

### 13. ‘*Guṇa kahūṃ śrī guru*’: *Bhaṭṭāraka Gītas* and the Early Modern Digambara Jaina *Saṅgha*

**Abstract.** While the contemporary Digambara Jaina renouncer tradition is best epitomized by the naked and peripatetic, male muni, in the extended early modern period it was spearheaded by supposedly clothed and sedentary *bhaṭṭārakas*. In Western and Central India, the number of *bhaṭṭāraka* seats and pupillary lineages notably proliferated from the fifteenth century CE onwards. The current scholarly and popular perception of these *bhaṭṭārakas* is that of ‘clerics.’ Though credited with the preservation of the Digambara tradition during the putatively adverse period of Muslim rule, as renouncers they are often seen as lax and overly ritualistic. However, little-studied vernacular songs of praise for individual *bhaṭṭārakas*, like other textual and archaeological sources, instead speak of deep devotion to them as ideal renouncers, venerable saints, and virtuous teachers. While the pupillary circles of the *bhaṭṭārakas* are assumed to have counted only celibate *brahmacārīs* and lay *paṇḍitas*, these song compositions also attest munis, *upādhyāyas*, and *ācāryas*, and one text traces the career of a *bhaṭṭāraka* rising up through these successive ascetic ranks. All this speaks of the continuity of the Digambara tradition throughout Sulatanate and Mughal times, gainsaying the prevalent historiography of this period as a distinct and deficient ‘Bhaṭṭāraka Era.’

**Keywords.** Digambara Jainism, Western India, *Bhaṭṭāraka* lineages, Songs of praise, Hagiography.

## The *bhaṭṭārakas* of Western India

While the Digambara Jaina tradition is most distinctively embodied in the figure of the naked and peripatetic male<sup>1\*</sup> muni,<sup>2</sup> it has throughout its course allowed for various types of renunciators.<sup>3</sup> Celibate male *brahmacārīs* and female *brahmacārīṇīs* either join roaming groups of fully initiated renunciators or live separately, and though many of them continue to pursue further initiation, some choose not to. The *ksullaka* and *ailaka* ranks more decisively constitute successive, preparatory stages for full muni initiation. Yet another type of Digambara renouncer is the clothed *bhaṭṭāraka*, who is seated at a monastic institution (*maṭha*).<sup>4</sup> For a period of over five centuries prior to the reappearance of naked munis in the twentieth century, lineages of *bhaṭṭārakas* formed the backbone of the Digambara tradition. In the early modern period, more than a dozen *bhaṭṭāraka* seats (*gaddī*) were located in Western India (today's Gujarat, Rajasthan, Haryana, Delhi, western Uttar Pradesh, northern Madhya Pradesh).<sup>5</sup> The majority was affiliated to the Mūlasaṅgha Balātkāragaṇa, the number of seats of which proliferated notably in the fifteenth century. Though the Mūlasaṅgha Senagaṇa never seems to have substantially extended its reach north of Maharashtra, a few Kāṣṭhāsaṅgha lineages were also operational in Western India. The *bhaṭṭārakas*' influence is generally thought to have declined after the rise in the seventeenth century of the Digambara Terāpantha, which, next to its ritual reforms, opposed their authority.<sup>6</sup> Most of the Western Indian *bhaṭṭāraka* lineages did,

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1 According to Digambara soteriology, women cannot reach liberation. Though female renunciators are therefore theoretically less highly esteemed than their male counterparts, some initiated female renunciators (*āryikā*) are also particularly famous and influential.

2 As does the tradition, I here subsume under the term muni not only the 'common' munis, but also *upādhyāyas* and *ācāryas*. Theirs are hierarchically higher ranks bestowed through further ordination and usually understood as signifying respectively a teacher and a leader of an ascetic lineage.

3 Pandits, lay scholars, and ritual specialists have also had an important place in the Digambara tradition for at least several centuries.

4 Joharāpurakara (1958) remains the standard work on the *bhaṭṭārakas*. See also Deo (1956), pp. 545–548; Kāsalīvāla (1967), (1979), (1981), (1982); Jain (1975), pp. 83–132; Sangave (1980 [1959]), pp. 269–270, pp. 317–322; (2001), pp. 133–143; Cort (2002), pp. 40–42; Flügel (2006), pp. 344–347; Jaina (2010); De Clercq (2011); De Clercq and Detige (2015). Little is known about the Digambara *yatis*. Although the term is also occasionally used to refer to early modern *bhaṭṭārakas* and munis, in a few lineages the last *bhaṭṭārakas* were succeeded with *brahmacārīs* with this title in a specific application.

5 Today, *bhaṭṭāraka* lineages continue to flourish only in South and Central India (Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra). Flügel (2006), p. 346, counted twelve operational seats, amongst which some were established in recent decades.

6 Cort (2002). The part of the Digambara tradition which did not follow the Terāpantha's ritual reforms and continued to support the *bhaṭṭārakas* became known as the Bīsapantha.

however, last well into the nineteenth or even twentieth century, and were discontinued only after opposition by lay reform movements of the late colonial period.

The early modern *bhaṭṭārakas* are best remembered for the consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*) of images (*mūrti*) and temples, and for the copying and conservation of manuscripts. Most Digambara temples of sufficient antiquity abound with images consecrated by *bhaṭṭārakas* throughout the centuries. Many *bhaṭṭārakas* were also prolific litterateurs themselves,<sup>7</sup> and a few of the former *maṭhas* still house some of the most extensive Digambara manuscript collections of Western India.<sup>8</sup> Digambara castes were often connected to specific *bhaṭṭāraka* lineages, and as a kind of caste gurus, the *bhaṭṭārakas* had important functions vis-à-vis the lay communities like conducting rituals, administering vows, leading pilgrimages, and mediating on their behalf with rulers.

