded the Dramila sangha at Madura in Vikrama year 526 (A.D. 470). This has been implicitly followed by Ramaswami, Studies, p. 52; P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, History of the Tamils, p. 247; Ramachandra Dikshitar, Studies in Tamil Lit., pp. 21-22. Further we may note that the assertion made in the Digambara Darśana that Vajranandi was the disciple of Pūjyapāda is altogether unsupported by the many epigraphic records which we have examined in detail.
3. 304 of 1901; Rangacharya, Top. List, II, p. 1211. See also 61 & 63 of 1900; Rangacharya, ibid., II, 990, 1003.
records of the south, and especially in the reign of a king called Varaguṇa Vikramāditya.\textsuperscript{1} These two preceptors are mentioned in other records as well.\textsuperscript{2}

But neither of them can be identified with the meagre data before us. A Kanakasenamuni, the guru of Baladevamuni, is mentioned in a record assigned to \textit{circa} A.D. 650.\textsuperscript{3} In what way he was connected with the Tamil land, cannot be determined. As regards Guṇasena, we have two Jaina preceptors of that name. There was Guṇasena-guruvar, who was the disciple of Moniguruvar of Agāji, and who died in about A.D. 700.\textsuperscript{4} A more conspicuous Guṇasena was the disciple of Puṣpasena. This guru hailed from Mulḷūru in Coorg, and, as we have already seen, died in A.D. 1064.\textsuperscript{5}

Likewise unidentifiable is the name of Ėlācārya, who is supposed by some to have been the author of the Tamil classic \textit{Kural}. It is related in Jaina tradition that Ėlācārya after composing this work, gave it to his disciple Tiruvalluvar, who introduced it to the Śangham at Madura.\textsuperscript{6} This has to be given up for the following reasons—In the first place, the identity of Ėlācārya himself is by no means settled. There are at least three Jaina gurus of that name. Jaina tradition relates that Ėlācārya was another name of Koṇḍakundācārya.\textsuperscript{7} But, as Prof. Upadhye has pointed out, there is no basis for asserting that Koṇḍakundācārya was ever called

1. 330 of 1908 ; Rangacharya, \textit{op. cit.}, II, p. 995 ; III, p. 1696.
4. \textit{Ibid.}, II, 8, p. 3.
5. \textit{Ibid.}, I, Cg. 34, 35, 37, 38, 41, pp. 65-67.
Moreover, the intimate association of the Jaina gurus with the Tamil people seems to have begun only after the time of Samantabhadra. Hence we cannot conceive of Koṇḍakundācārya visiting the south in order to inspire a great Tamil poet to present his work to the Sangham at Madura. A second Ėlācārya has already figured in the above pages. He was the disciple of Śrīdharadeva, and is supposed to have lived in circa A.D. 910. This age would be too late for Ėlācārya, the contemporary of Tiruvallūvar, whose lowest age, according to some, is the sixth or seventh century A.D. Then there is another Ėlācārya, mentioned in a record assigned by Rice to circa A.D. 1060. Nothing more is known about this person than that his lay disciple was Bindayya.

Secondly, the name as it appears in Tamil literature and in Ceylon chronicles is not Ėlācārya but Elesingha, Elala, and Aḷāra. It is said that the profound scholarship of Tiruvallūvar attracted the notice of Elesingha, a great merchant who carried an overseas trade. This merchant accepted Tiruvallūvar as his preceptor; and at the former's request Tiruvallūvar composed the great Kural. According to the Ceylonese chronicles it was Eḷēra or Aḷāra (which word seems to have been a corruption of the Tamil Elēla), a Coḷa nobleman, who invaded Ceylon, slew the local ruler Asēla, and ruler over that island from B.C. 145 to B.C. 101. The Tamil

2. See also E. C., Yd. 28, p. 56. But Rice assigns this record to circa A.D. 1100.
4. E. C., IV. Ng. 67, p. 129.
5. Dikshitar, ibid., p. 128.
tradition, therefore, makes Elesingha a merchant; the Ceylonese chronicles, a ruler; and the Jaina tradition, a sage!  

Although the linking up of the name of Elācārya with Tiruvaḷḷuvar has to be rejected, yet it cannot be denied that after Samantabhadra’s time, and especially after the foundation of the Drāvida sangha at Madura by Vajranandi, Jainism had made rapid progress and established many centres in the Tamil land.  

The Tamil works Paṭṭinapālai, Silappadikāram, and Maṇimekkhalai contain interesting details of the Jainas in the Tamil land. The great centres were at Madura, Kāveripūmpaṭṭinam (mod. Kāveripaṭṭam in the Siyāli tāluka), and Uraiyūr on the banks of the Kāverī. The Paṭṭinappālai speaks of the Jaina and Buddhist temples being in one quarter of the city of Pugār (i.e., Kāveripūmpaṭṭinam), while in another the Brahmins with plaited hair performed sacrifices and raised volumes of smoke. The other classics relate that the Jainas, who were called by the name Ni(r)-granthas, lived outside the town in their cool cloisters, the walls of which were exceedingly high and painted red and

1. Mr. K. V. Subramanya Aiyer doubts whether Manu-Coḷa of the Periyapurāṇam, Elesingha of the Tamil tradition, and Elēra of the Mahavamso were not identical! Historical Sketches, p. 186.

2. Of these Kāveripūmpaṭṭinam and Uraiyūr were well known Coḷa capitals, the former owing to its foundation to the king Karikāla Coḷa. The inscriptions in Uraiyūr date only to the eleventh century A.D. But the dates of Karikāla Coḷa are unknown, although he has been placed in the earlier half of the sixth century A.D. (Subrahmanya Aiyer, Historical Sketches, pp. 1, n. 1; 188, 190-191). If this is accepted, it seems as if we are to place the Silappadikāram, which speaks of that city as being a centre of Jainism, also in the same century.

which were surrounded by little flower gardens. Their temples were situated at places where two or three roads met. They preached their doctrines from raised platforms; and they conducted monasteries for nuns. ¹ These details perhaps refer to Madura.

In the Maṇimekhalai we have a detailed exposition of the Nirgrantha philosophy as preached in Madura. Maṇimekhalai dissatisfied with the teachings of Markali, turns to the Nirgrantha and asks him to describe to her his deity, his teachings, his authoritative texts, and his idea of bondage and nirvāṇa. And then the Nirgrantha relates in detail the six sections of his teachings,—dharmāstikāya adharmāstikāya, kāla, ākāsa, jīva, and paramāṇus, with good and bad deeds, and the release (vīdu). ²

Although no conclusion has been arrived at concerning the age to which Maṇimekhalai can be assigned, ³ yet it may be presumed that the account of the Jaina philosophy as given in that work was in vogue in the south somewhere in the

1. Ramaswami, Studies, p. 47.
3. Dr. S. K. Ayyangar is inclined to place this work in the second century A.D. Beginnings of South Indian History, pp. 168-192; Ancient India, pp. 360, 380-382. This conclusion of Dr. Ayyangar was long ago controverted and disproved by M. S. Ramaswami Ayyangar, who has amply demonstrated that Maṇimekhalai belongs to the sixth or seventh century A.D. Studies, pp. 149-153. Dr. Ayyangar has failed to meet these arguments. Read his Maṇimekhalai, pp. xxvi—xxix. Ramaswami Ayyangar's conclusion is supported by Prof. Jacobi who also opined that Maṇimekhalai was to be assigned to the sixth century A.D. Read Jacobi in S. K. Ayyangar's Maṇimekhalai, Intr. p. xxxiv.
fifth or sixth century A.D.  

Circumstances narrated elsewhere in this treatise point to a bitter campaign which the Śaiva saints launched against the teachers of the anekāntamāta in the south. This may have been in the tenth and eleventh century A.D., when as a result of the Śaivite revival the influence of the Jainas in Madura was once and for ever shattered. But there were other parts of the southern peninsula where Jainism continued to live long after the days of the great Jñānasamandhar and other well known Śaiva saints.

One of these was Vallimalai, near Tiruvallam in the Wandiwash tāluka of the North Arcot district. Kannada records in the Grantha characters prove the importance of this place as a Jaina stronghold in the ninth and tenth century A.D. The Ganga king Rācamalla Satyavākyya I, the son of Raṇavikrama (i.e., Vijayāditya, Raṇavikrama) and grandson of king Śrīpuruṣa, built a basadi on Vallimalai. Another record also in Kannada but in Grantha characters mentions the setting up of an image of Devasena, the pupil of Bhavānandi. Devasena was the guru of an unidentified Bāna king. The work of setting up the above image was done by a Jaina sage called Āryanandi, also known as Ajjanandi. It cannot be made out whether this was the same Ajjanandi who is called “the glorious” in a Vaṭṭeluttu inscription in characters of the tenth or eleventh cen-

1. About a century later Śūlamani, a celebrated Jaina work, may have been composed by Tōlāmolittēva in the reign, it is said, of Šendan (Jayanta), the grandson of Kaṇḍungon. M. Srinivasas Ayyangar, Tamil Studies, p. 219.

2. 91 of 1889; 6 of 1895.

3. 7 of 1895 Rangachari, Top. List, I, p. 120.

4. 8 of 1895
tury A.D., commemorating the setting up of another image in Karungālakkudī in the Madura tāluka. 1

Ajjanandīs name is also connected with Peccipaḷḷam, the Vaṭṭeluttu inscriptions of which mention not only that Jaina guru but, as we said in an earlier context, Guṇanandī and Kanakasena. 2 This village of Peccipaḷḷam in the Madura tāluka as well as Kilavāḷavu, Seṭṭipōḍavu near Kilakkuḍi, Muttupaṭṭi, and Aḷagārkoil also in the same tāluka, were Jaina centres in the early centuries of the Christian era. Remains of Jaina basadis, rows of Jaina sculptures, and caverns with Brahmi and Vaṭṭeluttu inscriptions, point to the strong Jaina influence in these parts of the Tamil land. 3

More important than any of the above was Kuraṇḍī in the Vēṇbunāḍu. It was also called Tirukkuramṇḍī and Kuraṇḍī Tirukkāṭṭambalḷi in early inscriptions. A number of inscriptions in the Vaṭṭeluttu characters reveal the importance of this place in the eighth and ninth century A.D. Many Jaina teachers whose identity cannot be determined at present, are said to have presided over the congregation at Kuraṇḍī. Thus, Guṇasenappēriyadigal, the disciple of Vartamāṇava Paṇḍitar, was the guru of this centre in about the ninth century A.D. 4 Another teacher of this centre was Abhinandana Bhaṭāra, the disciple of Arimaṇḍala

1. 562 of 1911. Ajjanandīs domicile seems to have been Peccipaḷḷam itself where a Vaṭṭeluttu inscription records that his mother Guṇamatiyar caused a Jaina image to be set up. (64 of 1910). Ajjanandī is also mentioned in records found at Ānamalai, Madura tāluka. (67-74 of 1905).
2. 65-69 of 1910.
4. 330-332 of 1908. See also 69 of 1910.
Bhaṭāra. 1 Kanakanandi is called the servant of Tirukkuraṇḍi in a Vaṭṭeluttu record found there. 2 Two Vaṭṭeluttu inscriptions found at Muttupaṭṭi are of some interest in this connection. One informs us that Kanakavira Periyādīgal, the disciple of Guṇasenadevar, who was the disciple of Kuraṇḍi Aṭṭa-upavāsi-bhaṭāra of Vēṅbunāḍu, caused a Jaina image to be constructed in the name of the inhabitants of Kuyirkuṇḍi (mod. Kīlkkuṇḍi). 3 And another relates that Māghanandi, the disciple of Kuraṇḍi Aṣṭa-upavāsi-bhaṭāra, caused to be constructed another image also in the name of the inhabitants of that nāḍu. 4 A third Vaṭṭeluttu record found at Paḻlimadam in the Rāmnad district, registers the gift of fifty-five sheep by Sātetaṅgāri for a lamp to the temple (basadi) of Tirukāṭṭambalḷideva at Kuraṇḍi. 5

Some more instances may be given of the widespread influence of Jainism in the southern peninsula. Taṅḍur (Dharmapuri) in the Salem district was a Jaina stronghold in the ninth century A.D. in the days of the Noḻambas. In Śaka 800 (A.D. 878) the Pallava Mahendra Noḻamba made a grant to a basadi in Taṅḍur. 6 It was in the reign of the same ruler in Śaka 815 (A.D. 893) that a citizen named Nandiyaṇṇa receiving the village of Mūḷlapalḷi from the king gave it as a gift to Kanakasena Siddhāṇṭa, the disciple of Vinayasena Siddhāṇṭa of the Pogariya

1. 63 of 1910.
2. 68 of 1910.
3. 61 of 1910.
4. 62 of 1910.
6. 348 of 1901; Rangacharya, ibid, II. p. 1212.
gaṇa, Sēnānvayā, and Mūla saṅgha, for the repairs of the basadi.1

In the ninth century Jainism flourished also in some parts of the Travancore State. Of these mention may be made of Citaral where Tirucchāṇattumalai was known as the mountain of the Cāraṇas or Śramaṇas (i.e., the Jainas). This place which seems to have been originally Buddhist, witnessed the gift of some golden ornaments to the goddess Bhagavatī by Gūṇandāngi Kurattigal, the disciple of Ariṭṭanemī Bhaṭāra of Pērayakuḍi. This was in the 28th regnal year of king Vikrama Varaguna (ninth century A.D.)2

That in the tenth and eleventh century A.D. there were Jainas throughout the Cola and Pāṇḍya countries and the Ṭoṇḍaimaṇḍalam is proved by a record of the Cola king Rāja Rāja Deva I dated in his 24th regnal year (A.D. 1009), in which the State dealt with defaulters of land revenue held by the Brahmans, the Vaikhānasas, and the Jainas in the three provinces mentioned above. The monarch empowered the villagers to confiscate and sell the lands of those whose taxes were unpaid for full two years.3 This epigraph clearly shows that the great Cola king made no distinction between the Jainas and the other subjects of his Empire.

Vilappākkam in the North Arcot district was a Jaina locality in the same age (the tenth century A.D.) Here was Ariṭṭanemīpiḍārar of Tiruppānamalai, the guru of the Jainas. One of his lay disciples (a woman) sank a well

1. 304 of 1901, E. I. X. pp. 54-70; see also 305 of 1901 for other examples.
3. 29 of 1893; Rangacharya, Top List., I. p. 69.
in that village in the 38th regnal year of the Cola king Parântaka I (A.D. 945 ?). It cannot be made out whether the Jaina guru Ariṣṭanemi mentioned here was identical with his namesake hailing from Kaṅaikottur, and who was said to have been the pupil of Paravādimalla of Tirumala, in a Tamil-Grantha record found in Tirumalai in the North Arcot district.

But we know that Tirumalai was, indeed, a Jaina centre in the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D. An inscription found there, and dated in the 21st regnal year of king Rāja Rāja I (A.D. 1006), affirms that a Jaina sage named Guṇavīramuni built a sluice called after (his ?) Jaina teacher Gaṇiśekhara who was skilled in all elegant arts. Another record but of the 12th regnal year of king Rājendra Deva I (A.D. 1024) records the gift of money for the lamp and worship in the Jaina temple on the Tirumalai (hill) by the wife of a merchant of Malliyūr. The Jaina temple, it is interesting to note, had been founded by the Cola king’s aunt Kuṇḍaṇi. A Jaina image of Arhat was set up here at Tirumalai by a lady of Ponnūr in the 12th regnal year of Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya (who was perhaps the contemporary of the Cola king Rāja Rāja III).

Vēḍal called Viḍâḷ alias Mādevī Arìndamangalam, also in the North Arcot district, contained a Jaina basadî. The locality was called Viḍârpaṭṭi in a record dated in the 14th regnal year of a Pallava king named merely Nandi.

1. 53 of 1900; Rangacharya, Top List, I, p. 57.
2. 88 of 1887; Rangacharya, ibid, I, pp. 80-81.
3. 82 of 1887; Rangacharya, ibid, I, p. 80 where Rangacharya has a note on Guṇavīra.
4. 80 of 1887; S. I. I., I, pp. 95 99; E. I. IX. pp. 229-223.
5. 85 of 1887.
6. 82 of 1908.
who may be identified with the Pallava king Nandipottarasar (Nandivarmā III, the Ganga Pallava king?). In the 50th regnal year of this ruler a Yakṣi named Ponniyakkiyār and a Jaina sage called Nāganandi were carved on a boulder on Tiruppānamalai.¹

There was a temple called Nakhara Jinaḷaya at Mudi-gonḍacolapuram, Coimbatore district, dedicated to Candra-prabhasāmī. In Śaka 1031 (A.D. 1109) a village in Hadi-nāḍu was granted for the repairs and worship in this temple by some person.²

Kumbanūr in Vēṇbuvalanāḍu was a prosperous Jaina centre in the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D. This is inferred from a record dated in the 48th regnal year of the Cola king Kulottunga Cola Deva (I?) (A.D. 1126), in which twenty-five Jainas of Kumbanūr granted, among other precious gifts, specified land for the site of a basadi, and a watershed for the use of Jaina devotees.³

We have ample evidence of the prevalence of Jainism in the thirteenth century during the reign of the king Rāja Rāja III. Some of the records show the good feelings that existed between the Jainas and the Brahmans. Thus, an inscription dated in the 11th regnal year of that monarch (A.D. 1227) registers the grant of land and a tank by the residents of the devadāna village of Sattamangalam and those living in the Paḷlicchandam (i.e., the basadi) of the same village. But nothing more can be gathered about the

¹. 10 of 1895; E. I. IV, pp. 136-137. A Kanakavīra-kuratti, the disciple of Guṇakīrti Bhaṭṭāraka, is mentioned in a record of Veḍal. (84 of 1908).
². 10 of 1910.
³. 397 of 1914; Rangacharya, Top List, II, p. 1161.
Jaina temple from the same record.\textsuperscript{1} In the thirty-seventh year of the same king (A.D. 1253) Pramaladevi built the steps leading to the shrine of the Jaina temple called Karikālaça, which had been constructed on behalf of Matisāgaradeva, in the village of Kanupartiṇḍu in the Nellore district.\textsuperscript{2}

We may assign to the reign of the same Coḷa monarch the building of a basadi called Vīravīra Jinālaya (mod. Ponninātha basadi) in the village of Pūṇḍi in the North Arcot district. The record contains only the names of the village given as a gift and of the ruler called Śambuvarāya.\textsuperscript{3} The ruler Śambuvarāya mentioned here may be identified with Rājagambhīra Śambuvarāya, a contemporary of king Rāja Rāja III, spoken of in a record dated A.D. 1258.\textsuperscript{4}

From the numerous epigraphs which clearly prove the popularity of Jainism in the Tamil land long after the days of Jñānasambhandhar and the other great Šaiva saints of the south, we may now turn to the Telugu land where we shall rapidly review the epigraphs dealing with the spread of Jain-

\begin{enumerate}
\item 466 of 1912 ; Rangacharya, \textit{Top List}, II, p. 1431. It cannot be made out whether Vādhūla Sri Kiśṇasūrī mentioned in a record dated A.D. 1234, was a Jaina. (26 of 1896)
\item Rangacharya, \textit{ibid.} II, p. 1117. It cannot be made out whether the two records dated in the 18th and 20th regnal years of a Rāja Rāja Deva in the Jina temple at Tirupparuttikunru, Conjeeveram tāluka, Chingleput district, have to be assigned to the reign of the same monarch. (40 and 44 of 1890). What seems evident is that that village possessed a basadi in the eleventh and twelfth century A.D. (See also 43 of 1890 dated in the 21st year of an unidentified Kulottunga Coḷa Deva).
\item 58 of 1900.
\end{enumerate}
ism. There may be some justification for the view that Jainism in the Andhradeśa can be traced to the pre-Mauryan days, when we consider the notices of Jaina tradition that Mahāvīra preached Jainism in Kalinga. The Hāribhadriyavṛtti says that Mahāvīra went to Kalinga where his father’s friend was ruling. That this tradition has some semblance of truth in it, and that Jainism must have made some headway in the days of king Khāravela is proved by the Hāthigumpha record of that powerful monarch (first half of the second century B.C.) In this inscription it is said that that monarch set up an image of Jina in Kalinga which had been taken away by king Nanda. Further we are told in the same inscription that in the thirteenth regnal year of king Khāravela on the Kumāri hill where the Wheel of Conquest had been well revolved (i.e., the religion of Jina had been preached), the great conqueror Khāravela offered maintenances, China cloths, and white cloths to the monks who (by their austerities) had extinguished the round of lives, and to the preachers on the religious life and conduct at the niṣidhi.

King Khāravela himself, therefore, was a devout Jaina. As a layman he was devoted to worship, and he realized the nature of jīva and deha. He ordered an assemblage of all the wise ascetics and sages from all quarters. And to this Great Council (sāṅghayana) came Śrāmaṇas of good deeds and those who followed the injunctions. And near the Relic Depository of the Arhat on the top of the hill (evidently on the Kumāri) he caused to be built (a great basadi) with

stones brought from many miles and quarried from excellent mines for the queen Sindhula. But that was not all. His crowning achievement as a Jaina was the compilation (upādhyāti) of the Amgas (of the 64 letters) which was undertaken by him in his 13th year. This great work was done at a cost of seventy-five hundred thousand (gold pieces). No wonder this great monarch, who was the descendant of the royal sage Vasū, and who has "been seeing, hearing, and realizing blessings (kalyāṇas)", is called the King of Peace, the King of Prosperity, the King of Monks, and the King of dharma.

The advent and success of Jainism in the Andhradesa in the second century B.C. is thus proved beyond doubt. But it is only from the seventh century A.D. onwards that we have definite evidence of the widespread influence of that religion. The credit of fostering the anekāntamata goes to the Eastern Cālukya monarchs some of whom were Jaina by persuasion. Ayyana Mahādevi, the queen of king Viṣṇuvardhana III of that family, renewed in Saka 684 (A.D. 762) an earlier grant of a village named Musunikunda (location given) to the Jaina temple Nadumba basadi at Bijavāda through the teacher Kālibhadṛacārya of the Kavarūri gana and the Sanghānvaya.

Then we have king Amma II, Vijayāditya VI (A.D. 945—A.D. 970), who, according to an undated copper-plate grant, gave a village (named) to the Jaina teacher Arhanandi of the Valahāri gana and the Aḍḍakali gaccha. The grant was made for repairing the dining-hall of the basadi called Sarvalo-

3. Ibid., pp. 88-89.
kāśraya *Jinabhuvana* in Kalacumbharru in the Attilinnāṇḍu province. The grant was made at the instance of a lady (Śrāvaki), named Cāmekāmbā of the Paṭṭavardhikā lineage, a pupil of Arhanandi.¹

The same king granted another village named Malliyapūṇḍi in the Ongole tāluka, to the Jaina temple called Kaṭakābharāṇa, obviously in the same village. This temple had been constructed by Duggarāja, the great-grandson of Kṛṣṇarāja. And in the reign of the same ruler it was presided over by the guru Dhīradeva, the disciple of Divākara of the Yāpanīya *sangha* and Nandi *gaccha*.² King Amma II granted gifts to *basadis* in other places as well, as for instance to the two temples at Vijayavāṭikā, also called Bijavāḍa, (mod. Bezwada) according to an undated inscription of that ruler.³ It is not unlikely that one of these two temples was the same to which the Queen Ayyaṇa Mahādevi had given a grant in the eighth century A.D.⁴

Dānavulapāḍu in the Jammalamadugu tāluka, Cuddapah district, possessed a *basadi* which was patronized by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Nityavarṣa (*i.e.*, Indra IV). This ruler caused a pedestal to be made for the bathing ceremony of the god Sāntinātha.⁵

Rāmatīrtha near Vizianagaram was likewise a prominent locality of the Jainas. A Kannāḍa inscription of the reign of the Eastern Cālukyan king Vimalāḍitya (accession A.D.

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3. C. P. 8 of 1908-9; Rangacharya, *ibid.*, pp. 8778.
5. 331 of 1905; Rangacharya, *ibid.*, II, p. 589.
1022) records that the guru of that ruler, by name the Trai-kālayogi Siddhānta Desigaṅgācārya, visited Rāmatīrtha.¹

In the reign of the Eastern Ganga king Anantavarmanadeva, the merchant Kaṇṇama Nāyaka constructed a basadi called Rājarāja Jinaḷaya at Bhogapura in the Bimilapaṭam tāluka of the Vizagapatam district. And in Śaka 1109 (A.D. 1187) he gave some specified land to that temple with the consent of the mercantile leaders of the district.²

Tāḍpatri in the Anantpur district seems to have been associated with Jainism in Śaka 1120 (A.D. 1198). For a Jaina record of that date mentions the donor, Udayāditya, the son of Somadeva and Kaṇcaḷādevi, as residing at Tāṭipara (Tāḍpatri). But no traces of the Jaina settlement are visible there now.³

Penugonda in the same district contained the Pārśvanātha basadi. An inscription mentions Jinaḥūṣaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka, but nothing beyond this can be gathered about the temple.⁴

The Bellary district was dotted with many Jaina settlements the chief of which was Kōgaḷī. The ancient Cenna Pārśva temple at this place which, as we saw in the preceding pages, had received patronage at the hands of the Western

2. 363 of 1905.
3. This record was found in the Rāmēśvara temple at Tāḍpatri. 338 of 1892.
4. 345 of 1901. Seshagiri Rao mentions other localities in the Anantapur district where traces of Jainism have been found. Seshagiri Rao, ibid., p. 34.
Cālukyan monarch Someśvara I (A.D. 1042—A.D. 1068), also received a gift of gold from the Hoysala king Vīra Rāma-nāthadeva (A.D. 1257—A.D. 1295). Sōgi in the Haḍagalli tāluka of the same district, which received a gift of land from the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana, was evidently another seat of the Jainas. And a yet third centre was Koṭṭūru in the Rāyadurga tāluka.

Although the strongholds of Jainism in the Āndhra and the Tamil provinces were less numerous and less powerful than those in Karnāṭaka, yet they have left abiding marks on the culture of the Tamil and Āndhra peoples. Before we deal with this side of the question, we may conclude our account of the widespread domicile of Jainism in Karnāṭaka where Jainism manfully struggled against odds to retain its hold on the people. But we shall restrict ourselves to the minor centres of the anekāntamata.

Chief among these were Toḷḷa or Toḷḷar and Mūlivallī, both of which have already been referred to above while dealing with one of the Ganga kings and his feudatories. The Narasimharājapura plates of the Ganga king Śrīpuruṣa, assigned to the close of the eighth century A.D., mention the cediya or caitya in the Toḷḷa village situated in the Tagarenāḍ. This is corroborated by two inscriptions at the end of the same grant, but of the reign of king Śivamāra (II). One of these commemorates the gift of a village (named) to the same caitya by the governor Viṭṭarasa, while the other

1. 33 & 34 of 1904.
2. 453 of 1914.
registers the gift of land to the caitya of Mūlivalḷi (mod. Mallavalḷi) by Vijayaśakti-arasa.  

There is every reason to believe that the famous Nandi Hill once contained a Jina of great antiquity. As in other places, the original Jina image gave place to that of Gopālasvāmi, all vestiges of Jainism having been lost. These suppositions are based on a beautifully carved boulder with characters of the Ganga period (eighth century A.D.), which gives us the following interesting account of the Nandi Hill. It opens with an invocation to the adorable Vṛṣabha, the most excellent of the holy Jainas. And then it directly deals with the antiquities of the Jina on the Nandi Hill thus:—In former times, in the Dvāpārayuga of the Kali-avasarpinni, by Rāmasvāmi, the Mahāratha son of Daśaratha, sun in the sky of the Solar race, (to wit) by Puruṣottama, who for the purpose of bringing the world into good order desired to be incarnated as a man—, was the caityabhavana of the adorable Arhat, the lofty one, the omniscient, established. Afterwards by the mother of the Pāṇḍavas, Kuntīdevī, was it rebuilt anew.

The hill itself is praised thus—To the ornament of the earth goddess, a path to the attainment of svarga and mokṣa, like the jewel in the head of (the serpent) Dharanendra, who bears up the world, the best of mountains, purified by the presence of the Jainendra caitya, a supreme tīrtha (parama tīrtha), having caves suited for the residence of groups of great ṛṣīs intent upon the performance of penance, by name

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2. Two other instances of Jaina temples which have passed hands are those of Cikka Māgaḍi and Terakaṇāmbi. M. A. R. for 1911, p. 19; ibid for 1912, p. 24.
Srīkunda (stops here).\textsuperscript{1}

The plain and direct manner in which the caitya on the Nandi Hill is connected with the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa and with Kuntīdevī suggests that the Jainendra caitya was, indeed, an institution of some antiquity; and the simple but deserving praise bestowed on Karnāṭaka’s most famous hill station\textsuperscript{2} shows that the Jains were endowed with a remarkable aptitude for turning splendid spots into supremely holy places.

