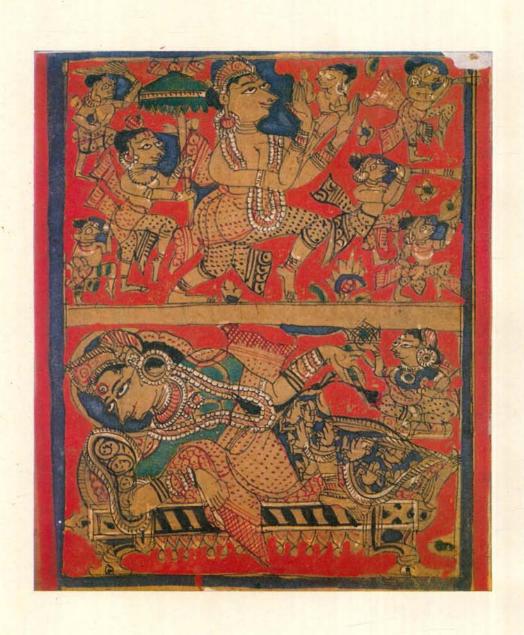
ASPECTS OF JAINA ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Editors: U. P. Shan M. A. Dhany



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U. P. SHAH

M. A. DHAKY

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Printed by Shantilal Harjivan Shah, Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad-380014 In consonance with the policy of the Government of India, the Government of Gujarat had appointed the State level committee for the celebration of 2500th anniversary of Bhagavan Mahavira's Nirvana. While chalking out the programme for the celebration so as to make it more meaningful and lasting, the Committee also decided to undertake the publication of some rare books on Jaina art and culture so as to promote and popularise a serious study of this rich cultural heritage and infinite source of learning and research. As a part of this publication programme, the Committee is pleased to release this unique publication entitled Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture. The book, it is hopped will be of immense interest to the students and researchers of this particular branch of study and it may also inspire the modern readers for further reading on Jaina art and culture.

I take this opportunity to express sincere sense of gratitude on behalf of the Committee to all those who have done their utmost in bringing out this beautiful and significant title.

17th December, '75 Ahmedabad Kasturbhai Lalbhai Chairman

State Level Committee for the Celebration of 2500th Anniversary of Bhagavan Mahavira's Nirvana, Government of Gujarat

A whole year-long (from 13th Nov. 1974 to 3rd Nov. 1975) celebrations were sponsored by the Government of India on the completion of 2500 years of Nirvāṇa of Lord Mahāvīra, the last of the twenty-four Tīrthankaras of the Jainas. The Central Government, the State Governments and the Jaina Community too set up various committees to contemplate and execute programmes. It was thought advisable to utilise this opportunity in studying and discussing various aspects of Jainism, and it was felt that the results should be published during the year of celebrations. The present volume embodies the gratifying and encouraging results of "An All India Seminar on Jaina Art and Architecture sponsored by the Bhagavān Mahāvīra 2500th Nirvāṇa Mahotsava Samiti Bombay, and organised at Ahmedabad by the L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad from 18th to 22nd Nov., 1973".

Shri Ramlal Parikh, the then Vice-chancellor of the Gujarat Vidyapith, extended his full cooperation to the organisers of the seminar and made good arrangements in the Gujarat Vidyapith for the scholars. So, the Seminar was held at this famous educational institution. Sheth Shri Kasturbhai Lalbhai, the Chairman of the Samiti, heartily welcomed the scholars. The work of the seminar started with the illuminating inaugural address by Shri Ishvarbhai Patel, Vice-chancellor of the Gujarat University, for which we are very grateful to him.

Scholars from all over India attended the seminar, read their papers and discussed the points raised. All were co-operative, helped one another and made a joint effort to arrive at some truths. Most of the papers were illustrated with slides. All the seven sessions were held under the chairmanship of different experts like Dr. Motichandra, Shri K. R. Shrinivasan, Prof. Ramlal Parikh, Prof. G. S. Gai, Shri Krishna Deo, Dr. R. Nagaswami. An invitation was accepted by Dr. Stella Kremrisch but she could not attend the seminar due to her sudden illness. Of course, she sent her learned paper to be read in the seminar. Dr. Michael Meister also could not attend the seminar. He too sent his paper which is included in this volume. Other notables who could not attend were Shri M. N. Deshpande who had a schedule to observe; Shri Karl Khandalawala, who had a date for an important case; while Shri C. Sivaramamurti, whose absence was equally felt, was away in Japan when the Seminar was held.

All the papers which were read and discussed in the seminar are printed in this volume; the one on the "Ganga Jaina Sculpture" was in point of fact

read elsewhere by Professor M. A. Dhaky but included here to supplement K. K. Srinivasan's papaer on "Ganga Jaina Architecture". It is regretted that Smt. Sarayu Doshi's paper has not found its place in the volume. Her paper in its very much enlarged and revised form was received in Aug. 1975 when it was too late for us to include it in the volume. Again, we are not happy to note that the final copy of Shri M. A. Dhaky's paper on 'Jaina Architecture under Chaulukyas of Kalyana' is not yet received.

In his concluding speech, Dr. Moti Chandra (who unfortunately expired before these papers are published) pointed out that the interpretation of different parts of temple architecture in the light of old texts is a necessity but it is to be borne in mind that in the descriptions of a temple the different parts should not be described in their Sanskrit or Prakrit technical names only, which often are not understandable to a reader; their English equivalents should also be given and evolved where not available. Dr. Motichandra also emphasised the need to go deeper into the meaning of different symbols used in Indian art, and their application by various sects. Unfortunately due to his illness, Dr. Moti Chandraji could not finally edit and send us the press copy of his speech. In the death of Dr. Moti Chandraji, we have lost a very great savant of Indian art studies. His contributions to the study of Jaina paintings in particular are well-known.

This volume does not embrace all the aspects of Jaina art and architecture. Our object was to select those aspects and topics which have not yet received fuller attention and are less known. We hope our objective will be appreciated by the world of scholars.

One of the defficiencies of this volume we must outright point out with our own explanation. Some scholars sent thier final versions rather late, and a few others failed to send the illustrative material on time. This has introduced a few discrepancies and conflicts in the groupings and general arrangement, as the glance of the volume will not fail to show. We were in point of fact compelled to start printing before all the material was in hand for bringing the volume out inside the scheduled period, and then somehow we had to provide accommodation to the "late comers".

We are very grateful to the Government of Gujarat State for financial assistance given for publication of this volume. On the recommendation of the Bhagavān Mahāvīra 2500th Nirvāna Mahotsava Samiti formed by the Government of Gujarat State the grant was given by the Director of Education, Gujarat State. So we express our sincere thanks to them.

We are also thankful to our various friends and colleagues and members of the staff of the Gujarat Vidyapith and the L. D. Institute of Indology for their help and service in various capacities rendered in making the Seminar a success. We are also grateful to the Jaina Institutions, the Calico Museum and others for receptions of the guest scholars as also for the services rendered to them in various ways. Our thanks are also due to Shri Ramesh D. Malvania who corrected all the proofs and prepared the layouts of the photographs as also the index to this volume. We are thankful to the manager of the famous Navajivan Press for providing us with all the printing facilities. At the end we express our deep sense of gratitude towards scholars who participated in the seminar.

U. Р. Shah 3-11-'75 М. А. Dhaky

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, GUEST-PARTICIPANTS AND FRIENDS:

I welcome you at the inaugural of All India Seminar on Jaina Art and Architecture, on behalf of Bhagavān Mahāvīra 2500th Nirvāna Mahotsava Samiti, Bombay, the sponsors of the Seminar. The Seminar has been contemplated with the view to exploring the various facets and aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, of different provinces and differing periods, with the help and co-operation of the eminent specialists on ancient Indian art and architecture. I welcome our distinguished guest-scholars and thank them for readily responding to our invitation.

The Jaina sculptures have been discussed very largely from the iconographic point of view: And the architecture has mainly remained, with a few exceptions such as of the famous Dilwara and Ranakpur temples, on the descriptive level. There have of course been achieved significant results apropos the determinations of provenance, time and style of scluptures and buildings. But the approach has mainly been archaeology-oriented. Archaeological determinations no doubt provide a substantial foundation for the art-historical superstructure. But a meaningful edifice emerges only when the total structure is finished with a firm coating of art-interpretation and art-appreciation. Important as the scientific determinations are, they cannot be ends in view, though they are significant and unavoidable prefaces to the achievement of the final goal.

In the context of Indian art as a whole, indeed very little has been said on the aesthetics of Jaina art, its relationship with its ethics and metaphysics. How far does it reflect or how successfully does it express its philosophy and ideals of the pristine purity of the emancipated soul still remains to be fully investigated. Apart from the valuable studies on the Jaina hieratic formulae and symbols and imagery, we also hopefully look forward to the present Seminar for some sensitive studies focussing on the artistic dimensions of Jaina art and architecture. At any rate, a significant beginning can be made in the Seminar on some of the major aspects of art proper and this may be followed up at the future meets by scholar-experts.

For some time past, thoughts concerning this problem were uppermost in mind, which I place before this august gathering by way of loud thinking.

I thank you all for coming.

--KASTURBHAI LALBIIAI

THE GUEST-PARTICIPANTS:

It is indeed a matter of great joy for me to have this opportunity of welcoming my elders and colleagues in the field of study of Jaina Art and Architecture. This is especially a great occasion, first because this Seminar is being held to commemorate the completion of 2500 years of the Nirvāṇa of Lord Mahāvīra, one of the great sons of our Motherland and a Mahāpuruṣa of this world; and secondly because this gives us an opportunity to thrash out some of the problems of Jaina art and culture and pay our homage to the great contribution that Jainism has made to Indian Art and culture for the two millenia and a half since the Nirvāṇa of Jina Mahāvīra.

Our object in planning this Seminar was to contribute to the study of Indian art a few new chapters covering certain aspects of Jaina art and architecture which have never been written and when written, have not always been on scientific lines. One of the great problems of Jaina art, still not satisfactorily solved, is the dating of the Mathura sculptures, with which our serious study of the Jaina art and iconography begins.

It is hightime that all the Jaina inscriptions from Mathura are re-read and the old readings checked and revised wherever necessary. It is also necessary to have fresh verdict of the eminent epigraphists of our age apropos the age of the script in each individual case, in the light of the advancement of our knowledge during the past fifty to seventy years. The data from the Jaina sthavirāvalis has to be correlated and we have to see if we can fix with the help of the sthavirāvalis, the period of at least a few monks appearing in these inscriptions. For it is now becoming certain that there have been mistakes in the old readings.

The reading "Vodve thupe," for instance, was incorrect. Prof. Alsdorf wrote to me that Luders had revised it but could not publish the new reading in his life-time. Actually the reading is "pratimāvo dve thubhe Devanirmite". K. D. Bajpai showed that in another inscription the old reading "Arhat Nandyāvarta" was wrong. The name as he correctly read it is Munisuvrata. V. S. Agrawala read in the Lonasobhikā Votive tablet Inscription the word "silāpaṭo" which helped me to connect the Ayāgapaṭas with the "silāpaṭas" described in the Jaina Canons.

I, therefore, requested our Government Epigraphist Dr. G. S. Gai, who certainly is a competent authority on the subject, to read in this Seminar a paper on Mathura Inscriptions.

There are inscriptions, for example, which are dated around the year 30, the script in these inscriptions should be the same or very similar. There are inscriptions which are dated around 50, and around 90. The script of these inscriptions in each group must be identical. If this is not so, then the inscriptions are dated in different eras or with the sign for hundred omitted as suggested by Dr. Lohuizen-de-Leeuw.

With such fresh studies, we have to see again whether the Nandi and the Kalpasūtra sthavirāvalis can further help us in identifying the monks whose names occur in the inscriptions and we must see what is the traditional date for them. I shall give an instance. The Son Bhandar Jaina Cave inscription was well-known. But a student of Jaina Canonical literature and sthavirāvalis would immediately see that the "ācāryaratnam Muni Vairadevah" who is glorified as "Śāśvatadīrghatejāh" can be none else than the great ācārya Vajra, Vaira of the Jaina sthavirāvalis. And his date according to the Jaina traditions is around 50 A.D., or actually, according to the Vicārasreni and the Duhṣamākālasamanasamghatthava (vide, Jaina Darsana Manana aur Mīmāmsā, by Muni Nathmalji, App. I, p. 63), the date is Vīrāt 548-584 i.e. 21-57 A.D.

This should be the age of the architecture of the Son Bhandar Cave. Scholars have suggested third or the fourth century A.D. as the age of the inscription on paleographical grounds. But the cave's architecture, as clearly shown by Prof. S. K. Sarasvatī, agrees essentially with the earlier type of Barabar and Nagārjuni caves etc., and, Prof. Sarasvatī felt that the age of the Son Bhandar Cave perhaps belonged to a date not far removed from them. The two caves (Son Bhandar and the adjoining one) are more or less simple; there are reliefs added later in them as has been in the case of some other early caves in India. The door of the Son Bhandar cave has sloping jambs with a taper of about six inches from the base to the top. The roof is cut into an arch, the arch has a rise of about 4 ft. 10 inches and the height of the chamber is a little less than 12 ft. It is clear that the caves are not later than the first century A.D. and that when this inscription was carved they were regarded as excavations done originally at the instance of Muni Vairadeva, and were probably in possession of those who belonged to the line of Muni Vairadeva.

So the age of architecture of the Son Bhandar cave is not later than 57 A.D. The problem of the script of this and other unpublished inscriptions in the two caves can be taken up again by our epigraphists in the light of all known inscriptions of the first to the fourth century.

Thus discussions in such seminars on similar problems can bit by bit help us in throwing more light on some of our problems of Jaina art.

I shall project, when I read my paper, a slide of the Mathura Ayagapata showing labelled figure of Ascetic Kanha, the great Kṛṣṇa Ṣramaṇa. Kṛṣṇa Ṣramaṇa was the teacher of Ṣivabhūti with whom the Ṣvetāmbara-Digambara schism started. The date of Ṣivabhūti according to the Ṣvetāmbara traditions is Vīrāt 609=82 A.D., and according to the Digambara tradition, Vīrāt 606=79 A.D. The difference of about 3 years is negligible. The Tablet of Kanha was installed either during Kanha's life time or by one of his immediate disciples after Kanha's death. It could be, therefore, be anytime between 80 and 100 A.D. or perhaps between 70 and 100 A.D. The tablet gives a date, namely year 95. It is now for our epigraphists to give their verdict regarding the script and the era used on the basis of comparative study of the script.

The object of planning the different papers for the Seminar was more or less of similar nature. Unfortunately, our scholars are so busy with various researches and some with administrative work that some of them possibly had not enough time to work on all the problems we suggested to them. Again, Jainism being a living religion, exploration and collection of enough material from any State in India has been a somewhat difficult job. However, we wanted scholars working on Jaina art and architecture of different regions to contribute special studies on art and architecture of the regions of their special study. There has no doubt been a good response. But inspite of our wish, we have not been able to pull together here the special studies of the Jaina art of all the regions. Some scholars who have recently done good studies could not come. Some are not in India. Mr. Michael Meister, for example, who has very recently completed his study of architecture of several Jaina shrines in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh is now in the United States.

Inspite of all these shortcomings, I think this is going to be a good beginning and one or two more such Seminars in the next few years on Jaina art and architecture should further advance our knowledge in this field.

It is not at all desirable to have Seminars where no serious discussions on special problems are pre-planned and where people contribute and read papers on a large variety of subjects, leaving no time for a full talk and a fuller and frank discussion on each topic. However one may like, one cannot, for practical reasons invite all scholars, nor even a large number of scholars. The Seminars have to end in three, four or at most five days. So, if we have not invited some scholars, who are our friends and co-workers in the field, I want to assure here that we had to do so with reluctance, first for want of time and secondly for want of necessary means for arranging bigger

gatherings. We have all witnessed the fate of many big but unwieldy seminars, conferences we all attended.

Very few studies of architecture of old Jaina shrines in different States of India have so far been published. It is my earnest desire that the Jaina community may help serious and recognized scholars to do this job and also promote publications so that after some years we may have substantial data on the contribution of Jainism in the field of Indian architecture.

So far as paintings are concerned, the situation is not so gloomy, thanks to the efforts and researches of a number of scholars like Dr. Anand Coomaraswamy, Prof. Norman Brown, Shri Sarabhai Nawab, Dr. Moti Chandra, Muni Sri Punyavijayaji, Shri Karl Khandalawala, Dr. M. R. Majumdar, Dr. Pramod Chandra, Dr. (Mrs.) Sarayu Doshi and few other scholars. But still much more remains to be done. From my own visits to several Jaina Bhandaras I can say with confidence that many more surprises still await discovery.

Study of Jaina sculptures is not totally neglected but still much remains to be achieved in this field. Earlier, in some articles, I had shown that there are several Jaina Jātaka panels which offer interesting studies. This aspect deserves more attention. Very few Jaina sculptures from South Indian shrines have been published. Shri Dhaky's recent contribution of his studies of the Sāntara sculpture and of the Ganga sculpture in this Seminar are valuable new contributions. I eagerly await publication of Dr. Settar's work on Śravana-Belgola.

Jaina Bronzes may be regarded as a noteworthy contribution to the field of Indian Art. This, however, is not much known excepting a few studies of hoards like Akotā, Vasantgadh, Baptala, etc., or a few scattered studies limited to fewer Bronzes. I shall show you in this Seminar just a few slides which I hope will demonstrate that much more exploration is necessary in this field. A small beginning done with the help of about 500 selected photographs of Jaina bronzes from all over India will be published next year by me so as to give an idea of the varied and rich contribution of the Jainas in this field.

We are thankful to the Bhagavān Mahāvīra 2500th Nirvāna Mahotsava Samiti, Bombay, for organizing and providing funds for this Seminar. We are also grateful to all the scholars who have co-operated and gathered here at a short notice with their valued contributions. We are likewise thankful to the Chairman of the Samiti, Sheth Shri Kasturbhai Lalbhai who has taken keen interest in planning the Seminar, but for whose initiative and sustaining force the Seminar could not have materialised. We are thankful to the Director and Staff of the L. D. Institute of Indology who shouldered the responsibility for making all arrangements in various ways for holding the Seminar. We are

thankful to the Kulapati of the Gujarat Vidyapith for immediately agreeing to provide the guest rooms and lecture halls and other facilities for the Seminar. It is indeed a happy coincidence that the first celebration regarding the Nirvāna of Mahāvīra, the great teacher of ahimsā is being held in the premises of the Gujarat Vidyapith founded by Mahatma Gandhi who again had carried the torch of ahimsā further in the modern times.

I welcome you all again and request you to kindly ignore inconveniences and forgive our shortcomings that you may encounter during your stay. I thank you all for coming.

-UMAKANT P. SHAH

ASPECTS OF JAINA ART AND ARCHITECTURE

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ASPECTS OF JAINA ART & ARCHITECTURE

1. THE JAINA CONCEPT OF THE DEITY

D. D. MALVANIA

We may begin with the Vedic times, for the Jaina concept of divinity is in some way related to, and in its earliest formulation, remains silhoutted against the Vedic background. The gods of the Vedas are to some extent similar to the Hellenic gods, and thus not unlike temporal kings, despite etheriality and transcendental character with which they were endowed. They were worshipped in order to please them just as for gaining favours which, to not a small extent, were frankly material and mundane. They were also propitiated for avoiding their displeasure and anger alike. And they were invoked for winning victories over Aryan's potential enemies. The form of worship was in main the animal sacrifices.

During the period of the Brāhmaṇas, the Vedic gods are said to own their celestial position to sacrifices. Many are the legends told of the conflicts between the devas and the daityas for gaining supremacy over cosmos and the way in which gods managed their upper hand through the power of sacrifices.¹

But, "in the *Upanisads* we find a criticism of the empty and barren ritualistic religion. They do not lead to final liberation". In the *Upanisads*, the "hymns to gods and goddesses are replaced by a search for the reality underlying the flux of things". The ultimate reality, according to the *Upanisads*, then, is none else but the Brahman which is identified with the Self. According to the *Kena Upanisad*, the Vedic gods of Fire, Air, etc. were themselves sustained by the power of the Brahman. This position indicated that Brahman is the supreme power of the Universe, and "the Vedic deities are the messengers of one light which has burst forth into the universal creation".4

The religion of the Jina (and other Sramanic sects) which grew and developed in the Upanisadic times formulated a conception of deity which reflects the mood and orientations of the period.

If we, then, make, in the light of this background, an attempt to deal with our question concerning the conception of Jaina deity, we will be able to D. D. Malyania

understand the development of the underlying ideals. Although the word Tirthankara is pre-eminently and extensively used now-a-days, the word used for the deity in the Acaranga, the earliest of the Jaina Agamic works (ca. 3rd or 2nd century B.C.), is Arahanta⁵. And it is used in plural, which indicates that there were many such personages. It should be noted here that the word Arahanta was commonly used by the Buddhists, the Ajīvikas, and perhaps the other Sramanic sects besides the Jainas. And we find the epithets 'bhagavanto' for their deities and 'bhagavar'6 for each of them, which shows the respect accorded to them. They are also called 'Aria' (i.e. Arya)¹, which meant honourable, respectable, etc. The Buddha, too, is called 'ayyo' in Pāli. The words 'mum' (muni), Vīra and 'Mahāvīra' are also used.⁸ The epithet 'Buddha' was mainly in use with the Buddhists, although it was not unknown to the Jainas.⁹

Here we must note that the deities accepted as supreme by the Jainas and some other Sramanic sects are the 'perfect men' and not the heavenly gods. The Vedic gods were accepted and respected by the Aryans due to fear of them or in order to get the worldly benefits and such other non-spiritual objectives. But in the Sramanic sects, for the first time, fear gives way to adoration due to the concept of perfect, blemishless soul attributed to the perfected men; and their preachings of the way to the emancipation of the individual soul. It is clearly mentioned in the Dasaveyāliya (Dasavaikālika)¹⁰ that even gods bow down to a man who is constantly engaged in non-violence, self-control and austerities.

Here it should be noted that even a lay monk is respected more than the gods. Not only that; the gods have to bow to such a monk. If this is the case with a lay monk, then, what to say of a perfect man like the Tirthankara? It is mentioned in the Bhagavati (3.2) that when there was a confrontation between the Indra of the Nether region and the Indra of the celestial region, the refuge for the former was Jina Mahavira. To place man above gods was a bold step which turned the tables and propounded the doctrine of the dignity of man. Further we do see in the later literature that the celestials are depicted as subordinates to the Tirthankara, even before his birth. In this way the prominent place was accorded to man, in preference to the heavenly beings. This can be further corroborated by the fact that amongst the four major types of worldly species of organisms to take birth, man is acknowledged as a species difficult to be chance-borne in; 12 because, only born as a man one can find enlightenment and liberation. 13

The prominence of the perfected man in the Sramanic sect resulted in the theory of the incarnation of God in the Vēdic religion. Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, though born as man, are believed in later Brahmanical literature as the incarnations, and similarly the Sramanic sects have the theory of the series of Buddhas

and Tirthankaras. In Mahāyāna Buddhism, the Buddha is one single person, but his various forms are accepted as the Buddhas at different places and at different times. But the Jainas are firm in their belief that each of the Tirthankaras is a separate individual, a perfect soul. Even when liberated from the physical integument, they keep their separate individual identity, even though they may be occupying the same point in space.¹⁴

Now let us see what the specific qualities and virtues of a Tīrthankara are. We are familiar with the strenuous ascetic life of Lord Mahāvīra¹⁵ who is considered the last Tīrthankara. He, by his incessant meditations on his inner self, was able to remove all passions from his soul and purify it.¹⁶ On becoming a pure soul, he attained omniscience.¹⁷ And this is the reason why he was able to show the right path to salvation; and in whatever he preached, there was no room for contradiction. This idea is very well expressed by the famous Jaina logician Samantabhadra, differentiating the Jaina Arhat from other preceptors:

- Devagama-nabhoyana-camaradivibhutayan,
 Mayavisvapi drsyante natastvamasi no mahan.
- (2) Tīrthakṛtsamayānānca parsparavirodhataḥ, Sarvesāmāptatā nāsti kascideva bhaved guruḥ.
- (3) Sa tvamevāsi nirdoso yuktisāstrāvirodhivāk, Avirodho yadistam te prasiddhena na bādhyate.

-- Aptamīmāmsā, I, 3, 6

- (1) The miraculous attainments like an attendance offered by the celestial beings, a walking in the sky, a fan-service (worked by the celestial beings), and so on and so forth are found in the possession of even jugglers; these are therefore not what make you great in our eyes.
 - (2) As for the preachings of the various sect-founders, they can not be all authentic because they are mutually contradictory; hence of these sect-founders some one at the most can be worthy of reverence.
 - (3) And such an omniscient personage you alone are whose utterance is neither in conflict with logic nor in conflict with scripture. As for the proof of such an absence of conflict, it is the circumstance that what you seek to establish is never contradicted by what is known to be the case.

We should also take into account the distinction between any other perfect and pure soul and the *Tirthankara*. The *Tirthankara* is he, who, after attaining omniscience, preaches the law in order to liberate others, while other omniscient

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ones do not do so. The innate tendency to preach the law is the result of the activity or the act in Jina's previous existence. In the terminology of Karma-theory, it is the Tirthankara-nāma-karman, which, when matured, results in the inborn impulse for preaching and establishing an order for religious life, so that masses can be liberated as a result of persuing that order. In order to accrue this particular kind of karma, one has to follow certain specific ways and practices in his previous existence. 18

The theory of the creation of the world is rejected in Jaina canonical works¹⁹, so the deity of the Jainas is not the creator of the Universe and he is not worshipped on that account.

The Tirthankara, when he leaves the physical body and reaches at the top-end of the Universe, he is called Siddha like any other liberated soul residing in that part of the Universe. This category of the Siddhas is recognized as the deities by the Jainas and praised as perfect souls. The stage of such ideal souls is achievable by all men. The only difference between the Tirthankara and the Siddha is this that the former has physical body while the latter has no material body. All the souls residing at the top-end of the Universe are equal in qualifications and all are equally pure, the difference between them disappearing with the loss of the physical body. If at all we want to make distinction, then we can do so with a view of their past life and the time of their liberation and also with regard to the size of their soul. If we take into account the individual Siddha, he has an historical beginning but if the series of Siddhas as a whole is taken into account, there is no beginning. They are immaterial, receptacle of everything living (jiva-ghana). They have $j\bar{n}ana$ and darsana as their insignia, they possess unequalled happiness.

In the absence of the physical presence of a Tirthankara, the guidance to the religious order is provided by the ascetics who follow the path of liberation. And amongst them were recognised three grades: first, the leaders of the groups of the ascetics who are responsible for the conduct and welfare of the groups. They are called $\overline{Acaryas}$, the spiritual preceptors. The second, the Upadhyayas, the teachers who are responsible for the canonical teaching and works associated with activities of spiritual engagement. The third, comprising the rest of the ascetics in the groups, are just termed sadhus, mendicants. These three are also praised and worshipped along with Arihantas and Siddhas. So in this manner the Jainas have five deities in all, termed $panea-paramestin.^{23}$

The Jaina Concept of the Deity

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- 9. Ibid., 8.2.4; 6.1.3.
- Dhammo maringalamukkittham ahimsā samjamo tavo devā vi tarin namarinsanti jassa dhamme sayā mano
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- 13. Ibid., 3. 11. ff.
- 14. Ibid., 36. 56-68.
- 15. Ācā. 9, Kalpa., 115. ff.
- 16. Kalpa., 120.
- 17. Ibid., 121.
- 18. cf. Tattvārtha sūtra 6.23.
- 19. Süyagadamga sutta, 1. 1. 3. 5-9.
- 20. Utta. 36. 49-55, 65.
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- 22. Ibid., 36. 67.
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2. JAINA TEMPLE AS ENVISAGED BY DHANAPÄLA IN THE TILAKAMAÑJARĪ

N. M. KANSARA

"Art is expression informed by ideal beauty." In the course of their discussion about the requisites of a poet, Sanskrit Rhetoricians have given due importance to the necessity of culture (vyutpatti) and skill that comes from constant practice (abhyāsa), while they have recognised that creative genius (pratibhā) is the basic requisite commanding the supreme position. It has also been granted that culture is acquired through the study of different fine arts and positive sciences. Sanskrit poets were thus traditionally expected to study the eighteen or more professional arts (silpa) and the sixty avocational arts (kalā). The numerous lists of these arts, as for instance found in various Sanskrit treatises like Vātsyāyana's $K\bar{a}mas\bar{u}tra$ and others, embrace every kind of skilled activity, from music, painting and weaving to horsemanship, cookery and practice of magic.²

Although almost all poets in ancient India have utilised their knowledge of various arts in due contexts, the knowledge of architecture and sculpture is rarely reflected in the works of Sanskrit and Prakrit poets. By their very extensive nature the great epics—the Ramayana and the Mahabharata—afforded scope for elaborate descriptions of cities and buildings.3 But in the Classical Sanskrit literature it is mostly the elaborate prose romances (kathā and ākhyāyikā) that seem to have afforded some scope for the display of the knowledge of architecture and sculpture. That is why we seldom find any elaborate description of cities and structures, the exceptions being the Sanskrit prose romances of Subandhu, Dandin. Bana and Dhanapala, the author of Tilakamanjari. As for temples, it is in the Kadambari and the Harsacarita that we find Baua utilising the opportunity to display his knowledge of these twin artistic skills. Bana described the temple of Siva (siddhayatana),4 and Dhanapala, following in his footsteps, utilised the motif of the Jaina temples. It is to be noted that none of the celebrated Jaina predecessors of Dhanapala, like Padalipta, Haribhadrasūri Ūdyotanasūri and Somadevasūri, nor his successors like Soddhala, Vadibhasimhasūri and others have attempted to make use of the opportunity of taking this

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motif up in their poetical works for an elaborate description. There is, therefore, not much hope from "exploring all Jaina literary sources of different periods, especially the Kathā-granthas for similar data".⁵

U. P. Shah seems to be the first scholar to have taken note of some of the terms denoting the parts of a Jaina shrine as described in Dhanapāla's Tilakamanjari.⁶ The present paper is intended to present the architectural details of the Jaina shrines as envisioned by Dhanapāla who has shown his familiarity with architecture in the course of descriptions of two Jaina temples, namely, that of Jina Rṣabha on Mount Ekaṣrṇga, and that of Jina Mahāvīra on Mount Ratnakūṭa.⁷

The shrine of Jina Rsabha, the first Jaina Tirthankara, at Mount Ekasrnga, presumably somewhere in the Eastern Himalayan range, was a prāsāda type of stony structure lined with ruby slabs and it is said to have resembled a celestial mansion (suravimāna).8 The term vimāna, according to Kramrisch, denotes the innermost sanctuary with its generally square plan.9 While differentiating between the terms prāsāda and vimāna Kramrisch maintains that the meaning of prāsāda is extended from the temple (mandira) itself to the various halls, etc., that are attached to it, 10 'vimāna' is the name of the temple built according to the tradition (sāstra) by the application of various proportionate measurements or various standards of proportionate measurements. 11 The architectural subtype of this shrine is called Sarvatobhadra.12 In the Samarānganasūtradhāra, Bhoja has prescribed in detail the specifications of a Sarvatobhadra type of prāsāda.13 The Silparatnākara, a recent compilation of Narmadashankar M. Sompura also notices the specifications of a Sarvatobhadra-prāsāda.14

As has been described by Dhanapāla, the whole structure was encircled by a wall $(pr\bar{a}k\bar{a}ra)$ which seems to have had at least four gates with wagon-vault roofs $(g\bar{o}pura-dv\bar{a}ras)$.¹⁵ In the four principal directions leading to the temple, each by a corresponding entry-way $(pratolik\bar{a})$.¹⁶ And all this was situated in a beautiful garden $(\bar{a}r\bar{a}ma)$ which served as an appropriate surrounding.¹⁷

There were subsidiary marble (or quartzite) shrines to the right, left and back of the main shrine of Adinatha (Adidevayatana) and images of different Tirthankaras from Ajitanatha onwards were housed in them; some of them were carved in topaz, some in ruby and set on sapphire throne, some in moonstone, some in emerald and some in sapphire.