## Venerable *bhaṭṭārakas*

The scholarly, as well as popular, perception of the early modern *bhaṭṭārakas* now prevalent is that of ‘clerics’ or ‘administrator-clerics.’<sup>9</sup> As ‘pontiffs,’ the *bhaṭṭārakas* are credited with the nominal preservation of the Digambara tradition during the supposedly entirely inauspicious period of Muslim rule. As renouncers, however, *bhaṭṭārakas* are seen as deficient, ascetically lax or ‘corrupt,’ excessively ritualistic, and overly involved with tantra and mantra. As such, they compare negatively to the naked muni who have once more increased in numbers in the twentieth and twenty-first century. The extended early modern period, then, stands out as a distinct ‘Bhaṭṭāraka Era,’ differing in almost every sense from both the pre-Muslim and the contemporary period. This historiographical framework rules out any notion of the *bhaṭṭārakas* as venerable ascetics.

Various little-studied textual and archaeological<sup>10</sup> materials from Western India, however, speak of deep devotion and ritual veneration of the *bhaṭṭārakas*.

7 On the literary compositions of the Western Indian *bhaṭṭārakas*, see Śāstrī, P. (n.d.); Śāstrī, N. (1974); and the monographs of Kastūracanda Kāsalīvāla referred to below.

8 Detige (2017). The most notable collections are the *Bhaṭṭārakīya granthabhaṇḍāra* of Nagaur and the *Āmera śāstrabhaṇḍāra* in Jaipur. See Kragh (2013) for a study of the latter manuscript collection as a ‘localized literary history.’

9 See Dundas (2002 [1992]), p. 124, De Clercq (2011), and Jaini (1998 [1979]), p. 307. Direct and indirect Terāpanthī influence, Orientalist anticlerical stances, and colonial Jaina reformers’ perspectives seem to have interacted and mutually reinforced each other in the construction of this now dominant epistemic framework.

10 Most notably, funerary monuments (*carāṇa-pādukā*, *carāṇa-chatrī*, *niṣedhikā*) found throughout Western India of *bhaṭṭārakas* of all known lineages: Detige (2014), De Clercq and Detige (2015), pp. 321–326, Detige (forthcoming b), (in preparation b).

These sources amply clarify that the perception and treatment of the early modern *bhaṭṭārakas* in their own times, as ideal renouncers, venerable saints, and worthy teachers, paralleled in almost every way that of the naked muni today.<sup>11</sup> This chapter aims to redress prevalent perceptions of both the *bhaṭṭārakas* and the ‘Bhaṭṭāraka Era’ by drawing specifically from vernacular songs eulogizing individual *bhaṭṭārakas*.<sup>12</sup> Apart from lucidly voicing the now faded, former venerability of the Western Indian *bhaṭṭārakas*, these compositions also form important source material on the constitution of early modern communities of Digambara renouncers. While it has thus far been assumed that the *bhaṭṭāraka saṅghas* only counted *brahmacārīs* and lay pandits, we also read here of munis, *upādhyāyas*, and *ācāryas*, other sources<sup>13</sup> also attesting *brahmacāriṇīs*, *āryikās*, and the so far little-known rank of the *maṅḍalācārya*. One composition relates of a specific renouncer’s career as having risen to the *bhaṭṭāraka paṭṭa* (seat) along the successive ascetic ranks (*pada*) of muni, *upādhyāya*, and *ācārya*. The sheer usage of these ranks in the early modern period, as well as some elements of the songs of praise shortly touched upon below, indicate the continuity of the Digambara tradition across the so-called ‘Bhaṭṭāraka Era.’

‘*Karai gāvai maṅgalacāro*’:

Singing the praises of the *bhaṭṭārakas*

Vernacular eulogies of *bhaṭṭārakas* (*gīta*, *jakhaḍī*, *hamacī*, *lāvaṇī*, and so on) sing the praises of the *bhaṭṭārakas*’ virtues (*guṇa-gāna*)<sup>14</sup> in an often elated, devotional spirit. Such compositions are available from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century on *bhaṭṭārakas* of various lineages. Typically breathing an atmosphere of joy, jubilation, and veneration,<sup>15</sup> the *gītas* emphatically articulate the regard and reverence in which their contemporaries held the Western Indian *bhaṭṭārakas*. Many passag-

11 On the veneration of renouncers as gurus in the Digambara tradition, see Cort in this volume.

12 Further textual sources confirming the early modern *bhaṭṭārakas*’ venerability are manuscript colophons, Detige (forthcoming a), and Sanskrit *bhaṭṭāraka pūjā*, ritual texts for the eightfold veneration (*aṣṭadravya-pūjā*) of specific *bhaṭṭārakas*, probably mostly used for rituals at their funerary monuments: Detige (2014), (2015), pp. 162–167; De Clercq and Detige (2015), pp. 326–328.

13 See Detige (forthcoming a).

14 For example, *śrī guru kā jasa gāvataṃ* (singing the praises of the illustrious (*śrī*) guru), *Bhaṭṭāraka Devendrakīrti jakhaḍī* in Nyāyatīrtha (1985b), p. 35; *guṇa kahūṃ śrī guru mahendrakīrti* (I praise *śrī* guru Mahendrakīrti), *Bhaṭṭāraka Mahendrakīrti jakhaḍī* in Nyāyatīrtha (1985a), p. 422.