A modern insignificant village which was once a prominent seat of the Jainas (in the ninth century A.D.) was Lakṣmideviḥāḷḷi in the Arasiyakere tāluka. This village had a basadi called Biduga Jinālaya to which belonged a Jaina nun called Paramabbe Kantiyar.\textsuperscript{3}

Jambukhaṇḍi seems to have been also associated closely with the Jainas in the early part of the tenth century A.D. A Jaina priest called Āryadeva is called a Jambukhiṇḍi-gaṇasthāna in the Gokak copper-plate dated A.D. 923.\textsuperscript{4}

At Hullēla, Malavalli tāluka, Noḷamayya having renounced wealth and every kind of attachment, expired according to the orthodox manner in about A.D. 950.\textsuperscript{5}

Hoḷe Narasīpura was noted for its Jaina devotees. Inscriptions assigned to the middle of the tenth century A.D. contain some details pertaining to the places of Jaina influence in Hoḷe Narasīpura. In about A.D. 950 a citizen whose name is

\begin{enumerate}
\item E. C. X. C. 29, pp. 204-205. Was Srīkunda an earlier name of the Nandi Hill, or was it in any way connected with Koṇḍakundācārya?
\item Rice, E. C. X. Intr. pp. 9-10.
\item M. A. R. for 1911, p. 28.
\item K. H. R. I., No. 2, pp. 43-44.
\item M. A. R. for 1920, p. 30.
\end{enumerate}
effaced in the record but who was a Gorava, consecrated an image of Candranātha in the basti of that name at Būvina-ḥalli, Huṇsūr tāluka. The Ankanātheśvara and Subrahmanya temples at Ankanāthapura in the same tāluka of Hoḷe Narasīpura, seem to have been once Jaina temples. This is shown by the fact that inscriptions commemorating the death of Jaina nuns are found around the temples. One of such devotees was Cāmakabbe, who is described as a supporter of the Jaina assembly (Śramaṇa sangha) and of the four samayas.¹

Varuṇa in the Mysore tāluka at the close of the ninth century A.D. was a seat of a minor branch of the Western Cālu-kyas. It contained a large number of Jaina temples the ruins of which lie to the west of the village. Six mutilated images of Jaina deities have been found in that village.²

Maṇḍe in the Nelamangala tāluka and Ummattūr in the Chāmarājanagara tāluka once boasted of devoted Bhavyas in circa A.D. 1000. In the former place the Jaina nun Mārabbe Kantiyar, the disciple of Devendra Bhaṭṭāraka, and in the latter, prince Sindayya, the son of the chieftain of Sottiyūr, died in the orthodox manner about that date.³

An important Jaina settlement in the eleventh century A.D. was Kaḷasatavāḍu (mod. Kalasavāḍi), four miles to the south of Seringapatam. From two metallic images found at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa we learn that they formed the property of the Tirthada basadi at Kaḷasatavāḍu. Both the images were the gifts of two Jaina nuns (named) to the basadi. A cart-load of metallic images at the place corroborates the view that it was, indeed, a prosperous Jaina

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settlement in the eleventh century A.D. 2

In the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D. we have Taḷatāḷa mentioned as an important Jain locality, probably because of its association with the guru of the great Jaina general Ganga Rāja. An inscription found in the Kallubasti at Kanegrāma, Tīrthahaḷḷi tāḷuka, and assigned to about A.D. 1093 by Rice, relates the following—that Maladhārīdeva, who by the severity of his penance had his body covered with dust which was never removed, “being like iron a long time rusty, and having become like a white ant-hill,” belonged to the Taḷatāḷa basadi which was attached to the Lokiyabbe basadi. It was at the Taḷatāḷa basadi on the date specified, that his disciple Subhacandra-deva died in the orthodox manner. 2

2. E. C. VIII Tl. 199, p. 207. We suppose the Subhacandra-deva mentioned here was the guru of General Ganga Rāja and the disciple of the celebrated Gaṇḍavimukta Maladhārīdeva. There was another teacher of the same name, who was the disciple of Maladhārī Rāmacandra-deva. We presume that the record in question refers to Subhacandra, the guru of Ganga Rāja, on the following considerations:—The praise given in the above Tīrthahaḷḷi record to Maladhārīdeva agrees with that given to him in a Śravaṇa Belgoḷa record which, among other things, says that the “dirt on Maladhārīdeva’s body, which was overgrown with an ant-hill, looked as if it were a close-fitting armour of black iron that had not yet been dossed.” It is this latter record from Śravaṇa Belgoḷa which tells us that Subhacandra died in Saka 1045 Śubhakṛt (A.D. 1223). (E. C. II. 117, p. 47). This date cannot be reconciled with the date of the Tīrthahaḷḷi inscription which gives merely the cyclic year Āṅgirasa, and the details Puṣyāmaśa, Bahula saptami, Ādityavāra, for the death of Subhacandra. (E. C. VIII. Tl. 199, text, p. 694). These details are insufficient to fix the date, but they may stand for A.D. 1092, Thursday (and not Sunday), Dec. the 23rd. Swamikannu, Ind. Ephem., III. p. 187.
The well known Cāmuṇḍi Hill near Mysore was once a Jaina tīrtha. It was called Marbala tīrtha in A.D. 1127. The name Marbala or Mabbala seems to have been Sanskritized into Mahābalesvara. Jaina epitaphs of the same age commemorate the death of Jaina devotees.¹

In about A.D. 1131 Śāliyūr (mod. Sālūr), Shikārpur hobli, contained a temple called Brahma Jinālaya for which a merchant named Bhadrarāya Šeṭṭi made a specified grant. His guru Kulacandra Panḍita belonged to the Meşapāsaṇa gaccha. It is interesting to note that the above Jinālaya is said to have belonged to the immemorial agrahāra of the Thousand (Brahmans) of Śāliyūr.²

Kaidāla in Muruganenāḍ in A.D. 1151 was proud of its Jina temples among which may be mentioned the Bhīma Jinālaya. It was constructed by the generous Sāmanta Gūli Būca (or Bāci), the ruler of Maruganenāḍ. We shall have to refer again to this worthy scion of Mānyakheḍapura. The Bhīma Jinālaya, we may note, was erected by him in the name of his wife Bhīmale, who was a devout Jaina. The god in the temple was called Cenna Pārśvadeva. Liberal endowments were made by him to the temple.³

Elambaḷḷi in the Sohrab tāluka owed its Jinālaya to the piety of Deki Šeṭṭi, “a greater supporter of the Jina faith”. This Jinālaya was called the Sāntinātha basadi, for the gifts of food of which Deki Šeṭṭi made specified gifts of land. His guru was the Sāntināṭha-gaṭika-sthāna-maṇḍalācārya Bhānukirti Siddhānta, the disciple of Municandradeva of the Tintriṇīka gaccha.⁴

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3. E. C. XII. Tm. 9, p. 4.
Nițțūru in the Gubbi tāluka also contained a basadi called the Śāntīśvara basadi. It is dated to about the middle of the twelfth century A.D.¹ Pious Bhavyas lived in Nițțūru, as is shown by the niśidhi stones commemorating their death.²

At the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. Hiriya Mahālīge possessed the Pañca basadi, which in about A.D. 1200 was repaired by a devout citizen. Along with the nāḍ people, he endowed it with three villages which had been originally given to it by a king (unnamed).³

The Jinālaya in Kuntalāpura in circa A.D. 1204 was likewise endowed with lands by the farmers and the Great Minister Hiriya Heḍeya Asavara Mārayya. This latter official conducted an enquiry, “defaced by force the stone śāsana which had been written”, and then along with the nāḍ people gave a grant to the “excellent ṛcārya” of Kuntalāpura, Nemicandra Bhāṭṭāraka. The reason why the enquiry was conducted and why Sāvanta Mārayya forcibly removed the existing stone śāsana was probably because it was a forged document detrimental to the interests of the Jina temple and the sangha at Kuntalāpura.⁴

Jiḍḍuligenāḍ and Eḍenāḍ contained many Jinendra temples in about A.D. 1208. They were the outcome of the liberality of Nemi Śetti of the Nunna vaṁśa. It was he who had caused the Śāntinātha Jinālaya to be built at Koḍanki, which, we may note by the way, is called in the record “a mine of the gems of learned men and beautiful women”. Liberal endowments were made to this temple by Nemi Śetti.⁵

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¹ M. A. R. for 1919, p. 11.
² Ibid for 1930, p. 257.
³ E. C., VII. Sk. 227, p. 133. See also Sk. 232, ibid page.
⁵ Ibid, VIII, Sb. 28, pp. 5-6.
Kottagere, Kūṅgal tāluka, contains now a ruined Jina temple. But an inscription on the pedestal of a Jina image lying there states that the image of Sāntinātha was caused to be made in about A.D. 1250 by Māghanandideva, the disciple of Haricandradeva, of Heragu, who belonged to the Mūla sangha and the Inguleśvara baḷi.¹

The god Prasanna Pārśva of the Brahma Jinālaya of Jōgamaṭṭige in Tailangere (in the Sirā tāluka?) received in A.D. 1277 a gift of 2,000 arecanuts in a specified village from Kalli Šeṭṭi, the disciple of Bālendu Maladhārideva of the Inguleśvara baḷi, as a permanent gift. This record tells us that the donee Cellapiḷle’s father Dīpanāyaka belonged to the Jina Brahmins of Bhuvalokanāthapura in the Bhuvalokanāthaviṣaya of the Ponnara-matiṉiṉiṕaḷ which lay to the north of the southern Madhura in the southern Pāṇḍyadesa. The interest of this record lies in the fact that a class of Jainas called Jina Brahmins lived in a part of the Tamil land. Dīpanāyaka is expressly stated in the record to have belonged to the Dyetreyasākhā of the Yajurveda, Vāsiṣṭha gotra, and the Kaṇḍinya- Maitra-Varuṇa- Vāsiṣṭha pravara.²

Kalaśa in the Mūḍgere tāluka possessed a temple of Jineśvara in the same year A.D. 1277. And it also received specified gifts of rice from a citizen called Mādhava Šeṭṭi.³

The Gandha-guḍi of the Homnēyanahalḷi basadi in the Huṇsūr tāluka was constructed in A.D. 1303 by Padmanandi Bhaṭṭāraka, the disciple of Bāhubali Maladhārideva of Hanasōge.⁴

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4. *Ibid., IV. Hs.,* 14, p. 84.
By the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. Jainism had travelled to the province of Tuļuva, where in the centres of Varanga, Kervāse, Nallūru, Mūḍubidre, and Bārakūru, it steadily rose into prominence till, as we shall relate in a later context, it gave once again strong impetus to the political events of the times. We have described the rise of Jainism in Tuļuva in detail elsewhere.¹

In various other localities like Jāvagāl, Maraṭi, Haṅci, Śāliprāma, Tēkal, Lakavaḷḷi, Eleyūr, Rāmapura, Kallahaḷḷi, Kumanahaḷḷi, Sakkarepañāna, and Hosahōḷalū,² abundant traces of Jaina influence and culture have been found, thereby adding to the overwhelming testimony of epigraphs and literature that throughout the great extent of Karnāṭaka Jainism continued for ages to be a great factor in the life of the people.

What was the contribution of Jainism to the history and culture of the three large provinces of Karnāṭaka, the Tamil land and the Āndhradeśa during these centuries of its widespread influence? An answer to this question would mean a separate dissertation on the subject. But in order to complete our narrative of the history of Jainism in the mediæval times, we may briefly allude to some salient facts which may enable us to form an adequate estimate of the great part played by this religion in the history of the country.

One of the best claims of Jainism at the hands of posterity is that it contributed to the literature of all the three pro-

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¹ Saleatore, Ancient Karnāṭaka, I., pp. 404-415.
² M. A. R. for 1911, pp. 3,6,19; ibid for 1912, pp. 16, 36; ibid for 1913-4, p. 7; ibid for 1916, p. 8; ibid for 1917, pp. 9, 44; ibid for 1918, p. 5; ibid for 1925, p. 93; ibid for 1928, pp. 87-8; ibid for 1931, p. 25; ibid for 1933, p. 13.
vinces mentioned above. The Jaina teachers as the intellectual custodians of the Āndhradeśa, the Tamil land, and Karnāṭaka most assiduously cultivated the vernaculars of the people, and wrote in them great works of abiding value to the country. Purism was the keynote of their compositions, although almost all the early Jaina writers were profound Sanskrit scholars. With them originated some of the most renowned classics in Tamil, Telugu and Kannada. It has been rightly opined that the Jainas gave to the Tamil people their didactic classics like the Kural and Nāladiyār; major kāvyas like Silappadikāram, Maṇimekhalaśi, and Cintāmaṇī; minor kāvyas like Nilakesi, Perunkathai (or Brhadkathā) Nāgakumārkāvya, Cūḷāmaṇī, and quite a number of other works as well.¹

To the Āndhradeśa and Karnāṭaka, among other precious gifts, the Jainas gave the campū kāvyas or poems in a variety of composite metres interspersed with paragraphs in prose. When Nannaya, the author of the famous Telugu Mahābhārata, to stem the tide of the naturalized Kannāḍiga Pampa’s Bhārata, which had won great celebrity in the Vengimāṇḍala, prepared a Telugu Brahman counterpart of the same story, he adopted the campū style which was the gift of the Jainas to Karnāṭaka.² An example of a Jaina scholar in the capital of the Telugu king in the first quarter of the fourteenth century A.D. is that of Ayyapārya, the author of the Sanskrit work called Jainendra-kalyāṇā-bhyudaya. He wrote his work in A.D. 1319 at Ekaśīlanagara (Warangal) in the reign of king Rudradeva. He was the disciple of Dharasenaçārya, and was of the Kāśyapa gotra

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1. Read Ramaswami, Studies, pp. 76-77, 81-104; Rice, My. & Coorg, p. 198.
2. Seshagiri Rao, op. cit., pp. 100-103
and the Jainālapāka lineage.¹

But neither in the Tamil nor in Telugu literature was the influence of the Jainas so profound and of such lasting value as in that of Karnāṭaka, where from the early centuries of the Christian era till the twelfth century A.D. they created literature and fostered it with unrivalled care and devotion. It is not our aim, however, to give in this section even a brief account of the galaxy of great Jaina literary men who adorned the courts of imperial and provincial rulers during the first twelve centuries of the Christian era. We shall restrict ourselves to the enumeration of a few outstanding names in order to complete the topic of the indebtedness of southern India to the Jainas in the literary field. The earliest names of the great Jainas who in some manner or other added to Kannada literature were those of Samantabhadra, Kavi-parameśṭhi, and Pūjyapāda.² Omitting equally great names, we may pass on to Śrīvardhadeva alias Tembalūrācārya’s celebrated work known as Čūḍāmaṇi or Ĉūḷāmaṇi which, according to Bhaṭṭākalanka’s Karnāṭaka-sabdānuśasana, was the finest work in Kannada. The Čūḍāmaṇi contained 96,000 verses and was a commentary on the Tattvārtha-mahāsūtra.³ The stone inscription which gives us a few details about Śrīvardhadeva, also tells us that just before him was Cintāmaṇi, whose work also bore the same name as himself.⁴ It is curious that these two works-Čūḍāmaṇi, and Cintāmaṇi—should also be found in Tamil literature.⁵

¹. M. A. R. for 1913-4, p. 57.
³. Rice, My. & Coorg, p. 198; Kavicarite, I, p. 8. n. (1)
⁵. Ramaswami, Studies., pp. 94, 103, Rangacharya, Top. List., I. p. 80. Rice cites the opinion of Caldwell that Cintāmaṇi is undoubtedly the greatest epic poem in Tamil, and the oldest Tamil composition of any length now extant. (Rice, ibid, p. 198).
Among the Jaina kings of Karnāṭaka who have left evidence of their literary works, we may mention the following—the Gana kings Durvinīta and Śivamāra I. The former was the author of the prominent works in Sanskrit which we have already discussed in the previous pages. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Nṛpatunga in his well known work Kavirājamārga refers to king Durvinīta as a Kannaḍa poet.¹ King Śivamāra I was the author of the Kannaḍa Gajasāstra or science of elephants.²

Unique is the name of Ādipampa, better known as Pampa, the author of Ādirūpāṇa and Bhrata (or Vikramārjunavijaya) (A.D. 941). As the author of these two Kannaḍa masterpieces in the campū style, Pampa’s services for the cause of Indian culture can hardly be over-estimated. Born in the Vengimāṇḍala, it was Pampa, as we have just now said, who was primarily responsible for Nannaya Bhaṭṭa’s great work Bhārata. That a Telugu scholar, the son of a Telugu Brahman (Abhirāmadevarāya), who had espoused the cause of Jainism, and who was born in one of the agra-hāras of Vengimaṇḍala, but who was the protégé of the Western Cālukyan ruler Arikeśar of Puligere, should have produced a Kannaḍa masterpiece which had won for itself unvarnished celebrity in the Āndhradeśa for about a century, was sufficient humiliation to the proud Āndhras, whose great poet Nannaya produced in about A.D. 1053 the Telugu counterpart of Pampa’s magnificent work in Pampa’s own style, at the instance of the Rajahmundry king Rājarāja Narendra.³

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2. Ibid. I, p. 17; Rice, My. & Coorg, p. 198.
3. Seshagiri Rao. op. cit., pp. 19, 100-128. Nannaya’s great work corresponds to Pampa’s work only in regard to three parvas. Ibid., p. 103.
Not only men but Jaina women, too, have added to Kannada literature. The greatest name among them was Kanti who, along with Abhinava Pampa, was one of the gems that adorned the court of the Hoysala king Ballāḷa I (A.D. 1100-A.D. 1106). She was a redoubtable orator and a poet who completed the unfinished poems of Abhinava Pampa in the open court of that ruler.¹

None among the Jaina authors has made himself so endearing to the Kannadigas as Āṇḍayya (circa A.D. 1235), whose exquisite Kabbigarakāva is a triumph of Jaina ideas of purism in Kannada.²

Lest it may be supposed that Kannada Jainas were given only to writing on purely literary matters, we shall give some examples of Jaina authors who have left useful works in other departments of thought. Indeed, there were few subjects of practical importance which the Jainas of Karnāṭaka did not tackle. In the field of grammar, mathematics, astrology, and medicine, we have valuable works written by them. Of Pūjyapāda’s great work in grammar mention has already been made. Towards the middle of the twelfth century A.D. lived Nāgaravarmā (II), who wrote the three well known works on Kannada grammar—Kāvyāvalokana, Karnāṭakabhāṣābhidhāna, and Vastukośa.³ In about A.D. 1260 appeared Keśirāja with his Sabdamaṇidarpana in Kannada.⁴ On mathematics we have Rājāditya’s Vyavahāraganita, Kṣetraganita, Lilāvalī. Vyavahāraratna, Citrakasuge, Jainaganitasūtraṭikodāharana, and other works.⁵ As we narrated while dealing with the

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1. Read Kavivarta, I. pp. 110-11 for details about her life.
history of the Western Cālukyan king Someśvara I, it was during his reign that Śrīdhāraśārya of Narigunda composed the first Kannāḍa work on astrology called Jātakatilaka. The reason why he composed it is given thus—that learned men told him that no one till that time had written a work in Kannāḍa on astrology, and that, therefore, he was to write it.¹

Pūjyaśāra, as we have already seen, had set an example in the field of medicine, although it must be admitted that there is no evidence to show that the work which he wrote was in Kannāḍa. Another Jaina writer, who also wrote on medicine, was Pūjyaśāra's sister's son Nāgārjuna, a famous alchemist and Tantric scholar.² In the ninth century A.D. during the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarśa I, Nṛpatunga (A.D. 815-A.D. 877), Ugrāditya wrote Kalyāṇakāra, a work on medicine that contains at the end a long discourse on the uselessness of flesh diet which the author, true to his Jaina feeling and conviction, is said to have delivered in the court of that Rāṣṭrakūṭa king.³ These writers may or may not have written their works in Kannāḍa. But Kṛttivarman in about A.D. 1125 wrote in Kannāḍa Go-vaidya, a treatise dealing with the diseases of cattle. Jagaddala Sāmanta in circa A.D. 1150 wrote his Karnāṭaka Kalyāṇakāraka which was a Kannāḍa rendering of Pūjyaśāra's Kalyāṇakāraka.⁴

The Jainas have influenced not only the literature but the culture of southern India as well. In five spheres of south Indian life have they left indelible marks which it may not

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2. Kavīcarīte, I, pp. 11-12. Was he the same as Nāgārjuna of the Buddhist tradition, or the second of that name?
be out of place to recount here. Prominent among these are those relating to the construction of temples, statues, and image worship. It has been surmised that the Śaivites of the Tamil land borrowed the custom of having a niche in their great temples for every one of the sixty-three Nāyanārs or Śaiva devotees, after the manner of the Jainas who worshipped their twenty-four Tīrthankaras in their basadis. This imitation of Jaina mode of worship seems to have come, especially after Appar and the great Tirujiñānasambandhar, when a period of miracles and piety was inaugurated and the Tamil country was studded with temples.¹

In Karnāṭaka, too, the Jainas were primarily responsible for the architectural greatness of the Kannadaṅgas. It is not unlikely that the perfection to which the Hoysala architecture attained, especially in the matter of the construction of temples, has really to be traced to those early days of Jaina ascendancy in Karnāṭaka, when the Jainas gave expression to their sense of expansion and permanence in their statues, temples, and pillars which contain in them so much of delicacy of detail coupled with depth of devotion, and simplicity of style with grandeur of vision.² Three huge monolithic colossi of Gommaṭa exist; one at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, as we have already seen above, the second at Kārkala, and the third at Veṇūru, both in Tuḷava. Of these the one at Kārkala (41 feet 5 inches in height) was built in A.D. 1432 by Vīra Pāṇḍya, a ruler of that city, and that at Vēṇūru in A.D.

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1. Ramaswami, Studies, pp. 77-78.
2. One of the most beautiful Hoysala temples is that of Hoy-saleśvara in Halebid. Rice, My. & Coorg, p. 193. The Annual Reports of the Mysore Archaeological Survey contain full details of most of the Hoysala temples.
By Courtesy V. G. S.
Gomatesvara at Karkala (p. 268)

By Courtesy V. G. S.
A Manastambha at Hiriaangadi, near Karkala
1604 by another local chieftain called Timmarāja. The exquisite Jaina temples and mānasthabhās are to be found at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, Mūḍubidre and Kārkala. In another direction, too, the Jaines have added to the culture of the Hindus. The followers of the syād vāda doctrine were primarily the people who made it one of their cardinal principles to give the four gifts of food, protection, medicine, and learning to the needy (āhāra-abhaya-bhaśajya-sāstra-dāna). This must have been by far the most potent factor in the propagation of the Jina dharma. And it was to counteract the effect of these gifts that the Hindu religious leaders of the south opened their maṭhas or monasteries, dharmaśālas or alm-houses, and pāṭhaśālas or halls of learning.

Another substantial contribution to the culture of the land by the Jaines is in regard to the cult of ahiṃsā. For the first time in the history of southern India, the Jaines showed how the highest moral principles could be made to serve the material ends of the State. Right conduct meant for them not only adherence to the principles of ahiṃsā and the other tenets of their faith, but also steadfastness in their duty to their king, who was the embodiment of their country’s honour. The history of the many Jaina generals and ministers, which we have outlined above, amply proves this statement. The respect for the life of living beings which the Jaines showed in their daily lives is said to have influenced the Hindus of the

1. See below. Rice (My. & Coorg, pp. 140-141) gives the name of the ruler as Pāṇḍya and the date A.D. 1603. Both details are incorrect.

2. For further details, see below Chapter XII.

3. Ramaswami, Studies, p. 78. Benoy Kumar Sarkar classifies these four gifts under the term “positivism of the Jaines.” Read Sarkar, Creative India from Mohenjo Daro to the Age of Rāmakṛṣṇa-Vivekānanda, pp. 41-44. (Lahore, 1937).
south who, stopping animal sacrifices in their Vedic ceremonies and rites, promulgated the cult of *ahimsā* in their literature.¹

The principle of *ahimsā* was partly responsible for the greatest contribution of the Jainas to Hindu culture—that relating to toleration. Whatever may be said concerning the rigidity with which they maintained their religious tenets, and the tenacity and skill with which they met and defeated their opponents in religious disputations, yet it cannot be denied that the Jainas fostered the principle of toleration more sincerely and at the same time more successfully than any other community in India. In fact, as we shall presently see, it is this feature of toleration which is the connecting link in the history of pre-Vijayanagara and Vijayanagara Jainism. And nothing is more regrettable than that in the matter of showing tolerance to the followers of their rival creeds, especially to the Jainas, the Hindus of southern India should have been so ungenerous as to have had recourse to a method of retaliation and revenge which was so alien to the proverbially hospitable nature of the Hindus.

In order to elucidate this statement we have to review briefly the condition of Jainism in the age immediately preceding the rise of Vijayanagara. Three general causes brought about the decline of Jainism in southern India before the founders of Vijayanagara rose to power. In the first place, the long intervals that elapsed between the periods of Jaina revival were to a large extent responsible for the gradual downfall of Jainism. After Koṇḍakundācārya (the first century A.D.) came Samantabhadra (the second century A.D.) who, as related above, was the great promoter of the Jina faith. The next stage in the Jaina revival is reached

1. Ramaswami, Studies., pp. 76-77
about the middle of the seventh century A.D. under Śāntisena.\textsuperscript{1} The fourth stage is seen with Gopanandi (A.D. 1094), who caused a revival of the Jina dharma.\textsuperscript{2} In the twelfth century (A.D. 1123) it is said that the doctrine of Jinendra which shone formerly through Maladhārideva, again shone now with the greatness of Candrakīrti Bhaṭṭāraka.\textsuperscript{3} And, as will be pointed out anon, it will be only in the middle of the sixteenth century A.D. that the next wave of Jaina revival will be seen. Between these periods of revival there was a wide gap during which the cause of Jainism suffered considerable hardships at the hands of rival religious creeds.

Closely allied to the above was the fact that the Jainas failed to produce successively leaders who could so associate religion with politics as to bring both to the forefront simultaneously. It is not too much to suppose that had Jainism produced another Simhanandi, especially in the eighth and ninth century A.D. when it was beset with insurmountable difficulties, the course of political events in southern, especially in western, India would have been changed. The great leaders whom Jainism gave to the country were mostly buried in their theological works; and their indifference to the material changes that took place around them, and particularly those relating to the rise of rival religious sects, was not a little responsible for the steady decline of Jainism as a powerful element in the religious and political history of the land.

Finally, the Hindu revival in southern and western India was the greatest blow to the anekāntamata. We shall deal with this point presently.

\textsuperscript{1} E. C. II, p. 7 op. cit.
\textsuperscript{2} Ibid, V. Cn. 148, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{3} Ibid, II, 117, p. 46.
The different provinces of the Andhradeśa, Karnāṭaka, and the Tamil land, however, had their own specific causes which contributed to the decline of Jainism. Of these we may dispense with those relating to the Telugu land where Jainism was never so deeply rooted as in the south, and especially in Karnāṭaka. However, we may observe that the continued support which the Eastern Cālukyas always gave Jainism, especially at Bezwada, was promptly counterbalanced by the Paricchedi-Paśupati rulers of that same city, who were the avowed followers of the Hindu dharma. These and the Kota kings of Dhānyakaṭaka and the Kākatiyās of Warangal, as Seshagiri Rao has so well shown, were responsible for the disappearance of Jainism from the Andhradeśa. The worst time the Jainas had in the Telugu land was in the reign of king Gañapatideva, the Kākatiya ruler of Warangal (A.D. 1199- A.D. 1260), when, as a result of the defeat in a religious disputation at the hands of Tikkana Somayya, the author of the Telugu Mahābhārata, the Jainas lost all their prestige and power.¹

The evil days on which Jainism fell in the Tamil land were due to the appearance of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava saints long before the local rulers had driven it into the background in the Andhradeśa. The Śaiva Nāyanārs and the Vaiṣṇava Āḻvārs had recourse to six methods, which they seem to have borrowed from the Jainas themselves, to subvert the religion of the latter in the Tamil land. Firstly, the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas counteracted the universal effect of the most potent

¹ Seshagiri Rao, op. cit., pp. 21-29. If it is true that Tikkana was the minister of Mahāmaṇḍalesvara Madhurantaka Pottapi Coḷa Tilakanārāyaṇa Manuma Reḍḍi, as Seshagiri Rao asserts, then he may be placed in about A.D. 1243. For a record dated Ś. 1165 mentions a gift by a citizen in the reign of that Nellore feudatory. Rangacharya, Top List, II. p. 1143.
weapon of the Jainas as expressed in their well known gifts—
āhāra-abhaya-bhaiṣajya-śāstra-dāna, by adopting the same
policy to meet their own ends. This is proved by the stories
of the Śaiva saints Īlayāṇḍakuḍimāranāyanār, Mūkhanāya-
nār, and very many others.¹ Secondly, the Śaiva saints dis-
carded caste system, in imitation of the Jainas, and recruited
into their fold people of the lower social grades. This ac-
counts for the inclusion of the fisherman saint Atibhaktanā-
yanār in the list of the sixty-three saints.² Thirdly, the Śaiva
saints aimed at the highest altruistic principles, also in imi-
tation of the Jainas.³ Fourthly, the Śaiva saints composed
hymns in honour of the local deities, and especially of Śiva,
obviously after the manner of the Jainas, who worshipped
their Tīrthankarās in their basadis. Fifthly, the Śaiva saints
instituted the hierarchy of sixty-three saints exactly as the
Jainas had done with their sixty-three personages called Tri-
śaṣṭi-Salāka-puruśuas.⁴ And, finally, the Śaivas secured the
political patronage of the State by winning over the good
grace of kings, precisely as the Jainas had done in the early
periods of their history.

And in this campaign of exterminating the Jainas the lea-
ding part was taken by Piḷḷe Nāyanār, better known by his
name Tirujñānasambandhar Mūrti Nāyanār. A few details
in connection with this celebrated figure are essential for
fixing chronologically the downfall of the Jainas in the Tamil
country. These details are gathered mostly from the well
known Periyapurāṇam or the Tiruttōṅḍarpurāṇa, composed

¹ Dr. Shama Sastry was the first to draw attention to this.
² Ibid, p. 9, 10.
³ Ibid, p. 11.
⁴ Ibid, p. 6.
by Śeikkilār in A.D. 1150 in the reign of king Anapāya Coḷa (Kulottunga Coḷa Deva II).\(^1\) Piḷḷe Nāyanār was a Brahman born in Siyāḷi in the Tanjore district. Of his many contemporaries we may mention Kūn Pāṇḍya, the king of Ma-
dura; Jinasena, a great Jaina teacher; Vādiṃhasimha, a cele-
brated Jaina scholar who disputed with Piḷḷe Nāyanār on the
merits of Śaivism; and Vāgīśa, also called Appar or Dharm-
asena. Of these we have to eliminate the last named Nā-
yanār, since his name does not help us to fix the date of
Tiruvĕñānasambandhar.

It must be confessed at the outset that in spite of our eli-
minating Appar, there are considerable difficulties centring
round the date of Tiruvĕñānasambandhar. While some main-
tain that this latter great Śaiva saint is to be placed in the
seventh century A.D., others would assign him to a later age.
The former view is based on the contemporaneity of Sam-
bandhar with Śiruttoṇḍa Paraṇjoti, the Brahman commander
of the Pallava king Narasimhavarmā I, and, secondly, on
that of the Pāṇḍya king Neḍumārān.

The advocates of this view argue thus: From Samban-
dhar’s hymns it is learnt that he was a great friend of Śiruttoṇḍa.\(^2\) Śiruttoṇḍa or Dabhrabhakta was the general who
was present at the conquest of Vātāpi or Bādāmi, the West-
ern Cālukyan capital, by the Pallava king Narasimhavarmā

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1. Rice assigned the composition of this great work to the
eleventh century A.D. E. C. IV. Intr. p. 34. See also I.A., XVIII,
p. 259; S. I. I., II, p. 153. But Rangacharya has pointed out
that Śeikkilār should be assigned to the age of king Kulottunga
Coḷa Deva II. Top. List, II, p. 1349. See also Ramaswami,
Studies, p. 61 where it is rightly said that Śeikkilār composed the
work in A.D. 1150.