Further details of the same temple, such as the emerald marlon (kapisīrṣaka), the inner temple-wall (antaḥ-prākāra-bhitti), the jewel-studded floor (maṇi-kuṭṭima), the wide socle (p̄ṭṭhabandha) built of marble slabs, the skirts of the banner (dhvaja-patākāncala), the air-holes (gavākṣa), the flags of China-silk

(Cīnāmsuka-patākā), the topaz needles serving as lamps, artificial birds carved on caves, the suspended pearl-strings (mauktika-pralamba), the ornamental antefix on the fronton of the sikhara-spire (sukanāsa), the frescoed portions (citra-karma-khacita-pradesa), the wide attractive door-leaves (kapāta), the golden pillars with huge capitals (pīvarorutulā), beautiful foliage-ornamentations (cāru-manjarika), jewel-studded quadrangle (ratna-catuṣka) and the lion figure on the projection, are also noticed in one other context. Dewel-strips of various colours were fixed up on to the pillars. There was a canopy of white silk with strings of pearl knittings at the edges. Cāranas had written subhāṣitas on the top of the door and young men, fond of gambling, had carved out various types of gambling boards on the floor of the sapphire-window. On the western wall (pāscātya-bhitti) a marble slab was fixed and a eulogy (prasasti) was engraved thereon. The sapphire floor of the temple had quadrangular designs formed by pearls. The sapphire floor of the temple had quadrangular designs formed by pearls.

Some of the details about the sanctum (garbhavesman) are also given.²⁴ Thus, from the ground level, there was a series of moonstone stairs (sopāna) that led through the emerald gate to the door of the hall (mandapa). On one side of the gate an image of a Yakṣa was installed. White $c\bar{a}mara$ was suspended to a peg ($n\bar{a}$ gadanta) fixed to a wall. A curtain (javanik \bar{a}), covered the image. From the jayantik \bar{a} , an adamantine bell (vajra-ghanta) was suspended by a golden chain. The lion-throne (simhāsana) was decorated with carvings of the group of constellations, a deer and a lion. And thereon was installed the image (of the Jina) in the sitting posture called padmāsana.²⁵

The shrine of Mahāvīra at Ratnakuṭa was a prāsāda built of jewel slabs.²⁶ The high bandy-shaped basement (vikaṭa-pīṭha) of the temple was built of emerald slabs; the staircase (sopānamālā) with steps studded with moonstones (candrakānta-maṇi) led to the wide doorway of the hall (maṇḍapa-dvāra): numerous seat-backs (mattavāraṇaka) of ruby adorned the hall; the bracket female figures (sālabhan jikās) were also carved in ruby slabs; the piliar capitals (stambha-sikhara) were carved of topaz; the crest-pitcher (kalasa) was made of ruby; the grilles (jālaka) were made of diamond bars; the white flag (sita-patākā) fluttered over the āmalasāraka carved from sapphire; the lofty sikhara rose to the sky; a marble wall encircled the shrine; the wide terrace (jagatī) was conspicuous; many windows adorned the temple; and the undulating leafy ornament (viṣama-patrabhaṅga) astonished the onlookers.²⁷

In the extensive ruby-hall (mānikyamandapa), the canopied curtain (pata-vitānaka) covered the whole image; many strings of variegated pearls were hanging by it; there were silken banners (dhvajāmsukas), diamond lamps (manipradīpas), marble mirrors (sphātika-darpanas) and golden pillars (cāmīkara-stambhas).²⁸
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In the centre of the pavilion post-points (mandapa-kṣaṇas) was a marble walling (sphāṭika-vitardikā).²⁹ There were staircases in the inner side of the temple-wall for reaching at its top.³⁰ The huge adamantine (vajramaṇi-sitāmaya) icon of Jina Mahāvīra was installed on a lion throne (simhāsana) in the adytum (garbhagṛha).³¹

It is quite clear from the above data that although the description is steeped with poetic extravagance in the liberal use of precious jewels, ruby-slabs, sapphire panels and the like, the poet's imagination has covered the whole picture of a typical Jaina shrine, the like of which can at once be found in any of the wellknown shrines extant to date. At the same time one might not find some of the vital technical terms denoting various constitutive features of temple architecture from the Tilakaman jari. The reason is not difficult to find when we realise that Dhanapala was a poet rather than a professional architect, and his knowledge of the art seems to have been acquired more from the poetic works of his earlier predecessors like Bana and perhaps from the occasional discussions with the contemporary scholars who lived with him at the royal court of his Paramara patrons, rather than through a thoroughly specialised study of the technical treatises on art. Evidently, one can notice that some of the terms utilised by the poet had long ceased to exist in contemporary architectural jargon such as we see in the famous Samarānganasūtradhāra of Bhoja, and some of the terms seem to have been coined by the poet himself. Nevertheless, Dhanapala's attempt deserves to be noted in view of the fact that while Bana has described the Siva temple as practically nothing more than a catuhstambha-sphatika-mandapika, Dhanapala has succeeded in creating a total image, somewhat illusory though, of a complete shrine with its surroundings, perhaps due to his personal acquaintance with such structures, a few of which, according to the Jaina traditional accounts, he himself is said to have caused to be built. And there is no doubt about the love and reverence with which he dwells upon the motif of the shrine and that of the icons of the Jinas as is amply evident from the elaborate descriptions and some suggestively autobiographic remarks in the Tilakamanjari.32

The value of the data from a poetic work like the *Tilakaman jari* lies much more for the unique integrated and all-encompassing view of the typical Jaina shrine that the poet provides, rather than for the technical details described, which may or may not tally significantly with the specialised contemporaneous manuals of architecture in points of terminology of architecture.*

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- 1. cf. Sāhityadarpaṇa, 1, 3, quoted in translation by Ananda Coomaraswamy in The Transformation of Nature in Art, New York 1956, p. 46.
- 2. Coomaraswamy, Op. cit., p. 9.
- 3. cf. Vālmīki's Rāmāyaņa, I.v.6-19 for a description of Ayodhyā; and cf. Mahābhārata, II. iii. 22-36 for a description of the sabhā built by Maya for the Pāṇḍavas.
- 4. cf. Bana's Kādambari (N.S.P. Edn., 1948), pp. 271-276.
- The suggestion for such an exploration has been made by Dr. U. P. Shah in his Presidential Address of Fine Arts & Technical Sciences Section of All India Oriental Conference, XXIV, Session, Varanasi 1968, p. 6.
- 6. Tilakamanjari (henceforth referred to as TM), (Botad Edn.), pt. III, pp. 92-97.
- 7. TM. (N.S.P. 2nd Edn., 1938) pp. 224 ff., and 344 ff.; the further references in this paper are to the page nos. of this edn.—Tm (n.)—while the readings are according to the critical text as determined by me with reference to about ten original mss.
- 8. TM (n.), p. 224 (10 ff.) . . . Suravimānakalpah . . . padmarāgasilāmayah prāsādah.
- 9. cf. Kramrisch, Stella, The Hindu Temple, p. 133.
- 10. Ibid.
- 11. Ibid.
- 12. TM (n.), p. 216 (1 ff.) . . . Angikrtavimānākāramapi Sarvatobhadram
- 13. cf.

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Idanim Sarvatobhadrah prasadah parikirtyate //23//
Sa syat sadvimsatim hastān paramah parimānatah /
7atharam bāhyasīmā ca bhittayo hyandhakārikāh //24//
Janghotsedhas-ca karnau ca yathā merostathā smrtāh /
tathaiva bhadra-vistāraih kāryo bhāgārdha-nirgatah //25//
Rathikaikā catur-bhāgā tatah sārdhadvibhāgikā /
Tāsām parasparam jīneyo bhāgabhāgam vidhīyate (?) //26//
Sadbhāgāt vistītam kāryam sikharam saptamocchritam /
sadbhirdasabhirbhāgaih syān mūlajā skandhavistetih (?) //27//
Grivardhabhagamutsedhad-andakam bhagam-ucchritam /
Mūlasūtrānusārena cehedah samyujyate yathā //28//
asya rekhā tathā kāryā sarvasreyahprasādhanī /
meror-asya ca śrngāni simhakarnairvibhūşayet //29//
Manjarin padmakośagratulyam sarvatra karayet /
Jayam laksim yasah kirtim sarvānistaphalāni ca //30//
karoti sarvato bhadram sarvatobhadrakah krtah /
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—Samarāngaņa Sūtradhāra of Bhoja (G. O. Series, 2nd ed., 1966), Chp. LV. 23ed-31ab, p. 309

14. of. caturasrikęte k setre cāṣṭadhā bhājite punaḥ / konam bhāgadvayam kāryam śālā bhāgadvayā tathā //16//

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Nirgamabhāgam-ekena bhāgenaikena bhittayah /
     Bhrāmanī bhāgam ekena garbham sodasabhāgikam [[17]]
     Kone Śrngam tathā kāryam bhadre Śrngam tathaiva ca /
     rekhāh sodasabhāgena kartavyās tu sadā budhaih //18//
     Bhadre rathikā tilakam sārdhapādam tathaiva ca /
     Navandakastu vijneyah sarvatobhadranamatah //19//
     Devānām ca hitarthāya rājā saukhyena nandati /
      Bhuktimuktikaro divyah prāsādah sarvabhadrakah //20//
                                     Śilpa-Ratnākara (Dhrangadhra, 1939), VI. 16-20, pp. 223-225
     TM (n.), p. 361(11) . . . Devatāgāragopuradvāra . . . . /
15.
16. cf. ibid., p. 226 (16 ff.) . . . uttarayā prākārapratolikayā nirjagāma /
17. cf. ibid., p. 224 (10 ff.) . . . kalpa-pādapa-prāya-tarunā parigatah sarvata eva sārvartukena divy-
      ārāmeņa . . . /
18. cf. ibid., p. 226 (2 ff.) . . . Ādidevāyatana-paryanta-vartinām sphāţika-prāsādānām antah-pratiş-
     thitâh . . . . jinānām Ajitādinām apratima-sobhāh pratimāh . . . . , p. 256 (9 ff.) . . . .
      Ā yatanaparyantavartişu prāsādakeşu pratisthitāh jinapratimāh . . . . '; also cf. p'. 406 (1ff.).
19. cf. ibid., p. 226 (2 ff.) . . . Kāścit puşparāganirmitāh
     . . . kāscit padmarāgamayir mahānila-simhāsanollāsita-kānti
     . . . kāścic = candrakānta-nirvrtāh . . .
      kāscin = marakataprabhā-pravāha-haritāyamānā-kānti
     . . . kāscid indranīlaprakrtih . . . pratimāh . . . .
20. cf. ibid., pp. 215-216.
21. cf. ibid., pp. 218-219.
22. ef. ibid., p. 219 (12 ff.).
23. cf. ibid., p. 221 (20 ff.).
24. cf. ibid., p. 216 (16 ff.).
25. See Kansara, N. M., "Art Notes on Sculpture in Dhanapāla's Tilakamanjari, Sambodhi, Vol. II,
      No. 1, April, 1973, for data on the sculptural and iconographic aspects.
      TM (n.), p. 344(1) . . . maņisilāprāsādasya . . . .
26.
     cf. ibid., pp. 154-155.
27.
28.
     cf. ibid., pp. 265-266.
29. cf. ibid., p. 267 (14).
30. cf. ibid., p. 276 (2 ff.) . . . . sopāna-vartmanā dakṣinām devatā-gṛha-prākāra-bhittimadhyāroham/
31. cf. ibid., p. 275 (7-15).
32. cf. TM (n.), p. 275 (5 ff.) . . . . Dr.stam iva purā, sevitam iva bhavāntare, kāritam ivātmanā,
     parimalitam iva sarvakālam . . . /
      I am very happy to acknowledge here the kind encouragement, and valuable suggestions.
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given to me by Shri M. A. Dhaky.

3. THE JAINA ARCHITECTURE AND ICONOGRAPHY IN THE VĀSTUSĀSTRAS OF WESTERN INDIA

PRABHASHANKAR O. SOMPURA M. A. DHAKY

Western India proved to be the safest heaven and a stable just as a magnificent mansion for Jainism, its Svetambara variety in particular. In the medieval epoch, Jainism's influence reached its acme both in the State as well as among people. Many distinguished Jainas were in the ministerial offices of, and some were provincial governors in, the western Indian kingdoms. The commerce of Rājasthān and Gujarāt was almost totally controlled by the wealthy Jaina tradesmen and trading communities.1 The ethical preachings of the Jaina mandicants were given careful ear by the laity and the monarchy alike, and the learned Jaina pontiffs graced the courts of Anahilla-pattana (patan Anahilvad.), Aghata (Ahad) and Sakambhari (Sambhar), respectively the capitals of the kingdoms of Gurjaradeśa, Medapāta and Sapādalaksa. The centuries between the eleventh and the thirteenth were never to be excelled in point of the intensity of impact of Jainism in the Maru-Gurjara Country. To the birth, growth and development of the Maru-Gurjara civilization, Jainism substantially contributed, just as it played a very decisive and à directive role in former's consolidation. Not only the literary activities of the Jainas then saw its high water-mark; the art and architecture patronized by and created for the Jaina creed also reached its culmination. Over three hundred Jaina temples were built during this period in western India, though most of them, particularly those in the capital cities, and in provincial, commercial and sea-port towns were destroyed during Muslim invasion and occupation, and the materials taken from the ravaged Jaina shrines-pillars and decorated ceilings largely-were used in the interior construction of the mosques of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries.2

Since Jaina communities were among the foremost patrons of religious architecture, many guilds of the silpis worked for Jaina foundations and the Sompurā silpis are still largely working for them. The vastu literature relating to the Māru-Gurjara architecture, composed very largely as it seems to be by the

anonymous Brahmanical sūtradhāras, took notice of the Jaina sacred architecture and iconography and enunciated in clearer terms as to what is required for and concomittant as well as pertinent to a Jaina theistic building. The silpīs and the sthapatis or sūtradhāras received copious support from, and unbroken patronage of the Jaina church; with the result that Jina began to be looked upon as great as if not greater than the five Brahmanical deities who were prominently worshipped in the medieval times, namely, Šiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Aditya and Caṇḍi or Gaurī. This attitude is amply reflected in the vāstusāstras of Western India. It also bespeaks of the spirit of complete tolerance and understanding existing between the Brahmanists and the Jainas, and a recognition, unlike other regions in India, of the fact that Jainism was born within the fold of and is a part and parcel of the ancient Hindu civilization.

The information concerning the rules of Jaina iconography (in some cases iconometry also) and architecture one encounters in the $V\bar{a}stus\bar{a}stra$ of Visvakarmā, the $V\bar{a}stusidy\bar{a}$ of Visvakarmā, the $Apar\bar{a}jitaptech\bar{a}$ of Bhuvanadeva and the $D\bar{c}vy\bar{a}-dhik\bar{a}ra$, these being the Māru-Gurjara $v\bar{a}stu$ works of the Solankī period. Among post-Solankī works, the $Vrk\bar{s}arnava$ yields the most significant data on the selfsame subjects. We may now turn to the detailed appraisal of the relevant contents in each of the five aforementioned works.

1. Västusästra of Visvakarmä

The Vastusastra is the earliest from among the known treatises on Maru-Gurjara architecture of Western India of the Solanki period. As judged by its style and content, it does not seem to be of the time after the end of the eleventh century. No manuscript of Vāstusāstra has so far been found; it apparently had suffered fragmentation at an early date, possibly soon after the end of the Solanki period if not earlier. Some of its chapters seem to have been dispersed, finding their way into the later compilations and nameless omnibus manuals which served as repositories of passages extracted and collected from varied older sources. The authors of the present paper have traced several chapters of this work, some of these bearing the identification end-notes disclosing their original place in the Vāstusāstra of Visvakarmā. In some cases the compilors seem to have dropped the ending notes because their inclusion did not perhaps serve or suit their purpose. The manner of compiling, too, may not always have permitted acknowledging the source from which the material was borrowed. In such cases, the style and the content, when compared with the known portions of the Vastusastra, do help in determining their being the parts authentically and originally of the selfsame work.

One of the causes that operated in bringing about the obsolescence and "collapse" of this work may be the rise soon after it of one other work, namely,

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the $V\bar{a}stuvidy\bar{a}$ of Visvakarma which happened to be more extensive, elaborate and complete a manual and its idiom of expression, distinctive but also easy and simpler, was much more in line with the simple language of the craftsmen. The latter work must have been fairly popular for some time, for many later compilations copiously cite its portions or incorporate its entire chapters in regular sequence.

 $V\overline{a}stus\overline{a}stra$'s further eclipse came with the advent of another rival in the third quarter of the twelfth century (that is to say in Caulukya emperor Kumarapala's time), the now very famous work, namely, the Aparajitaprecha. (The $V\overline{a}stuvidy\overline{a}$, too. suffered partial eclipse as well as "break down" owing to the same encounter.)

In the available chapters of the $V\bar{a}stus\bar{a}stra$, there is a small but significant chapter devoted to the features of a Jaina temple. It refers to the $pr\bar{a}s\bar{a}da$ (shrine proper), the mandapa (i.e. $g\bar{u}dhamandapa$ or closed hall), the trika (mukhamandapa or vestibule), one other mandapa (i.e. rangamandapa or hall for theatrical purposes), the $val\bar{a}naka$ or the entry-hall, and finally the entourage of the surrounding devakulik $\bar{a}s$. It also briefly dwells on their axial and relative disposition in relation to the main shrine, and some other relevant particulars.

There is one other small chapter, in this work, on the drstisūtra (coordination of the Jina's eye-level) in relation to the gūdhamandapa and its window screens, the bhadraprāsādas or the lateral cardinal shrines, and, also in relation to the symbolic representations of the holy mountains Astāpada and Meru.

At yet another place, namely, where it treats the ayatanas (shrines) of Siva, Visou, Brahma, Aditya, Gauri and Tripurusa and their accessory and attendant deities, it makes a short observation on the Jinayatana wherein it mentions the placement of the shrine of Sarasvati and spells out the rule for its orientation in relation to Jina. The eight pratitians (door-guardians) of Jina are also referred to. The last reference to a Jaina subject may be discerned in the chapter concerning the vahanas (mounts) of the deities. Therein our text avers that before the Jina must be placed the Samavasarana (in lieu of the vahana, it seems to imply.) It also narrates Samavasarana's main features at some length.

We seem to suspect there was more about Jaina architecture in this work and it may also have possessed chapters on Jaina iconography, now not traceable though.

2. Västuvidyā of Viśvakarmā

This work, already mentioned in the foregone discussion, we date to the earlier part of the twelfth century and thus to the period of Solanki emperor Siddharāja Jayasinha.

The $V\bar{a}stuvidy\bar{a}$'s earlier half which treated the rites and astrological-astronomical considerations is, unlike that of the $V\bar{a}stus\bar{a}stra$, very largely lost; but the one dealing with temple architecture has been mostly recovered by the present authors from various sources.³ The author of the $V\bar{a}stuvidy\bar{a}$ deals at considerable length with Jaina architecture and iconography.

The work's first reference to Jinaite architecture one may notice in its treatment of jagatī (terrace) of the temple sacred to various deities, where at the chapter's end it speaks about the Jaina jagatī ornamented with figures of yakṣa—spirits and gandharva—minstrels. It is said to support the prāsāda, the mandapa (gūdha-type implied), the trika and the balāṇaka (valāṇaka), the latter can be two or three storied in elevation as the text adds. Next it specifies the ordering of the devakulikās, totalling as they do to the conventional 24 of a caturvīmsati-jinālaya. It also refers to the 52 devakulikās in the clockwise order, though not stating how were they ordered. It next enjoins placing the Samavasarana in front of the Jina.

The second important notice in the work on this subject consists in its incorporation of the two generously long chapters devoted exclusively to the 72 and 52 types of Jina-prāsādas, the first known as the Rṣabhādi-prāsādas and the other today distinguished as Dīpārnava's Jaina prāsādas. The particulars mainly concern with the floor-plan and the elevation of the sikharas and the sum-total of their component elements.

The most significant part in the $V\bar{a}stuvidy\bar{a}$ is its portion on Jaina iconography. Here at first it discusses the iconometry of the Jina images, at some length to be precise. Next it dwells in considerable detail on the parikara-lakṣaṇa (characteristics of the image-frame). The treatment of the accessory details of the parikara is the most complete and exhaustive.

This chapter is followed by one more, giving as it does information on the complexion and cognizance of each of the twenty-four Jinas, together with the iconography of their attendent yakṣas and yakṣīs.

A passage relating to the Merugiri-Samavasarana of this work we recently have identified, though the one concerning the Astāpada (which must have been in the $V\bar{a}stuvidy\bar{a}$ as inferred from the opening verse in the chapter on 52-Jinaprāsādas)⁵ has so far been not encountered in any compilation.

3. The Aparājitapṛcchā of Bhuvanadeva

The work has been earlier assigned by the second author of this paper to the third quarter of twelfth century.6 While discussing rules pertaining to

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Brahmanical temples, the Aparā jitaprīchā occasionally refers to Jaina temples and what is proper for them, in respect of considerations such as of orientation, location, etc. The work does not include special chapters on Jaina prāsādas as does the Vāstuvidyā. But it does describe the typical Western Indian Jaina temple plan. This it does in its chapter concerning the exposition on the eight types of Jinajagatīs. Here, while it spells out the characteristic details of the premier type Srīkarnī, it takes chance to dwell on what comes above it, which in essence is the plan and elevation of the temple-complex proper. It refers to the Prāsāda, the mandapa with catuṣkīs (portals attached to the bhadras of its two sides), then the trika in the shape of a formation of three catuṣkīs with one more catuṣkī in its fore-part; then the nrtyamandapa followed by pattasālikā (front aisle), the surround of twenty-four devakulikās and finally the balānaka or entry-hall.

The Aparājitaprechā also deals with the details of the parikara, the complexions and cognizances of the twenty-four Jinas, and further gives the iconographic particulars of their Yaksas and Yaksīs. It also takes notice of the eight Pratīhāras (door-guardians) of the Jina.

4. Śridevyādhikāra

Only a small fragment covering some five chapters of this work has survived. One of the chapters—incomplete and mutilated—concerns itself with the particulars of Jinendra prasada. Fuller assessment on the date of this work is not possible in absence of its remaining, and presumably a very large portion. But after a careful comparison of the contents of the extant part with that of the three works mentioned in the foregoing, we are of the opinion that the work perhaps dates from the end of the twelfth, or the beginning of the next century.

The main shrine of the Jaina temple complex it describes has bhrama or bhramantikā (ambulatory); the relative proportions of garbhagrha (sanctum), bhrama, bhramabhitti (ambulatory-wall i.e. outer wall) etc. are also referred to. Next it speaks about the gūdhamandapa articulated to the prāsāda proper. Then it deals with the Jaina jagatī and its types by name. (After briefly mentioning three types, the text breaks off at the point.)

5. The Vrksarnava

Only two vāstu works of the post-Solanki period, namely, the Kṣīrārṇava and the Vṛkṣārṇava are original just as significant in content. The Vṛkṣārṇava which is the larger and the superior of the two, also faithfully reflects the detailed characteristics of, and changes that took place in the architecture of the fifteenth century. The fifteenth century was a period of Renaissance of Hindu culture and in the Hindu kingdoms in Gujarāt and Rājasthān, architecture flourished J.S.-3

with fullest fervour. The buildings of this period are, by and large, of Jaina affiliation. In point of fact, Jaina Church and Jinaite communities emerged from this point on as almost the sole patron of Māru-Gurjara temple architecture. This patronage continues to this day and is mainly responsible for the prolonged life and unbroken continuity of the Māru-Gurjara tradition in architecture.

The Vrksārnava deals with theoretically the most evolved and indeed fantastic Māru-Gurjara buildings. It combines phantasy with a delightful magalomania as in the famous caturmukha Jaina temple, the Dharana-vihāra at Rānakapura in Rājasthāna. In point of fact, the Vrksārnava actually dwells on the Rānakapur temple when it speaks about a caturmukha temple called Trailokyadīpaka with storied Meghanāda mandapas attached to its four faces. The Rānakapur temple's foundation inscription of A.D. 1440 significantly calls the temple by the name 'Trailokyadīpaka'.

The Vrksārnava also describes a Mahācaturmukha Jaina temple and another series of caturmukha Jinālayas beginning with Prāsāda Candrasāla.

The work also deals with Astapada, Merugiri, Samavasarana and the coordination in plan of 52, 72 and 108 jinālayas.

There are also chapters dealing with iconometry of Jaina images and the characters of Jina-parikara.

The other region where the local Vāstušāstras could have dwelt on Jaina architecture is Karnātaka; but Karnātaka's ancient works on architecture are, unlike Western India, completely lost.

REFERENCES

- I shall not enlarge upon this point since touched upon at some length in my paper "Some Early Jaina Temples in Western India", Golden Jubilee Volume, Pt. I, Shri Mahavir Jain Vidyalaya, Bombay 1968.
- 2. Mosques at sites such as Pāṭaṇ Anhillavād (Srī-Pattana), Ahmedabad (Āṣāpalli-Karṇāvatī), Cambay or Khambhāt (Stambhatīrtha, Khambhāyata), Broach or Bharuch (Bhṛgukaccha or Bhārukaccha), Kapadvanja (Kārpaṭavānijya), Vadanagar (Vṛddhanagara or Ānandapura), Siddhapura or Srīsthala, Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇ (Srī-Devapattana), Vanthali (Vāmanasthali), Unā (Unnatapura), Māṇḍal (Maṇḍalī), Dholakā (Dhavalakakka), and a few other places in Gujarāt and Sāñcor (Satyapura), Jālor (Jābūlipura), Ajmer (Ajayameru) and some other places in Rājasthān bear witness to this. (Also see J. M. Nanavati and M. A. Dhaky, "The Ceilings in the Temples of Gujarat", Bulletin, Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda, Vol. XVI-XVII, Baroda 1963.

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- 3. We are at present editing both Vāstušāstra as well as the Vāstuvidyā, planned now to appear under the title "A Comparative Study of the Temple Architecture in Western Indian Vāstušāstras."
- 4. This series has been, along with the other material from the Vāstuvidyā, absorbed in a very late compilation going by the name of Dīpārņava edited some years ago by the first author of this paper.
- 5. This will be cited and discussed in the second author's paper "The Western Indian Jaina Temple".
- 6. The Aparā jitaprechā of Bhuvanadeva. Ed. Popathhai Ambashankar Mankad, G.O.S. No. CXV, Baroda 1950. The second author of the present paper has discussed its date at some length in two papers elsewhere.

4. ON THE MEANING OF THE TERMS BALANAKA AND CAITYA

H. C. BHAYANI

- I. We know that we have four sources of information about architectural terms used in connection with the Jaina structural temple, viz., (1) the works on Vāstuvidyā, (2) inscriptions, (3) literary works and (4) terms in modern languages derived from classical terms. With the help of the existing monuments the exact reference and significance of the technical terms can be established. Information from literary works can be mostly of a supplementary value, but where the $v\bar{a}stu$ works and inscriptions are silent or vague, any information from literary occurrence and current usage acquires special significance.
- 2. Most of the vast amount of Jaina literature being religious and didactic, it is but natural that Jaina literary texts abound in references and descriptions pertaining to Jaina temples. Many of these poetic and ornate descriptions are quite general and vague. In Vimala's Paumacariya, for example, assignable to about the fifth century A.D., Jaina temples constructed by Harisena, the tenth Cakravartin, and the Santinatha temple where Ravana practised penance to acquire Bahurūpini Vidyā¹ are described in quite general terms, excepting the mention of Gopura and Prākāra. We have also probably an earlier reference to the temples of Sītā and Rṣabhanātha from a faithful abridgement of Pādalipta's lost Tarangavatī-kathā.² But occasionally a few of the literary texts (apart from the works like the Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa specifically dealing with holy places) give some concrete details regarding the structure of the temple they describe. In such cases, even though the context is mythological, legendary or fictive, the descriptions can be taken as based upon some actual model known to the writer, and as such they are not devoid of historical interest.
- 3. There are a few passages in the Mūlasuddhi Prakarana (called also Sthānaka-prakarana) of Pradyumna-sūri (composed sometime about 1050 A.D.) and in Devendra-sūri's Commentary thereon (composed in 1089-1090 A.D.), which contain references to various parts of a Jaina temple. Along with Torana,

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Pattasala, Uttanapatta, Stambhas with Salabhanjikas in various postures, etc., we find a reference to balanaya (Sk. balanaka) as a part of the temple.3

The term balānaka (Sk.: sometimes spelt with va) or balānaya (Pk., etc.) is attested from Jaina works in Prakrit, Sanskrit or Old Gujarati composed between 8th and 16th century. For example, it occurs in the Cauppanna-mahāpurisa-cariya of Sīlanka (869 A.D.), Ceiya-vamdana-mahābhāsa of Santi-sūri (11th cent.), Dharmavidhi-vṛtti of Udayasimha-sūri (1230 A.D.), Revamta-giri-rāsu of Vijayasena-sūri (c. 1250 A.D.), Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa of Jinaprabha-sūri (1308-1333 A.D.) and Siri-sirivāla-kahā of Ratnasekhara-sūri (1472 A.D.)