15 For example, *morai mani adhika anamdo* (my mind is so elated), *Sahasrakīrti gīta* MS (see footnote 24).

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es, in fact, read as paradigmatic descriptions of the qualities of an ideal Digambara renouncer. Throughout, *bhaṭṭārakas* are addressed as munis (*munivara*, *munirāja*, *munīndra*, *mahāmuni*), or *ācāryas*,<sup>16</sup> as ascetics (*sadhu*, *nirgrantha*), and as gurus. They are referred to as *mahāvratadhāras*, observing the five *mahāvrata* vows, as well as the fully-initiated renouncer's three restraints (*gupti*) and five rules of conduct (*samiti*).<sup>17</sup> *Bhaṭṭārakas* are also attributed with the twenty-eight *mūlaguṇas* of a muni and the ten forms of righteousness (*daśalakṣaṇadharmā*)<sup>18</sup> and eulogized as knowled-geable of all scriptures, skills, and arts.<sup>19</sup> They are praised for their restraint (*saṃyama*), referred to as seeking liberation (*mumuṅṣu*),<sup>20</sup> and being freed of vices like anger, delusion, passion, and greed.<sup>21</sup> Examples and tropes of the glorification of *bhaṭṭārakas* from these compositions could be further multiplied, and leave little doubt as to how strongly they were perceived as ideal ascetics and incarnations of ascetic ideals.

While some songs consist solely of the recitation of the *bhaṭṭārakas*' virtues, many also bind biographical data into their praise. Details like the renouncer's caste, place of birth, parents' names, physical beauty, and promising youth are similarly found in poetic genres extolling contemporary munis and *ācāryas*.<sup>22</sup> References to *bhaṭṭārakas*' earlier life as laymen and as renouncers also occur, as well as, most commonly, to their consecration on the *bhaṭṭāraka* seat (*paṭṭābhīṣeka*), peregrinations (*vihāra*), *pratiṣṭhās* and pilgrimages conducted, and honours received from rulers. Those *gītas*, of which *chāpas* or colophons reveal the names of their authors, were composed by pupils of *bhaṭṭārakas*, either pandits or *brahmacārīs*, or by *bhaṭṭārakas* themselves, in praise of their predecessors.

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16 The Ajmer manuscripts, for example (see footnote 24), shun the term *bhaṭṭāraka* altogether, the compositions preferring *munivara* (excellent muni) and the colophons calling them *ācārya*.

17 For example, Kāsalivāla (1981), p. 99. The five *mahāvratas* are non-violence (*ahiṃsā*), truthfulness (*satya*), not taking anything not given (*asteya*), chastity (*brahmacarya*), and non-possession (*aparigraha*). The three *guptis* prescribe the restraint of mind, speech, and body. The five *samitis* involve care in walking, speaking, accepting alms, picking up and putting down things, and excretory functions.

18 The twenty-eight *mūlaguṇas* compromise the five *mahāvratas*, five *samitis*, controlling of the five senses, six essential duties (*āvaśyaka*), pulling out one's hair, nudity, sleeping on the ground, not bathing, not brushing one's teeth, eating while standing, and eating only once a day. The ten virtues are forgiveness (*kṣamā*), kindness (*mārdava*), honesty (*ārjava*), purity (*śauca*), truthfulness (*satya*), restraint (*saṃyama*), asceticism (*tapas*), renunciation (*tyāga*), non-possessiveness (*ākīṃcanya*), and celibacy (*brahmacarya*).

19 *Bhaṭṭāraka Vijayakīrti*, for example, is extolled as being skilled in *āgama*, *veda*, *sid-dhānta*, *vyākaraṇa*, *nāṭaka*, *chanda*, and *pramāṇa* (*Vijayakīrti gīta* in Kāsalivāla (1982), p. 195).

20 *Dharmacaṃdro mumuṅṣuḥ* (*Stuti* MS, see footnote 32).

21 For example, Kāsalivāla (1981), p. 84.

22 Detige (in preparation a).

I have collected a series of *gītas* on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century *bhaṭṭārakas* of the Balātkāragaṇa Nāgaurasākhā<sup>23</sup> from *guṭakās* preserved at the Baṛā Ḍarāji Mandira, the former Bhaṭṭāraka Maṭha in Ajmer.<sup>24</sup> Throughout his oeuvre, Kastūracanda Kāsalīvāla documents a large number of *gītas* from the *bhaṭṭāraka* lineages of Gujarat and the Vāgaḍa region. He edits a composition on Vijayakīrti, an early sixteenth-century *bhaṭṭāraka* of the Balātkāragaṇa Īḍarasākhā, penned by his successor Śubhacandra,<sup>25</sup> and discusses a composition by Brahmācārī Jayarāja on the late sixteenth-century Bhaṭṭāraka Guṇakīrti of the same lineage.<sup>26</sup> Kāsalīvāla reports particularly large numbers of praise compositions on late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century *bhaṭṭārakas* of a sub-lineage of the Balātkāragaṇa Sūrataśākhā,<sup>27</sup> editing seven compositions (see references below). Sufficient indication of the prevalence of these *bhaṭṭāraka* song-eulogies in at least this lineage and at this time, Kāsalīvāla<sup>28</sup> maintains that there are dozens of them on Bhaṭṭāraka Abhayacandra, estimates about a dozen compositions on

23 I here adopt the names for the Balātkāragaṇa branches devised by Joharāpurakara (1958). It is important to note that these appellations often reflect the location of the seat of their last nineteenth- or twentieth-century incumbents and are not necessarily representative for the lineages' earlier history.