2. Ramaswami, ibid, pp. 65; S. I. I.; II. p. 172; Rangacharya,
I. Since the burning of Vātāpi by Narasimhavarmā I (A.D. 630-668) has been assigned to A.D. 642 by some scholars, it is surmised that that is also the age in which Tirujñānasambandhar lived.

The above conclusion seems to receive support when we take into account a few facts about the Pāṇḍya king whom the great Śaiva saint converted from Jainism into Śaivism. All Śaiva accounts agree that this conversion, indeed, took place. The king who was converted, however, is given the following names—Ninrasir Neçumāran, Māravarman, “the Great Māran who fought the battle of Nelvēli and won lasting fame in it”, as the Periyapurāṇa puts it, Kubja Pāṇḍya, Sundara Pāṇḍya, or Kūn Pāṇḍya. Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer identified “the Great Māran” with Arikesari, the contemporary of Hiuen Tsiang. Both he and Mr. Ramaswami Ayyangar would, therefore, place Tirujñānasambandhar in the seventh century A.D.

This, however, does not solve the difficulty. On the other hand, it makes the question more complicated. If the identification of Neçumāran with the victor of the battle of Nelvēli, i.e., with Arikesari Asamasaman Māravarman, whom the Vēlvikkuḍi plates make the victor of the same battle,


2. Ramaswami, ibid, p. 65: Dubreuil Ancient History of the Deccan, p. 70, where the date of the Pallava king is given. Dr. Shama Sastry places him about A.D. 634. M.A.R. for 1925, p. 11.


5. Subrahmanya Aiyer, ibid, p. 123.
is accepted, then, we cannot assign either Arikeśari Māravarman or his supposed contemporary Jñānasambandhar, to the seventh century A.D. at all.

The following reasons will make our statement clear. Arikeśari Asamasaman Māravarman, according to the combined genealogy of the bigger Śiṇṇamanūr and the Vēḻyikkudi plates as given by Venkayya,¹ was the father of Śaḍaiyan Koçaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra. We have elsewhere shown that the age of the latter Pāṇḍya ruler can be fixed only after studying the Alupa-Pāṇḍya relations; that Śaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra lived in A.D. 794—A.D. 800; and that his father Arikeśari Asamasaman Māravarman has to be assigned to A.D. 783.² That is to say, the victor of the battle of Nelvēli should be assigned to the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. And if his identification with Kūn Pāṇḍya of Madura is accepted, then, it follows that his contemporary Tirujñānasambandhar is likewise to be assigned to the latter part of the eighth century A.D.

We may verify this conclusion of ours by noting the date of another contemporary of Tirujñānasambadhar—Jinasena. Basing his remarks on Karnāṭaka Cakravarti’s statement in the latter’s work entitled Trīsaṣṭipurātanacarite, Dr. Shama Sastry identified Jinasena mentioned by Cakravarti with Jinasena, the author of Bhādharivamśapurāṇa. Now the date of the latter work as given by Jinasena is Śaka 705 (A.D. 782).³ Hence if we accept the unanimous Śaivite tradition

that Jinasena was the contemporary of Sambandhar, we can place the latter only in A.D. 783 which is the date we arrived at for another contemporary of Sambandhar, "the great Māran who had won the battle of Nelvēli", i.e., Arikesari Asamasaman Māravarman. Therefore, Tirujñānasambandhar and Kūn Pāṇḍya alias Arikesari Asamasaman Māravarman are to be placed in the latter half of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century A.D.¹

But this not only goes against the orthodox Tamil opinion in regard to the antiquity of Tirujñānasambandhar, but also violates the date we have given to Vajranandi, the organizer of the Drāviḍa sangha. For if Tirujñānasambandhar lived in the latter half of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century A.D., then, it cannot be that Vajranandi established the Drāviḍa sangha in the latter half of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century A.D. No Drāviḍa sangha could possibly have been established at Madura after the signal success which Tirujñānasambandhar had won over the Jainas in that city.

The date given to Vajranandi can hardly be altered without disturbing the chronological facts centring round it; but the date assigned to Tirujñānasambandhar can be shifted, as it would then fit in with the activities of the Jainas who were his contemporaries. For, as shown by Dr. Shama Sastry, a celebrated Jaina teacher called Vādībhasimha is said to have disputed with Sambandhar on the merits of Śaivism.² We have seen that the only famous Vādībhasimha

¹. This is also the conclusion arrived at by Dr. Shama Sastry, who placed Sambandhar in the latter half of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century A.D. He supports it by discovering the date of another contemporary of the great Śaiva saint, Haradattācārya, viz. A.D. 877. (M. A. R. for 1925, pp. 12-13).

known to Jaina history was Ajitasena, who was the contemporary of Vādirāja, Cāmunḍa Rāya, and the Western Cālukyan ruler Someśvara I. We have assigned Vādībhasimha Ajitasena to the last quarter of the tenth and the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D. If Vādībhasimha of the Tiruttōndar tradition is identical with Ajitasena Vādībhasimha, then, the great Śaiva contemporary of that Jaina teacher, Tirujñānasambandhar, has to be assigned also to the last quarter of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. This would mean that Tirujñānasambandhar lived one century after Vajranandi; and that it was during the last quarter of the tenth and the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D. that Jainism in the Tamil land received its death-blow at the hands of the great Tamil saint. ¹

Whether this is acceptable to orthodox Tamil opinion or not, it seems certain that, while Tirujñānasambandhar was actively engaged in wiping out Jainism from Madura, Tirunāvukkarasar, or Vāgīśa, or Dharmasena, or more popularly known as Appar, another renowned contemporary of Tirujñānasambandhar, was busy uprooting the anekāntamata in the Pallava kingdom; and the Vaiṣṇava saint Tirumangai Āḻvar sang terrible invectives against it in Alināḍu in the

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¹. It is said that the Tēvāram (or Dēvāram) hymns contain many details of the Jaina ascetics on the eight hills surrounding Madura, such as Ānāmali, Paśumalai, etc, (Ramaswami, Studies., p. 68). It is precisely here at Ānāmali, etc, in the district of Madura and its neighbourhood that, as related above, stone inscriptions in the Vaṭṭeluttu characters have been found dealing with the Jaina sages and their disciples. These inscriptions while confirming the existence of the Jainas in Madura in the tenth and eleventh century A.D., incidentally prove that the Tēvāram itself was written in that age.
north-eastern part of the Cola country. The great Nāyanārs and the Ālvars have left behind them, however, in their hymns evidence of their utter contempt for Jainism. But what is surprising is not that contemporary Śaiva and Vaiśṇava saints should have pictured darkly the Jainas in their religious works, but that the traditionally generous Hindu mind should have portrayed in a series of frescoes on the walls of the Golden Lily Tank of the well known Mīnākṣī temple at Madura, the darker and sadder side of the struggle between the vanquished Jaina leaders and the exultant Hindu reformers of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Here on the walls of the same temple are found paintings depicting the persecution and impaling of the Jainas at the instance of Tiruṉānasambandhar. And what is still more unfortunate is that even now the whole tragedy is gone through at five of the twelve annual festivals at that famous Madura temple!

Such vengeance did not characterize the reappearance of Hindu reformers in Karnāṭaka. Here the downfall of Jainism was brought about by four important factors which were peculiar to Karnāṭaka. In the first place, the political downfall of the royal patrons who had for centuries fostered

1. Ramaswami, *ibid*, pp. 62-67, 71. Ramaswami says that Appar converted the Pallava king Mahendravarmā II, the son of Narasimhavrāmā I, from Jainism. (*Ibid*, p. 66). But this is extremely doubtful, since we are not sure that Mahendravarma II ever ruled at all. For in the Vēḻṟpāḷaiyam plates which give the genealogy of the Pallava rulers (*Ep. Rep. S. Circle for 1911*, p. 61), he is not mentioned. Even if he did, his reign was very short (Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 70; Subrahmanya Aiyer, *Sketches*, p. 42.)

2. Read Ramaswami, *ibid*, pp. 61, see, 67-70; Subrahmanya Aiyer, *ibid*, p. 38, n. (3)

3. Ramaswami, *ibid*, p. 79.
the cause of Jainism was a great blow to that religion. With
the simultaneous collapse of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Ganga
kingdoms towards the end of the tenth century A.D., Jainism
received a shock from the effects of which it never recovered.
Secondly, the indifference of the Jaina leaders to the revivals
of Hinduism, especially to that form called Vīra Śaivism,
was detrimental to the interests of the Jaina faith. The
work of reviving this particular form of Śaivism fell to the
lot of the great Basava, who rekindled in the middle of the
twelfth century A.D. the Śaivācāra or Jangama faith which
was a revolt against Brahmanism. Jainism failed to pro-
duce teachers who could understand the full import of this
new religious revival the champions of which did for Kar-
nāṭaka what the Nāyanārs had done for the Tamil land.

This profoundly affected the life of the anekāntamata,
as is evident from the next cause relating to the conversion
of the feudatory families from Jainism into Vīra Śaivism.
Basava's violent methods of winning a prominent place for
the Śaivācāra, were less successful than the peaceful policy
adopted by his successors, who converted the Śāntaras, the
Cangāḷyas, the Bhairava Oḍeyars of Kārkaṇa, the kings of
Coorg, and other rulers of the minor states from Jainism
into Vīra Śaivism.

How these royal personages and feudatories were converted
into Vīra Śaivism is best illustrated by the account of the
famous Vīra Śaiva teacher Ekānta Rāmayya about whom
Keśirāja Camūpa relates thus in a stone record dated about
A.D. 1195):

1. Rice, My. & Coorg, p. 72.
A fervent disciple of Śiva, Ekānta Rāmayya after visiting all Śaivite holy places, came to Puligere. Here he was inspired by the local deity (god) Somanātha to wage a crusade against Jainism. Rāmayya, therefore, went to Abbalūr, a stronghold of Jainism. On the Jainas maintaining the superiority of the anekāntamata over Śaivism, Rāmayya challenged them by saying that, as a proof of the superiority of his own creed, he would cut off his own head but with the aid of Śiva regain life. The Jainas on hearing this promised to embrace Śaivism, if he succeeded in carrying out his wager. And they wrote on an ôle (palmyra leaf) to that effect. Forthwith Rāmayya had his head cut off, and given as an offering to Śiva. In seven days' time Rāmayya regained his head. He then routed the Jainas, and broke their images, at which they complained to the king Bījjala (A.D. 1156-A.D. 1167). The king sent for Rāmayya who showed him the written promise of the Jainas, and who once again challenged that, if they demolished their seven hundred basadis, he would again perform the same feat he had once done, and (in seven days' time) regain life. The Jainas were afraid to take up the challenge. But king Bījjala gave Rāmayya a Jayapatra (certificate of victory) granting along with it certain specified villages to Rāmayya’s deity Somanātha of Puligere. The fame of Rāmayya then spread to the Cālukyan court, and king Someśvara IV (A.D. 1182—A.D. 1189) likewise granted the village of Abbalūr to the same deity. Likewise the Kādamba king Kāmadeva (A.D. 1181-A.D. 1203) granted the village of Mallavalli to the same god.¹

¹. E. I., V. p. 245; Kavirajite, I. pp. 297-298. See also Ramaswami, Studies, pp. 114-115; Moraes, Kadamba-Kula, pp. 252-254.
And the fourth cause which hastened the decline of Jainism was conversion of the trading classes called the Vīra Baṇajigas from Jainism into Vīra Śaivism. This was a stroke of diplomatic skill which told at once on the life of the anekāntamata in Karnāṭaka. The Vīra Baṇajigas had been for ages the most powerful and wealthy section of the middle classes in Karnāṭaka. Their devotion and riches had enabled the Jainas to add to the architectural beauty of Karnāṭaka, and to maintain the prestige and splendour of Jainism in the land. When the followers of Basava weaned the trading classes from the anekāntamata, the mainstay of Jainism in Karnāṭaka disappeared, and it fell back on the other sections of the people who could never extend to it the assurance born of wealth which the Vīra Baṇajigas alone could give.

CHAPTER VIII.

VIJAYANAGARA'S PLEDGE

Jainism and Hindu dharma—A sketch of the history of toleration in Karnāṭaka—Vijayanagara makes history by deciding great cases in a.d. 1363 & 1368—Political significance of the royal decision of 1368—Examples to prove the permanent effects of the royal decree of 1368 from cases throughout the history of the Vijayanagara Empire.

In the year of the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire (A.D. 1346) Jainism stood baffled but not beaten. It had been steadily driven from the premier place it had occupied in the Tamil and Telugu land, and even in Karnāṭaka, and compelled to occupy a secondary position, especially in the last province, from which it apparently seemed that it had no means of escape. The age in which the Vijayanagara Empire was established was the most critical in the history of the country.1 It was also a perilous time for the followers of the syād vāda doctrine. For without leaders who could grasp the situation in the country as a Simhanandi had done in the early days, Jainism was likewise without a message for the people who were now faced with problems infinitely more complex and more difficult than any which the Gangas and the other early rulers had to

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solve. It was during such a period in its history that Vijayananagara stepped forth as the protector of Jainism, and enabled it to continue its useful existence for centuries to come.

In early times, as the reader must have gathered from the foregoing pages, it was Jainism that had more than once recreated political life and thereby made it possible for the Hindu dharma to consolidate its position. Now in the middle of the fourteenth century A.D., it was the turn of the Hindu dharma, first, to regain its own vitality, and, then, to repay the debt it owed to Jainism by coming to its succour. And the champions of the Hindu dharma, as the monarchs of Vijayananagara undoubtedly were, did this by laying down a policy of toleration which was unparalleled in the history of the land. The introduction of such a policy, however, was not an innovation of the rulers of Vijayananagara. To the Hindu monarchs of the south, especially of Karnāṭaka, toleration was a vital principle and not a matter of political expediency. It was their most precious gift to humanity. The early monarchs of Karnāṭaka as well of the Tamil land had bequeathed to the rulers of Vijayananagara a noble tradition.¹ We have ample instances to show how the Gangas, the Western Cālukyas, and the other kings of Karnāṭaka and of the Tamil land, notwithstanding their Hindu propensities, gave munificent grants to Jaina institutions, and treated the Jainas and the Brahmans in an impartial manner. The Jaina leaders themselves reciprocated this in an admirable way. The great name that is met with in this connection is that of Cāmuṇḍa

¹. The intolerance shown to the Jainas in the days of Tīrūjñānasambandhar was an exception. The Tamil kings, especially in the Sangham age, were noted for their liberal views. Rama- swami, Studies, p. 46.
Rāya. When in A.D. 1048 he granted specified land to the Jaina sages in charge of the Jajāhuti Sāntinātha basadi in Beḷligāme, as narrated already in an earlier context, he ordered that in the Banavasanāḍ the Jaina habitation, Viṣṇu habitation, Iśvara habitation, and a habitation for the muni gaṇas should be constructed. And this the sculptor Nāga-varmā caused to be made.¹

Like him there were Hindu noblemen, too, who made no distinction between the votaries of the two faiths. Bammarasa, the viceroy of the Noḷambavāḍi 32,000 province, granted in A.D. 1109 to the Jinālaya and to the god Sarpeśvara certain money dues and other gifts, impartially.²

Few citizens could rival those of Beḷligāme for an enlightened outlook on religious creeds. Hospitable to strangers, of one speech, prudent, devoted to dharma, and honour, the citizens of that famous centre were famous as worshippers of Hari, Hara, Pankajāsana (Brahmā), Jina, and other gods. The record dated A.D. 1129 which contains this information, tells us that they built in that city the temples of Hari, Hara, Kamalākṣa, Vitarāga, and Buddha.³

An instance of a chieftain who made no distinction between his own and other faiths is that of Viṣṇuvardhana, who belonged to the Mitra kula and Aḍala vamśa. In about A.D. 1140 he constructed Siva temples and Jinālayas within his jurisdiction.⁴

The Jainas showed how they could suit themselves to the changing circumstances of the times by inserting in a purely Jaina inscription (dated A.D. 1151) the following

1. E. C. VII. Sk. 120, p. 91, op. cit.
2. Ibid, XI. Dg. 12, p. 27
3. Ibid, VII, Sk. 100, p. 69.
4. Ibid, IX, Nl. 84, pp. 48-49.
addressed to non-Jaina deities:—“Victorious, though without words, are the sayings uttered by the Tirthankaras. Obeisance to the universal spirit of Jina, who is Śiva, Dhātri (Brahmā), Sugata (Buddha), and Viṣṇu.” The grant to which this unusually liberal mode of obeisance was prefixed was made by that generous feudatory of Marugarenād, Sāmanta Bāci Rāja, who has already been referred to in this treatise. This nobleman constructed not only Jinālayas but temples of Viṣṇu and Śiva as well. It is not surprising that such a liberal person should have been styled as the “promoter of the dharma of the four samayas.”

This catholic attitude on the part of the feudatories had the most salutary effect on other nobles. Hoysala Goidi Ṣeṭṭi, “worshipper of the feet of Jinendra”, was the nāḍ-prabhu of Mandali 1,000. In about a.D. 1180 while in the company of his sons Balla Gauḍa and Boppa Gauḍa, he heard the recital of Śiva dharma, and at once granted specified land for the worship of the Siddheśvara of Mandali.

Sāmanta Gova, whose benefactions we have already described, is said to have been the supporter of the four sama-yas—Māheśvara, Baudhā, Vaiṣṇava, and Arhat. This is related in records dated a.D. 1160, 1180, 1181, and 1187.

The uncommonly cordial relations which prevailed between the Brahmans and the Jainas are shown by a record dated a.D. 1204 which informs us that all the Brahmans of the five agraharas of Nāgarakhaṇḍa, along with the officials placed over the district, heads of the merchant guilds, and representatives of the citizens and cultivators (all named), joined together and made specified grants for the worship

1. E. C. XII. Tm. 9, p. 3; My. & Coorg, p. 203.
2. Ibid, VII. Sh. 40, p. 18.
3. Ibid, XII. Ck. 13, 14, 20, 21, pp. 74-77.
of god Śaśāntinātha of Bandaṇike.¹

Beṭṭarasa Daṇṇayaka seems to have been impelled by a similar motive when in A.D. 1249 he deposited specified gold, and made grants of land in the presence of all the Brahmans, heads of the merchant guilds, and citizens, in order to meet the expenses of worship in the five maṭhas (named), the two basadis, and all the temples of Balāri.²

Thus we find that till the middle of the thirteenth century A.D., every section of the people in Karnāṭaka had given sufficient evidence of its benevolent attitude towards the Jainas. That even those who had espoused the cause of Vīra Śaivism should have been liberal towards the Jainas, shows how deep toleration had taken root in the country. From the last quarter of the thirteenth century A.D. for one hundred years onwards, however, the question of extending patronage to religious creeds of one denomination or the other paled into insignificance before the greater question of defending the country’s honour against the invading Muḥammadans.³

When once the southward march of the relentless enemy was stopped, and the kingdom of Vijayanagara established (A.D. 1346), its monarchs found time to deal equitably with religious and cultural problems of the day. It was during the reign of king Harihara Rāya in A.D. 1363—only seventeen years after the unfurling of the Vijayanagara banner at the great capital on the banks of the Tungabhadrā—that a civil case arose which showed that the destiny of the Jainas was safe in the hands of the new monarchs. Vīrūpākṣa Oḍeyar, the son of the Vijayanagara king Harihara Rāya, was the viceroy over the Malerājya. He had

1. E. C. VII. Sk. 225, p. 133.
2. Ibid, VI. Cm, 20, p. 37.
a difficult issue to decide. It was in regard to the boundaries of the land that belonged to the ancient Pārśvanātha basadi of Taḍatāla in Hedḍūrnāḍ. The temple ācārayas supported by the people of the Hedḍūrnāḍ disputed with the Jaina sūris in regard to the land in question. The State ordered an enquiry to be held in the Arāga cāvaḍi (i.e., the public hall of Araga, the capital of the Malerāja province. The Mahāpradhāna Nāgaṇṭa and various arasus (noblemen, all of whom are named )together with the leaders of the Jainas called Mallappa, summoned the elders of the three cities and the Eighteen Kampanas of Araga; and having made the nāḍ people agree, they fixed the boundaries of the land (specified) according to former custom as those of the temple endowment of Pārśvanātha. This decision was forthwith engraved on stone by the orders of the elders and the noblemen assembled there.¹

Five years later (A.D. 1368) a very great question presented itself before the Vijayanagara monarch Bukka Rāya I. The stone inscription dated A.D. 1368 relates that a dispute arose between the Jainas and the Śrīvaiśṇavas (called in this record the Bhaktas). And the Jainas of all the nāḍus (districts) including Ānegondi, Hosapaṭṭaṇa, Penugonda, and the city of Kalleha (the last named district being in the modern Māgaḍi tāluka), petitioned to the king Bukka Rāya about the injustice done to them by the Bhaktas (Bhaktaru māḍuvu annyāyānga-λanu binnaham nāḍalāgī). The monarch (evidently after due enquiry) “taking the hand of the Jainas and placing it in the hands of the Śrīvaiśṇavas of the eighteen nāḍus, (in the presence of) including all the ācāryas of the places, the chief of which are Kōvil (i.e., Śrīrangam), Tirumale (i.e., Tirupati), Perumāl-Kōvil (i.e., Kaṇci) and Tirunārāyaṇakōṭe

¹ 1. E. C. VIII. Tl. 197, pp. 206-207.
(i.e., Mēlkōṭe), all the sātvikas, moṣṭikas, those of the holy service, of the holy feet and of the holy water; the forty-eight people; the Sāvanta-bovas and the Tirukula (i.e., Holeyas) and Jāmbavakula (i.e., Mādigas)—and declaring (at the same time) that there was no difference between the Vaiṣṇava darśana (or faith) and the Jaina darśana, decreed as follows—

"'This Jaina darśana is, as before, entitled to the pañcamahāsabda (the five great musical instruments) and the kalaśa (or vase). If loss or advancement should be caused to the Jaina darśana through the Bhaktas, the Vaiṣṇavas will kindly deem it as loss or advancement caused to their own (darśana). The Śrīvaiṣṇavas will to this effect kindly set up a sāsana in all the bastis of the kingdom. For as long as the sun and moon endure, the Vaiṣṇava creed will continue to protect the Jaina darśana. The Vaiṣṇavas and the Jainas are one (body) ; they must not be viewed different. Tātayya of Tirumale, by consent of the blessed people (the Jainas) of the whole kingdom, will, out of the money levied at the rate of one hana for every house according to the door from the Jainas throughout the whole kingdom, for the bodyguard to be appointed by the Vaiṣṇavas at the holy place of Belgoḷa, appoint twenty servants as a bodyguard for the god, and with the remainder of the money have the dilapidated Jinālayas whitewashed. In this manner, for as long as the sun and moon last, they will without failure pay every year and acquire fame and merit. He who transgresses this rule shall be a traitor to the king, a traitor to the sangha, and the samudāya.'"

The epigraph after holding out a curse to those who intended to destroy this piece of charity, concludes thus—Busuvi Šēṭṭi, the good son of Harvi Šēṭṭi of Kalleha (i.e., J. M. 10
mod. Kalya, where the record was found) having made petition to the king Bukka Rāya, sent for Tātayya of Tirumale, and had the śāsana renovated. And both (the Jaina and the Vaiṣṇava) samayas uniting bestowed the dignity of sangha-nāyaka on Basuvi Šetti.¹

An analysis of this Great Charter which king Bukka Rāya gave to the Jainas of the Empire reveals the following:—

1. That in the year of the construction of the great city of Vijayanagara (A.D. 1368)² the Jainas were distributed throughout the Vijayanagara kingdom, but that those at Ānegundi (the parent city of the Empire), Hosapaṭṭana, Penugonda and Kalleha were the most prominent;

2. That certain rights and privileges of these Bhavyas in that year or before had been questioned by the Śrīvaiṣṇavas of the eighteen nāhus;

3. That the dispute was of such great importance that it was referred, not to the local provincial authority, or to the heads of both the religious communities, but directly to the Vijayanagara king himself;

4. That the king gave an equitable judgment in favour of the Jainas (evidently after due consultation), and in the presence of all the leaders of both the communities and even of those of the lower sections of the society like the Tirukula³ and the Mādigas;

5. That this judgment was accepted without a murmur by the entire people;

6. That copies of this momentous decision were inscribed

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1. E. C. II. 334, pp. 146-147; IX. Ma. 18, pp. 53-54.
2. It is wrong to maintain that the city of Vijayanagara existed before A.D. 1368 when its construction was begun. Read Saletore S. P. Life. I. pp. 83-105.
3. Tirukula, Śrikula, in modern parlance Harijan.
on stone not only at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa but also at Kalleha, and "in all the bastis of the kingdom", by the Śrīvaiṣṇavas themselves, at the royal bidding; and

7. That, finally, to the generous Jaina merchant Busuvi Seṭṭi, who was instrumental in publishing a copy of the royal decree at Kalleha, both the Jainas and the Śrīvaiṣṇavas jointly conferred the title of sangha-nāyaka (Champion of the Creeds).

History knows no more exemplary and equitable decision in religious dispute than the above which king Bukka Rāya gave to the Jainas in A.D. 1368. Bukka Rāya was a plain monarch, but the judgment which he gave was learned; he was not committed to any religious creed, but by his equity he had saved a religion from persecution; he was reckoned to be the Defender of the Hindu dharma, but he had now become Protector of the Jina faith; he had given a decision in favour of a minority community; but it was not by violating the fundamental rights of the larger sections of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas. The wisdom of the monarch is seen not only in the fact that he ordered the representatives of both the parties but of all sections of the people to assemble before him before he arrived at his decision. Further, the onus of appointing the bodyguard of twenty servants for the god at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa rested on the Śrīvaiṣṇavas themselves, whose revered leader Tātayya of Tirumale was charged with a specific duty which he could perform only with the co-operation of the Bhavyas themselves! Thus did the able monarch Bukka Rāya lay down a great principle for his successors to follow.

What was the political significance of this celebrated judgment? In order to answer this we must recount the event of A.D. 1363 narrated above. The Taḍatāla Pārśvadeva basti boundary dispute must have clearly shown to the Vija-
yanagara monarch in which quarter the danger lay. Any false step in the direction of maintaining the prestige of one community at the expense of another would have precipitated matters to a crisis in the very commencement of the political career of the sons of Sangama involving thereby the ruin of their cherished ambition. King Bukka Rāya adopted, therefore, an admirable plan. By a royal decree he appointed twenty bodyguards for the god at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, and, at the same time, ordered the renovation of all the dilapidated Jina temples in the kingdom. He had honoured the famous god at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, and thereby the Jaina religion. Jainism was saved, and its prestige guaranteed in the Vijayanagara Empire. By restoring to the Jainas their ancient privileges king Bukka Rāya removed a source of discontent in a community which, although politically shorn of its ancient power, yet could have turned itself into a seditious section, especially in the precarious period of the fourteenth century A.D. That it did not do so but continued to remain perfectly loyal throughout the Vijayanagara age is in itself sufficient testimony of king Bukka Rāya’s far-sighted political wisdom. The Jainas could never forget the service which this monarch had done for their faith; and it is pleasing to note that only fifteen years after that famous judgment, there should appear the remarkable Jaina general Iruğappa whose history we shall describe to some extent presently.

A few instances will show that the magnificent example thus set by king Bukka Rāya had a permanent effect on the wide outlook of the people of the Vijayanagara Empire. Thus, for instance, an inscription of about A.D. 1397 recounting the martial deeds of a famous colleague of General Iruğappa, by name Guṇḍa Daṇḍanātha, begins in this unique manner after praising the temple of the god Keśava at Bēlur—
Vijayanagara's Pledge

He whom the Saivas worship as Siva, the Vedantins as Brahmana, the Baudhdhas as Buddha, the Naiyayikas skilled in proof as Kartata, the followers of Jina sasana as Arhat, Mimamsakas as Karma; that God Kesava ever grant your desires!

Evidently the people of Karnaataka looked upon all the different religious creeds in the same impartial and sympathetic manner as king Bukka Rayya had done in A.D. 1368.

Nothing proves better the cosmopolitan outlook of the people of Vijayanagara and the abiding effect which king Bukka Rayya's laudable example had on them, than the Jodi-Kempanapura (Chamarajanagara taluka) inscription, assigned to A.D. 1400, which deals with a great Vira Saiva scholar named Ekanta Basavevara. He was the descendant of that famous Ekanta Ramayya who has already been described in this treatise. One of the birudas of Ekanta Basavevara was that he was "an able refuter of the anekantamata." But such was the good feeling between the Vira Saivas and the Jainas in the Vijayanagara Empire that one of the imprecatory sentences at the end of the above grant says that those who violated it were traitors even to the Jaina religion!

Indeed, the opening lines of another inscription dated A.D. 1411 reveals the large-heartedness of the people of Vijayanagara. For this record says thus:—Be it well with the subjects: may kings protect the earth in the ways of justice! May fortune ever be to cows and Brahmans! May all the world be happy!" Other inscriptions may also be cited in this connection. The record dated A.D. 1472 relating to the Jinalayas in Iduganji, about which we shall mention some

1. E. C. V. Bl. 3, p. 43.
details, opens with obeisance to Pārisva-Tirtheśvara, praise of the Jina śāsana, obeisance to the pañcaparamesṭis, and to Śambhu—all in the same breath!

In the sixteenth century A.D., too, we have the same generous sentiments expressed in epigraphs. The record dated A.D. 1530, for instance, is a fine specimen of the spirit of the times. It begins in the following manner:—"Having the supreme profound syād vāda as a fruit-bearing token, may it prevail, the doctrine of the Lord of the three worlds, the Jina doctrine! Obeisance to Ādi Varāha! May he grant prosperity, in whose tight embrace the Earth ever rejoices! Obeisance to Śambhu, his lofty head kissed by the cāmara-like crescent moon, the original foundation pillar of the city of the three worlds!" Then, again, in A.D. 1598 obeisance to Vītarāga is followed by the praise of the Jina śāsana and of Śambhu.