The Pāia-sadda-mahannavo gives two different meanings for balānaya: (i) sitting bench etc. in a park, (ii) gate. It refers us to two texts in support of the first meaning, viz., the Dharmavidhi-vṛtti and the Siri-sirivāla-kahā, and cites one passage from the Ceiya-vamdana-mahābhāsa to support the second meaning. Of these two suggested meanings, the first is conjectural and turns out to be incorrect, as I will show shortly. The passage cited in support of the meaning 'gate' occurs in the following context: In the course of laying down the proper mode for visiting a temple the text says that as the devotee reaches the gate of the temple (mamdira-dāra), he should raise folded hands to his head and partly bend down, and further, "On entering the balānaya, he should perform three nisīhiyā-s, telling himself all the while that for the moment he would withdraw his thoughts from all worldly matters'. Here one is said to proceed through the gate-way and enter the balānaya, which obviously refers to a gate for entrance or exit connected with a particular part of the temple.

- 4. In one context in the tale of Vīrabhadra occurring in the biography of Tīrthankara Ara in the Cauppanna-mahāpurisa-cariya, a Gaṇinī, hearing somebody crying outside the Upāśraya during the night time, is described as opening the door of the balānaya (balānaya-kavāda) and looking out. Similarly in his commentary on the Mūlasuddhi passage referred to above, Devendra-sūri explains balānaya as jagatī-nirgama-dvāra 'the gateway for exit from the Jagatī'. In the Revamta-giri-rāsu there is a reference to golden Balānaya.
- 5. If we look up the two other references given in the Pāia-sadda-mahannavo, we find that the Siri-sirivāla-kahā passage refers to a king and his prince sitting in the balānaya of a Jaina temple. Here balānaya stands for what is called balānaka-mandapa elsewhere. Similarly the Dharmavidhi-vṛtti passage, in course of describing the step-well constructed by a merchant, says that it had four Balānakas (i.e. gates with halls thereon) in four directions. The Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa tells us about the images of Sāmba and Ambādevī installed in the balānaka-mandapa. These references make it quite clear that balānaka, as a part of the temple structure or the step-well structure signifies the entrance gate to the structure. A hall over the balānaka was called balānaka-mandapa or shortly balānaka.

- 6. The $M_{\overline{u}}la_s^{\prime}uddhi$ and its commentary use several terms to refer to a Jaina temple. The Sanskrit and Prakrit words for temple are made up by compounding deva- with the words meaning a house or residence, and replacement of deva- by jina- gives us words for Jaina temple. Corresponding to devā yatana, devālaya, devakula, devagrha, devaprāsāda, devaman lira, devakuti, etc. we nave jinā-yatana, jinālaya, ninagrha, jinaprāsāda, jinabhavana, jinamandira, jinasadma, etc. Besides there are specific terms also like caitya (Pk. ceia), or caitya-grha (Pk. ceiahara), vihara, matha, padissaya, upasraya etc. The currency and frequency of some of these terms seem to carry some chronological significance. Of course, the latter can be brought out only after we have full documentation of literary data in our possession, but a few directions of such an investigation can be indicated here which are likely to yield significant results. One point relates to the changed meaning of the terms caitya and vihāra. In Prakrit ceia is widely used in the sense of a temple in general. But Hemacandra notes in his Abhidhanacintamani that caitya and vihara signify a Jaina temple; and this is amply borne out by the Jaina Prabandha literature composed in Gujarat during and after the Caulukya period. Now this is a quite significant change of meaning when we consider that this meaning developed possibly after the disappearance of Buddhism from India.
- 7. Similarly it is of some significance that in Modern Indo-Aryan languages, terms for a temple in general are mostly derived from Sk. devageha and devakula. In Gujarati daherāsar is the usual term referring to a jaina temple. It derives from Sk. devagehāvasara and in all probability it originally signified a private temple.

REFERENCES

- 1. Vide Paumacariya, 8, 136-141; 209 and especially the following: धवलक्म-सन्तिगासा विरहय-पायार-गोउराडोवा । दीसंति पुत्त पप जिणालया रवण-विच्छुरिया ॥ पत्रमचरिव, ८, १३८
- 2. Vide the following references in the Samkhitta-Taramgavai-kahā: सीषाधरं पता (गाथा ११२८); निमाजण . . . दसरह-सुण्हाए एगपतीए सीपाए (गा. १११९); बह सी . . . प्याहिण देउल करेमाणो (गा. ११२४); दो तस्स इमा महिमा कीरइ अञ्जानि लोगनाहस्स। पहिषयभवस्स प पर्शिमा देवकुळे ठानिया एसा ॥ (गा. १५०४).
- 3. For the description of a Jaina Temple vide Mūlaśuddhi, 27-36 along with the Commentary. Note especially the following:

मेरु व्व तुंगाई सतोरणाई विसाल-साला-सवलाणवाई। सोपाण-णाणा-मणि-मंडियाई माणेक-चामीयर-कुट्टिमाई।! विचित्त-विच्छित्ति-विभत्त-चित्त-सच्छत्त-भिगार-सुचामराई! स-सालमंजी-मयरद्धश्य-बाउद्धशानेय-धवाउलाई॥ मूलकुद्धि, २८-२९ Also the following explanations of the commentary: सतोरणानि—ईलिकातोरणयुद्धानि । विश्वालशालास्वलानकानि—विश्वाला विस्तीर्णाः शालाः पट्टशाला येषु तानि । सह बलागकेन-जगतीनिर्गमद्धारेण वर्तन्ते यानि द्वानि । स्था विश्वालशालानि च तानि सक्लागकानि च । कुट्टिमम्—उत्तानपट्टः ।

- पविसंतो चेव चलाणपिम कुल्जा निसीहिया दिन्ति।
 घर-वावारं सन्वं इन्हि न काहामि भावेंतो॥ चेड्यवंदणमहाभास, गा. ११८
- 5. उन्धाहिकण थ बलाणप-सवाइं पुलह्या दिट्टा य . . . दीणं रुवंदी . . . एमामिणी रमणी। चउपन्नमहापुरिसचरिय, ए. १६०, पं. ३१-३२
- अन्तिदिणे द्वरस जिणालयस्य सुवलाणयम्मि आसीणो ।
 राया कुमार-सिहें झो कारावइ जाव जिल-मिहें ।। सिरिसिरिवालकहा, गा. ५८४
- 7. चउ-कोणा सम-तीरा पाहण-बद्धा व निम्मविधा। चउसु दिसासु तीसे विदिवाई बलाणवाई चतारि॥ धर्मादिधिप्रकरण-विवृत्ति, गा. १२१-१२२
- 8. इंदोवि बञ्जेण गिरि कोरेजण सुबन्न बलागयं रूप्यभयं चेहवं रयणमया पिहमा पमाण-बन्नोववेया सिंहरे अंबा-रंगमंडवे अवलोयणसिंहरे बलागय-मंडवे संदो प्याइं कारेह। (विविधतीर्थंकल्प, पृ. ६, पं. ६-७) बलागय-मंडवे इंदादेसेण भगय-जनख-कारिअं अंबादेर्वि पूहकण। विविधतीर्थंकल्प, (पृ. ६, पं. १४)

5. THE CLASSICAL KANNADA LITERATURE AND THE DIGAMBARA JAINA ICONOGRAPHY

S. SETTAR

The Jaina literary works in Kannada throw interesting light

- 1. on the asanas and mudras of Tirthankaras and the Sasanadevatas;1
- 2. on the samavasarana, Manastambhas, and other Mandalas;
- 3. on the role the Śāsanadevatās in general, and the Yaksas in particular, played in the lives of various Tīrthankaras; and, finally
- 4. on the iconography of the images of Tirthankaras, Yakşas and Yakşis

In view of the vast literature and enormous difficulty in culling out relevant data from it, I would like to confine myself to the last point in this paper.

The earliest prose work in Kannada, written by Cavundaraya, a Ganga general, is in imitation of Sanskrit Mahapurana; hence, as in the later, in the former also we do not get a list of either the lanchanas of the Tirthankaras or the names of all the Sasanadevatas. The earliest reference to the lanchanas of all the twenty-four Tirthankaras is come across only in Maghanandyacarya's Sastrasarasamutcaya-Tiku, an early 13th century (1206) work.²

But the iconology of the Sasanadevatas was well known to Karnataka silpis of the 10th century, far earlier than it was recorded by poets of Sanskrit works, like Pratistha-Saroddhara, Pratistha-Tilaka, Pravacana-Saroddhara etc. This is not only borne out by the Adipuranam of Pampa, but also by several other works and sculptural representations.^{2a}

Ranna (c. 950 A.D.) is one of the earliest Kannada poets who lists not only the names of the Fourteen Manus, Twenty-four Tirthankaras, Twelve Cakravartins, Nine Baladevas, Nine Vāsudevas, Nine Prativāsudevas, Twenty-four Tirthankara Kṣatriyas but also the names of the Twenty-four yakṣas and Sāsanadevis³. However, in the author's list, we actually find the names of the

twenty-three Yaksas and Sasanadevis, and not of all the twenty-four; it is probable that by oversight one of the names in each list has been missed by the poet.

The names of the yaksas are as followings:

1. Vṛṣabhamukha (in three Mss. of this work he is called Vṛṣabha, Pampa also calls him in the latter name—Supra., N. 5). 2. Mahayaksa. 3. Trimukha. 4. Yaksesvara. 5. Tumbura. 6. Kusuma (in the majority of Digambara texts he is called Puspayaksa). 7. Martanda (it ought to have been Mātanga: we do not know whether it is a wrong reading or an actual variation in the name). 8. Vijaya (called Syama in the majority of Digambara texts although the Svetambara texts generally name him as Vijaya. But in Karnataka he was known to the majority as Vijaya. Aggala, the author of Candraprabhapurānam, also calls him by this name—Supra., N. 18. 9. Ajita. 10. Brahmā. 11. Īsāna (in almost all Digambara texts he is called Isvara yaksa). 12. Kumāra. 13. Saņmukha (in some texts he is called Chaturmukha). 14. (Pātāļa?): (This name is missing in the list; we have restored it from the reference found in Janna's Anantanathapuranam). 15. Kinnara. 16. Garuda. 17. Gandharva. 18. Vijaya (in the majority of Digambara texts he is called Yaksendra or Khendra). 19. Kubera. 20. Varuna. 21. Vidyutprabha (in the majority of Digambara texts he is called Bhrkuti). 22. Sarvahna (also called Gomedha). 23. Dharanendra. 24. Mātanga.

The names of the Sasanadevis are as following:

1. Cakreśvari. 2. Rohiņi. 3. Prajnapti (in one Ms. of this text she is called Padmapriyē). 4. Vajrasīnkhaļē (in three Mss. she is called Vajrasankhē and in one Ms. she is called Vajrasinkhaļē). 5. Purusadattē. 6. Manovegē. 7. Kaļi. 8. Jvālāmālinī. 9. Mahākāļī. 10. Mānavī. 11. Gaurī. 12. Gāndhārī. 13. Vairotī. 14. Anantamatī. 15. Mānasī. 16. Mahāmānasī. 17. Vijayē. 18. (Tārā). This name is missing in the list. 19. Aparājitē. 20. Bahurūpiņī. 21. Vidyutprabhē (known through other texts as Cāmuṇḍā). 22. Kusmāṇḍī (known through some texts as Ambikā). 23. Padmāvatī. 24. Siddhāyinī.

Let us now go into the details of the well-known Jaina works written in Kannada.

I. Adinātha: Vīsabha Yaksa and Cakresvarī Yaksī

The Adipuranam of Pampa, composed a century after the work of Jinasenacarya, provides interesting details regarding the life of Adinatha in Kannada. But

equally important information about him is forth-coming from other Kannada works like Cāvuṇḍarāya-purāṇam of cāvuṇḍarāya and Sāstrasārasamuccaya-Tīku of Māghaṇandyācārya. Hastimalla, another Kannada poet of the 13th century, composed a work called Pūrvapurāṇa. All these works are available to us.

The parentage, place of birth, circumstances leading to the renunciation, garden and the tree chosen for meditation, physical features and life-span of the Tirthankara given in Kannada works are in broad agreement with the details found in Sanskrit texts.

VRṢABHA TAKṢA: The Kannada poets preferred to name the male-attendant of the first Tirthankara Vṛṣabha yakṣa, after the name of Vṛṣabhanātha, and not Gomukha yakṣa as done by the majority of Sanskrit poets. The Karnāṭaka sculptors also seem to have preferred to depict him with the human face; for, so far, we have not come across any separate stone image of this yakṣa with the head of the bull as we have at Khajuraho, Deogarh and elsewhere. But, Pampa was aware of this concept or the characteristic, because he attributes Vṛṣabha-mukha to this yakṣa

He also describes him as having the glow of the moon (silvary-glow) departing from the majority of Sanskrit poets who attribute him golden complexion. He further describes him as one possessing vṛṣabha-lānchana (the cognizance of a bull), vṛṣabha-vāhana, and vṛṣabha-mukha, in partial agreement with some Sanskrit works.

As regards his other attributes, Pampa describes him as having four arms wielding the parasu, phala, akṣamālā and the varada-mudrā.5 These attributes are in full agreement with the details given not only by the Manuscripts found at Jaina-Kanci,6 but also with Pratistha-Saroddhara.7 This version is also endorsed by a Kannada tradition and some Sanskrit works.8 Not many Vṛṣabha yakṣa images in the round are found in Karnāţaka, but their representation in the miniature form, at the base of Vrsabha Tirthankara, is commonly encountered. To instance some examples, we may take the four images of Vrsabha, three of these found in the Suttalaya of Gommata (fig. 1),9 and the fourth in the Bhandara Basti at Sravana Belgola. In all these, the miniature Vrsabha yaksa is depicted bearing the following four attributes: parasu, akṣamālā, phala and varada. These are in perfect agreement with the attributes mentioned by Pampa. I am aware of only one independent stone image of Vrsabha yaksa (yet unpublished); it is in the Trikūța Basti at Markuļi in the Hassan Dt. sitting in the ardhaparyankāsana, the yaksa (fig. 2) bears the parasu, akṣamālā, phala and varada-mudrā in his four arms. These details also agree with the description of Pampa.

CAKRESVARI: The yakṣi of Adinatha is called Cakreśvari in Kannada works as in the Sanskrit texts of the Digambara sect. Pampa has endowed her with twelve arms, two attributed with the varada-mudra and the padma, two with the vajras and the remaining ones with cakras. She is mentioned as terrifying (agurvva) in appearance, and exhuming the golden glow (bannam-ponna-bannakkan-eyene). Her vehicle or cognizance is the garuda. 10

Neither in the Cāvuṇḍarāyapurāṇam nor in Hastimalla's Pūrvapurāṇam, do we come across any reference to Cakreśvarī and her iconographic characteristics. The Śāstrasārasamuccaya-Tīku, mentions her name, but does not give any other detail. Nemicandra, a Kannaḍa poet of the late 12th century, makes a casual reference to the temple of Cakrēśvarī (Cakrēśvariya-Bhavana) and to her image^{10a} but does not mention her iconology.

As indicated by her name, the cakras or discs are the chief attributes of yakṣī Cakrcavarī. Like Pampa, (who assigns this attribute in eight of her twelve arms), the Jaina-Kāncī Mss. also assign cakras in eight of her arms. Of the Digambara works in Sanskrit, Pratiṣṭhā-Sāroddhāra is almost in full agreement with the Ādipurāṇam of Pampa, because the former also lays down twelve arms, with the cakras in eight of them, the vajras in two, and the varada-mudrā and the phala in the remaining two. The only difference we notice here is that instead of the padma (of Ādipurāṇam), the Pratiṣṭhā-Sāroddhāra mentions the phala. Pratiṣṭhā-Tilaka endorses these attributes, although in this text Cakreśvarī is endowed with only ten arms.

Independent images of Cakresvari range from the four-armed to the twelvearmed in Karnāṭaka. One image found in the Trikūṭa basti at Mārkuļi in the Hassan Dt., reveals the details laid down by Pampa; it has twelve arms, of which eight bear the cakras, two the vajras; of the other two, one bears the padma and the other the $varada-mudr\bar{a}$. Her cognizance garuda is also present. One six-armed and another four-armed reliefs of about two and a half feet high are found on the outer wall of the Santisvara basti at Jinanathapura near Śravana Belgola. The six-armed yaksi (Fig. 3) holds two cakras, two vajras a padma and the varada-mudra; the four-armed bears two cakras, a padma and the varada. For want of 'hands' the vajras appear to have been eliminated in the latter. Another four-armed Ganga image from Kambadahalli reveals some minor variations; in this image, we find two cakras in her upper two arms, and a phala and the abhaya-mudrā in her lower two. In another image found on the parapet wall of the Parsvanatha Basti, Helebid, (fig. 5) we notice two Cakras in the upper two arms of the yaksi, phala and padma in her lower left and right arms respectively.

An intensive study of the iconology of this yaksi has been made by Dr. U. P. Shah and in view of the recent publication of a very interesting paper by him¹¹ and a modest paper on the same theme by me,¹² further discussion on this yaksi is probably unnecessary here.

II. Ajitanātha: Mahāyakṣa and Rohiņī Yakṣī

Only one Kannada work is available on Ajitanātha. It's author is Ranna, another tenth century (c. 950) poet.¹³ In a verse, Ranna gives all the personal details of the second Tirthankara: that his parents were Jitasatru and Vijayasenamahādevi, the king and queen of Ayodhya; that his lānchana was danti or elephant; and his yaksa-yaksis were respectively called Mahāyaksa and Rohini yaksi.¹⁴ These and the details given by Cāvundarāya are in general agreement with the those found in the Digambara Sanskrit works.

MAHĀYAKṣA: Ranna vividly describes Mahāyakṣa, but unfortunately he does not mention his iconographic details. However, a Kannada tradition and two Jaina-Kānci Mss., throw light on him. The Kannada tradition attributes the snake-lānchana to Ajitanātha, though almost all Sanskrit works assign him elephant-lānchana. Such differences are also found with regard to his colour, number of faces etc.,: Pratiṣthā-Tilaka describes him as of silvery glow, Pratiṣthā-Sārasangraha, of golden glow; but in a Kannada tradition he is described as dark in colour. Sanskrit works assign him four faces and eight arms. The number of his faces is not mentioned in the Kannada tradition, although reference is made to his eight arms. These arms bear the cakra, trisūla, kamala, ankusa, khadga, danda, parasu and varada according to Kannada and Sanskrit works and traditions. 15

We have not, as yet, come across independent images of Mahayaksa in Karnataka, but his miniature reliefs by the side of Ajitanatha are not wanting. The latter, found at Śravana Belgola, for example, neither reveal his four-faces nor his eight arms. He is shown here as having a single head and four arms, the arms invariably bearing a cakra, a trisūla, a padma and a khadga (fig. 4)16. These attributes are in full agreement with the texts.

ROHINĪ-YAKṢĪ: All Digambara texts name the yakṣī of Ajitanātha as Rohiṇī. Ranna, as in the case of Mahāyakṣa, does not go into the iconographic details of the yakṣī; he merely compares her to his patroness dānācintāmaṇi-Attimabbe. Here, again, we have to learn about her iconography from a Kannada tradition and the Jaina-Kānchī Mss. With regard to her iconography, the Kannada tradition attributes an āsana (stool) as her cognizance, and two cakras, abhaya and kaṭaka mudrās in her four hands. But the Jaina-Kānchī Mss., do not fully agree with this: one specifies the vajra, ankusa, dagger, and lotus; another assigns the sankha, cakra, varada and abhaya-mudrās.

As the images of Rohini in the round are not as yet come across in Karnāṭaka, we have to verify the iconographic details specified in the texts with those found in miniature reliefs. The two images found in the Suttālaya reveal her holding flower-bunches in her two hands, a sankha and an ankusa in each of the other two. The image found in the Bhāndara Basti (fig. 2) also reveals garlands or flower bunches in her two hands, but the other two are bearing a phala and an ankusa. The difference between the texts and sculpture are quite obvious.

We have not so far come across any Kannada work on Sambhavanātha, the third, Abhinandana, the fourth, Sumatinātha, the fifth, Padmaprabha, the sixth, and supārsvanātha, the seventh Tīrthankaras.

VIII. Candraprabha: Vijaya Yaksa and Jvālāmālinī Yaksī

On Candraprabha, the eighth Tirthankara Aggala, a Kannada poet of the late 12th century (c. 1189), composed a Purāna. Son of King Mahāsena and Laksmanadevi, he was as white as the glow of the moon when he was born at Candrapura; hence he was called Candraprabha and was endowed with the cognizance of the moon.¹⁷ He meditated under the nāga-druma and attained the kevala-jāāna. He was served by Vijaya yakṣa and Jvālāmālinī yakṣī.

VIJAYA YAKSA: The yaksa of Candraprabha is called by different names. The Svetāmbara texts name him Vijaya, the Digambara texts generally call him, Syāma. In Karnātaka, he is popular by the former name, (despite the fact that the Jainas of this region were and are Digambaras), but the other name—Śyāma—is not altogether unknown. But in conformity with the majority of Sanskrit works, Aggaļa mentions kapota (dove) as his lānchana although hamsa was not entirely unknown. 19

The majority of Sanskrit texts endow him with four arms and three eyes, the former holding a parasu and a phala in the right two, an akṣamālā and the varada-mudrā in the left two.²⁰ Aggala mentions varada-mudrā, lotus (praphulla-kankaruha), kasā and ankusa in his four hands. The details given by this poet broadly agree with those given in the Jaina-Kāncī Ms. No. 121 rather than with those mentioned in the majority of Sanskrit texts of the Digambara sect.

Only one independent image of Vijaya or Śyāma yakṣa has been identified so far; it is found in a Jaina temple at Aihole (fig. 6) and dated in the eighth century A.D.²² The yakṣa is seated in the ardha-paryankāsana under an umbrella; in his four arms he bears a parasu, a kasā, a phala and padma. Although some works²³ assign to him a parasu and an akṣamālā, the Kannada traditional and literary accounts seem to lay accent on the ankusa and kaṣā (or pāsa).

It is obvious from the sculpture found so far that the Karnāṭaka silpis were fully aware of the differing versions of the iconology of this yakṣa: in Aiho'e we find his image with a parasu and with the cognizance of a hamsa; but in the 12th century miniature reliefs found at Śravaṇa Belgola (fig. 13) he has been endowed either with the ankusa, sarpa-kasā, phala and varada-mudrā²⁴ or with the pāsa, ankusa, varada-mudrā and padma. In another 17th century miniature representation of the same place the yakṣa bears an akṣamālā, parasu, the varada-mudrā and a phala in full agreement with the Pratisthā-Tilaka.

JVĀLĀMĀLINĪ: The yakṣī of Candraprabha Tīrthankara is called Jvālinī or Jvālāmālinī. Aggaļa, describes her as one endowed with the snow-white complexion (prāleya malināmgi) with a garland in her neck and an additional cyc on her forchead. Her cognizance is the mahiṣa.²⁷ Candrama, the author of Gōmatesvara-carite also describes her as one glowing with the colour of the moonlight (beladingala-putthaliyante caluvinda-kaļakaļisuva-kōmalāngi).²⁸ The Kannada tradition cited by Ramachandran slightly differs from the versions found in these two Kannada works and attributes a bull as her cognizance and a flamy crown on her head.²⁹ But jvālā (fire or flame) is considered to be the chief characteristic of this yakṣī by all other texts.

As regards her attributes, Aggala specifies a disc, a sūla, an arrow, a bow, a flag, a sparkling-whip (camcat-kasā), a sword, and a bright shield (sphuṭa-kheṭaka) in her eight hands.³⁰ There is a general agreement between the details mentioned here and in several other texts with regard to the complexion, cognizance and the majority of attributes. A separate image of Jvalāmālinī, which I presume to be the earliest found so far in the country, has been found at Aihole. In this, the yakṣī has been endowed with a crown with flames, a buffalo cognizance (now almost effaced); and in her eight arms we find an arrow, a trident, a disc, a sword, a conch, a whip, a bow and probably a fruit (now broken). I have already discussed the iconology of this yakṣī with the help of available textual and sculptural evidence elsewhere and I feel further discussion is less rewarding here.³¹

IX. Puspadanta: Ajita Yaksa and Mahākāli Yaksi

Guṇavarma, a Kannada poet of the early 13th century, composed a work on Puṣpadanta, the 9th Tirthankara. The Tirthankara's radiance is compared by the poets to the glow of a puṣpa, or a flower.³² The majority of texts assign him makara-lānchana and name the yakṣa and yakṣī respectively as Ajita and Mākāli (Mahākālī).

AJITA YAKSA: According to Gunavarma, Ajita yaksa also had the (white) complexion of a just-blossomed kumuda flower. His cognizance is stated to be

the tortoise; his four hands are adorned with a kasā, a trisūla, a ghana-danda (a long staff) and a kuthāra.³³ These characteristics are fully endorsed by one of the Jaina-Kānchi Mss.,³⁴ although they vary from the majority of Sanskrit texts.³⁵

We have so far not come across any image of Ajita yakṣa in the round, but the usual miniature reliefs attending on the Tirthankara are not wanting Two reliefs found at Śravaṇa Belgola may be instanced here. In the image of Puṣpadanta enshrined in the Bhaṇḍāra Basti, the yakṣa holds a gadā, daṇḍa, paraśu and triśūla in his four arms. With the exception of the gadā in the place of kaśā, (but the functions of which can be surmised to be the same), these attributes agree with the details given in the Puṣpadantapurāṇam. But in the other image of the Puṣpadanta found in the Suttālaya of Gommaṭa, the miniature yakṣa wields a vajra-daṇḍa (tied with a flag or a bunch of flower), paraśu, triśūla and kaśā. In this case, we witness a perfect agreement between the attributes wielded by the yakṣa and those specified by Guṇavarma.

MAHĀKĀLĪ YAKSĪ: Guņavarma describes Mahākālī as of golden complexion, differing from the majority of Sanskrit works which describe her as dark in colour. Her cognizance is not known, as a part of the verse is lost; but from other evidence it can be assumed to be a lion. She is endowed with four hands in which she bears a sword, a shield, a thunder-bolt and a lotus.³⁸ The Jaina-Kānchi Ms. no. I broadly agrees with this, though instead of a shield it lays down a phala.³⁹ But the majority of Sanskrit works give an altogether a different list, although all texts agree in ascribing her the vajra or thunder-bolt.⁴⁰

We have not as yet come across a separate image of Mahākāṭī yakṣī in Karnāṭaka, but in view of the popularity of this deity, particularly her Hindu counter-part, the possibility is not ruled out. But we have enough number of her miniature representations by the side of her lord, Puspadanta.

In an image found in the Bhandara Basti at Śravana Belgola, we notice the following attributes in the four arms of the yaksi: a sword, a shield, a lotus and a thunder-bolt. One interesting feature about this sculpture is that it is relieved in accordance with the canonical injunctions known to Karnataka poets like Gunavarma, for between the attributes mentioned in the text and those—found in the image, there is a perfect agreement. However, in the miniature yaksi relief found by the side of Puspadanta image in the Suttālaya of Gommata, there is another set of attributes. The latter consist of a trident, an axe, a shield and a sword, only two of these attributes conform to the attributes mentioned by Gunavarma; the other two are not mentioned by any known texts.

No independent works seem to have been composed by Kannada Jaina poets on Šītalanātha, Śreyāmśanātha, Vāsupūjya, Vimalanātha, respectively the tenth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth Tīrthankaras.

XIV. Anantanātha: Pātāļa Yaksa and Anantamati Yaksi

Janna, an early 13th century Kannada poet, composed Anantanāthapurānam among other works. He describes the Tīrthankara as of golden colour. His cognizance is mentioned to be the bear and his attendants are called Pātāļa yaksa and Anantamatī yaksī.

 $P\overline{A}T\overline{A}LA\ YAKSA$: Janna describes $P\overline{a}t\overline{a}$ a yaksa as white in colour, like a lily in the ocean of milk, and attributes the hasti-makara (yala? $vy\overline{a}$ la?) as his cognizance. These iconographic characteristics differ from the one mentioned in other texts, for, the latter generally assign him red colour and makara- $v\overline{a}$ hana. Janna assigns him three faces and six arms with a phala, a padma, a hala, a $s\overline{a}$ la, an $a\overline{n}kusa$ and a $kas\overline{a}$ in these arms. The attributes mentioned by him are in broad agreement with the majority of Sanskrit texts, although in some of the latter works, he is endowed with a three-hooded snake-canopy.

No separate image of Pātāļa yaksa has been found so far, but Anantanātha images and references to bastis built for him abound. Several of his miniature reliefs are, however, found by the side of the Tīrthankara, and these reveal all his iconographic characteristics. In one image of Anantanātha found in the Suttālaya of Gommata, the yaksa bears the ankusa, hala, kasa and trisūla in his four arms. Although his three heads and six arms are missing here, the attributes of the four-armed yaksa fully agree with the details given by Janna.