24 In sum, the *guṭakās* contain compositions on the *bhaṭṭāraka* Bhuvanakīrti (*paṭṭa* s. 1586) [cat. no. 72: 31B–33A], Dharmakīrti (*paṭṭa* s. 1590) [two compositions: cat. no. 72: pp. 30B–31B = (with slight variations) cat. no. 148: pp. 43B–45A; and cat. no. 148: pp. 45A–45B], Viśalakīrti (*paṭṭa* s. 1601) [two compositions: cat. no. 72: pp. 37A–39A; and cat. no. 148: pp. 43A–43B], Sahasrakīrti (*paṭṭa* s. 1631) [two compositions: cat. no. 72: pp. 41B–42B = (with slight variations) cat. no. 148: pp. 52B–55B; and cat. no. 148: pp. 55B–57B], Nemicandra (*paṭṭa* s. 1650) [cat. no. 72: pp. 33A–34B], and Yaśakīrti (*paṭṭa* s. 1672) [cat. no. 72: pp. 51B–52B]. All dates refer to the *bhaṭṭārakas*' consecration to the seat as given by Joharāpurakara (1958), pp. 114–116.

25 *Vijayakīrti chanda* in Kāsalīvāla (1967), pp. 262–266.

26 Kāsalīvāla (1967), pp. 190–191; (1969), pp. 453–454; (1981), pp. 234–235. Kāsalīvāla (1979), pp. 106–107, also edits a *Bhuvanakīrti gīta* by Brahmācārī Vūcarāja (first half of the sixteenth century), understanding this to be a eulogy of the mid-fifteenth-century Īḍarasākhā *bhaṭṭāraka* of this name. Yet, being the same text as the *Bhuvanakīrti gīta* found in the Ajmer *guṭakā* (see footnote 25) it is more likely a composition on the sixteenth-century Nāgaurasākhā *bhaṭṭāraka* of that name, of whom Vūcarāja is indeed known to have been a pupil.

27 Kāsalīvāla (1981). Apart from yet another bifurcation which he calls the Jerahaṭasākhā, Joharāpurakara (1958), pp. 197–199, discusses two sub-branches of the Sūrataśākhā, arising from two pupils of the early sixteenth-century *bhaṭṭāraka* Lakṣmīcandra, Vīracandra and Abhayacandra. I refer to the latter's lineage as the Bāraḍolīśākhā below. Joharāpurakara (1958), p. 201, includes references to Abhayacandra's first two successors, Abhayanandi and Ratnakīrti (*paṭṭa* s. 1630), but not to the further *bhaṭṭāraka* of the lineage also discussed here, Kumudacandra (*paṭṭa* s. 1656), Abhayacandra (*paṭṭa* s. 1685), Śubhacandra (*paṭṭa* s. 1721), and Ratnacandra (*paṭṭa* s. 1748). (All *paṭṭābhiṣeka* dates according to Kāsalīvāla 1981).

28 Kāsalīvāla (1981), p. 77.

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Bhaṭṭāraka Ratnakīrti by Kavivara Gaṇeśa,<sup>29</sup> and lists<sup>30</sup> again as many authored by Paṇḍita Śrīpāla on the successive *bhaṭṭārakas* Ratnakīrti, Kumudacandra, Abhayacandra, Śubhacandra, and Ratnacandra. Nyāyafīrtha<sup>31</sup> edits and discusses two compositions in *Ḍhūṇḍhāḍī*, termed *jakhāḍī* in the manuscript colophons, on successive Balātkāragaṇa Dillī–Jayapuraśākhā *bhaṭṭārakas* from the first half of the eighteenth century (see below). I also found compositions related to sixteenth-century renunciators of this lineage in *guṭakās* found in its manuscript collection, the Āmera śāstrabhaṇḍāra.<sup>32</sup>

Joharāpurakara included song-like eulogies on *bhaṭṭārakas* from northern Maharashtra in his seminal work,<sup>33</sup> and is the only source for such compositions on Senagaṇa *bhaṭṭārakas*. One of these, a composition on Bhaṭṭāraka Lakṣmīsenā of the first half of the fifteenth century, is also the earliest known example.<sup>34</sup>

Kāsalīvāla<sup>35</sup> understands yet another composition edited by him, a *Vijayakīrtti Gīta* penned by Brahmācārī Yaśodhara (references from the 1520s), as pertaining to the early sixteenth-century Balātkāragaṇa Īḍaraśākhā Bhaṭṭāraka Vijayakīrti mentioned above.<sup>36</sup> Given the composition’s references to the Kāṣṭhāsaṅgha and to Vijayakīrti’s consecration by Viśvasena, however, the poem rather seems to eulogize the sixteenth-century Kāṣṭhāsaṅgha Nandītaṭagaccha Bhaṭṭāraka Vijayakīrti, who was indeed preceded by one Viśvasena. Joharāpurakara<sup>37</sup> also edits a fragment of a composition on this latter Kāṣṭhāsaṅgha *bhaṭṭāraka* (see more below on the latter two texts).