It was said above that the admirable decision of the king Bukka Rāya had a lasting effect on the people of Vijayanagara. The truth of this statement is borne out by the following epigraph dated A.D. 1638 in which we have an excellent account of the harmonious feelings between the Vīra śaivas and the Jainas. This record which begins with the praise of the Jina doctrine ends with the praise of Śiva! It falls within the reign of Venkaṭādri Nāyaka of Belūr, and may be taken to typify the state of affairs in the last days of the Vijayanagara Empire. The question was a very grave one. Huccappa Deva, a Vīra Śaiva, had stamped a linga on the pillars of the Vijaya Pārśva basadi of Haḷeyabīḍu (i.e., evidently Haḷebīḍu, the famous capital of the Hoysalas); and

1. E. C. VIII, Sa. 60, p. 103.
2. Ibid., VI, Kp. 47, p 84.
3. Ibid., Kp. 50, p. 86.
Vijayappā, a Jaina, had erased that linga stamp. On this Padmanāṇa Šeṭṭī, the son of Devappa Šeṭṭī of Hāsana, and all the other Jainas of the Belūr kingdom, petitioned to the leaders of the Vīra Šaivas, by name Basavadeva of Hālebīdu, Paṭṭadadeva of Puṣpagiri, and the other leaders of the Devapṛthvimagahā-mahattu of the Deśabhāga. The plaintiff was not an ordinary Jaina merchant. He was a worshipper at the lotus feet of Arhat Parameśvara, sun in the sky of the syād vāda creed, delighter in the gifts of food, shelter, medicine, and learning, repairer of ruined Jina temples, purified by the Jaina consecrated water, and adorned with rectitude and many other virtues. On receiving the petition from this worthy and influential Jaina leader of Hāsana, the Mahā-mahattu of Hālebīdu and of the Deśabhāga assembled together, and after due deliberation, made an ordinance (kaṭṭu mādisida vivara) thus: “Having (first) caused vibhūti (ashes) and vīḷya (betel leaf) to be offered (these being the Vīra Šaiva modes of salutation), you (the Jainas) may perform the worship, decorations, illuminations, ablutions, and other Jaina ceremonies of this Vijaya Pārśvanātha (basadi of Hālebīdu) according to former custom, as long as sun and moon endure”.

But the sanction of the State had to be received for legalizing the ordinance thus passed by the general assembly of the Vīra Šaiva elders. Hence they approached the chief minister Kṛṣṇappayya, who is highly praised as a learned man and an able minister, and as the rod in the right hand of the ruler Venkaṭādri Nāyaka of Belūr. And they requested him to give effect to their united decision. The chief minister “taking this work of merit in hand”, and in conformity with the immemorial Kārnāṭaka custom of inscribing a meritorious work on behalf of the State, had the work dedicated “for the prosperity of the Empire of Venkaṭādri Nāyakayya
of Belūr”, and caused it to be observed in future. And, then, the Mahā-mahattu had this stone śāsana duly written and presented to the leaders of the Jainas.

The benevolent Vīra Śaivas were not content with this formal method of giving the Jainas a charter of good will. All future injustice to the Jainas, especially on the part of the Vīra Śaivas themselves, had to be guarded against. And hence the following clause was inserted at the end of the śāsana, thereby showing that the Vīra Śaivas could be models of equity in matters of religious disputes. “Whoso opposes this Jina dharma is excommunicated from the feet of his Mahā-mahattu, is a traitor to Śiva, and the Jangamas, unfaithful to the vibhūti-rudrākṣa, and to the linga at the holy places of Kāśi and Rāmeśvara.” And so that none might question the validity of this important decision, the leaders of the Vīra Śaivas appended their signatures to the grant with a good wish that the Jaina religion might prosper—“The approval (or signature) of the Mahā-mahattu. May it increase, the Jina śāsana!”

The importance of this record lies in the fact that it affirms the legal method prevalent in the early days of the Vijayanagara Empire when, as we saw while describing the Taḍatāḷa Pārśvanātha basadi land dispute, the rulers had already set in the following precedent:—That all questions, especially those pertaining to the privileges and beliefs of communities, should be settled in the presence, and with the approval, of the leaders of both the parties, and the sanction of the State obtained at the end. And so far as the Jainas are concerned, the settlement of A.D. 1638 proves beyond doubt that the assurance given to them by king Bukka Rāya in A.D. 1368 had come to stay, not

1. E. C. V, Bl. 128, pp. 84-86.
merely in the circles of the Śrīvaiśṇavas but also in those of the Vīra Śaivas. The little principality of Belūr (Velāpurī), over which king Venkaṭādri ruled in A.D. 1638, had come into existence in the days of Era Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka, the Haḍapa (or betel-pouch bearer) of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great of Vijayanagara.¹ And it is especially gratifying to observe that the Vijayanagara example of justice should have been copied by one of its feudatories, and maintained with equity even in an age when the once-powerful Vijayanagara authority was on the decline and the fortunes of the great mediæval House eclipsed by political calamities. We may appreciate this better when we remember that Velāpurī, only six years after the above judgment by the Mahā-mahattu had been given, became the seat of king Ranga Rāya (III), the last of the noteworthy Vijayanagara monarchs, with the aid of one of his powerful vassal Śivappa Nāyaka of Beḍnūr.²

¹ E. C. V, Intr., p. 33.
² Rice, Mv. & Coorg, p. 122. On the harmonious relations that existed among the other communities—the Brahmans, the Sthānikas, the Paṅcālas, the Seṭṭis, etc., in the Vijayanagara age, read Saletore, S. P. Life., II., pp. 355-356, 358
CHAPTER IX.

STATE AID TO JAINISM

Vijayanagara monarchs Defenders of All Faiths—Their attitude towards Jainism explained—Work by Queen Bhīmā Devī—King Deva Rāya I—King Deva Rāya II—Emperor Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya—Position of Jainism in the capital—Work of General Irugappa—Examples of nobles who helped the cause of Jainism.

The sincerity of purpose which generally lay behind the actions of the Hindu monarchs of Vijayanagara is seen not only in the assurance which they publicly gave to the religious bodies, but also in the honest attempts which they made to promote the material interests of religions which they did not profess. These Champions of the Hindu dharma were truly Defenders of all Faiths. The fact that the kingdom of Vijayanagara had come into existence solely to save the Hindu religion and culture from destruction,¹ did not prevent the monarchs of Vijayanagara from giving their whole-hearted help to non-Hindu religions. On the other hand, it was their proud boast—and we may at once observe that this was not unjustifiable at all—that they were the Champions of the sakalavarṇāstrama of the people. We have elsewhere sufficiently shown how faithfully they carried out this promise of theirs to protect the dharma of all the sections of the people.²

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2. Ibid., II. p. 24 seq.
And in regard to Jainism their attitude was by no means different. It is evident that the noble example of king Bukka Rāya I exercised a great influence on his successors. Hence we find that kings and queens and members of the royal family gave unstinted patronage to the cause of the anekānta-mata in the Empire. And it is interesting to note in this connection that the impulse to support the cause of the Jina dharma came from the queens of Vijayanagara, one of whom was a Jaina herself. This was Bhīmā Devī, who was the queen of Deva Rāya I. Her spiritual guru was Paṇḍitācārya; and in about A.D. 1410 she caused an image of Śāntināthasvāmi to be made in the Mangāyi basadi at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa.1 This temple, we may note by the way, had been built in about A.D. 1325, by Mangāyi of Belgoḷa, "a crest jewel of royal dancing girls", and a lay disciple of Abhinava Cārukīrti Paṇḍita, of the same place.2 But about the identity of Paṇḍitācārya, however, no details are forthcoming.3

Queen Bhīmā Devī may have been responsible for the generous attitude of king Deva Rāya I towards the Jaina gurus. Evidence from two inscriptions definitely points to the high favour in which that monarch held the Jina faith and its champions. The Padmāvatī basti inscription of Humceca cited elsewhere in this treatise, contains the statement that Dharmabhūṣaṇa guru, the chief disciple of Vardhamāna muni, and a great orator, was served by munis and rājas. Dharmabhūṣaṇa "had his two feet illumined by the crown of the rājādhirāja parameśvara, the king Deva Rāya."4 From the

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2. Ibid., 33a, p. 145.
3. There is an Abhinava Paṇḍitācārya mentioned in circa A.D. 1311. Ibid, 495, pp. 133-4.
4. Ibid., VIII. Nr. 46, p. 148.
royal titles given to the ruler in this record, it is clear that the reference is only to king Deva Rāya I of Vijayanagara. But about the identity of Dharmabhūṣaṇa, we have no definite data. However, we may fix his date by determining the date of his guru Vardhamāna whom we have assigned to the year A.D. 1378, on the basis of the facts mentioned in the same Padmāvatī record and discussed by us elsewhere. If we allot twenty-five years to Vardhamāna, we arrive at A.D. 1403 which may be the date of Dharmabhūṣaṇa (II). This falls within the reign of king Bukka Rāya II, the father of king Deva Rāya I. And there is nothing unusual in Dharmabhūṣaṇa’s having won special respect from king Deva Rāya I. What seems certain is that the Vijayanagara ruler showed his great concern about the famous centre of the Jainas—Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. Hence about A.D. 1420 he ordered the gift of the village Beḷame in Mepināḍ for a vṛtti for the worship of Gummaṭa-svāmi of Belgoḷa. And the great minister Baica Daṇḍāya-

1. There were two Dharmabhūṣaṇas in the Jaina spiritual lists. A damaged record of A.D. 1372 tells us that Subhakīrti-deva’s disciple was Dharmabhūṣaṇa (I) whose disciple was Amāra-kīrti whose disciple was Dharmabhūṣaṇa (II) whose praise (?) seems to be recorded. Vardhamāna Svāmi caused an epitaph to be made in that year. (E. C. II, 274, p. 125). Another record found at Humcca gives the following fact—that Amarakīrti’s beloved disciple was Dharmabhūṣana Bhāṭṭāraka. (M. A. R. for 1934, p. 176). Dr. Krishna assigned this record to the age of king Deva Rāya I, and placed Dharmabhūṣaṇa in the fifteenth century. The two records of Belgoḷa and Humcca, therefore, agree in making Dharmabhūṣaṇa (II) the disciple of Amarakīrti, while the Padmāvatī basti record clearly says that Dharmabhūṣaṇa was the chief disciple (maukhamukhya) of Vardhamāna. This discrepancy cannot be solved for the present.

2. Saletore, Karnāṭaka Hist. Rev. IV. pp. 77-86.
ka carried out at once the royal behest.\footnote{E. C., V. Mj. 58, p. 273.} Obviously in imitation of his noble father, Prince Harihara, as we shall narrate in a latter context, gave munificent gifts to the \textit{basadi} at Kanakagiri.

The next monarch who continued the tradition of the early Vijayanagara rulers of bestowing patronage on the Jaina institutions was king Deva Räya II (AD. 1419—A.D. 1446). In A.D. 1424 he made over the village of Varanga in Tuḷuva to the \textit{basadi} of Varanga Neminātha of the same place.\footnote{Sewell, \textit{Lists of Antiquities.}, C. P. No. 89; Rangacharya, \textit{Top. List.}, II., p. 875.}

Of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great it may truly be said that he made no distinction between the different faiths in his Empire. His large-hearted benevolence was primarily responsible for the gifts he made to the Jaina temples in two distant provinces of his Empire. He gave gifts of two villages to the \textit{basadi} of Trailokyanātha at Tiruppuruttikunṛ, Conjeeveram tāḷuka, Chingleput district, once in the cyclic year Dhātri (corresponding to the Śaka year 1438= A.D. 1516), and then again in Śaka 1440 (A.D. 1519).\footnote{Swamikannu, \textit{Ind. Ephem.} V. pp. 234, 240.} In A.D. 1528 the same monarch gave a gift to the \textit{basadi} at Cippagiri, Alūru tāḷuka, Bellary district, and had the endowment recorded on the walls of the smaller Venkaṭaramana temple of that place.\footnote{Bellary \textit{Gazetteer}, I. p. 210; Rangacharya, \textit{ibid.}, I. p. 258; Seshagiri Rao, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 35.}

Before we proceed to describe the efforts made by the nobles and generals of Vijayanagara to help the cause of the \textit{anekāntamata} in the great city of Vijayanagara and outside,
we may explain the position of that religion in the famous capital itself. Here it is necessary to observe that the accounts of foreign travellers do not enlighten us on this question at all. But we have to depend upon the numerous epigraphs which contain, as usual, valuable details concerning Jainism in the city of Vijayanagara. The initiative of aiding the Jina faith was taken by the Vijayanagara generals and the royal ladies of the court. It was here in the capital that the Jaina General Irugappa Daṇḍanāyaka built a basadi which we shall mention at once. The queens of Vijayanagara were not slow in bestowing their patronage on these Jaina institutions in the capital. An inscription in that city tells us that Bukkavve, the queen of Vīra Harihara Rāya (i.e., Harihara Rāya II) gave a gift to the basadi built by General Irugappa, in the cyclic year Iśvara. This cyclic year corresponds to the Śaka year 1319 (A.D. 1397).

Among the monarchs Deva Rāya II stands high in the estimation of the Jainas for having built a basadi in the capital itself. An inscription in a ruined basadi in that city dated Śaka 1348 Parābhava (A.D. 1426) records the building of a caityālaya to Pārśvanātha at the orders of that monarch in the Pāṇśupāri street of the capital. King Deva Rāya II’s act of benevolence needs comment. He gave concrete expression to the feeling of reciprocal goodwill which king Bukka Rāya had so admirably shown in A.D. 1368. To the Jainas

1. Read Saleatore, S. P. Life, II. p. 27 seq.
2. 501 of 1907; Rangacharya, Top. List., I, p. 313; Swamikannu, op. cit., IV. p. 396.
3. 32 of 1889; S. I. I. I, 153, pp. 160-167; Rangacharya, ibid., I. p. 312; Ramaswami, Studies, p. 118. It is wrong to say that king Deva Rāya I. built this temple (V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Indian Historical Quarterly, XIII, p. 259.).
his action gave one more proof that the Vijayanagara monarchs were more than ever sincere to promote the cause of the Jina dharma. Unlike the measures he had taken on behalf of his Muhammadan subjects, for whose sake he had ordered a copy of the Quran to be placed by the side of his throne,¹ this step in connection with the Jainas had no political significance, since the latter never assumed at any time, either in the reign of that monarch or in that of his predecessors, such proportions as to threaten the internal stability of the Empire. We may, therefore, assume that the construction of the Pārśvanātha basadi in the capital was obviously meant to satisfy the religious need of the time, and especially to demonstrate once again the validity of one of the birudas borne by the Emperors of Vijayanagara, viz., that they were the Protectors of sakalavarnāśrama dharma.

In addition to these Jina temples we have a ruined basadi in the capital to the south of Hampe. Unfortunately the record which was found here is damaged and no details can be made out of it.² The fact that the Sanskrit portions of two fragments of a sculptured piece of black granite discovered in the north-west of the famous Mahānavami Dibba in the capital, refer thrice to the death of a Jaina guru named Maladhārideva,³ suggests that there must have been another Jinālāya near that well known platform about which, too, unfortunately no details are known. As to the identity of Maladhārideva, we have likewise no clue.

In the history of Jainism in the great capital much credit is to be given to General Irugappa, the most prominent Jaina general of the age. From an inscription dated A.D. 1422

2. 42 of 1889.
3. 545 of 1893.
found at Sravana Belgoja, we gather many details about the parentage of this Daṇḍanāyaka. He belonged to a line of loyal State servants. His grandfather was Baica Daṇḍesā, the Mahāpradhāna of king Bukka Rāya. Of uncommon liberality, forbearance, and learning, Baica Daṇḍesā was noted for his policy which was "worthy to be approved by all." He had three sons—the eldest General Mangappa, "who was honoured in the world for his virtues", General Irugappa, and Bukkaṇṇa. General Mangappa was a devout Jaina. The record calls him "a supporting tree to (the creeper) dharma", and "an adherent of the Jaināgama". By his wife Jānakī he had two sons—General Baicappa and General Irugappa. The latter is the subject of our remarks.

The same inscription bestows much praise on General Irugappa. About his martial disposition, it says that "when on the march of the General prince Irugappa, the rays of the sun were obstructed by the clouds of dust raised by the fierce blows of the hoofs of his charging mares, the lotuses the hands of his enemies closed (i.e. in submission)." As regards his general character, the same epigraph narrates the following—"As soon as General Irugendra was born on earth, his friend though devoid of wealth, was supplied with abundant wealth, and his enemy, though possessed of wealth, was deprived of it." Then, again, "Abundance of food, protection from danger, medicine, and learning became his daily gifts; injury to others, falsehood, passion for the wives of others, theft and greed kept away at a distance from him." He was a devout Jaina. "His liberality (was directed) towards the path of dharma, his ears towards listening to the fame of Jinendra; his tongue towards praising His virtues; his bodily health towards bowing to Him; his nose towards the excessive fragrance of His lotus feet; and his everything
to His service.”¹ Shorn of the metaphors, the above description of General Irugappa enables us to conclude that he was dutiful to his ruler, generous to the worthy, considerate to the needy, and devout to Jina.

We have now to see whether the praise thus given to him was in any way justifiable. General Irugappa appears for the first time in A.D. 1382 when he made a gift of land to the ancient Trailokyanaśtha basadi at Tirupparuttikunru in the Chingleput district. This was during the reign of king Harihara Rāya II. The gift was made, we may observe, for the merit of Prince Bukka Rāya, in the cyclic year Dundubhi corresponding to Śaka 1304 (A.D. 1382).² We are to suppose from this that General Irugappa first saw State service under Prince Bukka, the future Bukka Rāya, and the son of king Harihara Rāya II, in the Chingleput district. Our assumption is proved by another record dated only in the cyclic year Prabhava and found in the same basadi, in which it is said that the maṇḍapa in front of the same basadi was built by General Irugappa at the instance of his guru Puṇḍarasena.³ The cyclic year Prabhava corresponds to Śaka 1309, and we have, therefore, to suppose that General Irugappa’s official connection with the south lasted till A.D. 1387.

While the Jaina general was thus adding to the prosperity of a Jaina institution which, since the days of the famous Coḷa monarch Rāja Rāja, had received patronage at the hands of the southern rulers,⁴ certain domestic events neces-

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2. 41 of 1890; S. I. I. I., p. 156; Rangacharya, Top. List., I., p. 375; Swamikannu op. cit. V. p. 366.
3. 42 of 1890; E. I. VII. p. 116; Rangacharya, ibid, I p. 375; Swamikannu, op. cit., IV. p. 376.
4. 17 of 1889; S. I. I. I., 152, pp. 155-160. Sewell commits an error when he makes Irugappa the son of Baiçayya. Historical
situated General Irugappa’s presence at the capital where we find him now as the Minister of king Harihara Rāya II. It is enough to note that here in the capital he built the caityālāya of Kuṇṭhū (or Kuṇḍu) Jinanātha which was completed on February the 16th A.D. 1386. This is the temple which is wrongly called nowadays the Gāṅigitti temple! The Jaina teacher Simhanandi mentioned in this inscription was perhaps the same Simhanandi Ācārya whose name appears in a record assigned to A.D. 1400 at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa.¹

There was another side to the remarkable Jaina statesman. Irugappa was an engineer as well. In A.D. 1394 he built the sluice of the tank at Kūṅigal. The inscription found on the same sluice gives us the interesting information that he was a Sanskrit scholar, too, and that he wrote the Sanskrit work called Nānārtharatnākara.²

This versatile statesman was the minister of king Harihara Rāya II in A.D. 1403.³ But he continued to serve also in the reign of king Deva Rāya II.⁴ The Śravaṇa Belgoḷa inscription dated A.D. 1422 cited above informs us that in that year General Irugappa, in the presence of the Jaina guru Śrutamuni, granted the village of Belgoḷa (Belgoḷa itself) for the worship of Gummaṭeśvara.⁵ Our surmise

Inscriptions of Southern India, p. 203 (Ed. by S. K. Aiyangar, Madras, 1932). This work is incomplete, for it has not taken into account a number of inscriptions pertaining to the history of Vijayanagara and early times.

4. Ibid, II. Intr. p. 64.
5. Ibid, II. 253, op. cit.
that General Irugappa served under king Deva Rāya II is further proved by a stone inscription of A.D. 1442 in which that Jaina Commander is described to be the viceroy of Gove (Goa) along with Candragutti. This damaged record mentions an attack on Banavasi by Mallalegade Bamma Gauḍa, and the success that attended the arms of the loyal citizens.¹

Thus we find that General Irugappa’s record as a trusted general, a clever engineer, and a successful viceroy lasted over a period of fifty-nine years (A.D. 1383-A.D. 1442). No Jaina statesman, it may not be too much to say, in the history of southern India had such a long period of approved State service to his credit as General Irugappa.

His elder brother General Baicappa was also a devout Jaina. The Śravaṇa Belgoḷa record dated A.D. 1422 calls him Bhavyāgraṇi (Leader of the Bhavyas). And along with his younger brother he was reckoned to be “a purifier of the path of the dharma” (pavitrikṛta-dharma-mārggan).² In about A.D. 1420 Baica Daṇṇāyaka was the Mahāpradhāna of king Deva Rāya II. It was while he was working in this capacity that he carried out the royal order and provided a vṛtti for the worship of Gummaṭasvāmi of Belgoḷa, granting the village of Beḷame, as already related above.³

Some of General Irugappa’s colleagues were also Jainas. Thus we have in about A.D. 1400 the Brahman Kūci Rāja, who was the disciple of Candrakīritideva. This Jaina has already figured in our description of Kopana.⁴

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¹. E. C. II., VI. Sb. 498, p. 82.
². Ibid. II. 253, p. 108, text, p. 110.
³. Ibid. V. Mj. 58, op. cit.
⁴. Ibid, IV. Ch. 151, 152, op. cit.
Another well known Jaina official of the age of General Irugappa was the Mahāpradhāna Gopa Camūpa, who was placed in charge of the famous hill-fortress of Niḍugal. He is described as "a full moon in raising the tide of the ocean of the Jaina sangha (Jainendra-samayāmbudhi-vardhāna pūrṇa-candra) in an undated and incomplete record, thereby suggesting that he materially added to the cause of Jainism. Rice doubtfully assigned this record to A.D. 1410,¹ obviously on the assumption that he is mentioned as ruling the great Niḍugal hill-fortress during the reign of king Deva Rāya I.

We have some interesting details about this military officer. These are gathered from a stone inscription dated A.D. 1408. He belonged to a line of benevolent Jainas. His father was called Sirīyaṇṇa Śrīpati, the lord of Bāndhavapura, and a disciple of Śāntīśvara. And Sirīyaṇṇa’s father was Gopa Mahāprabhu, the governor of Kuppaṭūr. Gopa shone as purified by the Jina dharma, his blameless career like steps to paradise. We shall have to see in some detail about the well known city of Bāndhavapura in the Vijayanagara times. Gopa Camūpa, the subject of our discussion, was a Gauḍa; and his guru was Siddhāntācārya of the Mūla sangha and Deśiya gana. This inscription relates that by the instruction in Jinendra dharma of his guru Siddhāntadeva, accompanied by numerous lucid comments, Gopaṇṇa became a good servant of the faith. He constructed a Jinālaya in Kuppaṭūr which he richly endowed.

The Malenaḍ Mahāprabhu Gopaṇṇa had two wives named Gopāyi and Padmāyi, who in devotion to Jina dharma were equal to their husband. The moment came for Gopa Mahāprabhu to show to the world his worth as a true Jaina.

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After having enjoyed the society of his wives for many days, he abandoned family pleasures. To the Brahmans he gave gifts of gold, cows, grain, and the like. He discarded the pleasures of the mind and the palate, repeated the praises and prayers of the Jina dharma, and taking the hand of mokṣa Lakṣmī with great joy went to heaven (on the date specified in detail), amidst the plaudits of all the good. But his wives were not a whit behind him in their devotion to the Jina dharma. Seeing that, they made at once all gifts to Brahmans, with pure mind reverence to the lotus feet of Siddhāntācārya, and thinking of the great Vitarāga, went to heaven.¹

Now this record is dated A.D. 1408; and it cannot be that Gopa Mahāprabhu was the commandant of the Nīḍugal fortress in A.D. 1410, as suggested by Rice. Hence we have to suppose that Gopa Mahāprabhu was placed over that hill-fortress prior to A.D. 1408.

Gopa Mahāprabhu seems to have been a great patriot. This alone explains why the scribe who mentions his death, eulogizes the land of Karnāṭaka as a country that was distinguished in many ways and in beauty beyond description.²

We may mention two more names of high officials of this age in order to complete the account of men of action of early Vijayanagara history. One is that of Masanahalli Kampaṇa Gauḍa, the great lord of Bayināḍ. He was the disciple of Pāṇḍitadeva. In A.D. 1424 he granted the village of Tōṭahallī situated in his own Bayināḍ for the worship of Gummaṭanāṭhasvāmi of Belgoḷa.³ The other example is that of Vallabharājadeva Mahā-arusu, the grandson of the

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1. E. C. VIII. Sb. 261, pp. 41-42.
2. See motto at the beginning of this work.
3. E. C. IV. Hg. 1, p. 65.
Mahāmanḍaleśvara Śrīpati Rāja, and the son Rājayyadeva Mahā-arasu. The solicitude which the Vijayanagara officials felt for Jainism even in the last quarter of the sixteenth century A.D. is seen in the inscription relating to that high official. When Cinnavara Govinda Šeṭṭi, the son of Gutti Haradare Šeṭṭi, petitioned in A.D. 1579 to Vallabharājadeva that the mānya lands of the god of Heggara basadi should be maintained, "in order to comply with his petition", Vallabharāja granted specific lands in Heggare for the god Jina of that locality in the Būdihāḷśime.¹

¹ E. C. IV, XII. Ci. 22, p. 78.
CHAPTER X.

JAINISM AT THE PROVINCIAL COURTS

Causes which made Jainism prominent at the provincial courts—The Cangâlîvas and their work—The Sangîtapura rulers and their ministers—An enemy of Jainism—Examples of noble ladies who were patrons of Jainism.

We may now turn our attention to the condition of Jainism in the various provincial seats of the Vijayanagara Empire. Much of the splendour of Jainism which had characterized its advent and spread in the royal capitals in earlier times, now in the Vijayanagara age is to be seen in the capitals of the provincial viceroys rather than in the great city of Vijayanagara itself. This phenomenon was due to the following causes. Firstly, the capital of the Vijayanagara Empire was no more a mere centre of royal strength, as the early Karnātaka capitals had been, but the bulwark of the entire people of southern India—Hindu as well as Jaina—against the attacks of the enemies of their dharma. The nature of the capital, therefore, had changed. While it certainly welcomed all sects and creeds with equal generosity, it could not think of devoting its attention to the cause of any one religion in particular. For political necessity had eclipsed religious needs; and the Emperors of Vijayanagara let all faiths in their great capital follow their own way, while they themselves were busy guarding the frontiers of their Empire against the ever watch-
ful enemy in the north. To Jainism which for ages had been accustomed to complete royal acquiescence, this attitude on the part of the Emperors of Vijayanagara was not particularly encouraging. Hence Jainism gradually allowed its hold on the great capital to slip, and wisely had recourse to a policy of seeking protection in the provincial courts which still preserved, to some extent, the nature of the earlier Karnātaka rājadhānīs.

There was another reason which made Jainism more conspicuous in the seats of the viceroy than in the city of Vijayanagara. The broadmindedness and farsighted policy of universal toleration which the monarchs of Vijayanagara extended to all faiths in the capital, attracted to it in large numbers learned men belonging to the different religions. The city of Vijayanagara became the meeting place of philosophers and poets of the Empire. It was unfortunate that the anekāntamata had now no champion of the Vādirāja or Ajītasena type, who could successfully withstand the disputation of the non-Jaina religious teachers in the capital. Excepting in one famous instance, Jainism was practically without leaders in the city of Vijayanagara. This shortcoming told not a little on its career in the capital, and was responsible for the stubborn stand it took in the provincial seats.

But this was a misfortune in disguise. The provincial viceroy unhampered by the political questions which faced their suzerains in the City of Victory, could devote themselves whole-heartedly to religious and cultural questions. Coupled with this was the fact that the Central Government never interfered with the domestic affairs of the provincial viceroy. These reasons enabled the latter to play the rôle of Defenders of the Jina dharma, and to bestow on it the care and patronage which it could not expect at the hands
of the Emperors at the capital. This was of great advantage for the cause of Jainism, since had it made the City of Victory its sole strength, the anekāntamata would have collapsed with the destruction of that city.

That it did not do so but continued its useful career is due to the benevolent attitude of some of the Vijayanagara viceroys. There were two classes of feudatories who actively supported the doctrine of syāda vāda. One class was made up of the great feudatories like the Kongāḷvas, the Cangāḷvas, the Sāluvas of Sangītapura, the kings of Gērasoppe, and the Bhairarasa Odeyars of of Kārkala. And the other class comprised lesser feudatories of the type of the lords of Āvalināḍ, the Mahāprabhus of Kuppatūr, Morasunāḍ, Bidirūr, Bāguṇjisīme, Nuggehallī, and others. In addition to these mention must be made of the marked exertions of feudal ladies for the cause of the Jina dharma.

There is nothing strange in the Kongāḷvas and the Cangāḷvas having maintained the prestige of the anekāntamata. We have already given sufficient proof of their zeal in this direction in the pre-Vijayanagara days. Notwithstanding the fact of their having been converted into the Vira Śaiva faith, they continued to be patrons of Jainism in the Vijayanagara age. Thus, for instance, in a.d. 1390, a Kongāḷva ruler whose name ends in...lli Deva, restored the Candranātha basadi at Mullūru...... This king was the disciple of Vijayakirtideva, whose guru was the Ārya Subhendu. Both the guru and the disciple belonged to the Pustaka gaccha. On the Kongāḷva ruler restoring the basadi, his queen Sugunī Devī by her bodyguard Vijayadeva set up the god Candranātha and made specific grants of land for his worship.¹

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¹ E. C., IX. Cg. 39, p. 174.
Whatever may have been the success which Vīra Śaivism scored in the royal House of the Cangālvas of Canganāḍ, it is evident that so late as the sixteenth century A.D., there were staunch supporters of the Jina dharma in Nañjārayapaṭṭaṇa, In A.D. 1509, for instance, Cenna Bommararasa, a minister of the Cangālva king, and one who was descended from a line of ministers beginning with the supporter and promoter of Jainism (Jina dharma sahāya pratīpālakar) Bommaya maṇtri, is called "the crest jewel of perfect faith in Jainism." We do not know in what manner he advanced the cause of the Jina dharma in the Cangālva principality. But the assemblage of the blessed Śrāvakas of Nañjārayapaṭṭaṇa caused the baliṅvāda (؟ arbour) of Gummataśavāmi of Śravāṇa Belgoḷa to be renovated. Since the name of the minister Canna Bommararasa is coupled with the assemblage of the Jaina citizens of that Cangālva city, we have to assume that he was partly responsible for the renovation of the arbour at Belgoḷa.