Another image of Anantanātha has been found in the Bhandāra Basti; the miniature relief of Pātāla found by his side also bears four arms but he carries a hala, padma, hala and gadā. The text followed by this sculptor is not known.

ANANTAMATĪ YAKSĪ: Janna describes Anantamatī as of pin jara-ruci or of golden (reddish-yellow) colour and as one riding a hamsa. Her four arms are endowed with the varada-mudrā, phala, bil (bow) and kol (staff or arrow).⁴⁵ These attributes fully agree with the attributes mentioned in almost all Sanskrit texts.⁴⁶ But one of the Jaina-Kāncī Mss. assigns her only the varada-mudrā and a padma.⁴⁷

Images of Anantamati yaksi in the round are as yet to be come across in Karnataka, but her miniature representations by the side her lord are not wanting. Two images of Anantanatha found at Śravana Belgola—one in the

Bhāṇḍāra Basti (fig. 10) and another in the Suttālaya of Gommața—reveal the yakṣī bearing either the varada-mudrā and a padma (suttālaya Image No. 10) or a daṇḍa and a phala. The attributes of the first agree with the unique version given by the Jaina-Kānci Ms. No. 1; the attributes of the second fall within the list given by Janna if we interpret the term kol as a staff. But we have as yet to come across the four-armed yakṣī to verify the details laid down by Janna. As the images of Anantanātha abound, it should not be very difficult to find an example.

XV. Dharmanātha: Kinnara Yaksa and Mānasi Yaksi

Two Kannada Jaina poets have written on Dharmanātha. One of them is Madhura who lived in the 14th century, and the other is Bāhubali who lived in the 16th century. Bāhubali's Dharmanāthapurānam has been recently edited and published. However, this work does not reveal the iconographic characteristics of yakṣa Kinnara and yakṣī Mānasī. The Sāstrasārasamuccaya-Tīku alone names his yakṣī as Parabhrtī. Parabhrtī.

We need not go into the details of Dharmanatha and his Sasana-devatas as the available Kannada works do not throw new light on their iconology.

XVI. Säntinäth: Garuda Yaksa and Mahamanasi Yaksi

Three Kannada works on Santinatha have been noticed so far: Ponna's Santipuranam of the 10th century (950 A.D.), Kamalabhava's Santisvarapuranam of the middle 13th century (C. 1235 A.D.), and Santikartimuni's Santinathacarite of the 15th century (1440 A.D.). Of these, the first two are published and are of considerable importance for our study.

The majority of works—Sanskrit as well as Kannada—agree on the names of the parents of Santinatha, his complexion, cognizance and Sasanadevatas. This golden-coloured Tirthankara is attributed with the harina (deer) cognizance; Garuda yakṣa and Mahamanasī yakṣī are mentioned to be his Sasanadevatas. Ponna, however, does not go into these details: he invokes a yakṣī without naming her as well as her attributes. He also praises Sarvahṇa yakṣa, again without going into his iconographic detail. But Kamalabhava names the Sasanadevatas as Garuda yakṣa and Mahamanasī yakṣī. The same names are mentioned by Maghanandyacarya in his Sastrasarasamuecaya-Tiku. 2

GARUDA YAKSA: According to Kamalabhava, Garuda yaksa is of dark-blue (greenish-blue) or harinīla colour and he has the tārksya-ratha, (the vehicle of a tārksya, a garuda or a snake or even a horse) as his cognizance. He is four-armed, wielding the ambuja (lotus), vajra, cakra and the fourth offering uddhura (freeing from yoke?) or abhaya-mudrā (?)⁵³. The meaning of uddhura is not certain, but it is interesting to note that in then Kannada traditional account cited by

Ramachandran the abhaya-mudr \bar{a} is mentioned. With the exception of this mudr \bar{a} the attributes mentioned by Kamalabhava are in perfect agreement with those given in almost all Sanskrit texts.

Only some miniature reliefs of this yakşa have so far been noticed, but separate images of Garuda yakşa must be found in Karnātaka as the bastis built for Śāntīs'vara abound in number. In an image of Sāntinātha enshrined in the Māngāyi basti at Śravana Belgola (Fig: 18), a miniature relief of Garuda yakṣa is not only found, but his four arms are attributed with a cakra, vajra, phala and padma. These, agree, (excepting in the case of the phala), with those laid down by Kamalabhava. However, more images are to be studied before it is possible to determine the relation between the text and the images.

MAHĀMĀNASĪ YAKSĪ: Kamalabhava names the yakṣī of Śāntinātha as Mahāmānsī agreeing with other Sanskrit texts, but he differs from the others in specifying her complexion and her cognizance. Unlike majority of Sanskrit poets,⁵⁴ Kamalabhava describes her as of lightning-white complexion, and as one riding the nakra or crocodile. Her four arms bear a sword, a fruit, kadamba-branch and a noose.⁵⁵ This version, interestingly enough, differs from all other texts. Independent images of these yakṣī are as yet to be noticed, but her miniature reliefs are available for our study. In one image of Śāntinātha found in the Bhandāra Basti, she wields a sword, a shield, and two nooses; in another image of the same Tīrthankara found in the Māngāyi Basti, the yakṣī bears a sword, a shield, a padma and what may probably be a vajra. Minor differences between the details found in the sculptural representations and in Kamalabhava's work are obvious enough.

We are not aware of Kannada works on Kunthunatha, Aranatha, the seventeenth and eighteenth Tirthankaras respectively.

XIX. Mallinātha: Kubera Yaksa and Aparājitā Yaksī

According to Nāgacandra, a Kannada poet of early 12th century, Mallinātha was born to king Kumbharāja and queen Prabhāvatī. This golden-coloured Tīrthankara is endowed with the kumbha-lānchana and the services of Kubera yakṣa and Aparājitā yakṣī.

KUBERA YAKȘA: Nāgacandra describes Kubera yakṣa as having four faces, eight arms and an elephant- $v\bar{a}hana$. But he does not mention the attributes held by the yakṣa in his eight arms. The Kannada tradition, however, attributes a sword, a javelin, a dagger, and the abhaya-mudr \bar{a} in his right hands; an arrow, a bow, a mace and $kataka-mudr\bar{a}$ in his left hands.

Only miniature reliefs of Kubera are noticed so far. Of them, two found at Śravana Belgola reveal only four arms and not cight. One in the Suttālaya (Fig 17) wields a padma, danda, varada-mudrā and pāsa; the other shows a pāsa, varada, danda and padma. As these fall within the list of attributes given in Sanskrit works, 51 we may presume that the iconographic tradition followed in Karnātaka was similar to one followed elsewhere.

APARĀJITĀ TAKṢĪ: Unlike in the case of Kubera, Nāgacandra gives an elaborate description of Aparājitā, the yakṣī of Mallinātha. According to him, she is endowed with the complexion of an emerald (green), the cognizance of the Śarabha (or a mythical lion) and her four arms bear the varada-mudrā, phala, asi (sword) and kheṭaka (shield).⁵⁸

Although some texts ascribe to her white-complexion and hamsa-vāhana, almost all Digambara texts and traditions agree with Nāgacandra with regard to her four arms. One of the Jaina-Kānchi Mss. (Ms. no. 1), however, assigns her only two hands, bearing the varada-mudrā and a flower.

But strangely enough, of the two miniature reliefs found by the side of Mallinātha Tīrthankara, one in the Suttālaya of Gommata and another in the Bhandāra Basti, are in perfect agreement with the details laid down by the Jaina-Kānchī Ms. no. 1 rather than with those mentioned by Nāgacandra and also other Sanskrit poets.

However, this question needs further investigation with the help of the images found in other parts of Karnataka.

The Puranas relating to Munisuvrata and Naminatha, respectively the twentieth and twenty-first Tirthankaras, are not available to us.

XXII. Neminātha: Sarvāhņa Yakṣa and Kuṣmāṇḍinī Yakṣī

On Neminātha, the twenty-second Tīrthankara, a larger body of literature has been produced in Kannada than on any other Tīrthankara. Besides Cāvundarā yapurānam and the Sāstrasārasamuccaya-Tīku where Neminātha finds place among others, independent works were also composed. Of the works easily accessible to us, mention may be made here to Karnapārya's Nemināthapurānam, 59 Nemicandra's (Ardha) Nemipurānam⁶⁰ (incomplete) and Mīgasena's Nemijinesasamgati. 61 Of these the first is the most important work for our purpose.

The dark-coloured (indranīla or syāma) Neminātha Tīrthankara was born at Dvārāvatī to king Samudravijaya and queen Sivadevī. His cognizance is a conch, and his Sāsanadevatās are called Sarvāhņa and Kuṣmāndinī. 62

SARVAHNA: Although the majority of Sanskrit works call the yaksa of Neminātha, Gomedha, in Karnātaka he was popularly known as Sarvāhņa. 63 The Kannada texts, however, do not go into the iconographic details of the yaksa, although they praise him, his ability and services. Nemicandra, for example, calls him "samasta yakşa-tilakam" and ascribes him elephant cognizance.64 Karnaparya calls Sarvāhņa "yaksam jina-mata-santāna-samraksa-daksam".65 Besides these works devoted to Neminatha, Sarvanna is also invoked by other poets. For example, Ponna in his Santinathapuranam invokes Sarvahna as one who tramples through his elephant all those who stand in the way of attaining the siddhapada.66 Candrama, another Kannada poet, who composed the Karkalada-Gomatesvara-carite, describes him as one who is adorned with a dharma-cakra on the head.⁶⁷ From these details we learn that Sarvahna, the yakşa-tilaka, was propably the most popular of the Jaina yaksas among the Digambara Jainas of Karnataka, that he had an elephant-vāhana and the dharma-cakra on the head (crown). The number of his hands are not specified, but it may be presumed that he had only tow, and these held no special attributes worth mentioning. This simple version is, however, in disagreement with the majority of texts which assign him three heads and six arms.68

The images in the round as well as the miniature reliefs of Sarvāhņa abound in Karnāṭaka. As elsewhere, these are found not only in the temples dedicated to Neminātha but also in the temples of other Tīrthaṅkaras. This proves that Sarvāhņa and Kuṣmāṇḍinī. Were serving all the twentyfour Tīrthaṅkaras, before each of the latter got his exclusive pair of attendants.

Whether the image of Sarvāhņa is carved in the round, or in high relief, he is usually seen seated in the ardha-paryankāsana with a padma and a phala in his hands. The images found in the Cāvuṇḍarāya (Fig 7), Santīśvara, Savatigandhavāraṇa, Eradukaṭṭe, Candraprabha, Sāsana and Kattale bastis on Candragiri in Śravaṇa Belgola will bear this out. A very interesting representation of Sarvāhṇa is found in the Candragupta Basti on Candragiri. Here Sarvāhṇa (about 4 ft. and 10 in. high) is depicted in the samabhaṇga standing posture (Fig 9), with the head of the elephant carved on the pedestal. The yakṣa has only two arms, the left holding a fruit and the right indicating the abhaya-mudrā. All these images, no doubt, conform to the description given in the majority of Kannaḍa works.

The miniature representations of Sarvāhņa, however, differ from this simple variety. Where he accompanies his lord, and he is represented as part of the entourage, he is generally endowed with four arms bearing a cakra, ankuśa, pāśa and varada-mudrā. Two images of Sarvāhņa—one found in the Bhaṇḍāra Basti, the other in the Suttālaya of Gommaţa bear this out.

KUŞMĀN DINĪ YAKSĪ: Kūşmāndinī, the yakṣī of Neminātha, is as popular as Sarvāhņa, and some Kannada poets throw intersting light on her iconology. Nemicandra, does not even name her in Ardha-Nemipurānam⁶⁹ although he was aware of the importance Ambikā enjoyed in Karnātaka as well as her iconology. In his another work, Līlāvatī Prabandham he not only refers the grove of Ambikā (ambikeya-banam), the devotees who were singing her titles (dēviya-birudam-pāduva), but also makes his hero, Kandarpadeva, worship the yakṣī's image by invoking her as Ambikā-Jagadāmbikā, Ambikā, Mother of this Universe. Karnapārya invokes Kuṣmāndinī by name, but he does not mention her attributes. Mangarasa calls her Yakṣesvarī⁷¹ and Candrama names her Ambikā. The non-specification of her attributes is in agreement with the convention adopted by the majority of poets with regard to Sarvāhna; the other reason may be that the yakṣī is endowed with only āmralumbi (mango fruit).

The images of Kusmandini abound in number, both in Karnataka and elsewhere. U. P. Shah has given a comprehensive account of this yaksi and hardly anything new has been found by me in Karnātaka to add or to alter his account.73 We may, however, stress here that Kusmandini literally deserved the name of Yaksesvari in Karnataka, because until almost the 12th century A.D., her images in high relief as well as in miniature scale are found accompanying not only Neminatha but also other Tirthankaras. This is very well borne out by the bastis on Candragiri in Śravana Belgola. In fact, according to a local tradition, she is the presiding-goddess of Sravana Belgola. In almost all separate images of this yakşī, we find her lion-cognizance the mango-tree or mango-fruit, and her child or children. The earliest image of this yaksi is found in the Meguti temple at Aihole; it is probably the most elaborate sculpture in the country. The most common variety, revealing her important iconographic traits, are found in the Cavundaraya, Sasana, Kattale (Fig. 12), Eradukatte, Savatigandhavarana and Santisvara bastis on Candragiri in Sravana Belgola, Pañcakuta Basti (Fig. 8), Kambadahalli etc. These are all seated images. Two interesting reliefs, in the samabhanga posture, are found on the outer wall of the Santisvara Basti at Jinanāthapura. This yaksī also holds āmralumbi in one of her two hands, while the remaining hand is placed on the head of her child. She is accompanied by her lion.74

Nemicandra, a poet in the Hoysala court, seems to have acquainted himself with the images of Ambikā, her lion cognizance, tree and two sons. An image of this yakṣī, placed under a fully blossomed kalpavṛkṣa, has been vividly described in the Līlāvatī Prabandham. The yakṣī was endowed with rich and elaborate ornaments like earings, crown, necklace, forehead mark and was glowing with beautiful white teeth as well as long hair; her eldest son was riding a lion-cub, the younger was beaming, with joy on her lap. 74.8

The Classical Kannada Literature & The Digambara Jaina Iconography 39 XXIII: Pārsvanātha: Dharanendra Yaksa and Padmāvatī Yaksī

Pārsvapaņdita, a Kannada poet, composed the Pārsvanāthapurānam in the early part of the 13th century. According to this work, Pārsva was born to king Asvasena and queen Brahmadattē. Pārsva's parents are named Visvasena and Brahmādevī in the Cāvundarā yapurānam and as Visvasena and Brahmilā in the Sāstra-sārasamuccaya-Tīku. This blue-coloured Tīrthankara is endowed with the cognizance of a snake and the services of yaksa Dharanendra and yaksī Padmāvatī.

Pārsvapandita, however, does not go into the iconographic details of the Sāsana-devatās. He describes Dharanendra as the leader of the nāgas and as the destroyer of the upasargas created by Kamatha. He also gives an elaborate picture of how Dharanendra, the lord of the nether world, emerged out of earth and spread his enormous hood over the meditating Pārsva, and how his consort Padmāvatī held an umbrella to protect her husband in turn. His description helps us understand some of the reliefs found in early caves and mediaeval temples particularly in Karnātaka and in Western India. In the sculptural representation, Dharanendra, as the lord of snakes and the protector of his lord, are well reflected by the attributes like snakes, varada and abhavamudrās assigned to him. An extremely interesting relief of Dharnendra found in the central ceiling of the Pārsvanātha Basti, Hāļebīd (Fig. 14), has been brought to light here.

In the vestibule of the Akkana Basti at Śravana Belgola, an elaborately carved image of about 3. 1/2" in height has been found. Dharanendra is sitting in the sukhāsana under a three-hood serpent canopy; and he is accompanied by his cognizance, the tortoise. He has four arms in which he bears an ankusa, a pāsa, a phala and a padma. These attributes agree with the Jaina-Kānchī Mss. 1 Another high relief of Dharanendra, found in the Candragupta Basti (Fig. 22) on Candragiri, shows him in the samabhanga posture. In this also the yakṣa bears the snake canopy and the same attributes found in the image of Akkana Basti. On the outer wall of the Śāntīsvara Basti at Jinanāthapura (Fig. 11), 18 and in the Pañchakūṭa Basti at Humcha (Fig. 20) we find four-armed images. The miniature reliefs found by the side of the Tīrthankara (Fig. 15) broadly agree with the characteristics noticed in the above images.

PADMĀVATĪ: Although Pārsvapaudita mentions the four arms of this kunkuma-coloured yaksī, instead of mentioning the attributed held in them he merely compares the four arms to the four puruṣārthas. 83 Nemicandra, in his Līlāvatī-Purāṇam, describes her as one endowed with four arms, attributed with pāsa (pūvina-pāsa—floral noose) phala (hēma-phala=golden fruit), vajrā-ankuśa

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(thunderbolt-goad or goad made of diamond or goad as hard as the diamond) and padma (Kunkuma-padma=red Lotus).84

However, the worship of Padmavati was and has been very popular in Karnātaka. Along with Ambikā, she seems to have asserted her importance soon after the first couple of centuries of the Christian era. Dr. U. P. Shah says that the earliest literary and archaeological references to the image of Ambika, known so far date from the 6th century A. D. 84, a However, the earliest independent image of Ambika seems to be that of the Meguti temple at Aihole in Karnātaka.* I have already drawn attention to the earliest images of Ivalamalini and Syama in a separate paper; the honour of possessing them also belongs to Aihole in Karnataka. We may venture to suggest here that the earliest temples for Padmavati may have been erected in Karnataka and her separate images carved and enshrined in them. In a recently found inscription of Kadamba Ravivarma (c. 485-519) at Gudnapur near Banavasi (Kārwār Dt.) a grant is registered for the temple of Padmavatī at Kalli [li]: grāmampadmāvatyālayasya.85 As Kadamba Ravivarma is believed to have ruled from the last fifteen years of the 5th century, we may presume that the temple for padmavati had attained importance to receive grant by the king on the occasion when the latter established Kama-Jinalaya (?). We may further presume that this temple may have existed at least in the beginning of the 5th century. However, the popularity enjoyed by the yaksi and the number of temples built for her are borne out by the references made by Nēmicandra.85'a

The images of Padmavati-high reliefs and miniature ones by the side of her lord—are found in considerable number in Karnataka, and in some Jaina centres like Humcha, her influence is far greater than that of her lord. This is in contrast to what B. C. Bhattacharya thought about this yakṣi in 1939.86 Not less than six large images of this yakṣi have been noticed by me at Śravana Belgola. Of these, the most ornate and iconographically very interesting image is found in the vestibule of the Akkana Basti (Fig. 19). Sitting in the sukhāsana, accompanied by her kukkuṭa-vāhana, this yakṣi wields an ankusa, pāsa, phala and padma, while at her back rises a serpent and spreads its three-hooded canopy above her crown. The image is about 3 ft. in height. One relief of about 1'.9" in height, found on the outer wall of the Śantiśvara Basti at Jinanāthapura, another image, almost in the round and about 4' in height, found in the Pārsvanātha Basti, Halebid (Fig. 16), and an image at Humcha (Fig. 21) also reveal all these attributes of the yakṣī.

Of the images that deserve our attention, the standing yaks on the wall of the Santisvara Basti (No. 22) at Jinanathapura, (of about 1'.9") another image of about 3' high in the vestibule of the Bhandara Basti (bearing the varadamudra insteadof the padma; but the rest being identical with those of Akkana

basti); another image of about 3' in height placed in the western cell of the Candragupta Basti on Candragiri (but bearing an ankusa, $p\bar{a}sa$, phala and Katakamudr \bar{a}) may be mentioned here.

XXIV. Vardhamāna: Mātauga Yakṣa and Siddhāyikā Yakṣī

The life and achievements of Vardhamana Mahavira became the theme of a puranic work of a Kannada poet, Achanna. As in the uttarapurana, the significance of the name of Vardhamana Mahavira is explained in his work. His cognizance was lion; his attendants are named Matanga and Siddhayika.

MATANGA YAKSA: Although the majority of Kannada and Sanskrit works call the yaksa Matanga, Achama names him Gajendra, indicating that he was the lord of elephants. 88 But this author does not go into the details of his attributes, for the obvious reason that there was very little to elucidate about them. From the majority of Sanskrit texts, we learn that Matanga was endowed with only two arms, bearing the conventional attributes like the varada and phala. In a Kannada tradition however he is endowed with four arms, but all of these are held in different mudras - an jali, lola and abhaya. etc. 89

A systematic study of the images of Mātanga of Karnātaka is yet to be made, but his miniature reliefs found at Śravana Belgola revcal him bearing four attributes, like vajra, danda, cakra⁹⁰ and cakra, or vajra, ankuśa, akṣamālā and varada-mudrā, ⁹¹ or padma, pāśa, danda and vajra. ⁹² An interesting image of Mahāvīra has been noticed by me in one of the cells of the Pañcakūta Basti at Mārkuļi in the Hāssan Dt. In this the yakṣa wields a vajra, a padma and a cakra in his right hands, while in his left three hands he bear a cakra, kaśā and danda. These attributes closely resemble those specified in the Jaina-Kānchi Ms. No. 1.

SIDDHAYIKA YAKṢĪ: As in the case of Mātanga, Āchaṇṇa does not go into the iconographic details of yakṣī Siddhāyikā.⁹³ But from the majority of other texts and traditional accounts, we learn that this golden-coloured yakṣī was endowed with two hands, and a lion cognizance.⁹⁴ She wields either the varada-mudrā and a book, or the abhaya and lola-hastas. U. P. Shah has discussed the iconology of this yakṣī at length, and to this we have but very little to add. However, we may draw attention to a very interesting, but hitherto unstudied, image of Siddhāyikā accompanying Vardhamāna found in the eastern cell of the Pañchakūṭa Basti at Mārkuļi in the Hāssan Dt. In this the yakṣī is endowed with twelve arms, wielding (from r. bottom) the varada-mudrā, a vajra, a kaṭaka (?), a bāṇa, a khaḍga. a bāṇa; (from top) a bow, a padma, a shield, a phala, an akṣamālā and a bow. The majority of attributes held by this yakṣī agree with those specified in the Jaina-Kāñchī Ms. No. II, although a perfect J.S.-6

agreement is wanting. A number of four-armed miniature reliefs are found in Karnāṭaka, but the attributes found in their hands, do not always agree with those found in another.

REFERENCES

- 1. In Cāvunḍarāyapurāṇam: Ādipurāṇam of Cāvunḍarāya, (ed. B. Venkatanarayanappa, Bangalore, 1928) p. 106, we find a vivid description of the Kāyotsarga posture. Cāvuṇḍarāya says that "kāyotsaraga-vembudu-parimita kāladoļu seriradoļ-appa mamatvamam pattu viḍivudu." (the process of eschewing the attachment (mamatva) hidden in the body, within a limited timespan, is called the Kāyotsarga.). As in the Mahāpurāṇam-Pūrvapurāṇam (ed. by Santaraja Sastri, A., Mysorc, 1933, XVIII, 3 and 6,) in Kannaḍa works like Pārsvapaṇḍita's Pārsvanāthapurāṇam (ed. by Srinivasacharya and Rangaswamy Iyengar, IX, 64.), we get a vivid description of this posture. Description and definition of the Paryaṅkāsana are also not wanting. For an example, we may refer to Pampa's Ādipurāṇam (ed. Kundanagar, K. G., and Chaugale, A. P., Belgaum, 1953, X, 14).
- 2. This list of lanchanas given by Māghanandyācārya agrees with the list found in other Sanskrit texts, except with regard to that of Aranātha, the XVIII Tīrthankara.
- 2,a. Settar, S., "Jvālāmālinī and the Earliest Images of Jvālā and Śyāma', Artibus Asiae, XXXI, (1969), pp. 309-320.
- Ranna's Azita Tirthakara Purana Tilakam (ed. by Devirappa, H., and Javare Gowda, D., (Mysore, 1955), Ch. XI, prose after v. 19, pp. 187-88.
- 4. Pampa's Adipurānam, I, 81; ST p. 13. This is also borne out by the current convention reflected in the CT, p. 89, (a work that guides the priests at Śravana Belgola) and also by two Jaina-Kāñcī Mss. (relating to Karnāṭaka and cited by Ramachandran, TAT, p. 197.)
- 5. The verse reads as following: Paraśu phala-akṣasūtra varadocita cinha caturbhujam manohara vṛṣa-lāṇchanam vṛṣa-mukham vṛṣa-vāhan indu kuṇda saum daratara varnnan-i-Vṛṣabhanātha . . . —Ādipurāṇam I, 8, (p. 2).
- 6. Ramachandran, TAT., p. 197.
- 7. *PS* II, 129, (p. 66).
- 8. The only difference is: instead of the varada, the abhayamudrā is prescribed in the Kannada tradition and phala is prescribed in the PT. III, i, (p. 331).
- 9. Nos. 5, 15 and 27.
- 10. Varadam-padmānkītam-toļeraļu nisita-vajra prabhābhāsuram to ļeraļ-udya-ccakricakra-ojjvala-karatarajajyöti töļent agurvvāgire baņņam-ponnabaņņakkeņeyene garuļa-vāham āgirappa cakresvarī. . . .

 $-\bar{A}$ dipurānam, I. 7.

10,a. Nemicandra's Lilâvati Prabandham (ed. by Venkatarāmappa, K. and Javare Gowda, D., Mysore, 1966), IX, prose after v. 53, p. 207; see for Cakrēśvari-niļava ibid., (X, prose after v. 66).

- Shah, U. P., "Iconography of Cakreśvari, the Yakṣi of Rṣabhanātha" JOI, Baroda, (1971), XX, no. 3, Pp. 280-314. For Cakreśvari from Kambadahalli referred to above, see, Shah, ibid., Fig 21; for four-armed Cakreśvari from Jinanathapura, Shah's fig. 25.
- 12. Settar, S., "Cakresvari in Karnāṭaka Literature and Art", Oriental Art, XVII, I (N. S. Spring, 1971; Oxford-Swansea). Cakresvari from Markuli is illustrated in this paper.
- 13. KKC, I, Pp. 68 ff.
- 14. The verse is as following:

Janakam śri-jitaśatru tāi-vijayasēnādēvi samdirda-Ayo dhye nijāmnāyada rājadhāni mahijam saptacchadam danti-lāmchanamā-Rohini-tāre-yakṣī tanagā-yakṣam-Mahāyakṣanem

-Ajita Tirthakara Purana Tilakam, IX, 3, p. 148

- PS, III, 130 (p. 66). In PT, VII, 2 (p. 331) the most important seven of eight attributes are mentioned. See also TAT, p. 198.
- 16. Three images of Ajitanātha are found in Śravana Belgola (No. 2 in Bhandāra Basti, Nos. 7 and 33 in the Suttālaya of Gommata)
- 17. In UP (LIV, 173), it is mentioned that "the earth and the lotus flowers began to glow with radiance at his birth". The same kind of interpretation has been given by Aggala in his Candraprabha-purānam, Vol. II, XII, vv. 198-199.
- 18. Aggaļa, op. cit., I, 10; ST, p. 15 the yakṣa is called Vijaya. In another Kannaḍa work of the 16th century, written by Candrama, he is named Śyāma—see Kārkaļaḍa-Gomaṭeśvaracarite, I, 7.
- 19. TAT, p. 201. Cf. Aggala op. cit., I, 10, and Asadhara, op. cit., III, 136.
- PT VII, 8. cf., with the MS. of Arrah cited by Bhattacharya in JI p. 102 and the Jaina-Kāñchi Mss. cited by Ramachandran, TAT, p. 201.
- 21. The verse is as following:
 - . . . varada-praphulla-pam karuha-kasamkusamkita-caturbhujadindesevam-kapota-vi skira-rathanalkirim-Vijaya-yaksan . . .

-Candraprabhapurānam I, 10

- 22. Settar, Artibus Asaie XXXI, 1969, pl. 1.
- 23. PT, VI, 8; JI, p. 102, no. 3; TAT, p. 20.
- 24. Bhandara Basti Image No. 8.
- 25. Image no. 18 of the Suttālaya of Gommata.
- 26. Channanna Basti on Chandragiri.
- 27. Aggala, op. cit., I, 9.
- 28. Chandrama, op. cit., I, 8.
- 29. TAT, p. 201; Cf., Burgess, op. cit., Pl. II. fig. 8.
- 30. The verse is as following:

Prāļēyamaļināmgi tunga-mahi şenda-rūdhe yatma stha dormāļālamkţte cakra-sūla-sara-cāpot-kētu-cañcat-kasabhil-asi-sphutakhētakānvite caļadbhāļāksi . . .

-Aggala, I, 9,

31. Settar, op. cit., pp. 309-320.

32. Guṇavarma's Puṣpadantapurāṇam (ed. A. Venkata Rao and H. Sesha Ayyangar), I, 12. Puspadanta brings out the significance of his name in the following verse:

Pravitate punyodayadim

bhuvanastutasukṛti-yenipa-kuvalaya-kamalo-

tsava-kāvanenipa-i-mige

suvidhi-vesar Puspadanta-vasar-anvarthan

33. The verse reads as following:

Sphūripa navya-kumuda-dyuti-mattanu-kūrma-vāhanam sphara kaša trišūla ghana-damda-kuthāra . . .

-Puşpadantapurānam, I, 11.

- 34. Ms. No. 1, TAT., p. 201.
- 35. In PT, VII, 9, a śakti, phala, akṣamālā and varada-mudrā are specified. This list is repeated in the PS., (III, 137) and the PSS., cited by Bhattacharya in JI p. 103. n. 4.
- 36. Image no. 9 in the Bhandara Basti.
- 37. Image No. 19 in the Suttālaya of Gommata.
- 38. The text reads as following:

 Kanaka-cchā yeyim-alda-deharuchi-chelvam-bire-dorvalli nā ļkeņasum taltire khadga-khēṭaka-lasad-vajra-ābjam . . .

-Puspadantapurānam, I, 10.