29 Ibid., p. 99.

30 Ibid., pp. 89–90, 80–82.

31 Nyāyafīrtha (1985a) and (1985b).

32 One composition focuses on Bhaṭṭāraka Prabhācandra (*paṭṭa* s. 1571/72–1580) [*Gītu (kamalavadana kāmīnī kahe), guṭakā* no. 5, *veṣṭana saṅkhyā* 203, comp. *ga) ga)*, 230B–231B]. The second, eulogizing one Dharmacandra, possibly deals with Prabhācandra’s successor of that name [*Stuti, guṭakā* no. 4, *veṣṭana saṅkhyā* 202, comp. *dha) dha)*, 196B–197A]. Joharāpurakara (1958), p. 112, does not include Bhaṭṭāraka/Maṇḍalācārya Dharmacandra (*paṭṭa* s. 1581–1603), nor his successor Lalitakīrti (*paṭṭa* s. 1603–1621), as successors to Prabhācandra and predecessors to Candrakīrti (*paṭṭa* s. 1622), listing the latter as direct successor to Prabhācandra. Yet see, for example, Nyāyafīrtha (1985a), p. 421; Detige (forthcoming a).

33 See Joharāpurakara (1958). Joharāpurakara edits two compositions in full—of a Mūla-saṅgha Senagaṇa *bhaṭṭāraka* of the second half of the seventeenth century, (Joharāpurakara (1958), p. 16, *lekha* 50) and a Balātkāragaṇa Kāraṅjāśākhā *bhaṭṭāraka* of the first half of the eighteenth century (ibid., pp. 69–70, *lekha* 190, *lāvaṇī*)—and gives a number of excerpts of what he (ibid., pp. 32–33) refers to as *stuti* and *praśamsā* (ibid., p. 12, *lekha* 31; p. 19, *lekha* 62–63; p. 25, *lekha* 83–84).

34 Ibid., p. 12, *lekha* 31.

35 Kāsalīvāla (1982), pp. 164, 171–172.

36 Ibid., pp. 194–195.

37 Joharāpurakara (1958), p. 270, *lekha* 672; see also ibid., p. 294.

In sum, there remains a large corpus of *bhaṭṭāraka* songs of praise, composed over several centuries and related to many of the lineages known to have been active in Western India.<sup>38</sup> The sheer quantity of compositions, and of compositions by single writers or on single *bhaṭṭārakas*, shows they came to constitute a specific genre of devotional literature. From a number of indications, we can surmise they were not only commonly composed but also performed. Some manuscripts give the familiar indication of the raga in which the poem was meant to be sung at the onset of the text.<sup>39</sup> Some compositions contain allusions to their being sung by lay women<sup>40</sup> with the accompaniment of rhythm instruments,<sup>41</sup> while others refer to the singing of songs to welcome visiting *bhaṭṭārakas*. One text, for example, describes the Balātkāraṅga Bāraḍolīśākhā Bhaṭṭāraka Abhayacandra's visit to Surat in VS 1706:

*Āja āṇa[m]da mana ati ghaṇo e, kāmī varatayo jaya jaya kāra/  
Abhayacandra muni āvayāē kāmī sūrata nagara majhāra re//  
Ghare ghare uchava ati ghaṇāē kāmī mānanī maṅgala gāya re/  
Aṅga pūjā ne avāraṇāē, kāī kuṅkuma chaḍhāde baḍāya re//*

So highly elated, the mind, today, some call out 'Jay jay,  
Muni Abhayacandra entered the city of Surat!  
Cheerful celebration in every house, some ladies sing auspicious songs,  
some perform *aṅga pūjā*, some offer *kuṅkuma* and praise.  
(Kāsalīvāla (1981), p. 77)

A few *bhaṭṭāraka āratīs* (lamp-offering) are also available,<sup>42</sup> and some compositions, not explicitly named as such by their editors, too contain references to *āratī*.<sup>43</sup> Today, Bīsapanthī laypeople perform *āratī*<sup>44</sup> of living renouncers (typically

38 The work done on the Rajasthan–Gujarat region by scholars like Kastūracanda Kāsalīvāla and Anūpacanda Nyāyatīrtha is unequaled elsewhere. The abundance of similar compositions here suggests they may also be expected to be found in the manuscript collections of yet other lineages.

39 For example, raga *malhāra* in Kāsalīvāla (1981), p. 116; raga *gauḍī* in Nyāyatīrtha (1985b), p. 35; raga *dhanyāsī* in Kāsalīvāla (1981), p. 116.

40 For example, *kautūhala kāmīṇi karai gāvai maṅgalacāro* ('Enchanted ladies sing an auspicious song') (*Sahasrakīrti gīta* MS); *gāvahi e kāmāṇi madhura sare ati madhura sari gāvati kāmāṇi* ('Sing with a honeyed voice, o, damsel; with a sweet-sounding voice the lady sings'), *Bhuvanakīrti gīta* in Kāsalīvāla (1979), p. 107.

41 *nīsāṇa-ḍhola-mṛdaṅgamau*; *nīsāṇa* [= *nagādā*], *ḍhola*, and *mṛdaṅga* drums (*Sahasrakīrti gīta* MS).

42 Joharāpurakara (1958), p. 19, *lekha* 61; p. 23, *lekha* 78, gives excerpts from what he calls *āratīs* on two Kārañjā Senagaṅga *bhaṭṭāraka* from, respectively, the late seventeenth century and between the second half of eighteenth century and the early nineteenth.