The history of the Cangālvas in the sixteenth century is particularly interesting because of the attempts probably made by them to reconcile the Vīra Śaivas and the Jainas in Canganāḍ, and because of the charitable deeds of a Cangālva nobleman. Dr. Shama Sastry, while examining the temples in the Huṇsūr tāluka, discovered in a cave near the Āñjaneya temple at the foot of the hill in Beṭṭadapura, some remarkable double līngas which were not found anywhere in the Mysore State. He discovered to the left of the serpent hoods a figure of Ucchiṣṭha Gaṇapati or Śakti Gaṇapati, with a nude female carved on its lap. And a nude squatting figure with the name written below was also found by him.

1. E. C. IX., II. 228, pp. 96-97.
He rightly commented on these double lingas by saying that the association of Jina images with Śaivite lingas pointed to the reconciliation effected between the Jainas and the Lingāyats during the rule of the Cangāḷvas in the second half of the sixteenth century A.D.¹

A notable figure in the annals of the Cangāḷva kings is that of General Mangarasa. An able commander, Mangarasa was also a clever Kannaḍa poet and a patron of Jainism. He was the son of the Mahāprabhu Vijayapāla, the viceroy of Kallahalli, and the minister of the Cangāḷva king. His mother’s name was Dēvile.² Both Vijayapāla and Dēvile were pious Jainas.

The martial activities of Mangarasa are mentioned in connection with the foundation of the city of Beṭṭadapura. It is related in a manuscript dealing with the origin of this city, that Mangarasa was instrumental in the subjugation of the wild tribes called the Bēḍars and in the building of the city of Beṭṭadapura, during the rule of the Cangāḷva king Vikramarāya. This Cangāḷva ruler, we may incidentally note, built the trikūḷācala Jina basadi at Cikka Hanaṣōge.³

Mangarasa is said to have fortified Kallahalli, Cilikunda, Mallarājapatṭaṇa, Pālupāre, and other centres. He con-

2. Copies of inscriptions said to be dated Saka 1535 (A.D. 1613) give the names Vijayarāja and Kusumājammanṭi as the parents of Mangarasa, and relate that Vijayarāja was the son of king Mādhavarājendra of Cangāḷadeśa. (*M. A. R. for 1925* p. 14).
3. *M. A. R. for 1925,* pp. 14-15. This Ms. is supposed to be based on a stone inscription found at Tunga. But the fact of Mangarasa’s having been the minister of Vikrama is confirmed by Mangarasa’s own work to be mentioned presently.
structured several tanks and Jaina temples. He built Yama-
gumba *basadi* in which he set up the images of Pārśvanātha, Padmāvatī, and Cannigabrahmarāya.¹

His works have earned for him a high place in Kannāḍa literature. He wrote *Jayanṛpakāvyā, Prabhaṇjanacarite, Śripālacarite, Nemijinesasangati, Samyuktvakaumudī* and a work on cookery called *Sūpasāstra*. His date is fixed by the fact that he wrote his *Samyuktvakaumudī* in Śaka A.D. 1431 (A.D. 1509).²

That the Cangāḷvas continued to be devotees of the syād vāda doctrine is borne out by a record dated Śaka 1489 (A.D. 1557), which registers the grant of a village by the Cangāḷva king Vikramarāya to a learned Brahman named Narasībhaṭṭa. The grant begins with the usual praise of the Jina śāsana.³

The work of the Cangāḷva kings to promote the interests of the anekāntamata was no doubt creditable; but in reality it could not stand comparison with the indefatigable attempts of the rulers of three provincial capitals, who were mainly responsible for the prosperous condition of Jainism in the western parts of Karnāṭaka. These were the rulers of Sangītapura, Gērasoppe, and Kārkala. Of these we shall mention here some details about only one centre—Sangītapura, reserving for a latter context those in regard to Gēr-
osoppe and Kārkala. From the latter half of the fifteenth till the latter half of the sixteenth century A.D., the rulers of Sangītapura figure as champions of Jainism. Sangītapura,

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² Kavīcarite, II. pp. 179-188.
³ *M. A. R. for 1925*, pp. 93-94. The dating of this record is irregular. For the Śaka 1489 corresponds to Prabhava, and not to Sarvajit, as given in the grant.
or better known as Hāḍuhaḷḷi, was one of the chief cities of Tuḷuva. The kings of this city belonged to the Kaśyapa gotra and the Soma vamīsa. An inscription dated A.D. 1488 describes Sangītapura thus—In the Tauḷavadeśa, the abode of fortune, having splendid caityālayas, a place of descent in the female line, inhabited by happy, generous, and pleasure-loving people, filled with elephants, horses, and powerful warriors, poets, disputers, orators, and declaimers, a place for the production of elegant literature, renowned for all the fine arts, was Sangītapura.

There are good reasons to believe that the praise thus given to the city, particularly in regard to the company of learned men, was not extravagant. We shall have an occasion of referring presently to the learned circles of Sangītapura.

The same epigraph cited above gives the name of the Mahāmaṇḍalesvara Sāluvendra as the king of Sangītapura in A.D. 1488. "Devoted to the pair of feet of Candraprabha Jina," this ruler with "his mind a casket for the three jewels," promoted the cause of the Jina dhārma by constructing beautiful and lofty caityālayas, with glorious maṇītapas, mahā-stambhas of bell-metal, pleasure groves for the town, many images of metal and stone, provision for temple ceremonies, daily gifts, worship, and gifts of learning. It was thus that king Sāluvendra maintained royal dignity and dhārma (antu rāja-dharmam pālisuttam).

His minister was Padma, or Padmaṇa, who was also of

1. It is now in the North Kanara district.
2. Ratna-traya which are samyak-dharśana (purity in sight) samyak-ñāna (purity in thought), and samyak-cārita (purity in conduct).
the royal stock. In the same year A.D. 1488 king Sāluvendra gave Minister Padmaṇa the village of Ogeyakere which the latter, saying that he had enough for his family, donated for the cause of the Jina dharma. And ten years later (A.D. 1498) Padma built a caityālaya in a new village called Padmākarapura, had the god Pārśvanātha set up there, and endowed it with the shares of the village which he had got as a royal gift. This was done at the instance of the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Indagarasa Oḍeyar.¹

The Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Indagarasa was the son of the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Sangi Rāja, whose elder son seems to have been king Sāluvendra mentioned above. Indagarasa was also known as Immaṭi Sāluvendra, and was noted for his martial activities. An epigraph dated A.D. 1491 speaks in highly eulogistic terms of his warlike deeds, and informs us that “he won the goddess of valour”. It was he who restored the ancient grants of land made to the Vardhamānasvāmi basadi of Bidiru (i.e., Veṇupura).²

The next prominent names we meet with in the Sāluva genealogy, so far as the history of Jainism is concerned, are those of Sāluva Malli Rāya, Sāluva Deva Rāya, and Sāluva Kṛṣṇa Deva, the son of Padmāmbā, who was the sister of the second ruler Deva Rāya. These names are mentioned in a record dated about A.D. 1530. All these three kings of Sangītapura were patrons of the most celebrated Jaina orator of the Vijayanagara age—Vādi Vidyānanda. As we shall see later on, king Sāluva Malli Rāya had in his court an assembly of enlightened men whom Vādi Vidyānanda defeated. The same success met the Jaina teacher in the learned as-

². Ibid., Sa. 164, p. 125.
sembly of king Sāluva Deva Rāya; while king Sāluva Kṛṣṇa Rāja worshipped the great Jaina orator.¹

It is not to be imagined that Jainism which received such support from the rulers of Sangītapura and other provincial capitals, had not enemies who tried to crush that religion. One such enemy of the anekāntamata was the chief of Śrīśaila (Kurnool district). He was a pious Vīra Śaiva chief, and the son of Śanta. An inscription dated Śaka 1433 (A.D. 1512) commemorates the many gifts of this chief to the well known temple of Śrīśala. It is said that one of the pious deeds of this chief was the be-heading of the Śvetāmbara Jainas!² We do not know what action the Vijayanagara Government took against this zealous champion of Vīra Śaivism, especially in an age which had produced the great Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya.

However, chiefs of this type were not the rule in the Vijayanagara Empire. On the other hand, the sympathetic, and, in many instances, sustained aid given by the many great nobles for the welfare of the Jina dharma, was in a large measure responsible for its success in the different parts of the Vijayanagara Empire. Inscriptions ranging from the middle of the fourteenth to the early part of the seventeenth century A.D., refer in copious terms to the endeavours made by the nobles and citizens on behalf of the syād vāda doctrine. But before we describe these records, it may be interesting to observe how noble ladies gave expression to their devotion to the Jina dharma. In this connection we have to remember the lead given to the ladies of the Empire by the members of the imperial family which we have already described above.

¹. E. C. VIII. Nr. 46, pp. 146-149.
². 16 of 1915; Rangacharya, Top List, II, p. 953.
The ladies of the Sohrab noble family were orthodox Jains. Lakṣmī Bommakka, the daughter of Sohrab Vīra Gauḍa, and the wife of the Ālva-mahāprabhu Tavanidhi Brahma Gauḍa of Sohrab, was one of these. Her guru was Simhanandī Ācārya, the head of the Balātkāra gaṇa. In A.D. 1372 she died by the rites of samādhi. The record commemorating her death praises her highly for her virtues and charitable deeds as a Jaina.¹

She was not the only lady who lived an exemplary life. Mecaṅka vied with her in devotion and service. This lady was the daughter of Baciya Rāja of Uddhare, and the wife of the Sohrab Mahāprabhu Deva Rāja. In A.D. 1405 she too died in the orthodox manner.² About fifty years later Bhāgirathī, the daughter of the mahāprabhu Būḷappa, also hailing from the same Sohrab province, gave similar expression to her orthodox convictions and expired. We shall have to revert to her father the Mahāprabhu Būḷappa, who was placed over the Nāgarakhaṇḍa principality, later on while dealing with that province.³

Towards the middle of the sixteenth century we have the noble lady Kāḷala Devī, the ruler of the Bāguṇjisīme, and the younger sister of the Kārkaḷa king Bhairarasa Oḍeyar. In A.D. 1530 she made special provision for the continuance of the Jina dharma in the territory over which she ruled “in her own right”. Bāguṇji itself was a centre of the Bhavyas. The god Pārśva-Tīrthankara of Kallabasti in that principality, was the family god of Kāḷala Dēvi. It was on the death of her daughter Rāmā Devī that Kāḷala Devī made grants (specified in detail) for the daily worship

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1. E.C. VIII. Sb. 199, pp. 31-32.
and provisions of her family god. But this was done in the constitutional manner of the land. The grant was made in the presence of the former ministers of the Bāguñjisīme, the Brahmans, the cultivators, the nāḍī representatives, and others. This done, she obtained the sanction of the Kārkaḷa king for the same, and then had the stone śāsana engraved. It is interesting to note that on this occasion she added specified lands as gifts to the grant which a boatman named Voliya had made some time ago also to the same Kalla basadi.

Kāḷala Devī’s anxiety to endow the Kalla basadi with grants was not merely an expression of outward piety. She was a broadminded ruler who believed in universal toleration. It is this which explains why the charter commemorating her gifts to the same basadi begins with an invocation to the syād vāda doctrine in the usual Jaina manner, and also with an obeisance to Ādi Varāha Śambhu.¹

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¹ E.C. VI. Kp. 47, p. 84.
M. J. 11.
CHAPTER XI.

THE ANEKĀNTAMATA IN THE EMPIRE

Why Jainism held its own in the various cities—
The history of Jainism in the different cities of
the Vijayanagara Empire from the fourteenth
till the seventeenth century A.D.

Neither in the great capital nor in the provincial seats
was the influence of Jainism so markedly felt as in
the different cities of the Vijayanagara Empire where the
citizens accorded to it a most cordial reception. This could
not be otherwise when the Vijayanagara monarchs them-
selves, in spite of their having been committed to a policy
of upholding the Hindu dharma, had nevertheless championed
the cause of the syād vāda doctrine, and when the provin-
cial rulers had showed their great anxiety to preserve the
prestige of the Jina dharma in the various parts of the Em-
pire. Thus guided by the imperial and feudal rulers, the
citizens were not slow to give Jainism every support they
could give in their towns and villages.

The history of the Jaina religion, therefore, assumes a
different phase in the Vijayanagara age. It is no more the
religion of the royalty it had been in the days of the early
Karnāṭaka kings. Notwithstanding the unreserved patronage
given to it by the Vijayanagara monarchs, and the encour-
ragement shown to it by the feudal nobles, Jainism realized
that its fortune was now cast with the common people. And
like all institutions which mirrored the political vicissitudes through which the Vijayanagara Empire passed, Jainism, too, reflected the changing fortunes of that great mediæval organization. It was in the middle of the fourteenth century that king Bukka Rāya had publicly laid down a policy of impartiality to all the religions. And it was also in this century that the growing Empire of Vijayanagara invigorated itself after a series of successful campaigns against its enemies. Both these features are visible in the history of Jainism in the mediæval ages. During the fourteenth century Jainism was popular throughout the Empire, and everywhere the people, obviously in imitation of the example set by king Bukka Rāya in A.D. 1368, nourished the cause of the Jina dharma, in spite of their being the followers of an avowedly non-Jaina faith. The Vijayanagara Empire matured in the fifteenth century, and reached its height in the sixteenth century. It was during the fifteenth century that Jainism permeated the people and the powerful principalities of the Empire. The glorious age of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great and Acyuta Rāya marked the hey-day of the Vijayanagara Empire; and curiously enough it was also the period when Jainism produced its most renowned exponent in the person of Vādi Vidyānanda. The seventeenth century witnessed the waning of the Vijayanagara authority; and at the same time the retreat of Jainism from the strongholds it possessed in the many provincial seats to its original home śravaṇa Belgoḷa and the more distant province of Tuluva. Like the fate of the Hindu dharma, that of the syād vāda, too, was linked intimately with the fortunes of the Vijayanagara House.

If we examine the history of Jainism in Belgoḷa, Kalleha, Hosapattana, Harave, Maleyūr, Huṇsūr, Ávali, Sohrāb, Ḥire Cauti, Kuppaṭūr, Uddhare, Huligeṛe, Rāyadurga, and
Dānavigula, we shall find that in the fourteenth century it was still characterized by that robustness which had marked its career in the early times. Śravaṇa Belgoḷa naturally led all the other centres in sanctity and power. Pious people from different parts of the Vijayanagara Empire reckoned it to be the most celebrated place of pilgrimage. Hāleya Maṇḍava was evidently one such pilgrim. Prominent nobles also visited Belgoḷa. Thus in A.D. 1398 Hariyaṇa and Māṇikadeva were the disciples of the great (Cāruṇā) Pāṇḍita-deva of that centre. These two nobles are called “the rulers of that region”, probably meaning thereby that they were in some manner connected with the region around Śravaṇa Belgoḷa.

The year A.D. 1400 was, for some reasons unknown to us, memorable in the history of Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. For it is in that year that, as is proved by the many epigraphs of that date, quite a number of pilgrims visited Śravaṇa Belgoḷa.

The great interest which the pontificate of Śravaṇa Belgoḷa took in purely political matters is seen in the manner it published news of the events concerning the whole Empire. When king Harihara Rāya II died in A.D. 1404 this event was recorded in a stone inscription dated in that year at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. And when king Deva Rāya II died in A.D. 1446, that fact also was commemorated in two epigraphs of the same date in the same holy place. Information is not forthcoming to show why these events should

1. E.C. II., 311, p. 130.
2. Ibid., 171-173, 499, pp. 124-125, 134.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid, 328, 330, pp. 139-140. Was it so because of the Jaina propensities of these rulers?
have been so scrupulously inscribed at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa.

It may be that because that that locality being a cele-
brated place of pilgrimage, attracted a huge concourse of
people. Thus in about A.D. 1407 six persons including those
of the Ojakula, visited Śravaṇa Belgoḷa.1 Māyaṇṇa of
Gangavati, a lay disciple of Candrabāṇī, and one who
had become famous as “the crest jewel of pure faith”,
purchasing some specified land under the Gangasamudra
tank of Belgoḷa in A.D. 1409, granted it for the worship of
Gummaṭasvāmi. This was done in the presence of the Jaina
jewel merchants and two Gauḍas (named) of the locality.2
The next year Bastāyi, a lay disciple of Paṇḍitadeva, caused
an image of Vardhamānāsvāmi to be made at Śravaṇa
Belgoḷa. This may have been in imitation of the generous
action of the Vijayanagara queen Bhīmā Devī mentioned
in an earlier context.3 In about A.D. 1417 Kariya Gummaṭa
Sēṭṭi went to Belgoḷa with a group of pilgrims from Biḍiti,
and honoured the sangha on the conclusion of the ratnātṛaya
observance (Nompi) in the presence of the god Gummaṭa-
svāmi.4

One noteworthy feature in connection with Śravaṇa Belgoḷa
is its intimate relationship with Mārwār in the Vijayanagara
age. Agaṣuṣe Jagad of the Mūla sangha hailing from Mārwār,
caus ed an image of a god to be constructed at Belgoḷa in
about A.D. 1486.5 Two years later Gomaṭa Bhūpāla
Prajāśvāla, and Brahmaṇāri of the Kadika family belong-
ing to Purasthāna, came on a pilgrimage to Belgoḷa with

2. Ibid, 255, p. 115.
4. Ibid, 232, p. 97. See also nos. 229, 233 ibid.
5. Ibid, 202, p. 93,
their brothers and sons. And in A.D. 1490 Brahmadharmanavicci-Brahmaguṇasāgara Paṇḍita, the lay disciple of Abhayacandra Bhaṭṭāraka, came also from Mārwār to Belgoḷa. The influx of the northern Jaina merchants into the Vijayanagara Empire during the fourteenth century and earlier, may have been partly responsible for the institution of an official enquiry under the orders of the Emperor Deva Rāya II concerning the distinction between the Uttarāpatha-nagaresvaradevaṭopāsakas and the southern Jaina and non-Jaina merchants to be mentioned in a later context.

The year A.D. 1500 was eventful in the annals of Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, and, therefore, of Jainism. For in that year was made the mahābhīṣeṣa (great anointment) of Gummaṭasvāmi for which the guru Paṇḍitadeva gave certain specified grant. About that same time Nāga Goṇḍa of Belguḷanāḍu and the Gavuḍagaḷ of Muttaga Honnēnahaḷḷ—all of whom were the disciples of Paṇḍitadeva, granted specified lands for the basadi which had been built by Mangāyi.

We have already seen that Kalleha was an important Jaina centre. It is mentioned in connection with the great controversy between the Jainas and the Śrīvaiṣṇavas which the king Bukka Rāya settled in A.D. 1368. We see its importance since the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D. when Pāyi Seṭṭi, the son of Nāga Seṭṭi of Kalleha, a most pious Jaina, and one who had the biruda of Samyaktva-cūḍāmanī (crest jewel of firm faith in Jainism), expired by the orthodox manner of samādhi at Belgoḷa. He was the disciple of Abhinava Paṇḍitācārya of

1. E. C. II, 192, p. 91.
2. Ibid, 203, p. 93.
the Mūla *sangha*. The inscription commemorates also the fact that Payi Śeṭṭi gained happy *samādhi* as a result of having offered the *campaka* tree for the worship of Gummaṭanāthasvāmi.¹

One of the early capitals of the Vijayanagara rulers was Hosapotaṇa. This city was also a well known stronghold of the Jainas. It is like Kalleha referred to in connection with the great controversy mentioned above. Māyaṇa and Makaṇa erected a monument in memory of the *rāja guru* Lakṣmīsenā Bhaṭṭāraka at Hosapotaṇa. These were two brothers of the Vaiśya caste hailing from Baḷagāra. Cāyaṇa was a disciple of the *guru* Amarakīrti, and a worshipper at the Sankha *basadi* at Huligere. The event recorded in this inscription took place in the reign of king Bukka Rāya.² A similar stone to commemorate the death of the *guru* Manasena was erected by his disciple Māya Śeṭṭi and others in A.D. 1405.³

The Chāmarājanagara tāluka contained some noteworthy cities in the Vijayanagara times. The town of Chāmarājanagara itself possessed the Pārśvanātha *basadi*. Here in the fourteenth century A.D. expired by the orthodox manner Boppayya, the disciple of Amarakīrti of the Krāṇūr *gana*.⁴ In A.D. 1517 the Mahāprabhu Virayya Nāyaka, of Arikuṭṭhāra, the son of Kāmaya Nāyaka, endowed this *basadi* with a gift.⁵

Harave in the same tāluka contained the *caityālaya* of Ād:

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3. *Ibid*, p. 62. See also p. 63 for a *niśidhi* erected on the death of Maunapācārya. Dr. Sastry has identified Hosapoṭṭaṇa with Sakkarepoṭṭaṇa.
Parameśvara. It was set up in A.D. 1482 by Devarasa, the accountant of the Mahāmaṇḍleśvara Somerāya Oḍeyar. On Devarasa constructing this caityālaya with a kitchen attached to it, his master Somerāya Oḍeyar granted specified land to it for the daily worship in that temple, and for the daily distribution of food. And his son Nañjerāja Oḍeyar purchased land in Harave and gave it as a gift to the basadi. This caused a citizen named Candappa, the son of Devappa of Harave, to give a similar gift to the basadi. But the lands which Candappa gave were a part of his inherited property. Hence he had to give it with the consent of his wife, sons, and heirs.¹ That was not all. Candappa had received as a gift some land from the chiefs of Tagḍūr. This too in the same year he presented to the god Ādi Parameśvara—who is called the family god of this citizen—, again with the full approval of his relations and heirs.²

Maleyūr in the same tāluka was another stronghold of Jainism. Here on the hill called Kanakagiri were famous basadis of the gods Vijayanātha and Candraprabha. In A.D. 1355 a Telugu by name Ādidāsa caused an image of Vijayadeva to be made. He was the disciple of Hemmacandra who belonged to the Hanasōge baḷī, and of Lalitakīrti Bhaṭṭāraka. The image, we are told, was made “for the purpose of their tomb”³ This latter guru Lalitakīrti Bhaṭṭāraka was probably identical with his namesake who is said to have belonged to the Deśiya gaṇa, Pustaka gačcha, and the Hanasōge baḷī, in a record assigned to the fourteenth century A.D., and found on the pedestal of an image of

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1. E. C. IV, Ch. 185, p. 22.
2. Ibid, Ch. 189, p. 23.
3. Ibid, Ch. 153, p. 20.
Pārśvanātha in Terakaṇāmbi.¹

There was a very learned guru in Maleyūr in about A.D. 1380. He was Bāhubali Paṇḍita the disciple of Nayakīrti-vrati. Bāhubali was a poet in two languages, omniscient in the science of astrology, and "an emperor of all learning." He was attached to the Pustaka gaccha.²

Kanakagiri attracted learned men from distant parts. Candraṅkīrtideva of Kopanā already mentioned in connection with the latter mahālīrtha, was one of them. He was the guru of the General Kūci Rāja, and he visited Kanakagiri in about A.D. 1400. His guru was Śubhacandra of the Ingūḷēśvara bali. It was Candraṅkīrti who in the same year caused an image of Candraprabha to be set up at Kanakagiri, "intending it for his own tomb".³

Prince Harihara Rāya's gifts to the temple at Kanakagiri deserve special notice. He was the son of the Emperor Deva Rāya I. His gift of the village of Maleyūr itself together with all lands and taxes pertaining thereto, with its hamlets of Hūṅsūrapura, for the offerings, decorations, and processions of the god Vijayanātha of Kanakagiri made in A.D. 1422, was commemorated in two inscriptions—one a stone inscription and the other a copper-plate grant. These two inscriptions begin in the orthodox Jaina manner by invoking the syād vāda doctrine, and one of them ends with the accredited royal sign-manual—Virūpākṣa—written in Kannāḍa. In the stone record the god is called Śrī Vijayadeva, while in the copper-plate grant, Śrī Vijayanāṭha-deva. The gift in the copper-plate grant was made in the presence of the god Triyambakā. This latter consideration may have led Rice to assert that

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"This village (of Maleyūr) would therefore seem to have been no longer exclusively Jaina.\(^1\)

But such an assumption cannot be maintained. The god Vijayanātha, as we have remarked above, was set up by a Jaina devotee in A.D. 1355. And Kanakagiri, as will be proved by the following inscriptions, remained a Jaina centre till the first quarter of the sixteenth century A.D. In A.D. 1518 Municandradeva died in Kanakagiri. He had belonged to the Kālor gaṇa and the Mūla sangha. On his death, his disciples Ādīḍāsa and Vṛṣabhadāsa caused suitable memorials to be made on that hill. Ādīḍāsa had his guru’s footprints inscribed through Āvujanṇa, while Vṛṣabhadāsa, who seems to have been the chief disciple of Municandra, had a tomb constructed for the latter with a verse which was the work of Vidyānandopādhyāya.\(^2\)

Indeed, Kanakagiri continued to be a Jaina stronghold till the modern times. For it was in A.D. 1813 that Bhaṭṭākalanka, the head of the Deśiya gaṇa, and lord of the secure throne in Kanakagiri, died on that hill.\(^3\)

Rāvandūru in the Huṇsūr tāluka, Mysore State, seems to have had an ancient basadi. We infer this from the inscription dated A.D. 1384 in which the death of Śrutakirtideva, the chief disciple of Prabhendu, of the Inguleśvara baḷi, is recorded. His disciple Ādidevamuni and Sumati Tīrthankara, along with the Bhavyas of the Śrutagaṇa, set up a memorial on his behalf. And at the same time they repaired that caityā-laya. The last statement that they repaired the caityālaya

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2. Ibid, Ch. 147, 148, 161, pp. 19-21.
3. Ibid, Ch. 146, 150, pp. 19-20.
suggests that it must have existed there for a considerable time.¹

There was another locality in the Huṣṣūr tāluka which was associated with the Jainas. This was the village of Ānevāḷu. Here Honnaṇa Gauḍa, the son of Cikkaṇa Gauḍa of Ānevāḷu, erected the Brahmadeva and Padmāvati basadi in that village. The basadi was constructed in order that his parents and his own son Bommaṇa Gauḍa might obtain merit.² The image of Ananta with a fragmentary inscription containing the name Ananta and the cyclic year Pramoda, assigned to A.D. 1433, also lends support to the view that Ānevāḷu was, indeed, a Jaina locality.³

But a better known centre of Jainism was the Āvalināḍ. This region which has figured so prominently in the history of mediaeval Jainism, owed its greatness to the untiring zeal of its noblemen, noblewomen, and its citizens, from the middle of the fourteenth till the first quarter of the fifteenth century A.D. One special feature of Āvalināḍ is that most of the records found here are memorial stones. Thus, for instance, on the death of Kāma Gauḍa, the disciple of Rāmacandra Maladhārideva, in A.D. 1353, after doing the five salutations (pañca-namaskāradim), the people set up a niśidhi to perpetuate his memory.⁴ When in the next year A.D. 1354 Mala Gauḍa showed likewise his devotion to Jina, his wife Cennakka, however, committed sahagamana.⁵ Canda Gauḍa’s younger brother (unnamed in the record), and a lay disciple Siddhāntadeva, by means of the saṁnyā-
sana gained svarga in about A.D. 1366. From that date for about fifty-five years this orthodox manner of renouncing life seems to have been very popular with the Gauḍas of Āvalināḍ.

It may be remembered here that the Mahāprabhus of Āvalināḍ themselves had set a noble example to their subjects in this matter. Beci Gauḍa, the son of the Mahāprabhu of Āvalināḍ Canda Gauḍa, was the disciple of Rāmacandra Maladhārideva. In about A.D. 1376 he performed the five obeisances and expired. On this his junior wife Muddi Gauṇḍi performed sahagamana. And the Āvali Prabhus (noblemen, several of whom are named) set up a suitable monument to make permanent the devotion of the two to the Jina faith.

The niece of the ruling Mahāprabhu Beca Gauḍa, by name Kāmi Gauṇḍi, went to svarga by sanñyasana in A.D. 1395. She was a disciple of the rāja guru Siddhāntiyati. There was another case of self-immolation in Āvalināḍ in A.D. 1398 when the wife of the ruling Mahāprabhu Canda Gauḍa, named Canda Gauṇḍi, the disciple of Vijayakīrti committed a similar act of devotion.

Hāruva Gauḍa was the son of the ruling Mahāprabhu Rāma Gauḍa. He too in A.D. 1408 died in the same manner. His guru was Munibhadradeva.

Guṇasena Siddhanganta is mentioned in connection with the death by samādhi of Kāli Gauṇḍi, the wife of the ruling Mahāprabhu Ayappa Gauṇḍa, in circa A.D. 1417.

These examples of devotion viewed from the modern

1. E. C. VIII, Sb. 102, p. 15.
2. Ibid, Sb. 106-120, p. 16, text, pp. 41-46.
4. Ibid, Sb. 103, p. 15.
6. Ibid, Sb. 107, p. 16.
7. Ibid, Tl. 121, p. 186.
standpoint may appear to be relics of fanaticism. But to the people of the mediaeval times the only mode of expressing one's devotion was to abide by the strictest injunctions of one's faith. The Jaina leaders, we may observe by the way, had showed throughout the history of Jainism that self-abstinence was the only way to salvation. The people and princes of Āvalināḍ merely followed the precept of the Jaina teachers in this respect. The few examples of extreme devotion we have given above are noteworthy from another point of view. The Mahāprabhus of Āvalināḍ by their steadfastness to the service of the Jina dhārma, had raised religious zeal to a height which it rarely attained anywhere in those days.