- 39. Ms. no. 1: TAT, p. 202.
- 40. PT ascribes her a vajra, mātulunga-fruit, mudgara and dāna-mudrā, VII, 9; Cf. PS, III, 163.
- Janna's Anantanāthapurāņam (ed. H. Devirappa and M. C. Padmanabha Sarma (Mysore, 1972), I. 10
- 42. JI, p. 108, n. 1; TAT, p. 205.
- 43. The text reads as following:

Pala padma hala śūlam-aņkuśa kaśā-yugmam bhuja-daṇḍamam ḍaļadōļ taltire mūruvaktra-vaļayam śvētānga-varnakke-pālgoļadoļ pankajapunjadantesedu .

-Anantanāthapurānam, I. 8.

- 44. PT, VII, 14; and, PS, III, 142.
- 45. The verse is as following:

Varada-karāmbujam mereva-keyya-palam kadurayyamāda to ļeradara billa-kola posadese vilasamanamta yakṣi pim jararuci hamsa-vāhane caturbhuje sāsanadēvi . . .

-Anantanāthapurānam, I, 9.

- 46. All Sanskrit texts assign the same weapons although the sequence of enumeration is different: Cf., PT, VII, 14; PS., III, 168.
- 47. Ms. no. 1; TAT, p. 205.
- 48. Bāhubali's Dharmanāthapurāṇam (ed. Padmanabha Sarma, Mysore) However, at the time of writing this paper, the work is inaccessible to me.
- 49. ST, p. 20.

- 50. Ponna's Sântipurânam, (ed. Venkatarau, A., and Sasha Iyengar, Mysore, 1919) I, 6-7.
- 51. Kamalabhava's Śāntiśvarapurānam (ed. Ramanujayyangar, M. A., Mysore, 1912) I, 10-11.
- 52. ST, p. 20.
- 53. Harinila prabheyam . . .
 - . . . vilasatpadāmbuja vībhāsvadvajra cakrāyudhoddhura-dormandalamam garuda-yak şam vikrāmatarkya tārṣkya-ratham.

-Santiśvarapurānam, I.11.

- 54. The majority of texts ascribe her golden colour and peacock-vehicle JI, p. 136; TAT, p. 206. However, the Jaina-Kāñcī Ms. no. 1 agrees with the version given by Kamalabhava—see, TAT, p. 206.
- 55. Ksaņa-rugmāla-may abdakkeņeyenise caļatkāmti-yuktāmgolbaņe nakrā-rūdhe khadga-prakaţa-phala-kadambāli-to-raņa dordaņda prajodhāsure ... mahāmānasiya

-Śāntiśvara-Purānam, I, 10.

- 56. Nägacandra's Mallināthapurānam (ed. Narasimhachar, S. G., and Ramanujayyangar, M.A., Mysore, 1895), XI, prose after v. 72, (p. 258). The other texts name her mother Prajāvatī.
- . 57. In PT, for example, the yakṣa is mentioned as showing a shield, a bow, a staff and a lotus in his left hands and a sword, an arrow, a pāśa and the varada-mudrā in his right—See, VII, 19 (p. 337). PS (III, 147) agrees with this list but mentions a paraśu instead of the pāśa.
- 58. Varada-phal-asi-khetaka caturbhuje tanna sarirakâmtiyim marakata-ratnadim sāmedavol-sarabham . . .

-Mallināthapurānam I, 9.

- 59. Karnapärya's Neminathapuranam (ed. Sesha Iyengar, Madras, 1940).
- 60. Nemicandra's (Ardha)-Nemipurānam (ed. Kulkarni, B. S., Dharwar, 1968).
- 61. Mangarasa's NemijineSasangati (ed. Santarajasastri, A., Mysore, 1931.)
- 62. ST, p. 24; CT, p. 206., and Karnapārya op. cit., I, 6-7. But Nemicandra (op. cit., I, 8-9) and Mangarasa (op. cit., I, 9-10) name the yakṣī as Yakṭeśvarī instead of Kuṣmāṇḍinī. This may be taken in the sense that Kuṣmāṇḍinī was probably the most popular of the yakṣis. In the Kannada tradition, the yakṣī seems to be known as Dharmādevī (TAT, p. 209).
- 63. See, for example, PT, VII, 22.
- 64. Nemicandra, op. cit., I, 8.
- 65. Karņapārya, op. cit., I, 7.
- 66. Ponna, op. cit., I, 7.
- 67. Candrama, op. cit., I, 9.
- 68. PT, VII, 22; PS, III, 150.
- 69. Nemicandra, op. cit., I, 9.
- 69a.Līlāvati-Prabandham, VIII, v. 52, p. 185; v. 53, p. 186 and prose after v. 57.
- 70. Karnapārya, op. cit., I, 8.
- 71. Mangarasa, op. cit., I, 9.
- 72. Candrama, op. cit., I, 10.

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73. "Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Ambikā", JUB IX, pt. 2 (Bombay, 1940), pp. 146, ff.

74. The outer wall Image nos. 30 and 34.

74a. The text of the verses describing the yakṣī and her two sons is, respectively as following:

Tolaguva-vajradōle posamuttina-lambanam-āyda-mānikam
gaļa misupaisaram-pasiya-nētrada-balniri-tōrpa-minchuva
lgaļa belaguļļa bāydere balalmudi Sāndina boṭṭu Chelvina

ggalikeyaniye Kangeseva yakşiyan-abjadalâ yatakşiyam
—Ibid., VIII, v. 57

Nețeda maganeți singada mațiyam Karamoppi toțalavanappim në rgițiyam magam panegonegala Kițumoleyane nagute Somki sogiloleseyal

-Ibid., v. 56

- 75. Pārśvapandita's Parśvanāthapurānam (ed. Bommarasa Pandita, Malabar, 1956), XIII, 121 and 125.
- 76. op. cit., Ms. p. 161; Cf. UP, LXXIII, 75.
- 77. Māghaņandyācārya, op. cit., p. 25.
- 78. Pārsvapandita, op. cit., I, 9.
- 79. Ibid, XV, 131;—for the story, see XV, 102-134.
- 80. PT, VII, 23; PS, III, 161.
- 81. TAT, p. 210.
- 82. No. 31 on the outer wall of the Santisvara Basti.
- 83. Parsvapandita, op. cit., I, 10.
- 84. Nemicandra's Lilāvatī-Prabandham (ed. K. Venkatarāmappa and D. Javare Gowda, Mysore, 1966), X, 9, p. 222. The verse is as follows:
 Pūvina pāsamam viphula-hēma-phalamgalanimbuvetta pom

gāvina vajradamkusamanamkita kumkuma-padma-puspamam

tîvî talamgalol kara-catustam-oppamanappukeyye padmāvatiyam . . .

Her vajrānkusa is incidentally referred to in another verse also-cf. Ibid., VII, 46, p. 154.

- 84a. Shah, U. P., "Beginnings of Jaina Iconography", Bulletin of Museums & Archaeology in U.P., No. 5. (June, 1972) p. 12. The earliest reference, according to him, is found in the common the Bhāsya of Jinabhadragani Kṣamāsramaṇa of c. 500-c. 600 A.D.
- * There is independent inscribed bronze image of the sixth century, published in Akota Bronzes by U. P. Shah—Convenor.
- 85. "Gudnapur Inscription of Kadamba Ravivarma", Srikanthika, Prof. S. Srikantha Sastri's Felicitation Volume, (Mysore, 1973, pp. 61-62, Pl. XI). Dr. G. S. Gai, however, disputes the reading of Kāma-Jinālaya-See JIH, 4, II (1973), pp. 301-3.
- 85a. In his Lilāvati Prabandham, Nēmicandra introduces her frequently, especially as a conferrer of boons. The yakṣī appears as the wife of a magician in the court of Kandarpa and reveals the latter's love, Līlāvatī (op. cit., V, prose after v. 146, pp. 90-91); queen Vibhramalēkhē of Kusumapura seeks, the yakṣī's blessing for begetting a child (Ibid., VIII, prose

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after v. 39, pp. 153). This boon is conferred by the yaksī on the queen (prose after v. 62, p. 158). Padmāvatī also guides the prince to find his dream girl (Padmāvati-prēritamārgadinda: Ibid., V. 101, p. 168); Līlāvatī also seeks the blessings of this yakṣī to find the prince (Ibid., X, v. 5 and prose after v. 83 as well as XI, v. 7, p. 243; see also, XII, prose after v. 50. Padmāvati's temple (dēviya-grha and Padmāvati-nilaya; sec, X, prose after v. 97, p. 241 and XI, prose after v. 54, p. 253.) which stood like a fioral mountain in the middle of a banana garden, (also called vasantakarodhyāna: X, v. 2, p. 221) is described to have been located at the outer skirt of the city of Kusumapura (cf. VII, prose after v. 39, pp. 153 where the temple in which the yaksī's image was enshrined has been referred to as Ponna Basadi). She is conceived as the goddess of fortune of the universe (bhuvana-bhāgya-dēvate: VII, prose after v. 39, p. 153) conferrer of boon on the three worlds (sakala-tribhuvana-varada: Ibid.), as the goddess of learning (vidyād ēvate: Ibid.), adhī-dēvate (the chief-goddess: Ibid), universally worshipped (lokastute: v, v. 42, p. 154), the endowed of all arts (sakala-kalādhare: Ibid., v. 43). worshipped by gods, devils and nymphs (kinnara-khachara-surā-sura-pannaga-pūjite-yanippa-padmāvatim: X, v. 2, p. 221). Her devotees not only sang her praises and offered her flowers but also endowed her with attributes like a diamond-goad (vajrānkusa), a beaded-crown (manimaya-patta), a beaded or white parasol (muttina-kode or belgole), whisks (cāmara), flags (patāke) ctc.,-see, VII, vv. 40-49, pp. 153-55. The yaksi's Pombasadi, a floral mountain, has also been referred to by the author in his Nemināthapurānam-cf. VIII, prose after v. 17, p. 145.

- 86. Bhattacharya wrote in 1939 that "separate sculptures of an important yakṣī like Padmāvatī ought to have been discovered but we have, so far, only seen the yakṣī's likeness with symbols in her master's statues—JI, p. 145. But, the images at Nalanda, Jaina Kāfichi etc., published by then, appear to have actually escaped his attention—see, TAT, pp. 210-11, Pls. xxxi-ii., ARASI 1925-26, pp. 125 ff; Mem. No. 2 of ASI, pl. XLVII and Proc. of the AIOC, Travancore, pp. 816 ff.
- 87. Āchaṇṇa states that at first he was named Vira or Varddhamāna. When the 'lord' clarified the doubts of Sañjaya regarding the interpretation of some Āgamic passages, he was called Sumati. In the context of the story of Sangamika he is named Mahāvīra. In yet another place he is called Vasudhaika-bāndhava as he is said to have caused good to all the people of Vasudhā. (Varddhamānapurāṇam, ed. Mariappa Bhatt, M., and Govinda Rao, M., Madras, 1952, XIII, pp. 218 ff., and XIV, pp. 238 ff.) In ch. XV, pp. 249 ff. another incident is narrated in which Pārvatī and Paramesvara, after examining his integrity, confer the names, Suvīra and Ativīra.
- 88. Ibid. I, 8.
- 89. TAT., P. 210.
- 90. Nos. 22 and 36 in the Suttālaya of Gommata.
- 91. Māngāyi Basti, Sravaņa Belgoļa.
- 92. No. 24 Bhandara Basti.
- 93. Āchaṇṇa, I, 7. Shah has drawn our attention to her less popular names like Aparājītā and Kāmacāṇḍālini—"yakṣinī of the Twenty-Fourth Jina Mahāvīra", JOL XXII, Nos. 1-2, Sept.—Dec. 1972, Baroda pp. 70-78; see in particular p. 72.

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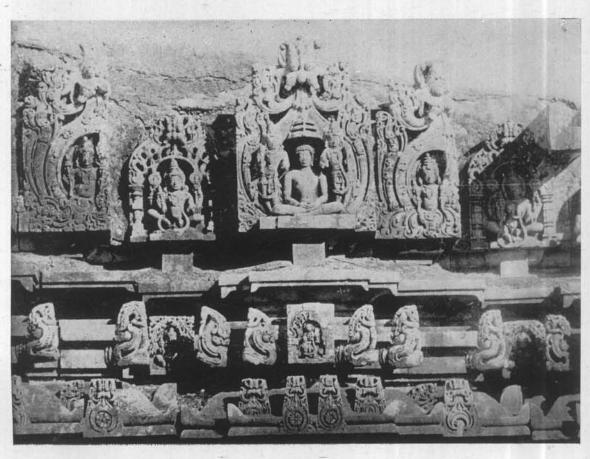
94. But a Jaina-Kāñchi Ms. assigns her the garuda, while the Kannada tradition assigns her hamsa—(TAT, pp. 211-212).

ILLUSTRATIONS

- Vṛṣabhanātha, flanked by Vṛṣabha yakṣa and Cakreṣvarī yakṣī, Suttālaya of Gommaṭa, image no. 5, Śravana Belgola, Late 12th century, A.D.
- 2. Vrsabha yakşa, Märkuli, Hassan district, Karnātaka. 1173 A.D.
- 3. Six-armed Cakresvarī, Jinanathapura, Hassan district.
- 4. Ajitanātha, flanked by Mahāyakṣa and Rehini yakṣī, Suttālaya of Gommaṭa, Śravaṇa Belgola, Late 12th century.
- 5. Parapet of the Pārsvanātha Basti, Halebid. 1133 A.D.
- 6. Vijaya yaksa, Jaina temple, Aihole. About 8th cent. A.D.
- 7. Sarvāņha yakşa, Cāvuņdarāya Basti, Candragiri, Śravaņa Belgola, Early 12th century A.D.
- 8. Ambikā Pañcakūta Basti, Kambadahalli, Mandya District, Karņātaka. About 10th cent. A.D.
- 9. Sarvānha yakşa, Candragupta Basti, Candragiri, Śravana Belgola. 9th-10th cent. A.D.
- Sāsanadevatās of Vimalanātha and Anantanātha, Bhāṇḍāri Basti, Śravaṇa Belgola. 1159
 A.D.
- 11. Dharanendra, outer wall, Śantiśvara Basti, Jinanathapura. 1200 A.D.
- 12. Ambikā, Šivamāra Basadi or Candragupta Basti. C. 800 A.D. (?).
- Supārsvanātha and Candraprabha with their Sāsana-devatās, Bhāndari Basti, Sravana Belgola. 1159 A.D.
- Dharanendra, Central ceiling, Pärsvanātha Basti, Halebid, Hassari district, Karņāţaka.
 A.D.
- 15. Dharanendra, Pārsvanātha Basti, Halebid. 1133 A.D.
- 16. Padmāvatī, Pārsvanātha Basti, Halebid. 1133 A.D.
- 17. Mallinātha, Suttālaya of Gommata, Śravana Belgola. Early 13th century A.D.
- 18. Garuda yakşa and Mahāmānasī yakṣī flanking Santinātha, Mangayi Basti, Srvavaņa Belgola. About 1325 A.D.
- 19. Padmāvatī yakṣī, Akkana Basti, Śravaṇa Belgola. 1181 A.D.
- 20. Dharanendra, Pañcakuta Basti, Humca, Shimoga District. 12th cent. A.D.
- 21. Padmāvati, Pañcakuţa Basti, Humca, Simoga District, Karņāţaka. About 12th cent. A.D.
- 22. Dharapendra, Candragupta Basti, Candragiri, Śravaņa Belgola. 12th century. A.D.









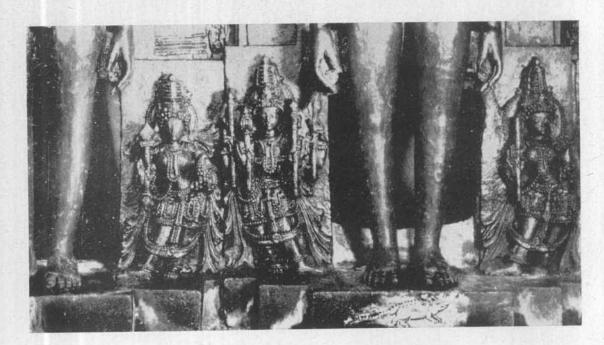






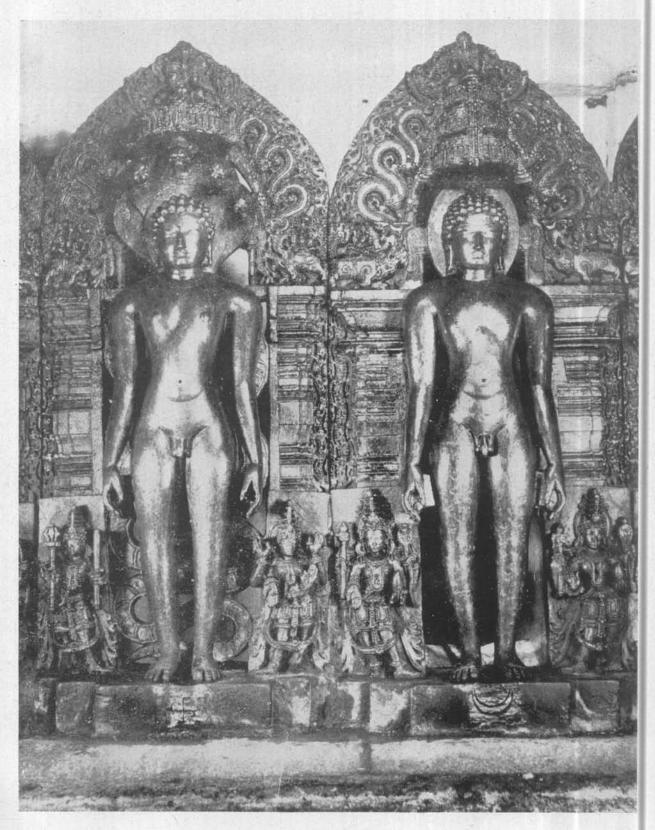










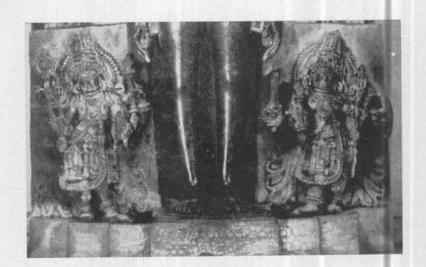




















6. EVOLUTION OF JAINA ICONOGRAPHY & SYMBOLISM

UMAKANT PREMANAND SHAH

In the Seminar on Jaina Art at Lucknow, in January, 1972, the present writer has given an outline of the "Beginnings of Jaina Iconography". This paper, though it will repeat some of the facts mentioned in the paper just referred to, is by way of a supplement to the first one, and is treated from a different point of view and with changed emphasis.

The origin of a number of symbols and especially the original conception behind them is often shrouded in mystery. The real age of the original conception behind the Svastika or the Nandyāvarta or the pair of fish (mīna-yugala) etc. is often unknown. Even the shape of the original Nandyāvarta symbol is not certain. Again in course of time, the shapes or forms of the symbols like Śrīvatsa on the chest of a Jina image have also changed. Borrowings or adoptions and assimilations of symbols of rival sects and foreigners, as well as of symbols from the old common stock of ancient India result in finer differences of conceptions behind the symbolisms. Still, however, literary evidences of all such sects and peoples explaining symbolism have to be looked into before properly assessing the meaning of any symbol in any sect of India.

Here only a few aspects of such symbolism in Jaina art can be taken up as a pointer to the desirability of doing independent research study on individual symbols or on groups of symbols.

The correct name for the honeysuckle like symbol on top of the gateway in the tablet of homage donated by Śivayaśas² (Fig. 1) is to be identified as yet from Jaina sources. The Ayagapata of Sihanadika (J. 249)³ shows aṣṭamangalas (Fig. 2); of the four in the upper panel, the name of the second symbol from right and in the lowermost panel the name of the third from right are not known from Jaina sources.

A passage in the Rayapasenaiya sutra speaks of Tilakaratna symbol. What is it? Is it the Triratna?

The basic philosophy underlying Jaina religious practice leaves no scope for any worship of a Creator God since according to Jaina philosophy no God has created this world. Still, however, the human mind, in this world full of countless miseries, frustrations and what not, craves for something to fall back upon, some resort, some support, to sustain and to strive again and again. The non-attached passionless Arhat or the Siddha in a formless final state of beatitude cannot directly help and do anything for and on behalf of a worshipper. He neither favours nor frowns upon. The Tirthankara who is also an Arhat and a Kevalin, is Vitarāga. All his Karma-bondage is over. How can he do any more Karma?

Still the Jainas worship him and have throughout the course of about 2500 years, installed innumerable images and erected, at fabulous costs, excellent shrines in honour of the Tirthankaras. They have verily enriched Indian Art and patronised Indian craftsmen and artists to an extent which is so great and varied that we have not yet been able to do proper justice to this Jaina contribution by our study and research.

With the above philosophy it must have taken sometime to introduce worship of the Jina icon as representing the Supreme Godhead, the *Devādhideva* as Hemacandra calls him. Mahāvīra, whose parents were followers of Pārsvanātha, is never reported to have visited any Jaina temple. There is no mention, in the older strata of the Jaina Canon, of any shrine didicated to even Pārsvanātha whom Mahāvīra's parents followed.

But the Agamas refer to Siddhāyatanas, i.e. Shrines dedicated to Siddhas, temples which are Sāsvata-Caityas, eternal shrines, worshipped by Indras and other gods and goddesses. Obviously these are later references for they are shrines in heavens and not on this earth, nor of the age of Mahāvīra. Mahāvīra stayed in Caityas like the Pūrnabhadra Caitya which commentators unanimously explain as Yakṣa-āyatanas, shrines dedicated to Yakṣas.

The plan and description of the Caityas visited by Mahāvīra have been analysed by U. P. Shah in his Studies in Jaina Art, while discussing Caitya-worship and the worship of the Caitya-trees. This need not be repeated here. The Yakṣa-āyatana, with a silāpaṭa placed on simhāsana and worshipped under a tree (Aṣoka-vṛkṣa or any tree) was a simple affair, at best this had a stone (or wooden) umbrella above supported by four pillars and/or a rod in the centre; under this, at some stage, the figure of a Yakṣa might have been installed on the simhāsana, in place of the Silāpaṭa. Or, as we find in the reliefs of Bharhut, this silāpaṭa under a tree was enclosed in a walled structure with a roof. This stage could have co-existed with that of worship of Yakṣa-statues, but very likely the shrine with Yakṣa image was evolved later than the simpler silāpaṭa-worship since in the

description of the *Pūrnabhadra Caitya* visited by Mahāvīra, the *Caitya* is called *Porāṇa* (i.e. ancient, even in the age of Mahāvīra) and is described as one which was visited by many people, and because in this description there is no mention of any *Yakṣa* statue nor of any walled structure.⁴

So the worship of the Jina-image as a cult object came a little later after Mahavira, though the attempts to paint on canvass, or fashion in wood, portraits of Mahavira, need not be ruled out and discarded. In fact, the tradition about worship of the Jivanta-svāmi-pratimā, as evidenced by the Avasyaka-cūrni is not wholly unreliable and is very likely true. Both Uddayana of Roruka (in Sauvīra) and Pradyota of Ujjain (both contemporaries of Mahavira) worshipped wooden portraits of Mahavira. If Hemacandra, did not tell a lie, the copper plate grant given (by Uddayana) to the first copy of the original portrait sculpture of Mahavira (deposited by Pradyota at Roruka while carrying off the original from Roruka) came out along with the original statue when Kumarapala's special officers dug it out from the site of the buried city of Roruka (in Sauvīra). The fact that an early text like the Vasudevahindi refers to the rathayatra festival of the Jīvantasvāmi image at Ujjain shows that the tradition of worship of this type of Mahavira's images (standing in meditation with ornaments etc. on his person) had already gained currency in the age of Arya Suhasti and the Mauryan ruler Samprati and at least was popular in the age when Vasudevahindi was composed.5

But there is indeed no other evidence, literary or archaeological, to prove that during the life time of Mahavira and his immediate disciples the worship of images of Parsvanatha and Mahavira in Jaina temples, had already been started.

However it is fairly certain that by the time of Samprati, the grandson of Asoka, the Jina image, as a cult object, and not as a portrait, had already been introduced in Jaina worship. The highly polished torso and part of legs of a nude male figure in Kāyotsarga posture obtained from Lohanipur, an extension of the site of Pataliputra, conclusively proves this. It was found from the foundations of a structure alongwith another later post-Gupta torso and legs of a Jina and a Jina head.⁶ So there is no doubt that both these torsoes are of Tīrthankara sculptures in Kāyotsarga posture and that the structure is the earliest available plan of a Jaina shrine. The foundations of this structure measure 8'·10"×8'·10".

Now we come to another rather neglected aspect in the study of evolution of Jaina iconography. The Jaina traditions speak of about 34 atisayas (or supernatural qualities) of every Jina. These include some which are separately described as aṣṭa-mahā-prātihāryas, i. e., eight chief accompanying attendants, including the Asoka-tree, the deva-dundubhi, the heavens scattering flowers (symbolised in art by flying garland-bearers), the triple-umbrella, the fly-whisks, the (lion-)seat, the

divya-dhvani and the bha-mandala radiating lustre behind the head. The earliest known text describing the atisayas of a Jina is the Samavayanga sutra (sutra 34). Abhayadeva commenting on it notes variations at two places. The Vasudevahindi (pp. 343), the Tiloyapannatti, 4. 915-927, Abhidhana Cintamani (I. 57-64) and several other Jaina works describe these. There are a few variations in the Digambara and Svetāmbara lists, which are of minor importance. What is especially noteworthy is the fact that the group of eight Prātihāryas so familiar in the evolved iconography of Tirthankara images of both the sects is not separated in the Samavayanga list. The Samavayanga does not group the 34 atisayas under different heads as in other later texts and the asta-mahāprātihāryas are neither separted into one group nor are they called mahā-prātihāryas. The emphasis on eight atisayas as mahā-prātihāryas came with the emergence of the full-fledged parikara of Tirthankara images of both the sects. Those atisayas which came to be utilised in representations were grouped together as mahā-prātihāryas. But the evolution was gradual as is evident from the sculptures obtained from Mathura Banaras, Rajgir, etc. Sculptures of the Kusana and early Gupta periods do not show all the eight mahāprātihāryas.

Fig. 3 (No, J. 60, Lucknow Museum), shows, on each side of the Jina, an attendant with folded hands and not a flywhisk bearer (camaradhara). Fig. 4 inscribed, shows only the dharmacakra on the pedestal, and no lions indicative of a simhāsana. The image, now in the Mathura Museum (No. 268), and originally from the Katra Mound, Mathura, is inscribed in characters which are later (Gupta period). The image represents Rsbhanatha7 standing, but is later retouched. He has an ornamental nimbus (halo-bhāmandala) behind his head, and a creeper on both sides, perhaps suggestive of the Caitya-tree. Above are two flying figures (garland-bearers?) and near the legs the camaradharas, but the other prātihāryas are missing. Fig. 5, representing an image of Mahāvīra from Varanasi in the Bharata Kala Bhavan Museum at Varanasi (No. 161), is a beautiful Jaina sculpture of the Gupta period, of c. 6th century A.D., which again does not show the triple umbrella, or the heavenly music, the devadundubhi etc. The presence of two Jinas on the pedestal, on two sides of the Wheel and the lions in this, figure as well as in fig. 6 from Lucknow Museum (No. J. 121) is interesting. Fig. 6 perhaps represents standing Neminatha on account of the presence of standing Balarama on the right and Kṛṣṇa on the left of the Jina. The absence of camaradharas, triple-umbrella etc. may be noted. Fig. 7 of late Kusana period from Mathura now in Lucknow Museum (No. J 117) again omits the cāmaradharas but has a standing nāga with folded hands on the right and a male worshipper on the left. They are not Balarama and Krsna since their symbols are not shown. Similarly fig. 8 from Mathura Museum (No. B. 63) shows a standing male worshipper with folded hands on each side of the Jina. The sculpture certainly dates from late Kusāņa period. No. J. 60 in Lucknow

Museum, originally from Kankali tila, Mathura, and dating from the Kusana period, also shows worshippers instead of eamaradharas. Of special interest is the standing Jina, of Kuṣāṇa age from Mathura, now in Lucknow Museum (No. J. 7), illustrated here in figs. 9-10-11-12. Fig. 9 illustrating the front with inscription, shows a Jaina monk standing near the right leg of the Jina, while the female on the corresponding left represents a Jaina nun. Fig. 10 of the back shows a female lay worshipper carrying in her right hand a money-bag, on top end of which is a lotus-like ornament. Fig. 11, of one side shows again a female worshipper with a child while on the right of the trunk of the tree is a standing Jaina layman (śrāvaka). Fig. 12 of another side shows on the left bottom of the pillar a female and a child with folded hands while the corresponding right side of the pillar is broken. On the back of the Jina figure, is a big tree (fig. 10.). Perhaps in the sixth century A.D., the parikara with astamahāprātihāryas is evolved as is suggested by a beautiful sculpture of Pārsvanātha from Gyaraspur in Madhya Pradesh, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 13). The sculpture dates from c. late sixth or early seventh century A.D.

Several experiments were made in the evolution of the parikara from about the late Gupta period; and in the post-Gupta age, especially in Eastern India (Bengal, Bihar and Orissa), when belief in astrology and planetory influence might have been very popular, an attempt was made to represent the eight planets on two sides of the Tīrthañkara, as we find at Rajgir (see fig. 14), even though planets have no place amongst astamahāprāthāryas or in the lists of atisayas. This sculpture (fig. 14) from Rajgir is further interesting as it shows elephants on the sides of the dharmacakra. Since the Jina above is Pārsvanātha, and because the elephant is the cognizance of Ajita-nātha this image is an exceptionally remarkable piece. Since the elephant is here facing the Wheel (defaced) it was meant to represent the cognizance of the Jina.

The Samavāyānga sūtra, referred to above, does not include Devadundubhi (celestial drum-beating) amongst the atisayas, but this constitutes a member of the later astamahā-prātihāryas. All the remaining seven mahā-prātihāryas are included in the Samavāyānga list of the 34 atisayas.