43 For example, *karūṃ āratī* (I perform *āratī*) (*Vījayakīrti gīta* in Kāsalīvāla (1982), p. 194).

44 Terāpanthī generally do not perform *āratī*.



*ācāryas*) on special occasions, or in the case of some renunciators, every evening.<sup>45</sup> The practice of performing *bhaṭṭārakas*’ *ārātī*, then, might have been a specific incentive for the writing of some of the praise compositions, distinct from other songs’ function to welcome *maṅgalācaraṇa*. According to Kāsalīvāla, some of these compositions were also written to be performed at the time of the *bhaṭṭārakas*’ *vihāra*, or on the occasion of group pilgrimages led by them.<sup>46</sup>

‘*Dūri desa syauṃ ābīyā jī saṅgha caturavidhi sāra*’:

### The early modern Digambara saṅgha

Thus, while the compositions and manuscript colophons do not necessarily make such explicit distinctions, various genres or functions of *bhaṭṭāraka* eulogies can be identified. A considerable number of texts show sufficient consistency to be regarded as yet another, distinctive subgenre. I refer to these as *paṭṭa-sthāpanā gītas*. While these songs, much like the others, feature the eulogy of *bhaṭṭārakas* as ideal munis, their devotees’ elation at their conduct, virtues and skills, and biographical data of the *bhaṭṭārakas* praised, they revolve more specifically around their subjects’ consecration (*dīkṣā*) on the *bhaṭṭāraka* seat (*paṭṭa-sthāpanā*, *paṭṭābhiṣeka*). In their jubilation, these compositions typically situate the *dīkṣā* in place and time, describe in varying detail the rituals and celebrations that took place, and name the main people present at and involved with the event, renunciators as well as laity.

Below, I discuss compositions on the consecration of one sixteenth-century Īdarasākhā *bhaṭṭāraka* and two eighteenth-century Dillī–Jayapuraśākhā *bhaṭṭārakas*. Mallidāsa’s composition on Prabhācandra of the latter lineage also reports on his *dīkṣā* in VS 1572, in Campāvati (Cātasū, Chaksu).<sup>47</sup> From the Ajmer *gūṭakās* discussed above, the first *gīta* on Bhaṭṭāraka Sahasrakīrti revolves around his consecration in VS 1634. The compositions on consecutive Bāraḍolīśākhā *bhaṭṭārakas* edited by Kāsalīvāla (1981) referred to above are also representative examples of this genre. A composition by Sumatisāgara commemorates the anointment of Bhaṭṭāraka Ratnakīrti in Jālaṇapura, ‘in the Southern country’ (probably Jālanā, Maharashtra) in VS 1630.<sup>48</sup> No less than three compositions remain on Bhaṭṭāraka Kumudacandra’s consecration in Bāraḍolī in VS 1656: two by ‘Kavi-vara’ (Brahmacārī?) Gaṇeśa,<sup>49</sup> and one anonymous.<sup>50</sup> Kumudacandra’s succession

45 Detige (in preparation a).

46 Kāsalīvāla (1981), p. 99.

47 *Gītu (kamalavadana kāmīnī kahe)*, MS (see footnote 24).

48 Kāsalīvāla (1981), p. 104.

49 *Ibid.*, pp. 101–102; *Kumudacandranī hamacī*, *ibid.*, pp. 233–234.

50 *Guru-gīta*, *ibid.*, pp. 204–205.

by Bhaṭṭāraka Abhayacandra in VS 1685, again in Bāraḍolī, is commemorated and celebrated by both Brahmācārī Meghasāgara and Paṇḍita Dāmodara.<sup>51</sup> The proceedings of the lineage's next *paṭṭābhiṣeka*, taking place in SV 1721 in Poravandara (Porbandar),<sup>52</sup> are detailed by Paṇḍita Śrīpāla in his *Śubhacandra hamaḥī*.<sup>53</sup> Mahatisāgara's *lāvaṇī* (Marathi song), a miniature *vita* of his guru, the late eighteenth-century Balātkāragaṇa Kāraṇjāśākhā Devendrākīrti, touches upon similar elements as the Western Indian *paṭṭa-sthāpanā gītas* in its verses on Devendrākīrti's consecration.<sup>54</sup> In the sixteenth-century Kāṣṭhāsāṅgha Nandītaṭagaccha compositions referred to above we read respectively of Bhaṭṭāraka Viśvasena's *dīkṣā digambara* in Ḍūṅgarapura, being consecrated at the hands of his guru Viśalākīrti,<sup>55</sup> and of Viśvasena, in turn, consecrating his own successor Vijayakīrti.<sup>56</sup>

The genre of the *paṭṭa-sthāpanā gīta*, like *bhaṭṭāraka* eulogies more generally, thus also seems to have been well established across the various lineages. It is possible that these formed a more purely textual, commemorative literary genre, less explicitly meant to be performed than other types of *gītas*. Apart from the historical details of place and time, some of these compositions include longish lists of names of the people attending and participating. Of particular interest to us are some of these texts' references to the attendance of not just *brahmācārīs*, pandits, and lay sponsors, but also munis and *ācāryas*. The presence of munis and *ācāryas* in the early modern Digambara *saṅgha* is thus far poorly known. While also demonstrable from textual<sup>57</sup> and epigraphic<sup>58</sup> attestations compiled more laboriously, a few *paṭṭa-sthāpanā gītas* offer instant peeps into the breadth and variety of early modern Digambara asceticism under the Western Indian *bhaṭṭārakas* and the prevalence of munis and *ācāryas* in the period. A Ḍhūṅḍhāḍī *jakhaḍī* composed by Paṇḍita Akairāma and edited by Nyāyafīrtha lists the renouncers who came to the consecration of the Balātkāragaṇa Dillī–Jayapuraśākhā Bhaṭṭāraka Mahendrākīrti in Delhi in VS 1792, and venerated the freshly minted *bhaṭṭāraka* after the completion of his *paṭṭābhiṣeka*:

51 *Guru-gīta-rāga malhāra*, *ibid.*, pp. 116–117; *rāga dhanyāsī*, *ibid.*, pp. 105–106.