But Āvalināḍ was not the only part of the Sohrāb tāluka where the Bhavyas followed unswervingly the tenets of the anekāntamata. Kuppaṭūr, Uddhare, and Huligere were also well known as prominent Jaina centres. In Kuppaṭūr lived the famous Šrutamuni whose disciple was Devacandra, "praised by the good chief poets." Both belonged to the Deśiya gaṇa. Devacandra, who had restored a Jaina temple at Kuppaṭūr, died in A.D. 1367.1 By A.D. 1402 Kuppaṭūr had become a famous place. It was the best place in the whole of Nāgarakhanḍa. Here was a Jaina caityālaya which had received a śāsana from the Kadambas. In that caityālaya was "the famous Candraprabha, a relative (bōdhava) of Pārśvanātha, serving as guru the pāṇḍita whom his father Durgeśa had pointed out."2

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2. The date of this record is not clear. Rice dates it to A.D. 1342 or A.D. 1402. The cyclic year Citrabhānu and a few details given in it are not verifiable. (Ibid, Sb. 263, pp. 42-43, text, p. 111.).
When the Malanāḍ Mahāprabhu Gopanāṇa died in A.D. 1408, as noted by us in a previous page, Kuppatūr was already turned into a fine place—the pride of the Jainas. The inscription dated A.D. 1408 which informs us this, praises it in high terms. It relates that shining in beauty beyond all countries was the entire Karnāṭaka province, and in that Karnāṭaka country was the famous Guttimāḍ which contained Eighteen Kampanas, in which the most famous nāḍ was Nāgarakhandā to which Kuppatūr was an ornament, with its caityālayas, lotus ponds, pleasure gardens, and fields of gandhaśāli rice. Indeed, the Jainas had turned it into a charming city, for the stone inscription tells us that it was to the Bhavyas that it owed its grandeur:—Bhavya-jana-dharmāvāsadiṃ santataṃ sale caityālayadinde pū-golagālind-udyānadiṃ gandha-śāli-lasat-kṣetra nikāyadinde ramaṇiyam bettu-vibhrājikum pū-late pū-gīḍa pū-mara sālind allali-kēri-kērigalol-caityālayada muṇde tumbiya jālam madav ēre-merevav ā-parimaladoṭu.1

This inscription enables us to assert with certainty that the Jainas, who had already won renown as king-makers, were also well known as builders of towns. In fact, much of the commercial, and not a little of the aesthetic, greatness of the cities of the Vijayanagara Empire, especially those in Karnāṭaka, was due to the industrious and artistic attempts of these people who, we may well imagine from the manner in which in our own days they have amply demonstrated in the matter of adding to the material progress of towns and corporations, must have expended a substantial part of their immense wealth, in the name of the Jina dharma, to satisfy the aesthetic needs of the mediaeval cities. The few notices of other mediaeval cities gathered from stone

inscriptions, as we shall presently see, only prove that the description of Kuppaṭūr as given in the above record was by no means conventional praise.¹

In the Sohrāb tāluka there were other centres of Jainism. Tavanidhi (mod. Tavanandi) was one such place. Here was the well known basadi of Śānti Tirthankara. In A.D. 1372 Bommaṇa, the son of Tavanidhi Mādi Gauḍa, and the disciple of Mādhavacandra Maladhārīdeva, died by the rites of ānunāsh. It is not unlikely that the Ālūva Mahā-prabhu Tavanidhi Bomma Gauḍa himself was a disciple of that guru. Whether this is permissible or not, we know that Tavanidhi Bomma Gauḍa died by the sannyasana rites in A.D. 1379.² There is every reason to believe that such a course of action was directed by the Jaina priests themselves. We prove this from the example of Tamma Gauḍa of Sohrāb, evidently a nobleman, who died of consumption. He had been to Nagileyakoppa below the Ghats in A.D. 1394, in order to take medicine, but this was of no avail. The inscription relates that at this, directed by his guru Siddhāntadeva, he repeated the five obeisances and died in the prescribed manner.³

We now come to Uddhare (mod. Udri), a great city also in the Sohrāb tāluka. It continued to be a Jaina seat from the Hoysala times. In Uddhare lived the Jaina lead-

¹. The Jainas also constructed basadis. Nāgi Seṭṭi and Seṇi Seṭṭi, “of prosperous Banavasi”, constructed a basadi probably at Hire Cauti in the Sohrāb tāluka in the reign of king Bukka Rāya I. The basadi was dedicated to Śānti Jinesvara, but the year cannot be made out. M. A. R. for 1928, p. 84.
². E. C. VIII. Sb. 200, p. 32. An official of the house of the Mahāprabhu Tavanidhi Bomma, was also a disciple of this guru, Ibid.
³. Ibid, Sb. 196, p. 31.
⁴. Ibid, Sb. 52, p. 9.
er Baicapa in the reign of king Harihara Rāya II. The few incidents in the life of Baicapa, who is called in the record “celebrated”, show that he had set an example of an ideal and patriotic subject. The inscription dated A.D. 1380 tells us that the Governor Mādhava Rāya placed over the Banavase 12,000 province, was faced with a crisis. Some base persons born in the Konkaṇa country, had risen against him. An encounter between the State troops and the rebels took place; and in the engagement Baicapa greatly distinguished himself by slaying many of the Konkaṇīgas, but lost his life. Such was the sense of duty which characterized this loyal citizen that the epigraph comments thus on his death—Doing his master’s service to the end, and driving back the hostile force, Baicapa went to the feet of Jina.1

Baicapa’s son was Siriyāṇṇa, who was likewise a devout Jainā. If the father had died in the service of the State, the son wished to end his life for the cause of the Jina dharma. Even though Siriyāṇṇa was living a happy life with his wife Varadāmbike, yet he requested his guru Munibhadra to grant him “the happy state”. And “at that favoured time”, so the record assigned to A.D. 1400 informs us, when the rain of flowers was falling, and with a noise like thunder the sounds of great drums (bhēri, dundhubi, and mahā-muraja) were rolling, singing songs to himself, the sādhu Siriyāṇṇa swiftly clung to the feet of Jina.2

Uddhare was, indeed, celebrated in the fourteenth cen-

tury A.D. For a whole line of Jaina gurus were called by the name of this city—Ācāryas of the Uddhare-vamśa. This we know from a record dated A.D. 1388 which tells us that Munibhadradeva belonged to the Uddhare-vamśa. It was he who had the Hisugal basadi made, and the Mulugunda Jinendra temple extended. And “when Harihara Rāya was established in Vijayanagari, the elders of the Sena gāya bowed down to the virtues of that yati.” This seems to have been done because they were anticipating his end. For the inscription continues to relate that after performing his penance, elucidating his chosen āgama, practising the prescribed rites, the great Munibhadradeva with all the rites of sahnyayasana died. And his disciple Vārisasenadeva set up a niśidhi to commemorate the event.¹

About another Jaina centre Huligere, also in the Sohrāb tāluka, we have interesting details in a record dated A.D. 1383. These concern the broadmindedness of the important commercial magnates called the Sālu-mūles or Associations of Merchants. It was only in the previous year (A.D. 1382) that the Sālu-mūles and Vīra Baṇajigas of the city of Vijayanagara, Hastināvatī, Dorasamudra, Udayagiri, Ādavāni, and quite a number of other places, had assembled together in the courtyard of the great temple of Virūpākṣa in the capital and conferred the title of Mayor of the Earth (Pṛthvī-śeṭṭi) upon the distinguished Minister-General of king Harihara Rāya II, Muda Daṁṇāyaka.² And now in A.D. 1383 a huge concourse of Sālu-mūles met at Huligere. These came from Eđenāḍ (in Gutti), Kōṇḍaraṇe, in Nāgarakahanda, Hānugal, the Cikka Jigalige and

Hiriya Jīgalīge Four Hundred, Bāla-Caugala-nāḍ, Hosanāḍ, Kambunālīge, Aidāvalīge, Hiriya Mahālīge, Cikka Mahālīge, Jambehaḷināḍ, Hedanāḍ, Kuḍcīnāḍ, Hoṛanāḍ, Bālenāḍ, the Gutti Eighteen Kampaṇa, Vokhaligeraṇāḍ, Honnat-tināḍ. Ėrad...yanāḍ, Halasige, Honnāle, Inguniḍi, and other places. In their assembly they agreed among themselves to give to the Sankala basadi at Huligere a śāsana embodying an umbali gift of seventy varāha for a palanquin and other items in the basadi. And the Minister-General Muda also joined them on this occasion.¹

The above is significant from two points of view. In the first place, we have the fact of the universal support which the people gave to the Sankala basadi of Huligere. And, secondly, it suggests that the Sālu-mūles and the Bāṇajīgas, who had by this time embraced the Vīra Śaiva creed, still looked upon their earlier faith with great reverence and contributed towards its prosperity in the kingdom.

Leaving these cities in the southern and western part of Karnāṭaka, we may mention one or two important centres in the Bellary and Cuddapah districts. These were Rāyadurga and Dānavulapāḍu. The former was a stronghold of the Mūla saṅgha. In A.D. 1355 a Jaina merchant named Bhogarāja constructed the image of Śāntinātha Jīneśvara. He was the disciple of Māghanandi whose guru was Amarakīrti of the Sārasvata gaccha, Balātkāra gana, and the Kondakundānvaya. This was in the reign of king Harihara Rāya I.² The names of Candrabhūti of the Mūla saṅgha, and Candrendra, Bādayya, and Timmanṇa of the Yāpanīya saṅgha, carved on the pedestal of the Rasa Siddha images found at Rāyadurga, merely confirm the fact that

¹. E. C., VIII. Sb. 428, p. 75.
². III of 1913; Rangacharya, Top. List, I. p. 317.
it was a centre of the Jainas.¹ As regards the other locality, Dānavulapādu, which has already figured in these pages, we learn that in Śaka 1319 (A.D. 1397-8), a niśidhi of a merchant was constructed there, thereby showing its importance as a commercial seat of the Jainas.²

The history of the spread of Jainism in the fifteenth century only confirms the statement we have made elsewhere concerning the steady popularity of that religion in Karnāṭaka. Well known cities like Mattāvara, Vanavāsa, Gēra-soppe, Bhārangi, Mūḏubidre, Kollāpura, Bandānike, Pāva-gūḍa and Melukōṭe now rose into prominence as strongholds of Jainism. Unlike most of the centres of the fourteenth century, these cities were, on the whole, destined to play a decisive part in the history of the syād-vāda doctrine.

The Pārśvanātha basadi of Mattāvara in the Chikkamagalur tāluka, Kaḍūr district, which had already come into prominence in the days of the Hoysala king Vinayāditya, continued to attract Jainas at the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. In about A.D. 1400 the fame of Mattāvara was noised about because of the activities of a Jaina nun. She was Caṭaveganti of the village called Maruḷa-Jina-Jakavehaṭṭi. In the Pārśvanātha basadi of Mattāvara she performed tapas and died. To commemorate this event, Māra, the son of Abeya Mācara, set up a niśidhi.³

Vijayamangalam in the Coimbatore district which, as already noted, was associated with the memory of Pullappa, the pious younger sister of the famous Cāmunḍa Rāya, contained the Candranātha basadi. This temple received a gift of land from the Vijayanagara prince Harihara

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¹ 109 of 1913; Rangacharya, Top. List., I. p. 317.
² 336 of 1909; Rangacharya, ibid, I. p. 590.
³ M. A. R. for 1932, p. 171.
Rāya, the son of king Deva Rāya I, in A.D. 1412.¹

The well known city of Vanavāsa (Banavase) was the headquarters of a branch of the Balātkāra gana. It was from here that Vardhamānasvāmi, described as “the moon in causing to swell the ocean the Tattvārtha,” and Vanavāsvāmi, another Jaina guru, hailed, as mentioned in records dated A.D. 1372 and 1400 respectively, cited already by us in an earlier context.²

More famous than the above was the city of Gērasoppe (in the mod. Honnavara taluka, Bombay Presidency), which played a very significant part in the history of the western part of Karnāṭaka in the fifteenth and sixteenth century A.D. The rulers of Gērasoppe were matrimonially connected with the House of Sangitapura and that of Kārkaḷa. They as well as their citizens were responsible for raising the name of Gērasoppe in the Jaina world. Gērasoppe springs into fame in the middle of the fourteenth century due to the activities of its wealthy citizens, although as a political unit it had already made a name for itself earlier. In those ages it belonged to Tuḷuva, its rulers themselves being of Tuḷuva origin. In the Vardhamāna basadi inscription of that city, it is called an ornament to the face of the Nagiri country-Nagiradeśavemba lalana mukhakke vesedirp-i Gērasoppe.³

A prominent Jaina leader of Gērasoppe was Rāmaṇa. He was the son of Somaṇa Danṇāyaka and the brother of Kāmaṇa Danṇāyaka. Somaṇa Danḍanāyaka was one of the generals of the chieftain of Candāvuru, by name Basavadeva, who had become conspicuous in the history of Tuḷuva.⁴ Since Somaṇa was said to have belonged to the Ksa-

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¹ 596 of 1905; Rangacharya, Top. List. I. p. 545.
² E. C. II. 274, 275, p. 125, op. cit.
⁴ Read Salafore, Ancient Karnāṭaka, I. p. 286.
triya *kula*, Rāmaṇa also claimed Kṣatriya descent. The damaged record which gives us these details describes thus the citizens of Gērasoppe:—Ā Gerasoppeya mahā-janamgala guṇagaḷ ent-endoče adaroḷu nānājāti paradar agrāṇi sam-
yaktvarāda-i-Jainar-paḍevar Jaina-mārggāśraya jalanidhi samvardhita pūṇa-candrar mundamam krodhādhi...mādud-
gha-perkulən-ivar-bittu. And one of these Jaina citizens was Honnapa Śeṭṭi who was related to the family of Rāmaṇa. It was this Honnapa Śeṭṭi and others, whose names are effaced in the record, who gave some grant to the Vardhamāna *basadi* of Gērasoppe.¹

Another Jaina citizen of that centre was Yōjana Śeṭṭi, whose wife was Rāmakka. This lady had built the Ananta-tārtha *caityālaya* at Gērasoppe. She is highly praised in the inscription for her virtues. She was especially known for her four kinds of gifts (*catur-vidha-dāna*). On her death in A.D. 1392 a memorial stone was set up near the Vardhamāna *basadi* at Gērasoppe.²

To this age (the latter part of the fourteenth century A.D.) we have to assign the activities of two commercial leaders of Gērasoppe—Ajana, the son of Kallappa Śreṣṭhi and of Māmāmba, and Kallappa Śreṣṭhi, the son of Ojaṇa. These were the disciples of Devendra Sūrī whose *guru* was Lalitakirti Bhāṭṭāraka of the Deśiya *gana* and Ghanasoka *bali*.

Ajana and Kallappa Śeṭṭi caused an image of Mūdejina to be made in the Nagarakēri *basadi* of that city.³

This record is undated. But we may assign it to the fourteenth century A.D. on the following grounds. Lalitakirti, who has been mentioned here, was perhaps no other than

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the guru of that name whom we have already placed in the fourteenth century. The name Ghanaśoka bali is evidently another name for the Panasōge (or Hanasōge) bali to which Lalitakīrti belonged.¹

To the latter part of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D., belong the following epigraphs dealing with a devout queen of Gerasoppe. She was Śāntaladevi, the daughter of Bommaṇa Seṭṭi, and the queen of Hai-vaṇṇarasa. This ruler was the son of king Mangarāja. Śāntaladevi was a very pious lady, who died in the orthodox manner in about A.D. 1405.²

The ruler Mangarāja mentioned above is called the son-in-law of king Haiveyarāja in the Jvālāmukhi temple record of Gerasoppe. He is to be identified with Mangabhūpa who married Jakkabbarasi, the daughter of Haivaṇṇarasa and Honnabbarasi, mentioned in the record standing close to Nagarakēri in Gerasoppe. This latter record dated A.D. 1421 also informs us that Mangarāja’s brother-in-law Padmaṇṇarasa granted land valued at four honnu for the service of the god Pārśvanātha and for the repairs of the

¹ Dr. Shama Sastry assigns this record to the latter part of the sixteenth century A.D., on the assumption that the names Kallappa and Ajaṇa are identical with those found in an inscription No. 112 (M. A. R. for 1928, p. 102). This is inadmissible. No. 112 does not contain the names Kallappa and Ajaṇa, but No. 105, p. 99, does. Secondly, the names Ajaṇa and Kallappa as given in No. 107 are those of commercial magnates; while in No. 105 Kallapparasa is called the ruler of Irandur and Ajaṇarpa, king of Kuntalanāḍu. If these rulers were identical, one cannot understand why their status should have been omitted by the scribes.

² This date is based on that of the death of Mangarāja in A.D. 1405. M.A.R. for 1928, pp. 99-100.
basadi. The gift was made for the peace of the departed queen Tangaladevi.¹

An ardent ruler of Gērasoppe in A.D. 1523 was Immaḍī Deva Rāya Oḍeyar. He was the son of Bhairavāmbā and of the Pāṇḍya king who is unnamed in the record. Immaḍī Deva Rāya is called the popular Devabhūpa. The record makes him the ruler of the Nagiri (i.e., Gērasoppe), Haive, Tuḷu, Konkaṇa, and other kingdoms. He granted in A.D. 1523 specified lands in the village of Baṇḍuvāla for the worship and festivals of the god Candranātha in the Śankha Jina basadi of Lakṣmaṇesvara. This charity, it may be observed, was to be carried out by the school of Candraprabhadeva of the Deśiya gaṇa. The cosmopolitan nature of the people is seen in the concluding lines of the epigraph which declare that he who violated the grant was to be considered guilty of the slaughter of sages on the Ūrjanta hill, the slaughter of cows on the banks of the Ganges and the Godāvari, and as having violated the charities carried on at Śrīparvata and Tirumale. Excepting Ūrjanta (Girmar), the other places are usually associated with the Brahmans.²

The close contact between Gērasoppe and other kingdoms seen in the above records, is further corroborated by another inscription found on the Govardhanagiri fort, and assigned to A.D. 1560. This record gives us very many details relating to the commercial magnates of Gērasoppe. The ruler mentioned in this inscription is Deva Rāya whom we identify with Immaḍī Deva Rāya on the following grounds. In the first place, in the Sode Jaina matha copper plate ins-

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2. This copper-plate grant was found in the Jaina basadi of Sode, *M.A.R. for 1916*, p. 69.
cription Immaḍi Deva Rāya is said to have ruled over the prosperous city of Kṣemapura which was another name for Gērasoppe. In the Govardhanagiri record, too, he is said to be the ruler of Gērasoppe. The genealogy of the ruler as given in the Sode maṭha grant and in the Govardhanagiri inscription is identical. In the former it is said that the queen Bhairavāmbā had a brother named Sāluva Malla, that her son by the Pāṇḍya king was Immaḍi Deva Rāya. In the Govardhanagiri record it is stated that king Bhairava had three younger brothers named Bhairava, Amba, and Sāluva Malla who was the greatest. Their sister, who is unnamed in the Govardhanagiri record, had a son named Deva Rāya who had a sister, the mother of Sāluva Malla (II) and of Bhairava (II). Further in both the records Sāluva Immaḍi Deva Rāya is said to be ruling over the Haiva, Tuḷu, Konkanā, and other countries, the Sode maṭha grant adding the name Nagirirājya. And, finally, both are essentially Jaina records.

The Govardhanagiri inscription is of much importance also from the point of view of the chief city itself, its rich commercial leaders, and the public charities they did in the name of the Jina dharma. The Jaina citizens had made

1. The descent of the rulers of the Gērasoppe, Sangītapura, and probably of Kārkala principalities, was according to the female succession (aḍiya-santāna kaṭṭu), through sister’s son.
2. Perhaps it is not unlikely that the rulers of Gērasoppe, held sway over Sangītapura at this time. The similarity in their names, the Sāluva family to which they belonged, and the law of succession in the female line which governed them—all these point to it. The Gērasoppe, Kārkala, and Sangītapura rulers were dynastically connected with each other. See Rangacharya, Top. List, II. p. 852. But this point is beside our purpose,
the city of Gerasoppe prosperous and beautiful. Thus is it described in the record:—

On the southern bank of the great lotus the Jambu-dvipa is the Bharata country, in which, on the eastern shore of the western ocean is the great Taṭāva country. In it on the south bank of the Ambu river, shining like the Śrī-pundra (or central sectarian mark on the forehead of the Śrīvaishnavas) is Kṣemapura, like Purandara’s (Indra’s) city, with glittering gopuras (or temple towers) with fine Jina caityālayas, king’s palaces, abodes of yogis, lines of merchants’ houses, with crowds of people devoted to acts of merit and liberality, groups of gurus and yatis, bands of poets, learned men, multitudes of excellent Bhavyas—what city in the world was so celebrated as Gerasoppe?

The great city of Gerasoppe had reason to be proud of its kings and commercial leaders. The king Immaḍī Deva Rāya was “a master of all royal wisdom”, and “skilled in the seven kinds of strategems.” This description of the Gerasoppe ruler enables us to identify him with king Sāluva Deva Rāya, who is mentioned in the Kannaḍa-Sanskrit record on the base of the Śānti Jina image, now deposited in the Madras Museum, as a great lover of sāhitya. The image of Śānti Jina, we may note by the way, was set up by him.¹

Sāluva Immaḍī Dēva Rāya was proud of his great commercial magnate Ambavana Śreṣṭhi. In the long genealogical account of this important person, these following facts seem to be noteworthy—That Ambavana Śreṣṭhi’s ancestors traced their descent from a general who was in the service of the Candāvuru king Kāma Deva, by name Kāmeya Dāṇṇāyaka; that one of Ambavana’s ancestors named

¹. 526 of 1913; Rangacharya, Top. List, II. p. 987.
Yojana Śreṣṭhi (I) built the Anantanātha caityālaya at Gerasoppe, while another Narasana Nāyaka constructed the Pārśvanātheśvara basadi at Māgōdu; that another person called Mābu Gaṇḍa built a caityālaya at Bankanabājilu; that Yojana Śreṣṭhi (II) built a two-storeyed caityālaya of Nemiśvara and Gummaṭanātha in Gerasoppe; and that another relative of theirs, the celebrated Kaṇcadhikāri, the chief of the Śeṭṭis of Bhaṭṭakala, built a caityālaya in a place the name of which is effaced in the record.

Ambavana Śreṣṭhi who is called a royal śreṣṭhi in the record, was the son of Nāgappa Śreṣṭhi (II). He was matromonially connected with Yojana Śreṣṭhi (II) mentioned above. His wife was Devarasi. In connection with these two we have a typical instance of how citizens constructed public buildings in those days. These two—Ambavana Śreṣṭhi and his wife, one day came to the Nemi Jina caityālaya at Gerasoppe, and heard with reverence the dharma from Abhinava Samantabhadrāmuni. They then decided to acquire merit by constructing a mānastambha in front of the Nemiśvara basadi built by their grandfather Yojana Śreṣṭhi. Then going home, with the approval of their brothers Koṭaṇa Śeṭṭi and Malli Śeṭṭi, and their other relatives, they made known their intention as to this work of merit to their ruler Deva Bhūpa. And with the approval of the king and that of the saṅghas (which are unfortunately not named), on a propitious day they carried out their promise and had a pillar of bell-metal made. Meanwhile, to Devarasi twin daughters, Padmarasi and Devarasi, were born; and taking that as an auspicious omen, they had the bell-metal pillar which had been made, set up in front of the caityālaya. And upon the pillar they fixed a golden kalaśa of the same height as that of the twins Padmarasi and Devarasi. The mānastambha
thus created is highly praised in the record as a mast to the great ship the dharma, and a rod for the umbrella the pure dharma. It was constructed on the instruction of Abhinava Samantabhadramuni.¹

Great credit must be given to the endeavours of Ambavanaka Śreṣṭhi and the other commercial leaders, who tried to stabilize the prestige of the Jina dharma in this age. We can only imagine that there must have been keen rivalry between these patrons of Jainism and the champions of Vaiśṇavism like Giriyāna Seṭṭi and Vaḍuga Tammappa Senabova, who in A.D. 1562 and A.D. 1598 respectively had constructed the Hanumanteśvara and Tiruvangaḷanātha temples, the former on Govardhanagiri itself and the latter in Gēra-soppe. These two Hindu leaders lived in the reign of the next Gērasoppe ruler the queen Sāluva Cenna Bhairādevī-yamma, who is called in one of the records a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara, and who permitted the Tiruvangaḷanātha temple to be built in her name.²

That the Jaina magnates of Gērasoppe were very influential in the middle of the sixteenth century, can be determined from the reference made to their generosity in the inscriptions at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. Indeed, this contact between Gērasoppe and Śravaṇa Belgoḷa seems to have been established in early days as well. For instance, in about A.D. 1412 Gummaṭaṇa, the disciple of Hiriya Ayya of Gērasoppe, paid a visit to Gummaṭaṇātha at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, and repaired the stone work of the Cikka basti or the smaller hill, the three bastis, at the north gate, and the Mangāyi basti—in all five bastis, and made a gift of food to one group which

is not named in the inscription.¹

In A.D. 1539 four incidents of a similar nature relating to the citizens of Gērasoppe and Śravaṇa Belgoḷa are narrated in stone inscriptions found in the latter centre. All these refer to the settlement of a legal dispute between the citizens of the two places. Thus, in that year Cauḍi Śeṭṭi of Gērasoppe having caused the mortgage on the land of Kambhayya, the son of Agaṇi Bommaḷya, to be released, the latter caused certain permanent charities to be endowed in front of the Tyāgada Brahma temple at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. In the same year Cikkanṭa, the son of Doḍḍa Devappa, gave a dharma sādhana (charity deed) to Cauḍi Śeṭṭi of Gērasoppe. This was because the latter had relieved the former of his financial difficulty. Cikkanṭa promised to carry on permanently the gift of food to one group at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. Further, Bommanṭa, the son of Kavi, gave a charity deed to Cauḍi Śeṭṭi for the same purpose, but with the stipulation that Bommanṭa would carry on the gift of food to one group only for six months. And the flower-seller Cennayya also gave to Cauḍi Śeṭṭi a similar pledge which is however effaced.²

Is the mention of these legal deeds in Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, pertaining to a wealthy citizen of Gērasoppe, merely accidental? We think not. There must have been a cause of great rejoicing on the part of the citizens of Gērasoppe which prompted them to show particular favour to the people of Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. We have to find out what was that cause of rejoicing. It could only have been that relating to such a function like the anointing ceremony of the god Gummaṭanāṭha at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. An event of this

¹ E. C. II. 342, p. 145.
² Ibid, 224, 227, p. 96.
type actually took place about this time, and its credit
goes to the Gērasoppe ruler Sāluva Immaṇī Deva Rāya.
The Govardhanagiri record cited above tells us that by king
Deva Rāya, lord of Kṣemapura, was performed in the Kali
yuga, what had been done by the great Indra, the world-
astounding head-anointing ceremony of Gummaṭādhīśa, in
the same manner as if it were his birth-anointing.¹ We
have no direct information as to the exact date of the per-
formance of this ceremony in the Govardhanagiri record. But
on the basis of the four cases of mortgage deeds by Cauḍi
Seṭṭi of Gērasoppe, we may safely infer that the head-anoin-
ting ceremony of Gummaṭānātha by king Deva Rāya took
place in A.D. 1539 which certainly falls within his reign.
To express his joy at such an event of universal importance,
Cauḍi Seṭṭi may have released the mortgage deeds of his
debtors in Sravaṇa Belgola.

The Jaina gurus of Gērasoppe, it may not be out of place
to note here, wielded considerable influence in this age. Their
relationship with the well known pontifical seats of Tuḷuva
will be pointed out later on. For the present we may note
that in A.D. 1583 they were reckoned to be rather wealthy too.
This may account for the fact that Viśesnadeva, the disci-
ples of Gunaṇabhadradeva of Gērasoppe, purchased wet land
of the sowing capacity of nine khaṇḍugas from the Dānivāsa
chief Cennavīra Oḍeyar, for a sum of thirty-two varāhas. Two
years later (A.D. 1585) the same Jaina priest Viśesena bought
for thirty varāhas another plot of land situated in Icaladāḷa also from the same chief. And in A.D. 1585 once
again Viśesena purchased from the same Dānivāsa chief
specified wet land for forty varāhas.² The reason why these

pp. 79 for an incomplete account of some of these transactions,
monetary transactions were made is not apparent.

We may now continue to narrate a few details about the other Jaina centres in the fifteenth century A.D. Bhārangī was one of them. Like Kuppaṭur and Gērasoppe, this city owed its greatness to the industrial activities of “wise Bhavyas, learned men, just men, and wealthy men, so that it seemed to be the abode of the goddess of fortune.” It was one of the foremost cities of Nāgarakhanḍa, and it boasted of the great temple Pārśva Jīneśa. The Vijayanagarāgara official placed over this city was Gopa Gauḍa, whose father was Buḷā Gauḍa. The guru of the latter was Abhayacandra Siddhāntadēva who is called in the record rājarājāgurumandaḷacārya, mahāvādīvadīśvāra, rāyavādīpitāmaha, and one who was fully versed in Siddhānta. “His mind was bent on shutting up the Baudhāya speakers. Having overcome the Sāṅkhyaś, the Yaugas, the Cārvākas, the Baudhāyas, the Bhāṭṭas, and the Prābhākas, what other speakers can withstand him?”, asks the scribe of the record.