The $\overline{A}vasyaka$ Niryukti says⁸ that, in the Samavasarana of a Jina, the Vanamantara gods create the (1) caitya-tree (2) the simhāsana with pītha (pedestal), (3) the triple-umbrella, (4) the flywhisk-bearers (5) and other necessary things. The last item, as explained by Haribhadra sūri's Vitti, is the dharmacakra resting on a lotus. It should be remembered that while the $\overline{A}v$. Nir. gives only five, later traditions describe all the eight pratiharyas as originating in a Samavasarana.

Paumacariyam, describing the various atisayas created by gods when Mahavīra obtained Kevalajnāna, says that lotuses were placed before the Jina to

place his footsteps on, Mahāvīra used the ardhamāgadhi speech, a simhāsana was created for him, heavenly drums were beaten, and celestial flowers scattered over him, a beautiful sound arose (Divya-dhvani) for a yojana on all sides. The text further says that Mahāvīra was attended upon by the eight prātihāryas. While describing the samavasarana of Rsabha, the same text specifies, among other atisyas, the triple-umbrella, the nimbus, the kalpa (asoka)-tree, the heavenly drum, the shower of flowers.

The Āvasyaka cūrni of Jinadāsa (676 A.D.)¹⁰ describing the Samavasaraņa of Mahāvīra refers to the following only: (1) Asoka-tree (2) triple-umbrella (3) cāmara-dharas (4) simhāsana with pīṭha (5) dharmacakra placed on the lotus. Mahāvīra faces east while on the sides gods install his likenesses. This fact is referred to by the Āv. Nir. as well,

The Harivams'a-purāna of Jinasena (783 A.D.) refers to the 8 prātihāryas and the 34 atisayas. According to this Digambara text, the eight celestial accompaniments (prātihāryas—lit. gate-keepers, here attendants) of Neminātha are (1) Sura-puspa-vrsti, (2) Divya-dundubhi, (3) Asaka-tree (4) Chatra-traya, (5) Cāma-rānām samūhah, (6) Bhāmandala, (7) Simhāsana (8) Bhāṣā of the Jina (12) (understood by all creatures).

The Adipurana refers to these eight pratiharyas in the Samavasarana of Rsabha, the last one is called Divya-dhvani. It will be noticed that both the Harivam's a and the Adipurana differ from the Tiloyapannatti list in only one point, that is the last one—Divya-dhvani. The Tiloyapannatti says that Ganas (ganadharas or the different followers of ganadharas) attend upon the Jina with folded hands, and omits the Divya-dhvani. 14

It will be seen that these early Digambara traditions omit the *Dharmacakra* in the list of the eight *prātihāryas* though of course [it is not omitted in the description of the congregation (samavasarana) of Jina, or in the separate list of 34 atisayas as shown above.

The Vasudevahindi, referred to above, while describing the Samavasarana of Santinatha¹⁵ includes all these elements, and adds that a Dharmacakra was placed near the feet of the Jina. The Bhamandala is however not mentioned, while the Divyadhvani seems to have been understood when the author says that the Gandharvas began singing and the Bhutas issued a cry (of victory?) resembling simhanada (lion's roar). These have not been specified as the astaprāthāryas.

It is thus quite certain that the conception or list of the eight mahā-prātihāryas took its final form at the end of the Gupta period, probably in the post-Gupta age. Though earliest lists of atisayas included almost all these elements, they were not classified as such upto c. fifth century A.D. According to the Samavaya list, the cakra moved in the sky in front of a Jina. This early tradition is followed by Hemacandra, in his list of atisayas. But in representations, the Wheel of Law was always placed in the centre of the simhāsana or of the pedestal below it. And in fact it is not included in the stock list of Asta-mahā-prātihāryas.¹⁶

The $\overline{A}c\overline{a}ra$ -Dinakara describes the parikara (lit. paraphernelia, attendant elements) of a Jina image as follows¹⁷:

Below the figure of a Jina is a simhāsana with figures of elephants and lions, on two sides of the Jina (in the centre, sitting in padmāsana or standing in the kāyotsarga posture) are two chowrie-bearers and two attendants with folded hands (aājalikara). Over the head of the Jina are, in order: the triple-umbrella having on two sides, two elephants carrying golden pitchers in trunks and surmounted by beaters of Zarjara) (a kind of cymbals—evidently representing the sura-dundubhi?); over these the garland-bearers, (sura-puṣpa-vṛṣṭi), over them the conch-blowers (representing divya-dhvani?) and on top of the whole sculpture, the kalasa (water-pot)-finial.

The bhāmandala, though not mentioned here in the parikara of a Jina, was presumed by the author since the practice of representing a halo behind the head of a deity is both ancient and common to all sects in India, and since it is found also behind Tīrthankaras from ancient times. The two attendants with folded hands (an jalikaras) remind one of the Tiloyapannath tradition of astaprātihāryas which includes ganas with folded hands. Tīrthankara images from Mathura, dating from the Kusāna age, often show Nāga figures standing with folded hands on two sides of Jina. 18

The Acara-Dinakara further adds that the dharma-cakra, flanked by two deer, and the planets on its two sides, was to be carved in the centre of the simhäsana. This would also suggest that the dharma-cakra etc. are either carved on the top of the simhäsana, or at base (i.e. on the pītha on which the lion-throne is placed).

No early text refers to the deer on each side of the wheel. It may, therefore, be safely concluded that the motif of the two deer flanking the sides of the dharma-cakra (on pedestals of Tirthankara images) is a later innovation in Jaina iconography. Archaeological evidence from all over India has shown that this deer-motif has started somewhere near the beginning of the mediaeval period, probably towards the end of the transitional post-Gupta age in Indian art history. This motif is in imitation of the Buddhist one symbolising Buddha's first sermon in the Deer-Park. Its presence in Jaina Iconography cannot be explained. However

these remarks do not apply to the dharma-cakra as such which is included amongst the atisayas of a Tirthankara from very early times and whose presence (without the two deer) is marked on the pedestals of Mathura images of the Kusana age.

Even in the post-Gupta age, as for example on the pedestals of the Caumukha sculpture in the Son Bhandara cave, Rajgir, it is the *lānchana* or recognizing symbol of a particular Jina that figures on the two sides of the *dharma-cakra* and not the two deer. Thus we find two elephants on the pedestal of the figure of Ajitanātha, two horses on that of Sambhavanātha and so on (Studies In Jaina Art, Fig. 28, p. 17).

When the Buddhist motif was adopted, the *lānchana* came to be carved immediately below the figure of the Jina, in the centre of the lion-throne and the *dharma-cakra* with the two deer was assigned to a lower position, this time on the big pītha below the lion-seat. Occasionally, the new motif was given a higher position, but never with the *lānchana*.

That the dharma-cakra itself is an ancient motif or symbol worshipped by the Jainas is supported by the \overline{Av} . Nir. 19 tradition that Bāhubalī established, at Takṣaṣilā, the dharma-cakra, on the spot where Rṣabhanātha had stayed for one night.

The parikara of a Jina image is chiefly made up of the aṣṭa-mahā-prātihāryas discussed above. The introduction of the lānchanas and the various attendant yakṣas and the yakṣiṇīs was a later phase as will be made clear later on.

Figures of Tirthankaras are obtained in only two principal varieties, namely, standing or sitting.20 Both these varieties show the Jina either with the parikara or without any parikara whatsoever. The Ceiyavandana-mahābhāsa tried to account for the parikara. The Jinas were liberated souls, where was the propriety for a parivara accompanying them? According to some this form of the image, showing the parivara, represented the form of a Jina giving his sermon (sitting on the simhāsana in the dhyāna mudrā) in a samavasarana. According to the author of the Ceiyavandana-mahābhāsa this was the popular explanation (vyavahāra) but the real (paramārtha) significance was that the three stages (avasthā-trika) in a Jina's life, namely Chadmastha, Kevalī and Siddha avasthās were suggested by such a representation.21 The explanation is not fully convincing, but an explanation became necessary firstly because a liberated soul, a siddha or mukta, needed no attendants and secondly because the parikara was being shown around standing figures as well. It seems that originally the introduction of the parikara was based on the conception of the atisayas rather than on anything else.

The Vastusara of Thakkara Feru, composed in V.S. 1372 (1316 A.D.) describes the parivara of a Jina image. According to it, Simhäsana has a yaksa and a yaksini on its two extreme ends, while between the two are two lions, two elephants and two chowrie-bearers,22 one on each side, and in the centre of the seat is the Goddess Cakresvari, riding on the eagle. Below her figure is the dharmacakra, with a deer on each side. The lanchana of the Jina is carved in the centre of the $g\bar{a}di$ (Gujarati,-cushion) placed upon the $simh\bar{a}sana$. The back-slab in front of which the figure of the Jina is placed, shows (in high relief) chowrie-bearers and other standing Jina figures²³ on both the sides. Over the standing Jinas are two (smaller figures of) Jinas in the sitting posture, above which is a torana motif. The Jina in the centre (the chief deity in such a sculpture) has a triple-umbrella overhead, an aureole behind, and on two sides of the chatra are two garland-bearers, two conch-bearers, two elephants surmounted by Harinegamesin and the drum-beaters. The parikara described by Thakkara Feru is of a Pañca-Tīrthika image, i.e. a sculpture which represents five Tirthankaras in all. If the two sitting Tirthankaras are omitted it would be a Tri-Tirthika sculpture while showing 24 Jinas in all is a Caturvim's ati-patta (or a . covīsī in modern usage). The sculpture would be a Pañca-tirthika, Tri-tīrthika or Covisi of Rsabhanātha if the central Jina is Rsabhanātha. In all such groupings only the lanchana of the main Jina would be carved on the pedestal.

A noteworthy feature of Thakkara Feru's description is the presence of Goddess Cakresvari in the centre of the asana.²⁴ This is a late feature in Jaina Iconography. In earlier sculptures this place is reserved for the dharmacakra. Again, in actual finds known hitherto, another goddess, four-armed and riding on the elephant (showing the lotus in two upper hands, the rosary or varada mudrā in the right lower and the water-pot in the left lower) is available on the simhāsanas of Švetāmbara sculptures from c. 12th century onwards. She may be identified as Šānti-devi.²⁵

But the practice of adding some such figure started about a couple of centuries earlier, though its position was in the centre of the lowermost edge of the pedestal. Besides, the figure was not the four-armed goddess described above but a two-armed figure²⁶, either a pot-bellied male figure with a beard (fig. 26), (bronzes showing this figure are usually worn out, being old and in worship for centuries past, and hence the identification as a bearded male figure is tentative, though highly probable), or a two-armed female (fig. 27) (this is the second stage). In the last stage the above-mentioned Śāntidevatā was introduced.

The Nirvānakalikā (c. 11th century A.D.) refers to the eight prātihāryas, the yakṣa, the Sāsanadevī (yakṣī), the motif of dharma-cakra with two-deer and the ratna-dhvaja (jewelled banner—possibly signifying Indradhvaja).²⁷ It omits any J.S.-8

reference to the $dev\bar{i}$ noted above and the introduction of this goddess cannot be assigned to a period much earlier than the $Nirv\bar{a}nakalik\bar{a}$.

Vasunandi, (c. 12th century A.D.) the author of the Digambara text Pratisthā-sāra-samgraha, describing the parikara refers to the prātihāryas, the yaksa on the right of the seat and the yaksi on the corresponding left. The lānchana is to be placed below the pāda-pītha (foot-stool?).²⁸ Pandit Āsādhara (V.S. 1285—1228 A.D.) follows the above tradition in the Pratisthāsāroddhāra.²⁹

Jaina Bhandaras at Patan and Baroda contain copies of relevant Jaina portions of the Aparājitaprechā, which is now already printed. But the printed text is perhaps incomplete. The editors of the Kumārapālacarita of Jayasimhasūri, printed as appendix 3, some portion from this work which is not available in the printed text. V. 12 refers to the goddess in the centre of the āsana, lotus in hand, described as the Ādi-Sakti of the Jina Rsabhanātha, who is said to be sahajā and kulajā, possibly because she is the Gotra-devatā or the tutelary mother-goddess of the family of Rsabhanātha. The description shows that the elephant and the lions (on the simhāsana? or the "gajasimha" motif of the back-seat?) stand for the eight quarter-elephants. The dharma-cakra, the nine planets, the Indra and Upendra holding the flywhisks, the garland-bearers, the Bharatendras carrying picthers, the lute and pipe players, the drum beaters, the triple-umbrella, the Bhāmandala, the yakṣa, and the yakṣiṇi are also described. It is said that of the two deer flanking the dharma-cakra, one, a male represents Sattva, and the other a female, stands for Karunā.

The camaradharas amongst the Pratiharyas of a Jina, referred to above are two yaksas carrying white flywhisks, according to Hemacandra³¹ and all other Svetāmbara writers. According to the Digambara tradition, represented by Adipurāna³² and other texts, sixty-four yaksas attend upon a Jina with flywhisks in hands, in every samavasarana. In representations, of course, both the traditions represent only two male flywhisk bearers, who must be regarded as yaksas. The view of Sri B.C. Bhattacharya,33 that these represent attendant Ganadharas holding flywhisks is not supported by any text known to us nor has he quoted any text in support of his view. He has further given the names of one chowriebearer at least for every Tirthankara which again is left unsupported by any reference to texts.34 Then, going against his own theory, he says that the chowrie-bearer of Ajitanatha is Sagara-cakravarti (and thus not the ganadhara of Ajitanatha), nor are the names of chowrie-bearers given by him known to have been the names of the various ganadharas of these Jinas.35 The whole theory is misleading and unsupported by any Svetambara or Digambara tradition so far published and known to us.

The earliest known tradition regarding the iconography of a Tirthankara image is however obtained from Jaina canonical texts. True it is that references to images and temples of Tirthankaras on this earth are extremely rare and their genuineness is sometimes suspected but this will be discussed at a later stage in some other paper. For our purpose, even though images of not even one of the twenty-four Tirthankaras, have been described in the Jaina agamas, we are able to obtain a very early conception of the Jina-image from the stock descriptions of Sāsvata-Jina-Pratimās.

Jaina traditions of both the sects refer to Siddhāyatanas (shrines of Siddhas, also called Sāsvata-Caityas or Eternal shrines), containing images of Tīrthankaras known as Sāsvata-Jinas. These images are of four Tīrthankaras, namely, Candrānana, Vārisena, Rṣabha and Vardhamāna. They are called Sasvata Jinas because in every Utsarpinī or Avasarpinī era names of these four Tīrthankaras are always repeated and they flourish in any of the fifteen karmabhūmis. Belief in Śāsvata-Jinas and Siddhāhyatanas is certainly very old as a long description of these is available in the Upānga text called the Jīvājīvābhigam sūtra. These Siddhāyatanas are found in various heavens and on several mountain peaks. The Nandīsvara-dvīpa, for example, is reported to have fifty-two such Siddhāyatanas in all. 38

The description of the Siddhayatana in the N.E. of the Sudharma Sabha of Saudharma Indra, as given by the Jīvājīvābhigama sūtra is as follows:

Like the Sudharma Sabhā, it has in all three gates in the east, south and the north. Situated in front of these gates are the mukhamandapas while the preksāmandapas are erected in front of the latter. In front of these preksāmandapas are the caitya-stūpas with images (pratimā), then are situated the caitya-vṛkṣas, then the Mahendra-dhvajas (Indra-dhvajas or shafts in honour of Indra, with banners), then the nandā-puṣkarinīs (tanks with flights of steps, extensive reservoirs) and so on.

In the centre of the extremely beautiful Siddhāyatana is a very big manipīthikā (jewelled-platform) two yojanas in length and breadth and one yojana in height. A devacchandaka (dias) of jewels, 2½ yojanas in height and 2 yojanas in area, is erected on the manipīthikā. This sanctum of the gods has 108 images of the Jinas installed in it. The images are of the life-size of these Jinas, i.e. 500 dhanus in height.

The traditional description of these images is the same in all Agama texts. These $S\bar{a}svata-pratim\bar{a}s$ are described as follows:

The palms of the hands and the soles of the feet are made of gold. The nails are made of Anka jewels, while the delicate portion under them is of the Lohitaksa jewel. The shanks, the knees, the thighs, the limbs of the body, the

navels, the nipples, and the Srīvatsa mark on the chest are all wrought out of gold. The line of hair on the body, the retina of the eyes, the eye-lashes and eye-brows are made of the rista-jewel, while the lips are of coral and the teeth of crystals. The inner part of the nose is of lohitāksa jewel while the tongue, the plate, the nostrils, the cheeks, the ears and the forehead and the Srī-vatsa marks are all of gold. The bones of the forehead are adamantine.

At the back of these idols of the Jinas are figures of umbrella-holders, gracefully holding white umbrellas, wreaths and garlands of koranta flowers, extremely white and lustruous like the snow, silver, jasmine and the moon. On each side of the image of the Jina are two figures of the Camaradharas, holding in their hands, chowries with handles of costly and pure gold and studded with various types of jewels. In front of the Jina is a pair (one on each side) of naga-figures, of yaksas, bhutas and of the kundadharas bowing and falling at the feet of the Lord. These are all made of jewels. In front of the images of the Lord are placed bells, candanakalasas (same as mangalakalasas? auspicious pots made of sandal-wood, or pots containing sandal-wood?) bhringāras (jars), mirrors, dishes, vessels, seats, emptly jars, boxes of jewels with varieagated colours, of horses, elephants, men, kinnaras, kimpurusas, mahoragas, gandharvas, bulls, caskets (cangeri) of flowers, garlands, powders, unguents etc. or mops of peacockfeathers, baskets (patalaka) of flowers, garlands, powders (curna) etc., 108 each of the lion-thrones, umbrellas, flywhisks, oil-pots (samudgaka) and pots of kostha, coyaka, tagara, haritāla, hingula, manahsilā,, collirium, and 108 banners.39

On tops of the Siddhayatana were placed numerous figures of the auspicious eight symbols (asta-mangala).40

The above is possibly a description of standing Tirthankara figures with some accessories placed in front. Though the set of astamahāprātihāryas is not given (the term astamahāprātihāryas is not known to Āgamas). some of them do figure in this description. The conception of astamangalas is however an ancient one since they are referred to in the Jaina canons.

But the above account obtains interesting comparison with Tirthankara images of the Kuṣāna age obtained from Mathura (figs. 3, 6-9 etc.). Here we find on each side of a Jina, a chowrie-bearer or a nāga-standing with folded hands, and occasionally a mālādhara on each side at the top of the sculpture; kundadharas, according to commentators are minor gods who are issued orders (ājādhārins), but if kunda was understood as a type of water-vessel in earlier times, then we have a parallel in Mathura where sometimes an attendant figure on one side carries a water-pot as in the well-known inscribed headless image of Saras-vati from Kankāli Tilā, Mathura. The triple-umbrella is also shown on Mathura sculptures, as also the Caitya-tree, and in rare cases, an umbrella-holder or the Caitya-tree on the back of the Jina images.

The above description makes no mention of the lanchanas or the attendant yakṣas and yakṣinīs. These motifs are also absent in the Mathura sculptures of the first and second centuries A.D. Especially noteworthy is the Śrī-vatsa mark mentioned by the canons and almost invariably obtained on Tīrthankara images of the Kuṣāṇa age. It seems that marks on soles of feet and palms of hands, and the Śrī-vatsa mark on chest—which are amongst the lakṣaṇas of a mahāpuruṣa—were regarded amongst the chief characteristics of a Tīrthankara image. The text does not refer to any garment on the Śāśvata-Jina-pratimā, which is also the case with all the Jaina images in India, of the Kuṣāṇa or earlier periods.

But nowhere in the above references from Svetāmbara as well as Digambara texts do we come across a reference to those figures on the simhāsana of a Jina which we find in a number of sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa period from the Kaṅkāli Tilā, Mathura.

Firstly, the *dharma-cakra*, shown in the centre of the lion-throne, is often placed on top of a pillar, sometimes with the rim facing us and sometimes with the broader side with spokes shown. In a rare case we have a dwarf holding above head the *dharma-cakra*.

Secondly, to the right of the Wheel of Law we have, a monk with a rajoharana in his right hand and a broad piece of cloth on the wrist of the left hand held in such way that the privies are shielded from view (figs. 15, 28 etc.) All the Jaina monks on the pedestals and even in the Tablet of Ascetic Kanha (figs. 15) hold this piece of cloth in this fashion and are otherwise naked. To the right of the monks are found in order, figures of one or more monks and/or figures of lay Jaina male devotees in full attire (Fig. 16).

To the left of the Wheel of Law, the first figure is usually a Jaina nun with a long coat-like garment and an under-garment, and carrying a rajoharana in one of her hands.⁴¹ Next to her are either one or more nuns and/or standing female lay worshippers carrying long objects which are either garlands or purses. Sometimes some dwarfish figures accompany them which may be children or attendant servants. (Figs. 17, 18, 20, 28).

Obviously, the earliest known tradition in the parikara (or parivara!) of a Jina showed the fourfold Jaina samgha (including the $s\bar{a}dhu$, the $s\bar{a}dhv\bar{i}$, the $s\bar{a}vaka$ and the $s\bar{a}vak\bar{a}$) on two sides of the dharma-cakra.

In the case of the standing figure of Aristanemi (Fig. 19, No. J 18 Lucknow Museum) from Mathura, published by J. E. Van Lo-houizen de Leewe, there is a srāvaka standing near the right leg, a srāvikā near the left leg, and on the

pedestal, a gaṇadhara to the right of the Wheel and a monk (? or nun?) to the left. No. J.20 in the Lucknow Museum (Fig. 21) is the pedestal of the image of arhato Munirsuvrata (Arhat Munisuvrata) as correctly read by K. D. Bajpai and not of Arhat Nandyāvarta as read formerly. The pedestal shows the Wheel on a Triratna symbol to the left of which all the standing females seem to be srāvikās. Incidentally, the last line of the inscription, reads "... pratimāvo dve thubhe Devanirmite" (i.e. two images in the Devanirmita stupa) and not "pratima Vodve Thubhe" etc. as formerly interpreted. There are two different sentences in the inscription. The first on the upper rim shows that this image is of Arhat Munisuvrata. In the second on the lower rim, it is conveyed that the donor had dedicated in all two images in the Devanirmita Stupa.

A detailed study of all these figures on the pedestals is necessary in as much as these pedestals definitely show the important position of the nuns in the undivided Jaina Samgha, and the dress which the nuns used to wear.

The pedestals also prove that all the traditions of the parikara of the Jina image were crystalised after the Kusāna and the Gupta periods. Perhaps the tradition of asta-mahā-prātihāryas was also formed later and its application to the image was certainly not finally settled till the end of the Gupta period as suggested by the images in the Mathura museum, at Sira Pahari near Nachna in Madhya Pradesh, and by the famous sculpture of Neminātha, at Rajgir, with an inscription mentioning Candragupta.

So far as Vedic Samhitā period is concerned, it is generally agreed that originally Brahmanical worship did not include Idol-worship. The Sun, for example, was represented by a disc. Ancient symbols like the lotus or the svastika conveyed some ideal, some meaning, to the worshipper. Even when a Supreme Being (Brahman) or a Creator-god (Isvara, or Visou, Siva or Brahmā) was conceived, his representation could not function purely biologically as the likeness of the god, not even when Rāma or Kṛṣṇa were worshipped as incarnations of Viṣṇu. In this way, the idol of a Jina or the Buddha remained as a symbol of a Mahāpuruṣa (a great man, an extra-ordinary human being) and not as a portrait of any human being like Mahāvīra or Pārsvanātha or the Gautama Buddha; it is highly probable, however, that in the earlier stage were worshipped some ancient portrait sculptures and paintings of Mahāvīra and the Buddha during their life-time.

There is no Creator-god in Jaina philosophy and strictly speaking image-worship is not absolutely necessary for attainment of emancipation. It is the bhāva-worship (mental attitude) and not dravya-worship (physical worship, idol-worship) that really matters as shown by Kundakundācārya. Even though Jaina worship is regarded not as worship of a god-head or a deity, but of a human

being who has reached perfection, of a soul freed from all bondage, it is not hero-worship in its usual sense, but it is the aggregate of qualities of the Perfect Man, of the Liberated Soul, that is remembered, adored and thereby developed in one's own self by the worshipper by worshipping the idol of the Jina. The idol, therefore, serves more the purpose of a symbol of aggregate of certain qualities than of a portrait of a Tirthankara or a Mahāpurusa. Emancipated souls or Siddhas or Tirthankaras (those liberated souls) who establish the Jaina Tīrtha or Samgha (constituted of Śrāvaka, Śrāvikā, Sādhu and Sādhvī) are souls freed from attachment (rāga) or jealousy (dvesa, enmity) and therefore neither favour nor frown upon the worshipper of their idols. In worshipping the idol, the devotee remembers the qualities or virtues of the Jina and tries to imbibe them in one's own life and being.

It is, therefore, obvious that idol worship was introduced and sanctioned in Jainism, because the common man or the lay worshipper could not but do without it, and because he or she was possibly already accustomed to some sort of image-worship, e.g. Yaksa worship. Worship of yaksas, nagas, bhutas, Mukunda, Indra, Skanda, Vasudeva, trees, rivers etc. is often referred to in the Jaina canons. These deities were invoked with various desires for reward, for obtaining children and so on. Naturally, therefore, Jainism imbibed elements of the above worship while it began worshipping Tirthankaras, Siddhas, and monks in various stages of spiritual progress and sect-hierarchy. It was also possibly an attempt to replace and eliminate or undermine worship of elements of non-Jaina character and association. It was but natural that in the beginning was introduced and enjoined worship of Caitya-trees, Caitya-stūpas, 42 Śilā-patas, Caitya-stambhas and perhaps a little later of images of the Arhats (Tirthankaras), Siddhas, Acaryas (heads of a particular group of monks, nuns and their devotees, i.e., heads of a gana or a gaccha or a kula), Upādhyāyas (monks who read out and explain the scriptures to others), and Sadhus (or ordinary monks). These five are Supreme Ones—the Panca-Paramesthins (Fig. 22). But at least upto the end of the fifth century worship of all the Pañca-Paramesthins in a group does not seem to have been started, though we find worship of Tirthankaras, and separately of acaryas like Kanha-Sramana.

The Jaina Navakāra-mantra or the Namaskāra-Mantra, the highest and the most revered invokation and incantation, is constituted of formulas making obeisance to Arhats (or Arihantas), Siddhas, Ācāryas, Upādhyāyas and Sādhus who are the Five Dignitaries.

In a lotus symbol, four dignitaries would be conceived or represented on four petals of the lotus (one in each direction) with the Arhat or Tīrthaṅkara in the centre. Though no such very early representation of these five in one

group is discovered, it seems that from fairly early times these five came to be presented in a group as the supreme objects of Jaina worship. Fig. 22 shows a stone relief of a diagram of the Panca-Paramesthins from Nadol (Rajasthan) according to Svetambaras; Fig. 23 represents a similar diagram in bronze, from Vengunram (North Arcot district, Tamil Nadu), in Digambara worship.

At some much later stage, four more objects were introduced in the lotuspetals of the four corners intervening petals of the eastern, southern, western and northern directions. These are, according to the Svetāmbara Jaina sect, the conceptions of Jāāna (Right-Knowledge), Darsana (Right Faith), Cāritra (Right Conduct) and Tapa (Right Penance); and according to the Digambara Jaina sect, the Caitya (the Jina-Image), Caityālaya (the shrine enshrining the Jina-image), the Śruta (Jaina Scripture) and the Dharma-Cakra or the Wheel of Law). These were represented as a diagram, on stone or metal or painted on canvass or paper. The Svetāmbara diagram is called the Siddha-Cakra (Fig. 24 in bronze) while the Digambara one is called the Nava-Devatā (Fig. 25). In paintings of this diagram, at least in the Svetāmbara tradition, each of these five Paramesthins has a particular complexion. Thus the Arhat, the Siddha, the Ācārya, the Upādhyāya and the Sādhu are respectively white, red, yellow, blue and black in complexion. I have not yet come across a Digambara painting of the same.

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- 1. Published in Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P. (Lucknow Museum), No. 9, June, 1973, pp. 1-14.
- 2. Smith, V., Jain Stüpa and other Antiquities from Mathura (Allahabad, 1901), pl. XII, pp. 3 and 19; Bühler in Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV, p. 196; Shah, U. P., Studies in Jaina Art (Banaras, 1955), p. 79 and fig. 7.

According to Smith, the characters of the inscription on this &ydgapata, "are little more archaic than those of Dhanabhūti's inscriptions on the gateways of the Bharhut stūpa, and Bühler also, admitting that they are "archaic", adds that they belong to the period before Kaṇiṣka."

The tablet may be assigned roughly to early first century B.C. The style, especially in the rendering of the two dancing females on the sides of the stupa, certainly goes back to the first century B.C.

- Smith, Jain Stūpa, pl. VII, p. 14; Shah, U. P., Studies in Jaina Art, p. 79, fig. 13. Another and a standard and showing the astandard is the one set up by the wife of Bhadranandi, Shah, U. P., op. cit., p. 82, fig. 10.
- 4. For detailed discussion see Studies In Jaina Art, pp. 53 ff., 70 ff.
- 5. For detailed discussion and references see, Shah, U. P., A Unique Image of Jivantasvāmi, Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 72 ff., and Side-lights on the Life-Time Sandalwood Image of Mahāvira, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 358 ff. In Avasyaka cūrni the capital city of Uddāvana is called Vitahhavanattana. In Ruddhist assessment Vidanas is busy of Royala.