52 Kāsalīvāla (1981), p. 80.

53 *Ibid.*, pp. 226–228.

54 Joharāpurakara (1958), pp. 69–70, *lekha* 190.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 270, *lekha* 672.

56 Kāsalīvāla (1982), pp. 194–195.

57 Substantial numbers of references to early modern munis can be found in scribal colophons (*puṣpikā*) and authorial *praśasti*, and some of their own compositions have also been preserved (Detige forthcoming a).

58 Funerary memorials of early modern munis and *ācāryas* are found at several sites in Rajasthan (Detige in preparation b).

13. ‘*Guṇa kahūṃ śrī guru*’

*dūri desa syauṃ ābīyā jī saṅgha caturavidhi sāra/  
guru pūjana bāmdana karai jī aṅgi uchāha apāra//5//  
uchāha aṅgi apāra jina kai ācārija ara arijikā/  
brahmacāra paṇḍita śrāvīkā gurucaraṇa pūja viśeṣikā//  
jahāṃ kṣetra kīrati haraṣa kīrati padama kīrati pāmiye/  
muni acala kīrati sakala kīrati vimala kīrati bakhāṇiye//  
ima rāja śrī ara kamala śrī ye arajikā doya āniye/  
brahma ṭekacaṃda ju keśavadāsa kapūracandajī jāniye//6//  
(Nyāyatīrtha (1985a), p. 423)*

From faraway lands, the whole fourfold *saṅgha* came.  
They venerate and praise the guru, in their limbs a joy unsurpassed. (5)  
A joy that cannot be contained, in the limbs of *ācāryas*, *āryikās*,  
*brahmacārīs*, pandits and laywomen, performing *pūjā* of the guru’s feet.  
Where Kṣetrakīrti,<sup>59</sup> Harṣakīrti, and Padmakīrti arrived [?],  
Muni Acalakīrti, Sakalakīrti and Vimalakīrti, so be it known.  
So also Rājaśrī and Kamalaśrī, these two *āryikās* came.  
*Brahmacārī* Tekacandajī, Keśavadāsa [and] Kapūracanda, know these too. (6)

A similar composition by one Nemaçanda is available commemorating the *paṭṭābhīṣeka* of Mahendrakīrti’s predecessor, Devendrakīrti, who succeeded his guru Jagatkīrti in Ambāvati (Amer) in VS 1770. It similarly gives an account of the renouncers present at the event:

*caṃda kīrati jī jasa līyo saba bātāṃ paravīṇojī/  
śrī jagatakīrati kai pāṭa thāpiyo deva indrakīrati sukhalīṇojī/ṭeka //  
sukha līna ati hī viśāla kīrati jñāna kīrati subhācaṃdajī/  
nemacaṃda nemānaṃdi meru kīrati brahma nāthū ṭekaca[m]dajī/  
lālacacaṃda likhamīdāsa paṇḍita giridhara lakhamaṇa rasa līyo/  
devaindra kīrati pāṭi thāpitāṃ svāmī caṃdakīratijī jasa līyo//3//*

Candrakīrti gained glory [as] well-versed in all matters,  
delighted, he established Devendrakīrti on Śrī Jagatkīrti’s seat.<sup>60</sup>  
Overjoyed [as well, were] Viśalakīrti, Jñānakīrti, Subhacandajī,  
Nemaçanda,<sup>61</sup> Nemānandi [and] Merukīrti; Brahmacārī Nāthu, Ṭekacandajī,

59 Possibly a scribal or editorial error for the more common name, Kṣemakīrti.

60 Probably the Bhaṭṭāraka Candrakīrti who at this time was the incumbent of the neighbouring Balātkāraṅga seat in Nagaur. If so, the fact that Candrakīrti came over to consecrate Devendrakīrti probably means that Jagatkīrti had died before anointing his successor. From elsewhere, too, we find references to Balātkāraṅga *bhaṭṭāraka* establishing new incumbents of other seats. For two more examples, see Kāsalīvāla (1981), pp. 81, 227–228; and Detige (2015), pp. 152–153.

61 Though not an uncommon name, this could be the composition’s very author, who doesn’t specify his rank in the *chāpa* either. Contemporary munis and other renouncers too are prolific authors of various devotional genres and *pūjās* in praise of their gurus.

Lālacanda [and] Lakṣmīdāsa; Paṇḍita<sup>62</sup> Giridhara [and] Lakṣmaṇa were thrilled. Placing Devendrakīrti on the seat, Swami Candrakīrti gained much glory. (Nyāyatīrtha (1985b), p. 36)

Here, the rank of the six renouncers from Viśālakīrti to Merukīrti is not indicated. However, judging from their names,<sup>63</sup> and their being listed before attendees explicitly called *brahmacārī*, it seems likely they were munis (*upādhyāyas*, *ācāryas*).<sup>64</sup> While other *paṭṭa-sthāpanā gītas* do not explicitly name the renouncers present, they do commonly refer to the meeting of the *catuṣvidha saṅgha*, the fourfold Jaina community consisting of male (*sadhu*) and female (*sādhvī*) renouncers, and male (*śrāvaka*) and female (*śrāvikā*) laypeople. Given the general prevalence of munis, as confirmed by other sources, the concept of the *catuṣvidha saṅgha*, as used in those cases too, potentially had actual referents, rather than merely being used as an idiomatic trope. Conversely, the usage of the term can also be read as confirming the former perception of these renouncers as genuine and undisputed venerable renouncers.