But he was not the guru of Gopaṇa Gauḍa whose spiritual teachers were Paṇḍitācārya and Śrutamunīpa. The work these two Jaina gurus did is given in the epigraph thus—“One (Paṇḍitācārya) to turn Gopaṇa from evil ways, and the other (Śrutamuni) to lead him into good ways.” Having enjoyed all the good of this world, and desiring the good of the next, Gopaṇa died by the rite of samādhi in A.D. 1415.¹

Prabhu Gopaṇa’s laudable example was followed by his son Buḷa (II). The guru of this official was Abhayacandra, who was the disciple of Devacandramuni whose guru was Śrutamuni mentioned above. From this record we learn that the spiritual adviser of Bhārangī belonged to the Mūla sangha, Nandi gana, Pustaka gaccha, and Desīya gana. Buḷappa

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made gifts of land and constructed ponds (dīrghikā). Having realized that his end was approaching, he performed all the appointed ceremonies relating to the paṅcaparamesṭhis, and beginning with the prayer of 35 syllables, he came down to 16, then to 6, to 5, to 4, to 2, and stopped at 1, when merely moving his tongue, he went to svarga.\(^1\)

Two villages Saragūru and Varakōḍu in the Mysore district became rather noteworthy in the first quarter of the fifteenth century A.D. Saragūru possessed the Paṅcabasadi about which we have no details. But we suppose that that basadi was under the Bayināḍ chief Masanahaḷḷī Kampana Gauḍa. This chief was a Mahāprabhu, and he granted in A.D. 1424 the village of Tōṭahaḷḷī, along with many specified taxes, for the decorations of Gummaṭanāthasvāmi of Belgoḷa.\(^2\) The inscriptions of Varakōḍu dated A.D. 1425 and A.D. 1431, are interesting in the sense that they deal with the performance of a vrata called Ananta nompi by the Jainas of that place.\(^3\)

Morasunāḍu A.D. 1426 contained the Cokkamayya Jinālaya for which the ruler of that nāḍ Kariyappa Daṇḍanāyaka granted lands which are effaced in the record. But we know from it that that official was the disciple of Śubhacandra Siddhānta of the Pustaka gaccha.\(^4\)

Infinitely greater in importance than the above seats of Jainism was Mūḍubidre, one of the cities of Tuḷuva. We have elsewhere traced the advent of Jainism into this city in the reign of the Hoysala king Ballāḷa Deva I (A.D. 1

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2. Ibid, IV. Hg. 1, p. 65.
4. E. C. IX., Bn. 82, p. 17.
1100-A.D.-1106). In the thirteenth century A.D. Mūḍubidre possessed the Pārśvanātha basadi which received royal patronage from the Alupa kings of Tuḷuva. But it is only in the fifteenth century that it sprang into fame in the times of the Vijayanagara monarchs. A stone inscription dated Śaka 1351 (A.D. 1429) of the reign of the Emperor Deva Rāya II relates that Veṇupura, (i.e., Mūḍubidre) was a city distinguished for its Bhavyas, who followed the right path, who gladly performed deeds of virtue, and who were eager to hear stories relating to the Jina dharma. The local ruler Bhairarasa, who was matrimony connected with the kings who ruled over the Gērasoppe-Nagiri kingdom, made at the instance of his guru Virasenamuni certain specified offerings in the Candra Jina mandira at Mūḍubidre. In A.D. 1451-2 a mukha-maṇṭapa called Bhairādevī maṇṭapa was built to the Hosa basti during the reign of the Vijayanagara Emperor Mallikārjuna Immaḍi Deva Rāya (A.D. 1446-A.D. 1467), when the viceroy over the Bārakūrū-rājya was Gopaṇa Oḍeyar. And the same basadi received a grant of land from the viceroy Viṭṭhārasa Oḍeyar during the reign of the Emperor Virūpākṣa in A.D. 1472-3.

1. Saletore, Ancient Kṛṇāṭaka, I, pp. 410-411. Mr. V. Lokanathā Śāstri of Mūḍubidre in his book Mūḍubidreya carite (p. 20, Mangalore, 1937) says that the date of the construction of the image of Pārśvanātha is given in an inscription on its base, as Śaka 636 (A.D. 714). I do not know how far this is accurate information. This date, if true, violates all contemporary history of Jainism not only in Tuḷuva but in Kṛṇāṭaka as well.
2. Saletore, ibid, p. 413.
3. 33 of 1901; S. I. I, VII, pp. 94-98.
4. 29 of 1901.
5. 30 of 1901; for a detailed account of Mūḍubidre, read Hultzsch, Ep. Rep. S. Circle for 1901, p. 3 seq.
By Courtesy V. G. S.]

Hosabasti at Muqabidre (p. 352)

By Courtesy V. G. S.]

Caturmukhabasti at Karkala (p. 363)
Mūḍubidre to-day contains a fast dwindling Jaina population, but it is still held in the highest veneration by the Jaina world. It is called Jaina Kāśi, and has the other names of Veṇupura (or Varṇāśapura) and Vratapura. There are in all eighteen basadis in this small town, and among them the most famous is the Guru basadi. This basadi is reputed to possess the famous manuscripts called Dhavaḷa, Mahā-dhavaḷa and Jayadhavaḷa. It is for this reason also called the Siddhānta basadi.¹ The Hosa basadi referred to above is also known as the Tribhuvantilakacūḍāmaṇi basadi; and because of its 1,000 pillars and other architectural attractions, still continues to draw lovers of art.²

Another centre of Jainism in Tuḷuva was Basarūru. The Śeṭṭis, or heads of the commercial guilds, of Basarūru in Śaka 1353 (A.D. 1421-2), during the reign of the Emperor Deva Rāya II, gave specified gifts in kind for the Jaina basadi of that town.³ This basadi was probably dedicated to Candranātha. For during the reign of the same monarch a money gift of twenty-four gadyāṇas was made to it.⁴

Turning from the province of Tuḷuva to the northern parts of Karnāṭaka, we find that Kolhāpur (Kollāpura) owed its greatness to the renowned guru Māghanandī. We have already seen that Kollāpura had become well known in the twelfth and thirteenth century A.D. It continued to be a great seat of Jainism in the middle of the fifteenth century A.D. In about A.D. 1440 the guru of that centre was

¹ Buchanan noted it. *A Journey through Madras*, etc., II, p. 254.

M. J. 12
Jinasena Bhaṭṭāraka Paṭṭācārya. Along with the people of that city and his *sangha*, he went to Śravaṇa Belgoḷa in that year.¹

The hill called Niḍugallu in the Pāvagūḍa tāluka, Mysore State, once contained a *basadi*. Here in A.D. 1232 Nemi Paṇḍita's son (unnamed) had received the land belonging to it.² This locality continued to be dear to the Jainas, in spite of the fact that the land around the *basadi* had passed into the hands of the Hindus in the middle of the fifteenth century. This is proved by the fact that in about A.D. 1450 the hill is called the *guḍḍa* which belonged to Vṛṣabhhasena Bhaṭṭāraka of the Mūla *sangha*. One of his lay disciples called Candavve, the wife of the Vaiśya Bīmi Śeṭṭi, died there, and a *niśidhi* was set up to commemorate the event.³

Towards the last quarter of the fifteenth century A.D., we find Iduvana, Huligere, Vogeyakere, Hoḷe Narasipura, and even Melukōṭe figuring as prominent Jaina centres. That Iduvana (or Idugani) owed its *caityālayas* to the piety of its local ruler is clear from a record dated A.D. 1472 which informs us that Pārīśva Gauḍa, who was devoted to the four kinds of gifts, had the Pārśvanātha *basadi* constructed in that city. And his lord the *Mahāprabhu* Bhairana Nāyaka granted various lands for the daily worship and the many kinds of worship (named) of the god. And Pārīśva Gauḍa and other Gauḍas made suitable grants for the same purpose.⁴

Like Pārīśva Gauḍa was Padumaṇa Śeṭṭi who, during the

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3. *Ibid*, Pg. 56, p. 126. See also Pg. 55 dated A.D. 1487 to note the Śaivite temple on the hill.
rule of king Indagarasa Oḍeyer of the Sāluva family, constructed the caityālaya of Pārśvatīrtheśvara at Vogeyakere. And by means of a dharma-śāsana-patra gave munificent endowments for the basadi.¹

Hoče Narasīpura in A.D. 1490 was a Jaina locality. Two images in marble of Candraprabha and Pārśvanātha were presented in that year to the temple by a disciple of Bhaṭṭāraka Jinasatvadeva of the Mūla sangha.²

More interesting than the above is the information relating to the Vaiśṇava centre Mēlukōte where had lived the great Rāmānujačārya. In a record dated A.D. 1471 this centre is called the earthly Vaikuṇṭha, the Vardhamānākṣetra, the eight-fold residence of Nārāyaṇaparvata, and the Yati-giristhāna. The epithet Vardhamāna kṣetra applied to this place undoubtedly proves that Mēlukōte was once reckoned to be a place of pilgrimage by the Jainas.³ But like many other strongholds of Jainism, Mēlukōte must have passed into the custody of the Hindus, on the decline of the Jina dharma in it.

In the sixteenth century A.D. there seems to have been no extension of Jaina influence anywhere in southern or western India. The two most important sects of Hinduism—Saivism and Vaiśṇavism, especially the latter,—had so completely regained their ascendancy that any substantial recovery of Jainism was well nigh impossible in the Vijayanagara Empire. Nevertheless it is interesting to observe that in this century which produced Krṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great, the greatest champion of Hinduism, was also born the most remarkable leader of the Jainas, Vādi Vidyānanda. In addi-

¹ E. C. VIII, Sa. 163, p. 124.
² M. A. R. for 1913-14, p. 50.
³ E. C. IV. Intr. p. 24 ; Ng. 78, p. 133.
tion to the well known city from which this celebrated Jaina teacher hailed, there were others which we may now describe in chronological order.

Towards the beginning of the sixteenth century three places continued to be Jaina centres—Kopaṇa, Narasimharājapura, and Śringeri. Kopaṇa had, as we have already seen, won for itself a name as the mahātīrtha of the Jainas. It continued to be a commercial town of some standing. This is gathered from the fact that commercial leaders named Gummaṇṭa Śeṭṭi, Danada Śeṭṭi, and a third one whose name is effaced in the record, went on a visit from Kopaṇa to Śravaṇa Belgola in about A.D. 1536.¹

Of the other centres, there is every reason to believe that Śringeri was a more ancient Jaina stronghold than Narasimharājapura. The history of the latter place dates back to the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D. We gather this from an epigraph on the image of Śāntināṭha in the Śāntināṭha basadi in that place, assigned to A.D. 1300. This image was caused to be made by Candiyakkā, the lay disciple of Cagiyabbeganti of Uddhare.² Narasimharājapura was a prosperous Jaina centre at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Two inscriptions on the pedestal of the Caturvimśati Tīrthankara and the Ananta Tīrthankara images in the Candranāṭha basadi at the same place, contain the following information—that Dōḍḍaṇa Śeṭṭi, the son of Bōgāra Devi Śeṭṭi, had the former image presented to the Candranāṭha basadi at Narasimharājapura; while Gummaṇṭa Śeṭṭi, the son of Nemi Śeṭṭi, had the latter image presented to the basadi at Singanagadde which lies to the west of Narasimharājapura.

¹. E. C. II, 191, p. 91.
². M. A. R. for 1916, p. 84.
Both the inscriptions have been assigned to A.D. 1500.\(^1\) We may note here by the way that the fine image of Candraprabha in the Candranātha basadi, about two and a half feet high, representing a seated boy of about eight years, and made of white marble, as Dr. Krishna relates, is said to have been found near Tadasa, four miles away, in the Bhadrā, and brought to the basadi for worship. The image is said to bear even now the marks of having been in water for a long time.\(^2\)

But the basadis in the renowned Advaita centre of Śringeri were, as we have already seen in the previous pages, of an earlier date. At least we know that the Pārśvanātha basadi of Śringeri certainly existed in Śringeri in the twelfth century A.D. The fact that this basadi is in the centre of the Śringeri town,\(^3\) suggests that the Jaina influence in this stronghold of Advaitism must have been rather powerful in the early days. In the first quarter of the sixteenth century, Śringeri continued to attract devout Jaina pilgrims to it. In A.D. 1523 Devana Śeṭṭi (descent stated) presented an image of Anantnātha to the Pārśvanātha basadi of Śringeri. And in the same year Bommara Śeṭṭi (descent stated) presented an image of Candranātha to the same basadi.\(^4\)

Maddagiri had a basadi in about A.D. 1531. It received specified land from Govi Dānimayya’s wife Jayama. Nothing more can be made about this basadi excepting the fact that

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2. *Ibid for 1931*, p. 12. Dr. Krishna also relates that a group of Jaina buildings near the Jvālāmālinī temple to the south-west of Narasimharājapura, are almost entirely of wood and earth. *Ibid*.
the damaged record gives the name of the guru as Mallināthadeva.¹

From another damaged record dated A.D. 1533-4, evidently of the reign of the Emperor Acyuta Deva Rāya, we gather that Jinendramangalam alias Kuruvaḍimidi...in Muttūr–kurram and Aṇjukoṭṭai in the same Kurram were Jaina centres. The inscription containing these details was found in front of the Jaina Malavanātha temple at Hanumantagudi, Tiruvādāni tāluka, Rāmnāḍ district.²

But these centres in the Tamil land were not in such a thriving condition as those in Karnāṭaka. The basadi of Kurūgoḍu, for instance, received a gift of land from Rāma Rājaya, the elder brother of Lingarājaya, and the grandson of Rāma Rāja Oḍeyar. This was made for the merit of his father Mallarāja Oḍeyar during the reign of the Emperor Sadāśiva Rāya.³

Paṇḍitayya, the son of the chief of Brahmins Cikamayya, and a disciple of Cārukirti Paṇḍitadeva, caused in A.D. 1585 the images of Ādiśvara, Sāntiśvara, and Candranātha to be set up in the Ādinātha basadi at Cikka Hanasōge,⁴ thereby showing that Cikka Hanasōge was still reckoned as a Jaina centre in the last quarter of the sixteenth century A.D.⁵

But more prominent than any of the strongholds in the northern parts of Karnāṭaka were those in Tuḷuva to which we must now revert. In addition to the important cities

¹. E. C. XII. Si. 14, p. 105.
². 408 of 1907 ; Rangacharya, Top. List., II, p. 1196.
³ 63 of 1904 ; Rangacharya, ibid., I, p. 269.
⁵. See also 59 of 1896, for a gift of land at the request of two Jaina priests Guru Vira Paṇḍita and Kamalavāhana Paṇḍita. This was in A.D. 1517. Was Nagarcoil in the south in any way connected with Jainism?
like Sangītapura, Mūḍubidre, and Gērasoppe which we have already described, there were many smaller places of the Jainas in Tuḻuva, as, for instance, Bārakūrū, Mūlki, Paḍa-Paṇambūrū, Haṭṭiṅgaḍi and Kāpu. The Ādi Paramēśvara basadi of Bārakūrū, which city was one of the capitals of Tuḻuva, received material aid from the Śāntara king Bhairava in A.D. 1408.¹ To the same basadi Cārūkīrī Paṇḍitadeva made a grant in A.D. 1499-1500.² The basadis at Mūlki and Paḍa-Paṇambūrū in the Mangalore tāluka, were not of much consequence. The Bailangaḍi basadi at the latter place seems to have received a gift from a nobleman in A.D. 1542-3.³ The basadi of Lokanātheśvara at Haṭṭiṅgaḍi, however, was more important. It received a grant from a Vijayanagara viceroy in the last quarter of the sixteenth century A.D.⁴ It is not improbable that the locality around Haṭṭiṅgaḍi was of some antiquity.⁵

Perhaps equally important as Haṭṭiṅgaḍi was Kāpu in the Uḍipi tāluka. This little town was the seat of a petty chieftain who had the title of Heggaḍe. In A.D. 1556 Madda Heggaḍe of the Pāngala lineage was a staunch upholder of the Jina dharma. It was he who gave in that year the village of Mallāru to Devacandradeva, the disciple of Municandradeva whose guru was Abhinavavādikīrtideva of the Krāṇūr gana. This gift was made for the offerings of Jinaṇa Dharmanātha (the fifteenth Tīrthankara) of Kāpu. What strikes us is not so much the patronage which the petty ruler of Kāpu gave to the basadi of Jinaṇa Dharmanātha, as the manner in which he associated his own

³. 82-84 of 1901.
⁵. Saleitore, ibid, I, pp. 405-406.
little town with the great Jaina centre of Belgoja, Kopana, and Ujjantagiri. This is revealed in the concluding lines of the grant which contain the imprecation that any Jaina who violated the charity would incur the sin of breaking the images of Gummaṭanātha of Belgoja, Candranātha of Kopana, and Nemisvara of Ujjantagiri, and other Jaina images. The definite reference to three well known centres—Kopana, Belgoja, and Ujjantagiri—suggests that the people of Kāpu were very well acquainted with those places of pilgrimage. While the concluding lines of the same grant which relate that if the violator was a Śaiva, he would incur the sin of breaking a crore of lingas at Parvata, Gokarna, and elsewhere, and if a Vaiṣṇava, of breaking as many images at Tirumale and other Vaiṣṇava holy places, show that the chieftain of Kāpu was prepared to appeal to the better instincts of his non-Jaina subjects who might be inclined to harm his charity.  

Next to Mūḍubidre the most important Jaina centre in Tuluva was Karkala. The history of this principality of Karkala is interwoven with that of the Śāntaras of Paṭṭi Pombuccapura on the Ghatas. The first prominent figure in the Śāntara House was Jinadatta, who, as we have already noted above, is reputed to have brought with him the image of the Jaina goddess Padevati. Jinadatta Rāya founded the Śāntara kingdom in the ninth century A.D. with Paṭṭi Pombuccapura as his capital; and he moved down in the same century to Kalaśa (in the Mūḍgere tāluka) in the south after extending his kingdom. Here at Kalaśa the Śāntara rulers gave expression to their tolerant

1. E.I. XX, pp. 95-97.
views. This is seen, for instance, from a record dated A.D. 1277 of the time of the senior crowned queen Kālala Mahādevī, when on the great days of the gods Kalaśanātha and Jineśvara, a citizen named Mādhava, the son of Kāla Śeṭṭī, made a specified grant of rice and land to the gods.¹

The Sāntaras moved their capital from Kalaśa still further down to Kārkaḷa somewhere at the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D. One of the chiefs who materially contributed to the spread of Jainism in this age in Tuḷuva was Lokanātharasa. He was the disciple of Cārukīrti Pañḍitadeva, who had, among other titles, that of Ballāḷarāya-cittacamatkāra. During the regime of Lokanātharasa in Śaka 1256 (A.D. 1334), his elder sisters Bommaladevi and Somaladevi, along with some prominent State officials among whom figured Allappa Adhikāri, gave specified grants to the basadi of Sāntinātha at Kārkaḷa which had been built by Kumudacandra Bhaṭṭārakadeva, the chief disciple of Bhānu-kirtī Maladhārideva of the Mūla sangha and the Krāṇūr gana. Since Lokanātharasa bears the birudas of samastabhu-vanāśraya, sṛi-prthvivallabha, and mahārājādhirāja, which were usually assumed only by independent monarchs, we are to suppose that he exercised some independent sway in the Kārkaḷa region in the middle of the fourteenth century A.D.²

Sometime after him the Kārkaḷa rulers came gradually under the influence of the Lingāyat faith.³ But they continued to be warm supporters of the Jina dharma. We prove this from records ranging from the middle of the fif-

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1. E.C. VI. Mg. 67, p. 72.
3. See E.C. VI. Mg. 39-42, 50, 54, 60, pp. 68-70 for examples to prove that the Bhairava rulers of Kārkaḷa were Saivas.
teenth to the end of the sixteenth century A.D. The credit of turning the mind of the Kārkāla rulers to the syād vāda doctrine goes to the Jaina gurus of Hanasōge. It was at the instance of Lalitakīrti Maladhārideva Bhaṭṭāraka of Hanasōge that king Vira Pāṇḍya, the son of Bhairavendra, caused to be constructed and set up the colossal image of Gomaṭa at Kārkāla, to which reference has already been made, on Wednesday the 13th A.D. 1432.¹ Probably it is the same guru who is mentioned in another inscription dated Śaka 1379 (A.D. 1457-8) which records a gift of paddy to the Hire Nemīśvara basadi at Hiriaṅgaḍi, one of the suburbs of Kārkāla. In this record Lalitakīrti is said to have belonged to the Kālorgaṇa.² The same guru was likewise responsible for the munificence of the merchants of Hiriaṅgaḍi, who in A.D. 1475-76 built a mukha-maṇṭapa to the Tirthankara basadi of that place.³

We may recount here the patronage given to Jainism by the queen Kāḷala Devī in A.D.1530 mentioned in connection with the activities of women in Karnāṭaka.⁴

But much of the importance of Kārkāla was due not only to the patronage of its rulers but to the large-heartedness of its citizens as well. In Śaka 1501 (A.D. 1579) some Śrāvakas of Kārkāla gave as a gift money for the study of the scriptures in the Ammanavara basadi at Hiriaṅgaḍi. Lalitakīrti Bhaṭṭāraka is said to have been the vicāra-kartā (superintendent) of the charities.⁵ This guru could not have been

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2. 70 of 1901.
3. 66 of 1901.
5. 67 of 1901.
the one mentioned above, but probably one of the pontiffs at Kārkaḷa itself who bore the title of Lalitakīrti.

The construction of the well known Caturmukha basadi at Kārkaḷa was the work of the ruler Immaḍi Bhairavendra Oḍeyar, who called himself the ruler of Paṭṭi Pombuccapura. This basadi was completed on Wednesday the 16th March A.D. 1586.¹ It cannot be made out whether he is the same Bhairarasa Oḍeyar who is mentioned in a damaged record dated only in the cyclic year Viḷambi, and found in the Hire Nemiśvara basadi at Hiriaṅgaḍi.² But he is evidently the same ruler who in A.D. 1598 granted specified lands for the god Pārśvanātha of the Sādhana caityālaya at Koppa. This god had been set up by a citizen named Pāṇḍya Nāyaka, who had himself granted some lands to provide for the offerings of the god.³

With the seventeenth century A.D., however, we move along the downward career of the Vijayanagara Empire. In a sense this age is also one of comparative insignificance in the history of Jainism in southern India. However, the anekāntamata had taken deep roots in Tuḷuva. That is the reason why we see Vēnūru, a little village in the Kārkaḷa tāluka, figuring as the headquarters of a line of petty chiefs and at the same time as the seat of Jainism. It was here at Vēnūru that, as mentioned by us above, a gigantic image of Gomaṭa was set up in A.D. 1604 at the orders of Timmarāja, the brother of a ruler called Pāṇḍya of the family of Cāmunḍa Rāya, on the advice of Cārūkīrti Paṇḍita of Belgoḷa.⁴ Thus did the distant province of Tuḷuva vindic-

2. 69 of 1901.
sate her honour in the Jaina world by possessing two out
of the three famous colossi of Gomaña.1

Reverting to Karnataka proper we find that Melige was
of some consequence to the Jainas in the first quarter of the
seventeenth century A.D. Melige was in the Koshurpal in the
Avanyadeśa over which the Vijayanagara viceroy Bommana
Heggaḍe ruled in A.D. 1610, in the reign of the Emperor Ven-
kaṭapati Deva. In this city of Melige was the
royal Śreṣṭhi Vardhamana whose son Bommana Śreṣṭhi
erected the Ananta Jina temple, probably at the instance of
his guru Viṣālakirti Bhaṭṭāraka, whose guru was Devendra
Bhaṭṭāraka of the Balātkāra gaṇa.2

An interesting fact in the history of Jainism in the sev-
teenth century A.D. is that connected with the famous Hindu
centre of Bēlūr. This city which has become celebrated in
the history of Indian architecture as the home of some of the
most beautiful Hindu temples in the country, seems to have
been dear also to the Jainas. When exactly it was turned into
a centre of the anekāntamata is not known. But there is
every reason to believe that from the beginning of the fourteen-
teenth till the middle of the seventeenth century A.D., Bēlūr
protected the interests of the Jina dharma. It boasted
of the Pārśvanātha, Ādinātheśvara, and Sāntinātheśvara

1. Tuluva to-day possesses about 180 basadis out of which
Mūḍubidre and Kārkaḷa claim 18 each, Baṇṭavāḷa 3, Hāḍu-
halḷi (Sangītāpura) 9, Gērasoppe 4, Veṇūru 8, Mūlki-Hosangaṇi
8, and other places 101, excluding the 11 recently constructed
basadis. 18 basadis have fallen completely in ruins. These are
the basadis at Nerambadi Hoḷe, Mogaru, Deśil, Sirāḍi, Yeṇugallu,
Kannarpāḍi, Paṇja, Cekkangadi, Bandāḍi, Kombārū, Nandāvara,
cit., p. 3.

2. E. C. VIII. T1. 166, p. 196, 197.
basadis which have yielded interesting epigraphs relating to the Jaina gurus of the first quarter of the fourteenth century A.D.\textsuperscript{1} Bëlûr was the head quarters of the Inguleśvara bāḷī and the Śrī samudāya attached to the Mūla sangha and the Dēśiya gaṇa.\textsuperscript{2} How influential the Jaina Šeṭṭis, or commercial leaders of Bëlûr were has already been seen while describing the admirable manner in which the grave dispute between the Lingāyats and the Jainas was settled in A.D. 1638, during the régime of Venkaṭādri Nāyaka of Bëlûr.\textsuperscript{3}

Towards the close of the Vijayanagara age, we have a Jaina priest called Lakṣmīsena Bhaṭṭāraka, who styled himself the Lord of the spiritual thrones of Dīḷī, Kollāpura, Jaina Kāśi, and Penugoṇḍa. It was a lay disciple of this guru by name Sakkare Šeṭṭi, who had the Vimalanātha caityālaya at Nāgamangala constructed in A.D. 1680.\textsuperscript{4} How far the claims put forward by the scribe on behalf of Lakṣmīsena Bhaṭṭāraka as regards the lordship of the spiritual thrones of the places mentioned above, are valid, cannot be determined at present. But Penugoṇḍa was, indeed, a Jaina centre. Here was the Pārśvanātha basadi. Near about it is a niśidhi of Nāgayya, the disciple of Jinabhūṣaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka.\textsuperscript{5} We shall prove in the next chapter that Penugoṇḍa had further claims to be called a home of the Jainas.

\textsuperscript{1} See above. Chapter VI. Popular Support.
\textsuperscript{2} E. C. V. Bl 134, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{3} Ibid, Bl. 128, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{4} Ibid, IV. Ng. 43, p. 125.
\textsuperscript{5} 345 of 1901.
CHAPTER XII.

JAINA CELEBRITIES IN THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE

Features of Jaina architecture—Jaina contribution to Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Kannada literature—Examples of Jaina writers ranging from the early fourteenth till the middle of the seventeenth century.

WIDESPREAD as the domicile of Jainism certainly was in the Vijayanagara Empire, it must be admitted that so far as political power was concerned, the anekāntamata had judiciously given the place of prominence to the Hindu dharma. And while the Hindu dharma under Vijayanagara succeeded for nearly three centuries in upholding its prestige and the honour of the land, Jainism had retired into the background to devote itself exclusively for the cause of Peace and Learning. Its success was ensured in this field. For more than any other faith, Jainism was essentially a religion which had advocated Peace. And in the Tamil land, the Andhradesa, and Karnâṭaka it had for centuries, as we have already seen, carefully created and fostered literature, arts, and science. The fact that its leaders had occasionally rejuvenated political life was incidental; their primary concern lay in advancing the cause of Peace and Knowledge, while that of their lay disciples, in giving a practical expression to the Jaina ideal of human brotherhood in the shape
of the four well known gifts of food, shelter, medicine, and learning.

But it should not be understood by this that Jainism contributed nothing for the material welfare of the country. In addition to the kingdoms it had founded or helped to stabilize, it had substantially added to the commercial development of the land. We may remember here the fact that the famous trading classes of Karnāṭaka, the Vīra Bāṇajigas, before and even after their conversion into the Vīra Śaiva faith, were responsible for the prosperous condition of the many cities of the Vijayanagara Empire. And during the early period of Vijayanagara expansion, it was the Jaina generals like Irugappa who had helped the Hindu cause in southern India. An equally substantial part of the work of the Jainas was that concerning arts, literature, and medicine in the respective fields of which they have left evidence of their sincere desire to promote Knowledge and the welfare of humanity.

We have had an occasion of briefly alluding to the contribution of the Jainas to the architecture of the pre-Vijayanagara period. Some of the marked features which distinguish the southern from the northern school of architectural design are those relating to the basadis, the tombs, and the pillars. The Jainas of the south, who belonged mostly to the Digambara sect, added one speciality in the matter of building basadis (Skt. vasati, a temple which contained an image of one of the twenty-four Tīrthankaras), and images, which has become famous in the history of Indian architecture. They constructed huge monolithic statues of Bāhubali, as already mentioned by us, at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, Kārkaḷa, and Vēṇūru. These statues possess certain peculiarities. Entirely naked, they face the north, with a remarkably severe face with twigs or creeping plants (called mādhavī, known in Kannada as kōḷa
twisted round their arms and legs in the manner found in cave temples, and a serpent (kukkuṭa-sarpa) at their feet.¹ They represent the ideal saṁnyāśin who stood in meditation until the ant-hills arose at his feet and creeping plants grew round his limbs. The Digambaras call him Gomaṭa, Gummaṭa, or Dorbali—a figure who is not at all prominent in the pantheon of the Śvetāmbaras of the north.

Of the basadis built in the Vijayanagara age those at Mūḍubidre deserve a passing note. These basadis are much plainer structures than Hindu temples, with their pillars that look like logs of wood, their angles partially chambered off, suggesting that their originals were built of wood. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that there is epigraphic evidence which we have already cited in the previous pages, that shows that the earlier basadis were built of wood. Fergusson rightly remarks that nothing can exceed the richness or variety with which the temples of Mūḍubidre are carved. Their ornamentation is almost fantastic, and no two pillars are alike in design and beauty.²

The eighteen basadis of Mūḍubidre are not the only specimens of the architectural skill of the Jainas of the Vijayanagara age. The five-pillared shrine opposite the basadi at Guruvāyinakere in Tuḷuva, about which unfortunately no details are available in epigraphs, is said to be unique in the history of the southern Jaina architectural school. This five-pillared shrine with access to the upper chambers, is so unlike the four-pillared pavilions of the Hindu temples common in southern India. At the base of the temple are a number

¹. Of the three famous statues that at Vēṇūru is, I think, uncommonly serene and smiling.
². Fergusson, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, II. pp. 76-79. (rev. ed.)
of stones bearing images of serpents some of which have five or seven heads.¹

The second noteworthy feature of Jaina architecture concerns the pillars which are found attached to the basadis. They are admittedly the most elegant and graceful architectural specimens found in Tuluva. They appear to be the counterparts of the dipastambhas found in the Hindu temples; but in reality are the descendants of the Buddhist pillars which bore, in most instances, emblems, or statues, or figures of animals. The Jainas of the south introduced two kinds of pillars—the Brahmadevastambhas, bearing figures of the god Brahmā, and the mānastambhas, which bear a small pavilion on the capital.² The Brahmadevastambhas are best seen at Mūḍubidre, and the mānastambhas, at Guruvāyinakere and Haleangadi. These latter starting from a square at the base change into an octagon, and thence into a polygonal figure approaching a circle, with a wide spreading capital of the most elaborate design above.