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- Agrawala, V. S., Catalogue of the Mathura Museum, Journal of the U.P. Historical Society,
 Vol. XXIII (1950), p. 56. In Mathura Museum Catalogue, part III (Varanasi, 1953), p. 23,
 Agrawala assigned it to early fourth century A.D.
- 8. Avasyaka Niryukti, v. 553 in Haribhadra's vrtti, p. 232.
- 9. Paumacariyam, 2. 31 ff.
- 10. Avas yaka Cürni, p. 325.
- 11. Harivam\$a, 9.212.
- 12. Ibid., 56, 115-118.
- 13. Ādipurāņa, parva, 23, 25-73, pp. 542-49. The Kalyāṇamandira stotra ascribed to Siddhasena Divākara, follows this list. See Mahāprabhāvika Navasmaraṇa, pp. 460-488. For the later Digambara lists following the same tradition, see Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra, 4. 205-213, pp. 114-115.
- 14. Tiloyapannatti, 4. 919-927, p. 267. Also see Padmapurāna of Ravisena, 2.149-154, p. 21 and v. 101, p. 17.
- 15. Vasudevahindi, p. 341.
- 16. Aşoka tree, shower of celestial flowers, divine music (divyadhvani), fly-whisks, lion-throne, nimbus, celestial drum-beating and triple umbrella.
- 17. cf.—विम्वाधी गर्जासहकीचकरूपाङ्कित सिद्दासनं, पार्थयोः चामरघरौ, द्वयोवैद्दिश्च मस्तकोपिर क्रमोपिर तु छत्रश्यं तस्पार्श्वयोद्देशस्योः कार्चनकल्याङ्कितशुण्डाग्रं स्वेतगण्डस्यं गर्जापिर क्षर्श्वरवाधकराः पुरुषास्तद्व्यवेयोः मालाकरौ शिखरे शक्क्ष्मास्तद्वपिर करूशः । मतान्तरे —सिद्दासनमण्यभागे हरिण्डयतारेणा(१)ङ्कितयमंचकं तस्पार्श्वयोः ग्रहमूर्तयः ।।

Ācāra-Dinakara, II, p. 205.

- 18. The Ayagapata of Sivaghosaka, Smith, JS. pl. X shows in the centre, Parsva attended by a gapadhara on each side. No. J. 9 in Lucknow Museum installed in year 9 obtained from Kańkali Tila, shows a monk and a nun attending upon the two sides of the standing Jina.
- 19. cf.—गवउरसिञ्जंसिक्खुरसदाण वसुहार पीढ गुरुपूका।

त्रव्वसिखायलगरणं बाहुबल्जिनिवेअणं चेव ॥ ३२२ ॥ 🗙 🗙 🗙

करले सन्बिह्दए पूरमहड्रह धम्मचनके हु।

विद्रुप्ट सहस्समेर्ग छउमत्यो भारहे वासे ॥ ३३५ ॥

Avas yaka Niryukti, 322, 335, Haribhadra's Vetti, pp. 144-148

20. cf.—कथ्वैस्थानस्थिता अथवा परुषद्वसंस्थितास्ताः ।

मुक्तिगतानां तेषां यत्तियं नास्ति संस्थानम् ॥ ७९ ॥

यसंस्थानं त्विह भरं त्यजतश्चरमसमये ।

आसीच प्रदेशवनं तत्संस्थानं त्विह तस्य ॥ ८१ ॥

Sanskrit chāyā of original Prakrit Santisūri's Ceiyavandana mahābhāsa, p. 15.

रा. टा.—मुक्तिपदसंस्थितानामि परिवारः प्रातिहार्थप्रमुखः ।

प्रश्चिमानां निर्माप्यतेऽवस्थाविकभावनानिमित्तभ् ॥ ८२ ॥

वरपुनभैगन्ति केऽपि अवसरणजिनस्य रूपमेसत् ।

जनव्यवहार एष परमार्थं बंहरारेऽत्र ।। ८३ ॥

सिंहासने निषणाः पादौ स्थापविश्वा पादपीठे । करमृत्वयोगसूदो जिननाथो देशनां करोति ॥ ८४ ॥

Ibid p. 15,

Also see, Pravacanas āroddhāra, v. 70, p. 12 and Comm. p. 14 describing the three avasthās, namely Chadmastha, Kevali and Siddha. These correspond to the Pindastha, Padastha and the Rūpātita dhyānas of the Jaina system of Yoga.

- 22. Vāstusāra, pp. 93 ff.
- 23. This is an uncommon feature of Jaina images hardly obtained in sculptures discovered hitherto. Possibly it was a local tradition of the age of Thakkara Feru and soon died out as there were already two bigger cāmaradharas in a parikara.

Feru seems to have mixed up the motif of lion on elephant on each end of the back seat and regarded it as a part of the parikara.

The other Jinas are not an invariable feature of a parikara.

- 24. See the drawing of Pandit Bhagawandas, the editor, in Vāstusāra, opp. page 96.
- 25. See the discussion on Santi-devi in U. P. Shah's Elements of Jaina Iconography (forthcoming.)
- 26. Obtained on Svetämbara Jaina bronzes from c. 9th-10th century A.D.
- 27. cf.—ॐ नमो भगवते अर्हते सुरकृतातिशयान् शरीरे स्थापवामि स्वाहा ।
 - ॐ पक्षेश्वराय स्त्राहा । ॐ हां हुं हीं शासनदेव्ये स्त्राहा ।
 - 🥸 धर्मचकाप स्वाहा । ॐ मृगद्वपाय स्वाहा । ॐ रत्नध्वजाय स्वाहा ॥
 - 🕉 नमो भगवतेऽईते जिनप्राकारादित्रवं स्थापवामि स्वाहा ॥

इति अतिश्वषानां मन्त्राः ॥

Nirvāņakalikā, pp. 23-24.

The ratna-dhvaja and the prākāra-traya are obviously meant for a representation of the samavasaraņa.

28. cf.—छत्रत्यमञ्जेकं च प्रभागंडल्ड्ड्सि ॥ ७४ ॥

भासनं पुष्पवृष्टि च चामरेन्द्रादिकं सथा ।

वधाशोभं वधोनतेषु सर्वस्थानेषु वोजयेत् ॥ ७५ ॥

वस्रं च दक्षिणे पार्श्वे वामे शासनदेवताम् ।

लान्छनं पादपीठाथः स्थापयेद्यस्य यद्भवेत् ॥ ७६ ॥

पादपीठ == cushion here rather than a foot-stool?

Pratisthāsārasamgraha, chp. V. vv. 74-76 (in MSS.)

- 29. Pratisthā-sāroddhāra, adhyāya 1, vv. 76-77, p. 9:
- 30. It is not possible to regard this as originally from Aparājita-prechā for various reasons. First because the printed text as a whole seems to date from c. 10th century A.D. while this description of the parikara of a Jina image is for images later than the 11th century A.D. The parikara was never so elaborate before the 10th century A.D. nor was the âdya-śakti introduced so early. See, Kumārapālabhūpālacaritram, Pub. Godiji Jaina Upāśraya, Bombay, 1926, App. 3, p. 221a. This is printed here as an Appendix.
- 31. Trişaşţi., I (GOS), p. 192 description of the samavasarana of Rsabhanātha.

- 32. Adipurana, 23, 50-59, pp. 547-48.
- 33. Bhattacharya, Brindavan C., The Jaina Iconography, (first ed.), p. 41.
- 34. See his discussion on the Iconography of the various Tirthankaras, Ibid., pp. 48-90.
- 35. According to him, the Magadhan King Śrenika or better known as Bimbisāra acts as the chowrie-bearer of Mahāvīra, *Ibid.*, p. 85.
- 36. Sihānāngasūtra, 4, sū, 307., Pravacanasāroddhāra, 491, p. 117. Also for a very early list see, Jivājivābhigama sūtra, sūtra 137, p. 225. For Siddhāyatanas at various places acc. to Digambaras, see Harivamsa, parvans, 5-6, pp. 70-140.
- 37. Jīvājivābhigama sūtra, sūtra 139, pp. 232-33.
- 38. Old images of these Jinas are not traced hitherto, possibly for want of recognizing symbols, they could not be identified. But late mediaeval images and shrines dedicated to them are not unknown. These images do not show any iconographic difference from those of other Tirthankaras. A few later inscribed images of these Jinas are noted in the Jaina-Lekha-Samgraha, part one, by Sri Buddhisāgara sūri, and in the Tirthandja Ābu Vol. I (Gujarati) by Muni Jayantavijaya.
- 39. The Svetāmbara conception can be compared with a similar but very concise description in the Digambara Harivam'sa, parva 5, vv. 361-365 giving the parivāra of the Siddha-akṛtrima or Sāśvata images in the Siddhāyatanas.
- 40. They are: svastika, śrivatsa mark, nandyāvarta, vardhamāna (powder-flask), bhadrāsana (throne), Kalasa (pitcher), darpana (mirror), matsya-yugma (two-fish)—Aupapātika sūtra, sū. 31.
- 41. The dress of the Jaina nuns is prescribed in Jaina canonical texts. "In all four clothes were used for the nuns, according to Ācārānga, II. 5, 1.1 (also, Thāqānga, p. 1866). One of them was two cubits broad (duhatthavittharam), two of them were three cubits broad, and the fourth was four cubits in breadth." Deo, S. B., History of Jaina Monachism, p. 479.

Numerous other details are available in the Niryuktis and the Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya. The Oghaniryukti (671-678) gives a complete list of as many as eleven to be worn by the num and Bṛhatkalpabhāṭya (Vol. IV, vv. 4080 ff) also confirms the same number. Out of these eleven clothes six were worn on the lower part of the body. Of the latter, Calani or calanikā was upto the knees (jānupramāṇa) and was worn after the manner of bamboo-top dancers and was unsewn.

The Ogha-Niryukti-Bhāṣya, 317 and the Bṛh.-Kalpa-Bhā. IV, 4088-91 refer to the Kañcuka amongst clothes worn on the upper part of the body of a Jaina nun. It was probably unsewn. The standard size consisted of two and a half hands in length and one hand in breadth, and varied according to the body of the persons wearing. The Okachiya was more or less similar to the Kañcuka, but was tied on the left shoulder, It covered the back and the breasts. The Vegachi covering the Kancuka and the Okachiya was tied on the right shoulder. S. B. Deo—, Ibid, pp. 480-481

42. The Acārānga Sūtra, a Jaina canonical text refers to Rukkham va ceiyakadam, thubham va ceiyakadam. Again, there are references to Caitya-vīksas, Caitya-stūpas and Caitya-stambhas in another canon called Jambūdvipaprajňapti (1.2. sū. 33 & com. on it). It seems that by these references are here meant trees, stūpas and pillars intended for worship as cult-objects,

Commenting on Ācā. sūtra. 12.1.3.3. p. 352, Sīlānka explains this as: स्वलं वा चेह्पकडीं बृक्षस्थाधी व्यन्तरादिश्वलकं, स्तर्प वा व्यन्तरादिकृतम् . . . "

Evidently the tree or stupa is here said to be Caityādhisthita or caityopalakṣita.

43. For further information, see Shah, U. P., Studies in Jaina Art, pp. 97-103.

ILLUSTRATIONS

- Mutilated Ayagapața set up by Śivayaśa, Kańkali Tila, Mathura. View of Jaina Stupa, with two dancing girls. Age C. first cent. B.C. (cf. Smith, Jaina Stupa, p. 19, pi. XII). Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.
 - Ref.-Studies in Jaina Art, fig. 7, p. 79
- 2. Ayāgapata set up by Sīhanādika (Smith, Js. pl. VII) Size: 2' × 1' × 11\frac{8}{3}". From Kankālīt Tīlā, Mathura. Shows four of the aṣtamangalas in uppermost panel—(from r. to l.) (I) pair of fishes (2) unidentified (3) Srī-vatsa (4) Powder-box (Vardhamānaka). Four more in the lowermost panel—(5) (Tri-ratna perhaps the same as tilaka-ratna of some texts?) (6) Full-blown lotus (7) Indra-yaṣṭi acc. to V. S. Agrawal, perhaps the sthāpanā or an āsana (?) (8) Mangala-kalasa, Full-Vase (Pūrņa-kumbha). Pillars on sides showing Persepolitan influence, the one on right side of the paṭa is surmounted by Dharma-cakra, the other on corresponding left is surmounted by elephant.

If this is a Dhvaja-pillar, like the Garuda-Dhvaja set up by Heliodorus in front of temple of Vāsudeva, then the elephant must be the Dhvaja-mark of the tīrthankara in the centre who should thus be Ajitanātha since elephant is the cognizance (lānchana, or dhvaja acc. to Hemacandra) of Ajitanātha.

This set of eight auspicious symbols somewhat differs from the Sve. or Dig. standard list of astamangalas. Ref. Studies In Jaina Art, fig. 13, pp. 79-80, 109-112. Photo Copyright and courtesy, State Museum, Lucknow.

Jaina tīrthankara in padmāsana, sitting on a simhāsana. Defaced figures on front face
of simhāsana with Dharma-cakra in centre. No. I.60 in Lucknow Museum, originally from
Mathura.

On each side of the Jina is a semi-divine attendant with folded hands (anjali-kara) and not a flywhisk bearer (camara-dhara). Mark the typical Kuṣāṇa headdress of attendant. Śri-Vatsa mark on chest of Jina. Copyright and courtesy, State Museum, Lucknow. Ref. J. E. Van Lohouizen-De Leeuw, The Scythian Period, fig. 61.

4. Mathura Mu. No. 268, described by V. S. Agrawala in his Catalogue. Originally from Katra mound, Mathura. The face and hair are retouched. The halo has the scalloped outer border but is more ornamental with the lotus and the beaded inner border. All along the two sides of the Jina is the creeper motif more popular in the Gupta age. Near the legs are two miniature attendants, possibly flywhisk bearers. On top at two ends are the flying garland-bearers (?). All the other elements of the parikara except the Dharma-cakra in the centre of the pedestal are absent.

Copyright and courtesy, Archaeological Survey of India.

5. Sculpture of a Jina sitting in padmāsana on a high pītha, a major part of the pedestal being covered artistically by open petals of a double-lotus much worn out or by a textile of this shape and design. On the lower end of the pedestal is shown a sitting Tirthankara on each end, and in the centre a Dharma-cakra flanked on its sides by worn out and mutilated figures of animals perhaps representing lions. The figure probably represents Mahāvīra whose cognizance is the lion. From Banaras city, No. 161, Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi. Copyright and courtesy of the Bharat Kala Bhavan, B.H.U., Varanasi.

Age, Gupta period, c. sixth century A.D.

Size: height 140 cms. X width 66 cms.

Neminātha with Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa on either side. No. J. 121, State Museum, Lucknow.
 Age, Gupta period. Findspot, Mathura.

Copyright and Courtesy, State Museum, Lucknow.

Ref. R. C. Sharma, Jaina Sculptures of the Gupta Age in State Museum, Lucknow, Shri Mahavir Jaina Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Volume, p. 151.

 A Tirthankara image from Mathura, No. J, 117. State Museum, Lucknow. Age c. third or fourth century A.D.

Copyright, State Museum, Lucknow.

Ref.: The Scythian Period, fig. 62.

8. Jina sitting in padmāsana, with an attendant male with folded hands on each side, from Mathurá. No. B. 63, Mathura, Museum. Copyright and Courtesy of Archaeological Museum, Mathura.

Kuṣāṇa period. Note peculiar (unfinished?) Śrī-Vatsa mark on chest of the Jina.

9-10-11-12. Four sides of a Jina image from Mathura. No. J, 7, State Museum, Lucknow. Kusāņa period. Copyright and Courtesy, State Museum, Lucknow.

Ref.: The Scythian Period, fig. 64, pp. 295-96. Luder's list no. 22a.

 Pārsvanātha sculpture from Gyaraspur, Madhya Pradesh, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Note the Dharma-cakra uplifted on head by a dwarf yakṣa, in the centre of the simhā-sana. Almost all the elements of a parikara are available but the treatment is not stylised. Age, c. late sixth or early seventh century A.D.

Copyright and Courtesy, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

14. Pārsvanātha, from Rajgir, with miniature figures of planets on two sides of the Jina. Age, c. eighth-ninth century A.D.

Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.

- 15. Ayagapata, from Kankali Tila, Mathura, showing figure of Kanha Samana. Dated, samvat 95. Ref. Smith, JS., pl. XVII and p. 24. No. J. 623., State Museum, Lucknow. Copyright, State Museum, Lucknow.
- Image of Vardhamāna, installed by daughters of Damitra (Demetrius?) in the year
 (⇒162 A.D.). No. 14.490, Mathura Museum.

Copyright and Courtesy, Archaeological Museum, Mathura.

From the right end of the pedestal, we find figures of two standing lay worshippers and a monk, then a seated (monk?) worshipper on either side of the Dharma-cakra resting on a pillar in the centre, then a standing sādhvī followed by two standing female worshippers with folded hands.

 Headless image of Vardhamāna from Mathura, inscribed in the year 35. No. J. 16, State Museum, Lucknow.

The pedestal shows on the right side of the pillar, surmounted by the dharma-cakra, two worshippers with folded hands, a śrāvaka with money-bag, a monk with broom-stick (of peacock feathers), and to the left of the dharma-cakra, a nun with broom-stick (rajoharana), a standing śrāvīkā with money-bag and two females with folded hands. Note the difference in dress of the nun and the female lay worshipper.

Ref.: The Scythian Period, pp. 249-50, fig. 60.

18. Lower part of the standing figure of a Tirthankara, with inscription on its pedestal. No. J. 10, State Museum, Lucknow. Inscribed in Samvat 20. From Kankäli mound, Mathura.

Pedestal shows from its right end, two standing male lay worshippers (śrāvakas), two standing Jaina monks (sādhus), and a sitting Jaina monk (probably an ācārya or a gaṇadhara), then in the centre, the dharma-cakra on a pillar, then again a sitting acārya or a gaṇadhara, two standing Jaina nuns and two standing śrāvikās with folded hands. It is the fourfold Jaina samgha that is represented by these figures. Copyright and courtesy of the State Museum, Lucknow.

19. Headless nude standing image of a Tirthankara, from Kankāli Tīlā, Mathura. Now in the State Museum, Lucknow. Ref. *The Scythian Period*, fig. 63, pp. 268-269, as image of Aristanemi. The more ornamental halo may be noted. Dated Samvat 18.

To the right of the Jina, near the foot, is standing a srāvaka with a money-bag (or a garland), on the corresponding left side is standing a srāvikā holding a similar object. In the centre of the pedestal is a pillar surmounted by the Dharma-cakra, to the right of which is a monk with folded hands, the corresponding figure on the left, partly mutilated, represented a monk or a nun. Note absence of lions supporting the throne. Over the head of the Jina was possibly rising the Caitya-tree. Other elements of a pari-kara are lacking. Copyright and Courtesy, State Museum, Lucknow.

20. Headless and mutilated sculpture of a Tirthankara found on the bank of the Balabhadra-kunda, Mathura. No. B4 of Vogel's Catalogue (p. 67). Ref. J. A. S. B., N. S., Vol. V, p. 6, No. VIII. Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.

The inscription on the pedestal shows that this is the image (pratimā) of Arhat Rsabha, installed in the year 84 of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra [Śāhi] Vāsudeva.

Note the different way showing the lions at the two ends of the throne, as also the changed form of the Śri-Vatsa on the chest. The pedestal shows the members of the Caturvidha-Jaina-Saingha as in other sculptures from Mathura noted above.

21. No. J. 20, State Museum, Lucknow. Fragmentary pedestal of a Jina image with inscription in two lions on the upper rim and a one-line inscription at the base. Obtained from Kankāli Tīlā, Mathura. The reading of the second line on the upper face formerly read

as referring to the gift of image of "Arhat Nandyavarta", is corrected by K. D. Bajpai, who reads the last portion as "arahato Munisuvrartasa pratima nirvartayati."

The reading of the last portion of the single line on base was formerly interpreted as referring to Vodva Stupa (pratimā voddve thupe). Dr. Alsdorf informs me that Lüders had (in his unpublished notes) revised the interpretation by reading the portion as pratimavo dve thupe etc., thus meaning two images installed in the Devanirmita Stūpa.

Note that here the Dharma-cakra in the centre is placed on a tri-ratna symbol. Copyright, State Museum, Lucknow.

- 22. Stone sculpture depicting a diagram showing the Five Supreme Ones (*Pañca-Paramesthins*), namely, the Arhat, Siddha, Ācārya, Upādhyāya and the Sādhu.
 - From a Jaina temple, Nādol, Rajasthan.
 - Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.
- 23. Metal image of the diagram of Nava-Devatā, according to Digambara tradition, representing the Arhat in the Centre and beginning from top, in clock-wise order, the Siddha, the Caitya (the Jina-image), the Ācārya or Sūri the Caityālaya (Jaina shrine), the Upādhyāya or Pāthaka, the Dharma-cakra, the Sādhu and the Śruta (scripture). From Vengunram, Tamii Nadu.
 - Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.
- 24. Diagram in metal of the Siddha-cakra showing the Nava-Pada (Nine Dignitaries) according to Svetāmbara tradition. Jaina shrine, Banglore. Also see Studies in Jaina Art, pp. 97-103.
- Diagram in metal of the Panca-Paramesthins, according to Digambara tradition, from a Jaina temple at Vengunram, Tamil Nadu, Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.
- 26. A sat-Tirthika (i.e. with six Tirthankara figures in all) metal image with Pārsvanātha in the centre (i.e. as the mūlanāyaka) and attended upon on each side by a cāmaradhara standing. The whole central group with the embroided, silver inlaid cushion and lion-throne is represented as installed in a shrine with an ornamental toraṇa supported by two pillars with small sikharas on top. Each pillar has four niches, in the upper ones are a seated and a standing Jina, then perhaps a female attendant. The two females in the lowermost niches possibly represent some semi-divine figures. On top of pedestal are eight planet heads, the ninth planet Ketu being shown as a snake. In the centre is the dharmacakra with two deers. Below it in front of the pedestal is a pot-bellied, two-armed male figure probably with a beard. Symbols in hands of the figure are indistinct.

From Vasantagadh hoard, now in Pindwada, Rajasthan. Age c. 950-1000 A.D. Ref. U. P. Shah, Bronze Hoard from Vasantagadh, Lalit Kala, nos. 1-2. Photo U. P. Shah.

- 27. A brass or bronze Caturvimsati-pata from a shrine in Cambay, age c. 13th century A.D. Note the four-armed female goddess in the centre. Probably she is Nirvant or Śanti-devatā. Photo: U. P. Shah.
- 28. Pedestal of an image Rṣabhanātha, inscribed in Samvat 60. From Mathura, no. J. 26 in the State Museum, Lucknow. The pedestal shows, beginning from its right end, one śrāvaka, three sādhus, Dharma-cakra, then a sādhvī (nun) with broom-stick in right hand and

mouth-piece (of cloth, mukha-vastrikā) in the left, followed by a dwarfish figure, two śrāvikās carrying money-bags (or garlands?) and a figure with folded hands. The dress of nuns and female lay disciples may be noted. Copyright and Courtesy of State Museum, Lucknow.

APPENDIX

सुमेरुशिखरं दृष्ट्वा गौरी पृच्छति शंकरम् । कोऽयं पर्वत इत्येष? कस्येदं मंदिरं? प्रभो ॥ १ ॥ कोऽयं मध्ये पुनर्देवः ? पादान्ता का च नायिका ? । किमिदं चक्रमित्यत्र ? तदन्ते को मुगो मुगी ? ॥ २ ॥ के वा सिंहा? गजाः के वा? के चामी पुरुषा नव? i यक्षो वा यक्षिणी केयं? के वा चामरघारका:? ॥ ३ ॥ के वा मालाधरा एते? गजारूढाश्च के नरा:?। एताविप महादेव ! कौ वीणावंशवादकौ ? ॥ ४ ॥ दुन्दुभेवदिकः को वा? को वाऽयं शंखवादकः?। छत्रत्रयमिदं कि वा? कि वा भामण्डलं प्रभो ! ॥ ५ ॥ ईश्वरो(रउ)वाच ---श्रुण देवि! महागौरी! यत्त्वया पृष्टमुत्तमम् । कोऽयं पर्वत इत्वेष ? कस्येदं मन्दिरं ? प्रभो ! ॥ ६ ॥ पर्वतो मेरुरित्येष स्वर्णरत्नविभूषितः । सर्वज्ञमन्दिरं चैतद् रत्नतोरणमण्डितम् ॥ ७ ॥ अयं मध्ये पूनः साक्षात् सर्वज्ञो जगदीश्वरः । त्रयस्त्रिंशत्कोटिसंख्या, यं सेवन्ते सूरा अपि ॥ ८ ॥ इन्द्रियेर्न जितो नित्यं केवलज्ञाननिर्मेल: । पारंगतो भवांभोधे-यों लोकान्ते वसत्यलम् ॥ ९ ॥ अनन्तरूपो यस्तत्र, कषायैः परिवर्जितः । यस्य चित्ते कृतस्थाना, दोषा अष्टादशापि न ॥ १० ॥ लिङ्गरूपेण यस्तत्र, पुंरूपेणात्र वर्तते । रागद्वेषव्यतिकान्तः स एष परमेश्वरः ॥ ११ ॥ आदि शक्तिजिनेन्द्रस्य आसने गर्भसंस्थिता । सहजा कुलजा ध्याने, पद्महस्ता बरप्रदा ॥ १२ ॥ धर्मचक्रमिदं देवि ! धर्ममार्गप्रवर्तकम् । सत्त्वं नाम मृगस्सोऽयं मृगी च करुणा मता ॥ १३ ॥

अष्टौ च दिगाजा एते, गजसिंहस्वरूपतः । आदित्याद्या ग्रहा एते, नवैव पुरुषाः स्मृताः ॥ १४ ॥ यक्षोऽयं गोमुखो नाम आदिनाथस्य सेवकः । यक्षिणी रुचिराकारा नाम्ना चक्रेश्वरी मता ॥ १५ ॥ इन्द्रोपेन्द्राः स्वयं भर्तु-जीतारचामरधारकाः । पारिजातो वसन्तरच मालाघरतया स्थितौ ॥ १६ ॥ अन्येपि ऋतुराजा ये, तेऽपि मालाधराः प्रभोः । भ्रष्टेन्द्रा गजमारूढाः कराग्रे कुंभधारिणः ॥ १७ ॥ स्नात्रं कर्तुं समायाताः सर्वसंतापनाशनम् । कर्प्रकुङ्कुमादीनां धारयन्तो जलं बहु ॥ १८ ॥ यथा लक्ष्मीसमाकान्तं याचमाना निजं पदम् । तथा मुक्तिपदं कान्त-मनन्तसुखकारणम् ॥ १९ ॥ हृह-तुम्बरुनामानौ तौ वीणावंशवादकौ । अनन्तगुणसंघातं गायन्तौ जगतां प्रभोः ॥ २० ॥ वाद्यमेकोनपञ्चाश-द्भोदभिन्नमनेकथा । चतुर्विधा अमी देवा, वादयन्ति स्वभिन्तितः ॥ २१ ॥ सोऽयं देवो महादेवि ! दैत्यारिः शंखवादकः । नानारूपाणि बिभ्राण एककोऽपि सुरेश्वर: ॥ २२ ॥ जगत्त्रयाधिपत्यस्य हेतुर्छत्रत्रयं प्रभोः । अमी च द्वादशादित्या जाता भामण्डलं प्रभो: ॥ २३ ॥ पुष्ठलग्ना अमी देवा याचन्ते मोक्षमुत्तमम् । एवं सर्वगुणोपेतः सर्वसिद्धिप्रदायकः ॥ २४ ॥ एष एव महादेवि! सर्वदेवनमस्कृतः । गोप्याद्गोप्यतरः श्रेष्ठो व्यक्ताव्यक्ततया स्थितः ॥ २५ ॥ आदित्याद्या भ्रमन्त्येते यं नमस्कर्तुमुद्यताः । कालो दिवसरात्रिभ्यां यस्य सेवा विघायकः ॥ २६ ॥ वर्षाकालोष्णकालादि-शीतकालादिवेषभृत् । यत्पूजार्यं कृता घात्रा, आकरा मलयादयः ॥ २७ ॥ काश्मीरे कुङ्कुमं देवि ! यत्पुजार्थं विनिर्मितम् । रोहणे सर्वरत्नानि यद्भूषणकृते व्यधात् ॥ २८ ॥ रत्नाकरोऽपि रत्नानि यत्पूजार्थं च घारयेत् । तारकाः कुसुमायन्ते भ्रमन्तो यस्य सर्वतः ॥ २९ ॥

एवं सामर्थ्यमस्यैव नापरस्य प्रकीर्तितम् ।
अनेन सर्वकार्याणि सिध्यन्तीत्यवधारय ॥ ३० ॥
परात्परिमदं रूपं ध्येयाद् ध्येयमिदं परम् ।
अस्य प्रेरकता दृष्टा चराचरजगत्त्रये ॥ ३१ ॥
दिग्पालेष्विप सर्वेषु प्रहेषु निखिलेष्विप ।
स्यातः सर्वेषु देवेषु इन्द्रोपेन्द्रेषु सर्वदा ॥ ३२ ॥
इति श्रुत्वा शिवाद् गौरी, पूजयामास सादरम् ।
स्मरन्ती लिगरूपेण लोकान्ते वासिनं जिनम् ॥ ३३ ॥
ब्रह्मा विष्णुस्तथा शको लोकपालास्सदेवताः ।
जिनार्चनरता एते मानुषेषु च का कथा ? ॥ ३४ ॥
जानुद्वयं शिरश्चेव, यस्य घृष्टं नमस्यतः ।
जिनस्य पुरतो देवि ! स याति परमं पदम् ॥ ३५ ॥
इति श्रीविश्वकर्माविरिचताऽपराजितवास्तुशास्त्रमध्ये श्रीजिनमूर्तिक्लोकाः ॥