A *paṭṭa-sthāpanā* composition by Brahmacārī Jayarāja provides valuable insight into the career of Bhaṭṭāraka Guṇakīrti, who in VS 1632 was consecrated as the incumbent of the Īḍarasākhā, one of the two Balātkāragaṇa seats of the Vāgaḍa region.<sup>65</sup> The narrative of this early modern renouncer's life, first as a lay boy and then as a renouncer, reads remarkably similar to contemporary Jaina hagiographies. Studious, bright, and good-looking, the young Gaṇapati experienced detachment (*vairāgya*) early in life and took to the feet of Bhaṭṭāraka Sumatikīrti.<sup>66</sup> Impressed by his merits, Sumatikīrti accepted Gaṇapati as his main pupil, giving him his new name, Guṇakīrti. The fledgling renouncer then joined the *bhaṭṭāraka*

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62 Naming but a few of them, Nemaacanda and Akairāma both continue with the claim that fifty-one pandits were present at the respective *bhaṭṭāraka dīkṣā* they commemorate. Perhaps this is a type of stock phrase or an auspicious number.

63 In the early modern period, names ending in *-kīrti*, *-nanda/nandi/nandī*, and *-bhūṣaṇa*, as well as *-candra*, were characteristic for munis, *upādhyāyas*, *ācāryas*, and *bhaṭṭārakas*. *Brahmacārīs* typically have names with suffixes *-dāsa*, *-sāgara*, or *-candra*, or carry their lay names.

64 If so, and if the Nemaacandra listed here is the author of the *jakhaḍī*, this is the only known example of a *bhaṭṭāraka* song of praise composed by a muni.

65 Kāsalīvāla (1969), pp. 453–454; Kāsalīvāla (1981), pp. 234–235, gives a seemingly comprehensive outline of the contents of the composition. Kāsalīvāla (1967), pp. 190–191, provides a few of its verses, then refers to it as *Guru chanda*. He locates his manuscript at the Mahāvīra bhavana, Jaipur (= Āmera śāstrabhaṇḍāra, 'register no. 5, p. 145, *ibid.*, p. 190). I could not retrieve the manuscript, and hence did not have access to the full text. I base my discussion on Kāsalīvāla's paraphrase.

66 Many *bhaṭṭāraka gītas* indicate that their subjects renounced in childhood, and thus were child celibates (*bālabrahmacārī*), a status still highly esteemed for contemporary renouncers.

### 13. ‘*Guṇa kahūṃ śrī guru*’

on his *vihāra*, probably initially as a *brahmacārī*. Cheered by a crowd, he took the five *mahāvratas* at a function in Ḍūṅgarapura, becoming a muni. Once he was well-versed in scriptures and logic, and had become a skilled and captivating orator, he received the *upādhyāya* pada and started teaching the *Gommaṣasāra* and other texts. Sometime later he was again promoted, becoming an *ācārya*, a leader of the *saṅgha*. Sumatikīrti then declared Guṇakīrti his successor, and a propitious date was determined for his consecration to the *bhaṭṭāraka* seat, which took place again in Ḍūṅgarapura.

Before ultimately becoming a *bhaṭṭāraka*, Guṇakīrti was initiated over time into the successive Digambara padas, much as would be customary for an *ācārya* today.<sup>67</sup> This was, however, apparently not always an absolute requirement, as elsewhere we find accounts of *brahmacārīs* consecrated directly as *ācārya* or *baṭṭāraka*, skipping the muni (and *upādhyāya*) ranks.<sup>68</sup> It must be noted, furthermore, that the conferment of these ranks probably does not necessarily entail that these were naked renunciators. If we presume that the Western Indian *bhaṭṭārakas* were generally clothed,<sup>69</sup> this in fact seems rather improbable, given that even in its practical absence, throughout the early modern period nudity remained the highest Digambara ideal of renunciation,<sup>70</sup> and naked munis could thus hardly be subordinate to clothed *bhaṭṭārakas*. Yet, the very usage of the muni and *ācārya* padas, the venerability of *bhaṭṭārakas* and the specific forms of their veneration (*pūjā*, *āratī*, *gīta*), their *dīkṣā* rituals<sup>71</sup> and adoption of the *mahāvratas* and other rules of conduct, all speak of a continuity of Digambara renunciation across—and crossing out—the ‘Bhaṭṭāraka Era.’ What I have not attended to here is more precisely situating the prevalence, and eventual disappearance, of early modern munis and *ācāryas* in time and place. Preliminary results show that the muni rank became almost entirely obsolete after the seventeenth century, while the *ācārya* pada disappeared only after the eighteenth.<sup>72</sup> These are findings which differ starkly from the common assumption that the rise of the Sultanates, and hence the commencement of Muslim rule, abruptly and simultaneously caused the stage entry of the *bhaṭṭārakas* and the exit of the munis.

67 Apart then from the phases as *kṣullaka* and *ailaka*, ranks which are rarely attested from the early modern period (see Detige forthcoming b). Presuming that early modern munis typically were clothed, it can be understood that these preparatory stages to becoming a naked renouncer were perhaps deemed superfluous.

68 For example, Joharāpurakara (1958), p. 69, *lekha* 190; Kāsalivāla (1981), p. 47.

69 References to *bhaṭṭārakas*’ nudity do occur, possibly as temporary practices. See Detige (forthcoming b).

70 See Cort in this volume.

71 For want of space, I am forced to omit an examination of the *paṭṭa-sthāpanā gītas*’ occasionally quite rich accounts of the ritual procedure of the *bhaṭṭāraka dīkṣā*.

72 See Detige (forthcoming a, b; in preparation b). *Ācāryas* are, in fact, attested particularly numerous *after* the disappearance of munis.

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