One singularity of the pillars, especially those found at Mūḍubidre, may be mentioned here. They have on the lower or square part curious interlaced basket patterns which, according to Fergusson, are similar to those found in Irish Mss. and the ornaments of the Irish cresses. Such interlaced work was equally common in Armenia and up the Danube in Central Europe. But how it came to be introduced into Tuluva is not known.³

A third peculiarity of the Jaina architecture of the Vijayanagara age is that relating to the tombs of priests and merchants in the neighbourhood of Mūḍubidre. Varying

1. Fergusson, op. cit. II, pp. 76-79,
3. Fergusson, ibid, II, pp. 79-82.
much in size and magnificence, some being from three to five or seven storeys in height, they are not ornamented like the storeys of the Dravidian temples with tumulated cells, but finish with the domical roof, with divisions of each storey into a sloping roof after the style of the pagodas of Kāṭha-
manḍu, China, and Tibet. Such tombs are unknown to other parts of India.¹

These novelties in design and structure are the gifts of the Jainas of the mediæval times to the history of Indian architecture. Turning to the sphere of literature and religion, we find that there was a fœble echo of the revival of Jainism in the middle of the sixteenth century A.D. This is not surprising when we remember that Jainism had often given ample proof of its vitality in the course of its history. The various Jaina teachers whom we have mentioned in our re-
view of Jainism under Vijayanagara were no doubt partly responsible for the continuance of that religion in the Vijaya-
nagara age. In addition to these there were other teachers some of whom deserve special mention. Bāhubali Paṇḍita-
deva, the disciple of Nayakīrtideva, was one such remarkable Jaina teacher. We shall presently refer to the contribution of this learned Jaina guru for the cause of Kannāda literature.

But more conspicuous than him were the teachers who spread the name of the Jina dharma even in the court of the Sultans of Delhi. Details about these, and about another celebrated figure to be mentioned presently, are met with in the Padmāvatī bastī record. This long and interesting inscription contains a detailed account of many Jaina gurus, three of whom fall within our period—Simhakīrti, Viśalakīrti, and Vādi Vidyānanda. We have discussed in full the history of

¹. Fergusson, op. cit., II, pp. 79 82.
the two former Jaina gurus elsewhere. Here it is sufficient to narrate the following—That Simhakirti, the great logician, is said to have won renown in the court of the Delhi Sultan Mahamuda who was no other than Sultan Muhammad Tuglāq. The Jina teacher is expressly stated to have defeated the company of Baudhā and other speakers in the Delhi court. This success of Simhakirti in the court of the Delhi Sultan may be placed between A.D. 1326 and A.D. 1337.

His successor Viśalakīrti was a foremost orator, learned in the Parāgama, chief head of the Balātkāra gaṇa, a great ascetic, and one who received reverence from Sīkandara Suriṭrāṇa. He defeated great speakers in the assembly of Virūpākṣa Rāya, the ruler of Vidyānagara, for which he received a certificate of victory (jaya-parā) which was regarded by the learned and even by kings to be an original śāsana of Sarasvatī. In the city of Devappa Daṇḍanātha called Āraga, he expounded the great Jina dharma, and won reverence even from the Brahmans.

The last named general was the son of the Vijayanagara viceroy Śrīgirinātha. Devappa Daṇḍanātha was the viceroy of Āraga from A.D. 1463 till at least A.D. 1468. The Vijayanagara ruler mentioned in the Padmāvatī basti record was no other than Virūpākṣa Rāya, who reigned from A.D. 1467 till A.D. 1478. And Sīkandara Suriṭrāṇa in whose court Viśalakīrti defeated opponents was Sultan Sīkandar Sūr, who ruled for a brief period in A.D. 1554. Viśalakīrti seems to have have lived to a ripe old age of eighty years.²

But Viśalakīrti’s immediate disciple Vidyānanda, better known by his celebrated name of Vādi Vidyānanda, was the greatest figure in the history of Jainism in the Vijayanagara

2. Ibid, pp. 79-81.
age. The Padmāvatī basti record contains a great many details about this remarkable Jaina teacher. He belonged to the Nandi sangha of the Koṇḍakundānvaya in which Koṇḍakunda himself, Samantabhadra, Pūjayapaḍa, Vardhamāna, Vādirāja, and other illustrious gurus had shone.

His qualifications are enumerated thus:—“The impression of Vidyānanda-svāmi’s irreproachable reasoning is ever pleasing to the minds of poets, appearing like Bāna’s prose expressed poem.” Then again, “Is it Vāṇi, or Caturānana, or is it Vācaspati, or else is it the glory of the learned, Sahasravadana, or is it Ananta himself?—thus do the learned express their doubts in the assembly when Vidyānandaśamuni is making the Buddhēśabhavana-vyākhyāna.” Further, Vidyānандāryya is victorious in the world, “the summit of dharma.” And, then, again, “Omniscient in the three Āgamas, adorned with the qualities of poetry, skilled in (making) many commentaries, a great gale to the cloud (opponent) speakers.”

Vādi Vidyānanda’s achievements were many. In purely religious spheres, he performed great works of merit. In Kopaṇa and other tīrthas with immense wealth, by the rite of dekājñā, in order to gain reward of salvation, he held great festivals and distinguished himself. At the two feet of Gummaṭa in Belgoḷa, with affection he poured out like rain to the Jaina sangha a mahākāla of cloths, ornaments, gold, and silver. And to the gaṇa muḥis devoted to the discussion of the Yogāgama in Gērasopppe, he undertook with great eagerness the business of supporting as if he were the chief guru, and thereby distinguished himself.

His work in the field of learning was equally great and last-

1. E. C. VIII, Nr. 46, pp. 149-150.
ing. The same Padmāvatī bastī record gives us many details of his success at the various provincial and imperial courts. In the assembly of the Naṉjarāyapaṭṭana king, Naṉja Deva, he completely stopped the breath of the great (Śaiva) teacher called Nandanamalli Bhaṭṭa, and won renown. Destroying the European faith at the court of the Agent of Śrīranganagara (Śrīranganagara Kāryyana Pērangiya mataman aḷidu) in a learned assembly, he brought Śāradā into his power. Then, in the undisturbed court of the Sātavendra (or Śāntavendra), Rāja Kesarivikrama, he uttered a poem which was noised throughout the world. Moreover, in the assembly of the enlightened men who formed the court of the king Sālva Malli Rāya, he excused the language of those in authority. In the court of another ruler called Gurunṛpāla, which resembled an ear of the ocean-girdled earth, he composed an able Karnāṭaka work and gained fame. In the court of king Sāluva Deva Rāya, equal in good fortune to Vāsava (Indra), he was victorious in proving the doctrines of all the speakers to be false, and in pleasing that king. In the learned assembly of the Nagiri kingdom, he made the company of the learned to sip the immeasurable sweetness of the nectar of his speech. In the court of king Narasimha of Bilīge, who was courageous as Kalaśodbhava (Agastya), he elucidated the Jina darśana. In the court of the ruler of Kārkalaṇagara, the great king Bhairava, he expounded the most excellent Jina dharma, so as to attract the mind, and distinguished himself. And likewise in the assembly of the Bhavyayajana of the town of Bidire, whose hearts were adorned with wisdom and pure character, he explained the established faith. Vādi Vidyānanda was worshipped with devotion by the king Sāluva Krṣṇa Deva, who was the sister’s son of the king Deva Rāya, and the moon to the ocean Padmāmbā. And in the great imperial capital of Vijayanagara of Krṣṇa Deva
Rāya, the son of Sāluva Narasimha, he wiped out the company of speakers of other creeds by the power of his speech. There is another reference to the imperial capital in a later context, where it is said that in the court of Vidyānagarī of the victorious lord Kṛṣṇa Rāya, defeating the company of the learned, like a lion (overcoming) an elephant, with the talons of his just argument, and his lucid intelligence, Vidyānandamuni gained world-wide fame.

No Jaina guru in the Vijayanagara age had a more glorious list of achievements than Vādi Vidyānanda. We have shown elsewhere that the various rulers mentioned in this record were, indeed, historical personages; and that on the strength of this and other inscriptions, we could date the many triumphs of Vādi Vidyānanda between the years A.D. 1502 and A.D. 1530.1

What concerns us, in addition to the details relating to the remarkable personality of Vādi Vidyānanda, is the fact that the Padmāvatī basti record should mention the names of various provincial seats which were centres of Jaina learning. Some of them, it must be confessed, cannot be identified for want of definite data. But there cannot be any doubt that in addition to the courts of the Sāluva kings of Sangītapura, Deva Rāya, Sangi Rāya, and Kṛṣṇa Rāja, and those of Gērasoppe and Kārkaja, there were other courts as well where Jainism was honoured—that of the unidentified Sātavendra king Kesarivikrama, of the king Gurunṛpāla, and of the king Narasimha of Bilige.

There is one statement in the above record which is of particular interest. It is that concerning Vādi Vidyānanda’s success in Śrīranganagarā (i.e., Seringapatam). Here Vādi

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Vidyānanda defeated a European champion of Christianity. We are in the dark as to the identity of the learned European who was thus vanquished; but there can hardly be any doubt as to this success of the great Jaina priest in that city. It is remarkable that Vādi Vidyānanda should have mastered the tenets of Christianity, and met and defeated an expounder of that faith in a viceregal city of Vijayanagara. With him we come to the climax in the history of Jaina theology and oratory, precisely at the same time we reach the zenith in the annals of the Vijayanagara Empire.

But Jaina genius had already expressed itself in other branches of knowledge. To literature and medicine its contribution was truly profound. For well nigh two centuries the Jainas had been driven into the background by the Vīra Śaivas who had dominated Kannāḍa literature. In spite of this the Jainas managed to come into light, and succeeded in adding quite a good deal to the wealth of the Kannāḍa language.

One of the earliest names we meet with in the Vijayanagara age is that of Bāhubali Paṇḍita, the disciple of Naya-kīrtideva. This guru, as we have already seen, has been referred to in a record found in the Meleyūr Pārśvanātha basadi, Chāmarājanagara, and assigned to A.D. 1380. We said that this inscription calls him an emperor of all learning, and one who was proficient not only in astrology but in two languages.¹ We know that in Śaka 1274 (A.D. 1352) he wrote the Dharmanāṭhapurāṇa concerning the fifteenth Tīrthankara. He had the biruda of Udbhaya-bhāṣācaṇkravarti,² obviously because of his proficiency in Sanskrit and Kannāḍa.

1. E. C. IV. Ch. 157, op. cit.
Near to him in time is to be placed Keśavavarnī, who wrote a Kannada \textit{vṛtti} to the \textit{Gommaṭasāra} in Śaka 1281 (A.D. 1359), at the command of Dharmanabhusaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka. He likewise wrote a \textit{vṛtti} in Kannada to \textit{Amitagatiśrāvakācāra}, and a commentary in the same language to \textit{Sāratraya}. It was for this that he received the title of \textit{Sāratrayavedi}.\textsuperscript{1}

To this age (\textit{circa} A.D. 1365) belonged Abhinava Śrutamuni, who is credited with writing a Kannada commentary on Mallisena’s \textit{Sajjanacittavallabha}.\textsuperscript{2} Next to him we find Madhura (\textit{circa} A.D. 1385). He belonged to the Vāji \textit{vaṁśa}, and he was the author of \textit{Dharmanāṭhapuruṇa}, and an \textit{aśṭaka} praising Gummata. Since he had as one of his many \textit{birudas} the one styled \textit{Bhūnāsthaṭhānucaḍāmanī}, it has been surmised that he was the court poet of king Harihara Rāya II (A.D. 1377—A.D. 1404).\textsuperscript{3}

Towards the end of the fourteenth century A.D. is to be placed Āyatavarmā, the author of the \textit{Ratnakaranaṇḍa} in Kannada, describing the \textit{ratnatraya} of the Jainas.\textsuperscript{4} Candrakīrti, who wrote the \textit{Paramāgamasāra}, and another author called Jinaśārya, may also be assigned to the same age.\textsuperscript{5}

In the first quarter of the fifteenth century A.D. there appears Bhāskara, a native of Penugonda. He was the son of Basavānka, and he belonged to the Viśvāmitra gotra. He wrote the \textit{Jīvandharacarite} in Śaka 1345 (A.D. 1424). He tells us that he rendered into Kannada the Sanskrit work of the same name which had been composed by Vādībhasimha,\textsuperscript{6} who could have been no other than the

\textsuperscript{1} Kavīcarite, I, pp. 415-416.
\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Ibid}, I, pp. 422-443.
\textsuperscript{3} \textit{Ibid}, I, pp. 427-433.
\textsuperscript{6} \textit{Ibid}, II, p. 47.
great guru Ajitasena Vādībhasimha.

Fifteen years later Kalyāṇakīrti came with his five works—Jñānacandrābhyudaya, Kāmanakathe, Anupreksē, Jina-
stuti, and Tattvabhedāṣṭaka. His guru was Lalitakīrti who
belonged to the Dēśiya gana. Kalyāṇakīrti informs us that
he wrote the Jñānacandrābhyudaya in Śaka 1362 (A.D.
1439), and Kāmanakathe at the instance of king Pāṇḍya
Rāya, the son of the Tuḷuva lord Bhairava, and the disciple
of Lalitakīrti.¹ This Pāṇḍya Rāya, the son of king Bhairava,
was no other than Vira Pāṇḍya, who had caused the famous
image of Gomaṭa to be constructed at Kārkaḷa.

All names of Jaina authors are put into the shade by Malli-
nātha Sūri Kolācalā, the celebrated commentator of Kālidāsa’s
works. This learned man was one of the judicial officers of
Emperor Vira Pratāpa Prauḍha Deva Rāya of Vijayanagara
(A.D. 1419-A.D. 1446). We prove this from Mallinātha
Sūri’s interesting work Vaiśyavaniḥsaudhārṇava, which was
written under the orders of that monarch. The object of this
work was to determine whether or not the words such as
Vaiśya, Nagara-Vaṇik, Vaṇija, Vāni, Vyāpāri, Ūruja,
Tritīyajāti, Svajātiyabhedāja, Uttarāpathanagareśvardevato-
pāsaka, etc., found in an inscription at Kaṇci, meant a Vaiśya
as distinct from one who was styled a Komaṭi.² This official

¹. Kavivarite, II, p. 84.
². M. A. R. for 1927, p. 26 ; 399 of 1926 ; Kuppuswami Sastri,
A Descriptive Catalogue of the Skt. Mss. in the Govt. Oriental
Mss. Library, Madras, XXI, pp. 8212-8215 where Mallinātha’s
family history is given by one of his descendants called Padā-
yojana. See also K. P. Trivedi, Bhaṭṭī-Kāvyya, Introduction, pp.
XXIV-XXV, where Mallinātha is placed in the fifteenth century.
(Bombay Skt Series. LVI, 1898) ; and also Pratāparudrayo’so-
bhūṣana, Intr. pp. 1-2. (Baroda Or. Ser.) ; N. Venkataramanapāyya,
Vijayanagara, Origin of the City and the Empire, pp. 181-182,
enquiry conducted in the reign of the Emperor Deva Rāya II, shows that the Vijayanagara Government bestowed the greatest care on minute social distinctions affecting the public life of its citizens; and that it entrusted such work to the most highly qualified and learned men in its service.

In the middle of the same century, we have Jinadevaṇṇa, who wrote Śrenikacarite in A.D. 1444, and Vijayaṇṇa, who wrote Dvādaśāṇuprekeśe. The latter work was written at the command of the Honnabandi Deva Rāja, the king of the Belvulāṇaḍ in Kuntala. Vijayaṇṇa seems to have written his work in the Śāntināṭha basadi of Vemmanabhāvi in the same nāḍu.1

Their contemporary was Vidyānanda, who is not to be confounded with the celebrated orator we have described above. Vidyānanda was the author of a Kannāḍa commentary on (his own) Sanskrit work called Prāyascitta. He was the son (?) disciple of Brahmāsūri alias Bommarasa Upādhyāya, and probably a native of Kanakāgiri in Maleyūr. He mentions Vijayakirti as the guru who taught him from his boyhood.2

where Dr. Ramanayya wrongly identifies the Vijayanagara ruler mentioned in Mallināṭha’s work with king Deva Rāya I. How he came to make the author of Vaiśyavāṁśasudhāranava Mallināṭha II cannot be understood. Neither how Dr. Ramanayya failed to refer to Dr. Shama Sastry’s citation of Mallināṭha and the latter’s work in his Mysore Archaeological Report. We may observe here that the name Sūri stamps Mallināṭha as a Jaina, although his magnificent commentaries make him a most extraordinary Jaina with an uncommonly non-sectarian outlook. Evidently to Mallināṭha Sūri Knowledge was the first concern, and Religion, the next.

Another "son" of Bommarasa seems to have been Terakanâmbi Bommarasa, the author of Sanatkumârakarite and Jivandharacakarite (A.D. 1485). An interesting fact is mentioned by him in his works. This relates to Vâdibhasimha Nemicandra, one of the gurus of his teacher's preceptor's guru. It is said that Nemicandra won a certificate of victory in the assembly of learned men in the court of the Vijayanagara monarch Deva Râya II.1

About the year A.D. 1500 Koṭîśvara composed his Jivandharaśatpadi at the orders of his royal master king Sangama of Sangītapura. Koṭîśvara came of a good stock. His father Tammanâ Śeṭṭi was the general of the city of Baidûru (mod. Baindûru) in Tuḷuva, and his mother Râmakka. And he was the son-in-law of Kâmaṇa Śeṭṭi, the royal merchant of the court of Sangītapura. His preceptor was Prabhâcandra, the disciple of Paṇḍitayogi of Belgoḷa.2 Two more Jaina writers may be assigned to the same age (A.D. 1500) —Yaśaḥkîrti, who wrote a commentary on Dharmaśarmābhyyudaya, and who was the disciple of Lalitakîrti, and Subhacandra, who wrote Narapingâli.3

More famous names appear in the sixteenth century A.D. In A.D. 1508 we have Mangarasa, who has already figured in connection with the history of the Cangāḷva kings in the Vijayanagara age.4

The celebrated Vâdi Vidyânanda seems to have written a

2. Ibid, II, p. 145. The late Mr. Narasimhacarya wrote on the strength of an inscription found at Bilige, that Śrutakîrti was the preceptor of king Sangama.
work in Kannada called Kavyasara.\textsuperscript{1}

Equally remarkable names from the point of view of Kannada literature are those of Salva and Doḍḍayya. The former was the author of Bhārata, Sāradāvilāsa and Nemiśvaracarite, and a work on medicine to be mentioned presently. He was the son of Dharmacandra, and the disciple of Śrutakirti. His royal patron was the king Salva Malla of the Nagirirajya. Both king Salva Malla and his sister Maladevi's son by Śāntadanḍesa, by name Sālva Deva, were the patrons at whose orders Sālva wrote the Kannada Bhārata. From the works of Sālva we learn that his patron Sālva Malla had, among others, the following birudas—Jinadharmadhvaja, Samyaktva-cuḍāmani and Jinadēvavrathayātṛāprabhāvaka.\textsuperscript{2} As regards Doḍḍayya, we know that he belonged to the Ātreyya gotra, and that his father was the learned nobleman Devappa, who was the best of the accountants at the court of the Cangalva king Virūparājendra of Piriyapaṭṭana. Devappa himself was credited with proficiency in the exposition of the Jina purāṇa. Doḍḍayya's guru was Paṇḍitamuni. His only work was Candraprabhacarite dealing with the life of the eighth Tirthankara Candraprabha.\textsuperscript{3}

The well known city of Vēṇupura (Mūḍubidre) in Tuḷuva produced Ratnākaranandandi, who is known by his great work Trilokasatakam comprising 10,000 verses, which he finished in nine months in the Śaka year 1479 (A.D. 1557). He wrote it at the command of his mokṣa guru Hamsanātha. His other works were Bharateśvaracarite and an anthology of poems known as Padajāti, which latter composition has made him

\textsuperscript{1} Kavicarite, II, p. 229.
\textsuperscript{2} Ibid, II, p. 244.
\textsuperscript{3} Ibid, II, pp. 251-252.
famous in Kannada literature.\footnote{Kavicasite, II, pp. 276-280. Devacandra has some interesting details to give concerning him. \textit{Ibid}, p. 276.}

Another prominent writer connected with Mu\'ubidre was Nema\'na, the disciple of Silabodhi. In A.D. 1559 he wrote \textit{J\'n\'anabh\'askaaracarite}. He took \textit{dik\'sa} and joined the group of Sr\'avakas who had renovated the Hiriya \textit{basadi} at Mu\'ubidre.\footnote{\textit{Ibid}, II, p. 281.}

The cordial relations which prevailed between the different communities under Vijayanagara, which we have already referred to above, are further seen in connection with the work of B\'ahubali, who wrote the \textit{N\'agakum\'araaracarite} (circa A.D. 1560). In this work he tells the following—That the \textit{guru} of Sr\'ingeri Narasimhayati, called also Narasimha Bh\'arati, was in the temple called Sarvatobhadra in that city; and that the protector of this head of the Sr\'ingeri pontificate was the ruler of the south, \textit{Arir\'aya-gan\'daraad\'avani}, a devotee of Jina, Bhairavendra, ruling from his throne at Kev\'ase?\footnote{\textit{Ibid}, II, pp. 287-288.}.\footnote{\textit{369 of 1927; M. A., R. for 1934}, pp. 116-126.} Now we know from independent evidence that Narasimha Bh\'arati mentioned here was not the first of that name, who was the contemporary of the king Harihara R\'aya II.\footnote{\textit{Ibid}, II, pp. 287-288.} The Sr\'ingeri \textit{guru} spoken of here must have been the second of that name, who was the contemporary of the Emperor Sr\'i Ranga R\'aya, I. And, as regards Bhairavendra mentioned by B\'ahubali, we may identify him with Bhairarasara O\'d\'eyar of K\'arka\'a. This supposition is based on the Harihara \textit{ma\'tha} inscription dated A.D. 1573 which contains the interesting information that Bhairarasara, Narasimha Bh\'arati of Sr\'ingeri, the Emperor Sr\'i Ranga R\'aya I, and M\'adhava Sarasvat\'i, the head of the Hariharapura \textit{ma\'tha}, were all
contemporaries.¹

There are two more details concerning Bāhubali which may be noted. He relates that Lalitakīrta, while expounding the Jina purāṇa in the court of king Bhairavendra looked at him as if to enquire whether Bāhubali could not put into verse the Śrīpaścāmūry story. It was this which made Bāhubali write the story of Nāgakumāra.² The Jaina guru spoken of here is to be identified with his namesake who has already figured as the vicārakartā of the public charities at Hirian-gaḍi in A.D. 1579 in the previous pages.

Another detail corroborates the statement we have made regarding Śringeri being a Jaina centre. At the end of his work Bāhubali prays that the god Brahmā on the Brahmā pillar in front of the Pārśvanātha basadi situated on the southern bank of the lake which lay near the hill Kundādri in Karnāṭaka, may protect it.³ We know from the opening lines of his work that Śringeri itself was situated to the south of the hill Kundādri.⁴ This statement referring to the Pārśvanātha basadi only confirms the epigraphic evidence we have cited above in regard to the Jaina influence at Śringeri in the sixteenth century. A.D.

Quite a number of Jaina literary men are met with in the last quarter of the sixteenth century A.D. Some are insignificant like Śrutakīrta, the author of Vijayakumārīyacarite, and the disciple of Akalanka guru of Kanakagiri.⁵ But others were well known like Doḍḍanāṅka. This writer was the son of Beṭṭada Gummi Śeṭṭi of Niṭṭūru. He wrote

⁴. Ibid, II, p. 287.
⁵. Ibid, II, p. 299.
Candraprabhaśatpadī in Śaka 1500 (A.D. 1578).

What an abiding influence the efforts of the early Vijayanagara monarchs must have had in bringing the various communities on the platform of mutual goodwill and sympathy, and of especially inculcating the spirit of toleration in the minds of the Jainas and the Hindus, is seen from the writings of Padmarasa, the talented son of the scholar Padmanopādhyāya. Padmarasa wrote the Śringārakathe in the Candranātha basadi of Kelasūru alias Chhatratrayapura in Śaka 1521 (A.D. 1599). In this work Padmarasa, who was the disciple of Bhaṭṭākalanka, and who traced his descent from Brahmasūri Paṇḍita, who was well versed in the Jaina śāstras, logic, and grammar, praises Śiva, Pārvatī, and Gaṇeśa at the beginning of his work. Evidently Padmarasa, like Mallinātha Sūri Kolācala, was an exceedingly broadminded and generous writer.

To the year A.D. 1600 may be assigned six authors—Vardhamāna, Haṁsarāja, Devottama, Pāyaṇavṛati, Śringārakavi, and Brahmakavi. The versatile Vardhamāna was the disciple of Davendrakīrti. He belonged to the lineage which had produced the celebrated Vādi Vidyānanda. It was he who composed the Paṇcabasti record which we have utilized in connection with our remarks on many of the Jaina gurus of the mediæval times. The fact that this record contains verses in Sanskrit and Kannada shows that Vardhamāna was well versed in both the languages. Haṁsarāja was also called Śringārakavi, and his guru was also styled Devendrakirti, but probably hailing from Śravaṇa Belgoḷa.

Harṣarāja’s work was called Ratnākaradhistvarasataka (circa A.D. 1600). A grammarian and a lexicographer, Devottama wrote the Nānārthatrātanākara assigned to circa A.D. 1600. Another lexicographer was his contemporary Śrīngārakavi, the author of the Karnāṭaka Saṃjīvana.

It was asserted in the last chapter that Penugonda was a centre of the Bhavyas. The life of Pāyaṇavṛati, also called Pārśvavarṇī, bears this out. This writer hailed from Nandiyapura near Penugonda. He started life as a teacher of the Jina dharma to the Bhavyas. From his childhood he showed signs of being a clever poet; and in his fifty-fifth year he took dīkṣā at the hands of Lakṣmīsenamuni of the Sena gaṇa in the Pārśvanātha basadi of Penugonda. It was because of this that he was called Pārśvavarṇī. His work is styled Saṃyaktvakaumudi. Brahmakavi is remembered only because of his Vajrakumāracarite.

That Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa contained, indeed, a Jaina temple is proved by the life of Pāyaṇamuni, who wrote the Sanatkumāracarite in the Ādi Jineśa basadi of Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa in about A.D. 1606.

With him were other well known Jaina writers of the first half of the seventeenth century A.D. The most important among them was Pañcabāṇa. It is interesting to note that his guru was the Sthanika Cannapayya. Pañcabāṇa was a

native of Śravaṇa Belgoḷa; and in his work Bhujabalcarite (A.D. 1614) he tells us that the famous head anointing ceremony of Gommaṭanātha was performed in A.D. 1612.¹

And the head-anointing ceremony of the other famous statue of Gommaṭa of Kārkaḷa was performed by the king Immaḍi Bhairavendra of Kārkaḷa in A.D. 1646. This we gather from Candrama’s Kārkaḷa Gommaṭeśvararacarite, which was written at the command of Lalitakīrti and under the patronage of the same ruler Bhairavendra.²

One of the last Jaina literary writers who falls within the limits of our study is Devarasa (circa A.D. 1650). In his Gurudattacarite he tells us that near the town of Pūgataṭaka in Karnāṭaka, was a hill which contained the basadi of Pārśvajina. On this hill, the author narrates, the famous Jina sage Pūjyapada has conducted experiments in alchemy (Siddharasa).³

The Jainas have written not only on purely literary and theological subjects but also on those pertaining to medicine. The Vijayanagara age, it may be observed here, contained quite a number of clever physicians—both Brahman and Jaina—who have been noticed in literature and records. A peculiarity of the Jainas is that they have left evidence of their knowledge of medicine in literary works. In the early Vijayanagara period the most well known

¹ Kavicarite, II, pp. 351-359.
³ Ibid, II. pp. 391-392. Pāyaṇavarṇi, the disciple of Paṇḍitā-cārya and a native of Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, composed in Kannāḍa in A.D. 1659 Jñānakandraracarite. This story, according to the author, was originally written in Prākṛt by Vāsavidrastra, and subsequently rendered into Kannāḍa saṭṭpadi by Pūjyapadayogi, and Pāyaṇavarṇi wrote in the sāṅgatyā metre basing it on the saṭṭpadi work. M. A. R. for 1919, p. 53.
M.J. 13.
Jaina author was Mangarāja I (circa A.D. 1360). He was the official placed over the city of Muguḷi which was the capital of Devalīge in the Hoysala kingdom. His guru was Pūjya-pādamuni, who may have been the same scholar who rendered into Kannada Vāsavacandra’s work in Prakrit. Whatever that may be, Mangarāja I’s great work was called Kha-gendramañidarpaṇa. He was awarded quite a number of titles among which were the following—Akhilavidyājala-nidhi, Sāhityavaidyāmbunidhi, and Bhiṣagvaratilaka. His work deals with poisons, and he tells us that he has utilized Pūjya-pāda’s celebrated work on medicine, while delineating the portion on the conduct of a thousand immoveable kinds of poisons.¹

From Mangarāja I to the next Jaina writer on medicine Śrīdharadeva (circa A.D. 1500) is, indeed, a wide gap which cannot be easily explained. Śrīdharadeva’s work was called Vaidyāmṛta which was written at the instance of Municandra.²

Bācarasa was another Jaina author on medicine. He too belonged to the same age. He was the son of Cāmuṇḍa-rāya, and was known as Sujanaikabāndhava. His work was known as Aśvavaidya (circa A.D. 1500), which deals with all details concerning horses and their ailments.³

The author of the famous Bhārata mentioned above, Sālva, is also noted for his work called Vaidyāsāṅgatya.⁴

Padmana Paṇḍita, the son of Deparasa of Kanakapura, seems to have followed the lead of Bācarasa. For Padmarasa wrote in A.D. 1627 Hayasārasamuuccaya dealing mi-

¹ Kavivarite, I. pp. 417-422.
² Ibid, II. p. 166.
³ Ibid, II. p. 171.
⁴ Ibid, II. p. 250.
nately with the forms, kinds, ailments, etc., of horses. This work was written at the command of Cāmarāja, the king of Mysore, and is therefore, also known as Cāmarājiya.¹ With him the long list of eminent Jaina writers who have contributed to literature and science is brought to an end, at least so far as the Vijayanagara age is concerned.

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¹ Kavicarite II, pp. 368-369.
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