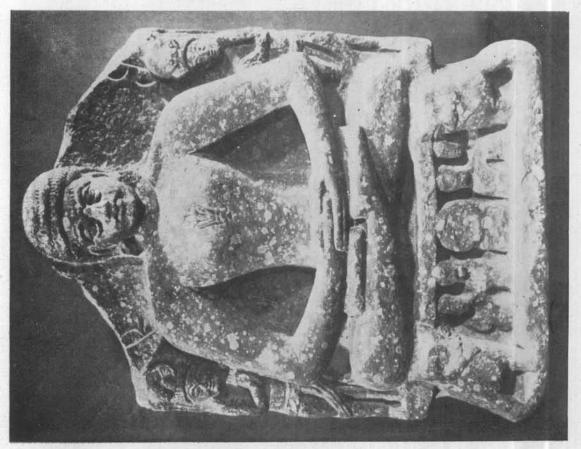






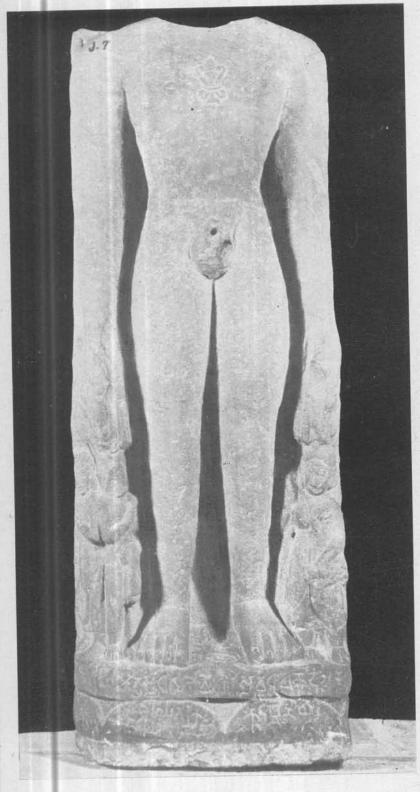


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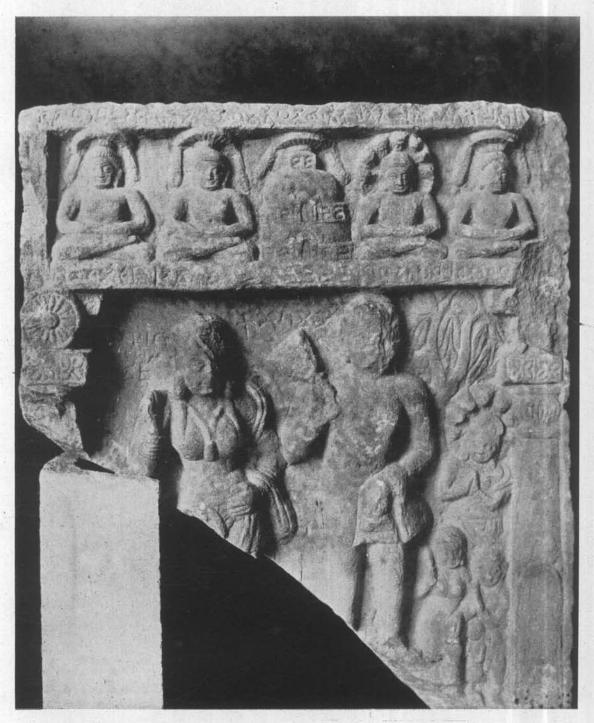


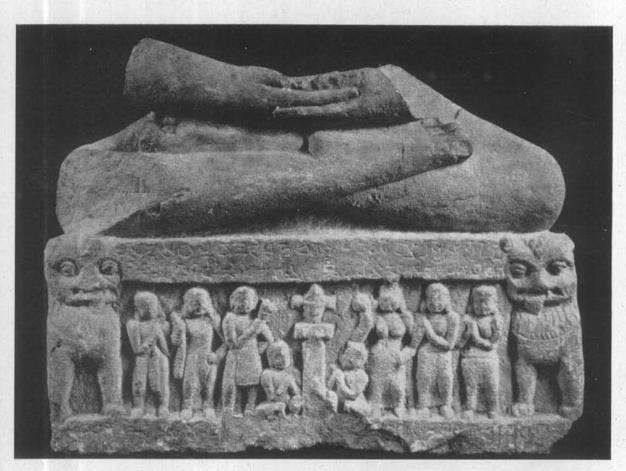


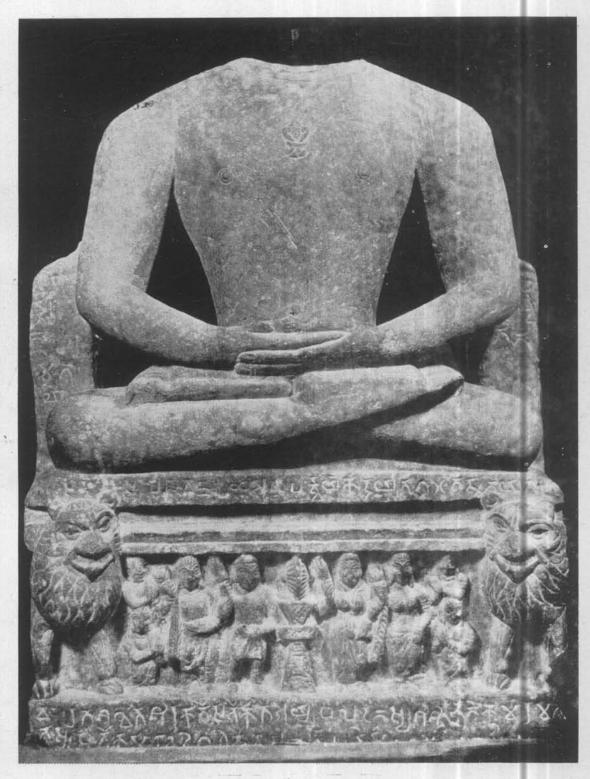


































7. REFLECTIONS ON THE JAINA CAVES IN GUJARAT

RASESH JAMINDAR

The State of popularity and spread of Jainism in Gujarāt in the first five centuries of the Christian Era is a question by itself to be answered. Based as it is on the literary sources, there is general feeling that Jainism was popular in Gujarāt at that time. But the archaeological evidence in support is slender, a factor which seemingly goes against this firmly rooted belief. Only one or two rock-cut caves attributed to Jainism are available in Gujarāt of a period under discussion. They are the Bāvā Pyārā caves in Junāgadh and the Dhānk caves.

Burgess has given an elaborate description⁴ of the caves known as Bāvā Pyārā, situated in the eastern quarter of the Junāgadh town,. Who the occupants were of these caves, I feel is not easy to decide. Burgess thought these were excavated originally for Bauddha bhiksus, but later on may have been used by Jaina munis. He drew his conclusion—on the question of occupancy—on the basis of an inscription⁵ found in the cell of one of the caves, as there is a mention of one Jaina technical term, namely, Kevalajāāna.⁶ Sankalia seems more positive in asserting that these indeed were the Jaina caves. Impressed just as influenced by the peculiarly Jaina term under reference, he further feels sure that the symbols carved over the doorframe of one of those caves are Jaina.⁷

These are some eleven symbols⁸ of auspicity, of which the svastika, the bhadrāsana, the mīna-yugala, the pūrnaghata and the darpana are clearly recognised. Sankalia finds similarity of these symbols with those carved on the āyagapatas of the Jaina stūpa in Mathurā.⁹

Now from one of the caves, this author has noticed another group of five symbols on one other doorframe not so far reported. Although in bad state of preservation, the symbols may be identified, in sequence, as darpana, mīnayugala, pūrnaghata, again mīna-yugala and once more the darpana. (Neither Burgess nor Sankalia mentions them.)

Let us, therefore, reconsider the problems of the affiliation and date of the Bava Pyara caves.

- (1) There is no evidence that the fragmentary inscription referred to by Burgess and others was set up in or fixed on any of the caves' walls in Bava Pyara group. It is difficult to aver that it belonged to these caves. Probably it might have been brought from elsewhere at a much later date. The inscription is engraved on soft calcareous sandstone, while the caves were scooped out of a harder stone. This difference in texture and kind conclusively proves that the inscription did not originally belong to these caves, though Jaina it doubtless is. Hence, this inscription helps neither in knowing the affiliation nor in fixing the date of the caves.
- (2) Instead of the traditional eight symbols, there are here eleven.¹¹ Of these only five can be recognised mentioned earlier. But the more characteristically Jaina symbols, such as the nandyāvarta, and the vardhamāna are missing here. The svastika, the bhadrāsana, the śrīvatsa¹² and the pūrnaghata etc., are found with other creeds too. So their usefulness in ascribing these caves to the Jaina creed must remain dubious. The svastika here is wrongly defined because its upper horizontal end is toward the left rather than on the right.¹³ Taken as a whole, then, the symbols do not conclusively prove that the occupants of these caves were Jainas.
- (3) It is believed that an image of a Tirthankara must be installed for worship in a Jaina monastic settlement. This belief can be supported by many references through the ages. The earliest known Jina image is from the oldest Jaina temple of Lohanipura near Patna in Bihar, from where two torsos of Jina image (of Mauryana workmanship) were found. (They are now placed in the Patna Museum). 14 The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavel mentions in its twelfth line that the king Kharavel of Kalingadesa conquered Brhaspati and brought back the image of Kalinga Jina, which was formerly taken away by Nandarāja. 15 A splendid image of Pārsvanātha was found in the group of caves on a mountain nearly 20 kms. eastnorth of Usmanabad in Maharastra. This image is said to belong to the sixth century B.C.¹⁶ We have come across many Jaina images of the Kusana age at Kankali tila in Mathura, of which as many as 47 images are also preserved in the Patna Museum. 17 Acarya-ratna Muni Vairadeva (identified as Vairasvami by U. P. Shah) installed two images of Jinas in the cave for residence of Jaina monks, according to the famous Son Bhandar Cave inscription, Vaibharagiri, Rajgir, Bihar. It seems from these evidences that the practice of worshipping Jina image also prevailed side by side with the worship of stupa, the caitya-tree and the like.18 The absence, therefore, of Jina image from the Bava Pyara caves is very significant, in as much as it disproves the Jaina nature of these caves.
- (4) This inference is further corroborated by the Dhank caves in Rajkot district of the period very close to that of the Bava Pyara caves, from where

some Jina images have been found in situ.¹⁹ These caves, as they seem to indicate, were the earliest Jaina settlement in Gujarat.

The Dhank caves are, on a hill known as Dhankagiri, situated about 48 kms. northwest of Junagadh. In one of the cells in the lower section of the west-edge of the hill there are three niches, of which one is facing the door and one on each side of it. All the niches have Jina images. The image facing the door is seated on a simhāsana (lion-throne) with hands in yogamudrā and cāmaradhārinīs (female chaurie-bearers) on both the sides. Because of the absence of cognizance it is difficult to identify the image. But according to Sankalia, it represents Jina Adinatha.20 Two other images in this cell are seated in padmasana with body erect and motionless. Their hands are placed in yogamudra. Over the head of the image is carved a triple umbrella indicated by three strokes. The camaradharinis are on both sides. The Miga (deer) cognizance in the middle of the seat helps identifying this image as Śantinatha, the sixteenth tirthankara. On both the ends of the seat we find lion figures. The nicer image here is that of Parsvanatha, the twenty-third tirthankara. It stands in the Kayotsarga posture with impressive canopy of cobra-hood behind the head. This is the only best preserved image from Dhankagiri. Amongst other sculptures there are attendent figures associated with the tīrthankaras, namely, Ambikā and some Yaksa.

From the foregoing account it seems clear that the dwellers of these caves were certainly Jainas. Therefore, it is now quite obvious that the Bava Pyara caves, containing not a single Jina image, were not of Jaina affiliation.

Now to the date. Burgess, who was the first to take into account these caves very comprehensively, says nothing about the date of Bāvā Pyārā caves, in his "Report on the Antiquities of Kāthiāwāda and Kucch" (London 1876). But later on he discussed the date and mentioned that they belong to an early date, in his another famous work, "Cave Temples of India (London 1880).²¹ Sankalia places the date between 200 B.C. and 300 A.D. He thinks that the caves containing Caityagtha are of the second century B.C., and those with symbols carved may have been carved during the second and third century A.D.²²

This author, while examining these caves, had noticed two $vy\bar{a}la$ figures,²³ each on both sides at the lower end of a small entrance at the south-end of the second row of this group.²⁴ Both Burgess and Sankalia did not seem to notice these significant $vy\bar{a}la$ figures which in point of fact are a good means for fixing the date of $B\bar{a}v\bar{a}$ Py $\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ caves. Dhaky dates such Western Indian $vy\bar{a}la$ figures to the fourth century A.D.²⁵ Following this dating, and comparing our $vy\bar{a}la$ figures with those he mentions, one may come to the conclusion that these caves must have been carved during the later half of the second century A.D. Or we may place them in the first half of the third century A.D., for the simple

reason that the vyāla figures from the Bāvā Pyārā are cruder and plainer than those in the Junāgadh Museum.26

Burgess does not say anything about the date of the Dhānk caves. But Sankalia does think that Dhānk caves were dug around 300 A.D. on the basis of sculpture.²⁷ This view of Sankalia remains confirmed by the nudity of the Jina images. Now it is wel-known that we do not find a savastra (clad) Jina image upto the Gupta period.²⁸ Second, the workmanship of the Dhānk sculptures is very inferior to those from Devni Mori. Buddha images from Devni Mori are draped in sanghāti, and were moulded around 374 A.D.²⁹ It seems possible that images from Dhānk might have been sculptured during the first half of the fourth century A.D.*

REFERENCES

- 1. For the period under discussion, we find the activities of some Jaina Āchāryas in Gujarāt, namely Mallavādisūri, Siddhasena Divākara, Nāgārjuna, Pādaliptasūri and Vajrabhūti. But from these very few Āchāryas it is indeed difficult to surmise that Jainism was very popular. Nor can we say the same thing on the basis of the council at Valabhī which met under the presidentship of Nāgārjuna during the first quarter of the fourth century A.D., which collected and collated the scattered Jaina canon. This also does not shed more light on the popularity of Jainism in Gujarāt. For the present, we can only say that Jainism did exist in Gujarāt during the early centuries.
- 2. It is said that the spread of Jainism in Gujarāt was started from the time of Neminātha, the twenty-second *tirthankara*, as the scene of his renunciation was laid on Mt. Girnār. But to substantiate this there is no archaeological evidence available. This again does not help us in deciding about the question of early popularity of this religion.
- 3. In his travellogue the Chinese pilgrim Hitien Tsiang mentions the existence of about fifty Sanghārāmas in Saurāstra (region of the present Gujarat State). He further writes that there is one Sanghārāma on the Ujjayant mountain (Samuel Beal, Buddhist records of the Western World, Vol. ii, 1884, p. 269). But it is hard to say that Hitien Tsiang's statement was for Bāvā Pyārā.
- 4. Report of the Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kuch, London, 1876, Pp. 140 ff.
- 5. This was found from one of the caves of the first row of the group (vide here the plan, fig. No. 1). This is the inscription of the time of the grandson of Jayadāmā (Epigraphica Indica, Vol. xvi, p. 239).
- 6. The epigraph thus runs: . . . केवली झानसंत्राप्तानां जितजराभरणार्न . . . (see Burgess, op. cit., plate xx, no. 1).
- 7. H. D. Sankalia, Archaeology of Gujarat, Bombay, 1941, p. 48.
- 8. See Burgess, op. cit., plate xviii, no. 3. But I think there are twelve symbols. Between the symbols 5 and 6 from the left, there is a sign for a symbol. It is not easy to identify it.
- 9. V. A. Smith, The Jaina Stūpa and Other Antiquities of Mathura (Aliahabad, 1901), pp. 14ff. Also see Sankalia, op. cit., p. 48.
- 10. See fig. no. 2; also see vide here plan, cell no. 0.
- 11. See foot-note no. 8.
- 12. R. C. Agrawala, "Antiquity of Srivatsa Mark of Vişņu in Indian Art." The Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Vol. LVI, parts i-iv, 1970, pp. 47ff. In this article Agrawala has discussed

- the antiquity of this mark with special reference to Visnu. He writes that Srivatsa mark has been associated with Visnu frequently in early Indian art.
- 13. It is also possible that the negative film might have been printed wrongly. If so, then the svastika symbol may go on right end instead the left one and so there is no problem.
- 14. U. P. Shah, Studies in Jaina Art, p. 4-5; also refer Hiralal Jain, Bharatiya Sanskitimem, Jaina-Dharmaka Yogadana (Hindi), 1965, p. 320.
- 15. Hiralal Jain, op. cit., p. 307-308.
- 16. Ibid, pp. 311-312.
- 17. U. P. Shah, op. cit., pp. 9ff.
- 18. That is in the first three centuries A.D., during which period the Bāvā Pyārā caves were excavated. U. P. Shah refers about the practice of worshipping the Jina images (op. cit., pp. 13-14).
- 19. For detail description, see Burgess, op. cit., pp. 150 ff.; and Sankalia, op. cit., pp. 53-54, 166-168. Neither of them gives illustrations. In 1938, Sankalia published a note on the Earliest Jaina Sculptures in Kathiawar, in JRAS, 1938, pt. III, pp. 426-430 where he gave some plates.
- 20. Ibid., p. 53. Burgess considers this as Buddha image, for reason that there is a step-well near the Dhānk mountain known as Manjusri Vāv (p. 150), which is not acceptable.
- 21. But this is a vague statement of Burgess. He does not say how much early the caves were. So he keeps his fingers crossed.
- 22. For details, see Sankalia, H. D., Archaeology of Gujarat, p. 49.
- 23. See here fig. no. 3. I have taken this picture in the monsoon of 1962. For want of flashgun the picture did not come out to satisfaction. These walla figures are located in cave no. J (vide plan no. 1).
- 24. Vide plan no. I, cell no. 'J'.
- 25. M. A. Dhaky, "The Vyāla figures on the Mediaeval temples of India (Varanasi, 1965), pp. 11, fn. 6.
- 26. See fig. no. 4 & 5. Dhaky puts these vayāla figures in late Kshatrapa period. (See, *Ibid.*, pp. 30, fn. 6.
- 27. H. D. Sankalia, Archaeology of Gujarat, pp. 167.
- 28. Dr. U. P. Shah writes that the difference between images of the Digambaras and the Svetāmbaras was posterior to the Kuṣāṇa period (Studies in Jaina Art (Banaras, 1955), p. 11).
- 29. R. N. Mehta, and S. N. Chowdhari, Excavation at Devni Mori (Baroda, 1966), p. 141.
 U. P. Shah, in Studies in Jaina Art, p. 17, ft. note 5 states: "It is not possible to assign to the sculptures a date earlier than 7th century A.D."
- * I am extremely grateful to M. A. Dhaky for his very valuable suggestion in writing this article.

ILLUSTRATIONS

- 1. Plan of the Bāvā Pyārā caves, Junāgadh. Reproduced from Burgess, Report on the Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kutch.
- Symboles on the door-frame of one of the Bava Pyara's Caves, Junagadh.
- 3. Vyāla figure at the entrance of a cell, Bāvā Pyārā's Caves, Junāgaḍh.
- Vyāla figure from Junāgaḍh museum.
- Vyāla figure from Junāgadh museum.

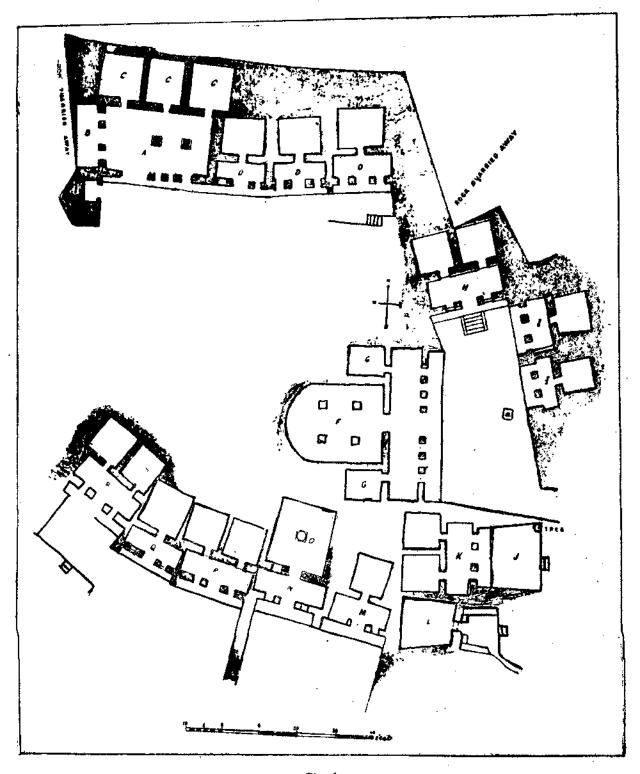


Fig. 1

Plan of the Bāvā Pyārā Caves, Junāgaḍh. Reproduced from Burgess, Report on the

Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kutch













8. MATHURA JAINA INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KUŞĀŅĀ PERIOD —A FRESH STUDY

G. S. GAI

Mathura has played a very important role in the art-history of India and in the parlance of art-critics we have a Mathura school of art. The finest period of the growth of art and architecture at Mathura was during the rule of the Kuṣāṇas. The Kuṣāṇa kings, who were great patrons of art and architecture, built cities, temples, stūpas, caityas, monasteries, besides numerous images of Buddhas and Jinas. They contributed much to the growth of the Gāndhāra art and, according to some scholars, the great king Kaṇiṣka I was the founder of this school of Gāndhāra art. But the earliest art objects of Mathura are related to the art of Bhārhut in Central India going back to the middle of the 2nd Century B.C. Whatever may its connection, the Mathura school of art was very active during the Kuṣāṇa period and occupied an important position in the art-history of contemporary India and later on the art objects of this centre were exported to Taxila and Central Asia on the one hand and to Śrāvasti and Sārnāth on the other.¹

It is interesting to note that, during the Kuṣāṇa period, the community of the Jainas at Mathura was larger than that of the Buddhists, since more objects of Jaina art and inscriptions have been found there. The number of Jina images is larger than the number of Buddha images. Of the 159 inscriptions from Mathura listed by Lüders in his List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, 87 are Jaina, 55 Buddhist, and the remaining 17 non-sectarian. So, it may be inferred that during the Kuṣāṇa period, Mathura was a famous centre of Jainism. As a result of continued and extended explorations and excavations carried on at the site of Kaṅkālī Tīṭā, also known as Jainī Tīṭā in Mathura, important Jaina antiquities and inscriptions, including remains of several buildings, specially of two Jaina temples and of a great Jaina stūpa, were found. A great quantity of beautifully carved architectural materials and numerous Jaina statues, stone-slabs (āyāga-paṭṭas), etc., sometimes inscribed, were discovered at this site. During later explorations and excavations, more art objects and inscriptions have been added to this collection.

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It is well known that there is much controversy amongst scholars regarding the chronology of the Kusana dynasty and the dating of the art objects and inscriptions of this period. It has remained one of the most difficult and unsolved problems of Indian history and archaeology. As observed by Dr. A.L. Basham in 1953 "for over a hundred years scholars of many nations have devoted immense time and thought to the problem and today seem as far from an agreed solution as ever." In regard to the chronology of the art objects, the dated inscriptions of these objects no doubt help in fixing their period. But since there are different views about the reckoning and the era used in these inscriptions, it is difficult to fix the chronology of these art-objects also. Dr. J. E. Van Lohuizen De Leeuw in her book 'The Scythian Period' has made an exhaustive study of the history, art, epigraphy and palaeography of North India from the 1st century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D. which includes the Kusana and the post-Kusana period.³ A detailed review of this valuable book has been made by Dr. A. L. Basham in BSOAS, Vol. 35, pp. 80-97. Dr. Lohuizen has followed the consensus of opinion of the scholars regarding the date of accession of Kaniska I, viz., 78 A.D. and that the inscriptions dated during his reign and that of his successors like Vasiska Huviska, etc. should be referred to the Saka era of 78 A.D.4 In her book, she has discussed the chronology of many images of Buddhas and Jinas based on style-criticism and the palaeography of some of the inscriptions found on these images. Some of these images which bear dated inscriptions without the mention of any king are referred by her, on grounds of palaeography and art-style, to 100 years later than the period suggested by the dates referred by other scholars to the Kaniska era of 78 A.D. In this paper, it is proposed to examine some of the Jaina inscriptions of the Kusana period in the light of the discussion of Dr. Lohuizen about them from the point of view of palaeography, since these inscriptions throw valuable light in dating the Jaina images from Mathura.

Dr. Lohuizen has discussed the palaeography of about 35 inscriptions from Lüders' List of Brāhmī inscriptions, all found on Jaina images from Mathura. Lüders does not give any description or illustration of the images bearing these inscriptions, nor are these illustrations found in publications like Epigraphia Indica and Indian Antiquary where some of these inscriptions have been published. Inspite of this, Dr. Lohuizen has tried to study some of the available images bearing these inscriptions, and has suggested, on grounds of art-style and palaeography, that these images and inscriptions should be dated 100 years later than the period to which earlier scholars had assigned them. For example, the great savant Bühler who published about 15 inscriptions in Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, pp. 196 ff. says "Nos. XI-XXIV consist of the dated inscriptions, which, in my opinion, all belong to the time of Kaniska, Huviska and Vāsudeva. Not one of

them shows the name of the king. Nevertheless, I believe that nobody, who carefully compares them with the dated documents, mentioning the three kings, will come to a different conclusion". And yet, Dr. Lohuizen has come to a different conclusion.

Dr. Lohuizen examines the palaeography of the inscriptions found on the Jaina images of Mathura which she thinks ought to be dated 100 years later. She first takes Lüders' List No. 16 which was found on the pedestal of a Jina image from Kankālī Tīlā. It is dated in the year 4 which has been referred to by Lüders and other scholars to the Kaniska era of 78 A.D. and consequently is dated in 82 A.D. But Dr. Lohuizen thinks that the letter y in this inscription is of a later type since it has a loop at the left side. Similarly, she examines a number of inscriptions from Lüders List found on Jaina images where no king is mentioned, from the palaeographical point of view. Thus, Nos. 23 a, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 53 and 54 have been dealt with by her. The main points stressed by her in dealing with the palaeography of these inscriptions may be given as follows:

- (a) The medial u sign attached to letters like k is not horizontal, but slants down wards which is a later feature:
- (b) The letter n has a round form: Υ
- (c) The letter y has a loop at the left side: 🖘
- (d) The cross-bar of k is not horizontal but is bent: \downarrow
- (e) The letter s, has a loop:
- (f) the letter m is of the later type:
- (g) The right end of the letter h goes down: Ls
- (h) angular forms of d and h are found: ζ
- (i) box-head at the top of some letters.
- (j) anusvāra becomes a dash in some cases.

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These are the main points of palaeography noticed by Dr. Lohuizen to decide that the inscriptions containing them should be dated 100 years later, than the dates mentioned in them. But most of these features can be seen in some of the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions which mention the name of the king and are dated. Some of these inscriptions have been brought to light after the publication of Dr. Lohuizen's book referred to above. For example, in the Curzon Museum (Mathura) inscription⁵ found on the pedestal of a Bodhisatva image and belonging to the reign of Kaṇiṣka and dated in the year 23, the following palaeographical features are noticed (cf *Plate 1*).

(a) m-both the early and the later or the so-called Gupta type are found:



- (b) anusvara is indicated by a dash instead of by a dot.
- (c) box-head over the letters p and v is found.

Again in the recently discovered Mathura inscription⁶ of Kaniska's regnal year 4, found on a broken Buddhist image, the following palaeographical features have been noticed (cf. *Plate II*).

- (a) the left side of the letter y has a loop: (2)
- (b) m—both the early and the later form are found: \times I
- (c) h—both the early and the later type are found: 5
- (d) the anusvāra in the expression ētasyām pūrvvāyam is indicated by a dash instead of by a dot.
- (e) k—the middle line is indicated by a slanting stroke:
- (f) the letter n has a rounded form:

Examples like this can be multiplied from other inscriptions. The palaeography of these inscriptions closely resembles that of the many records found on the Jaina images referred to by Dr. Lohuizen. But the two inscriptions from Mathura quoted by us, which are dated and which mention the name of the king, show that the palaeographical evidence adduced by Dr. Lohuizen to prove that the inscribed images studied by her should be dated 100 years later is not acceptable. All these images should, therefore, be taken to belong to the Kaniska era of 78 A.D. only.

REFERENCES

- 1. Cf. Age of Imperial Unity p. 522.
- 2. Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Vol. 35 (1953), p. 95
- 3. Recently two seminars have been held, one in London and the other in Dushambe (Russia) on the problem of the Kuṣāṇas. But scholars do not seem to have come to any agreed conclusion about the date of the Kuṣāṇa kings.
- 4. According to the consensus of the opinion of the scholars, there is no insurmountable difficulty in referring Kaniska, the founder of the era, to the 1st century A.D.
- 5. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 43-44.
- 6. Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, pp. 9 ff. and plate.

ILLUSTRATIONS

- 1. Inscription on the pedestal of a Bodhisattva image dated in the year 23, Kaniska's reign. Curzon Museum, Mathura.
- 2. Inscription on a broken Buddhist image, of Kaniska's regnal year 4. Mathura Museum.

9. JAINA MONUMENTS OF TAMIL NADU

K. G. KRISHNAN

The earliest monuments in Tamil Nadu viz., the caves and caverns in the southern districts of Madurai and Tirunelveli are associated with the Jainas. The use of the word $p\bar{a}li$ to describe them supports this. There is not much to speak about their art or architecture. They consisted merely, of a smooth raised bed with a pillow-like rolling at one end in a convenient recess in the remote parts of small hills or hillocks sheltered from the weather. The drip-line on the caves of the ceiling drains off the water from the roof in rainy days. The beginnings of Jainism in the Tamil country are associated with these out of the way places sufficient enough to invoke the awe and reverence of the laity affording at the same time the scope of practising the austerities unhindered. The next stage in the expansion of Jainism was reached in the 6th century when the Jaina monks moved to the outskirts of habitations which were ready to tolerate their presence. From this stage we find that sculptures carved on the rocks came to be worshipped. They continued to use their old shelters also where we find sculptures in inaccessible heights. In spite of the revival of Saivite and Vaisnavite fervour, the patronage of a few dedicated individuals and the perseverence of the Jaina monks enabled the Jaina society to survive upto the 9th century. The appearance of Ajjanandi on the scene during this period gave a fillip to the movement (inscriptions nos. 6, 8, 9, 11, 13, and 21 discussed below.). The distribution of the Jaina monuments after this period shows that whole villages endowed as pallichchandam developed around structural shrines.

The art pattern of the Jaina monuments was consequently circumscribed by the nature of the residence of the Jaina monks, the material used and the ritualistic development of the worship of the Jaina deities. As pointed out above the caves and caverns did not provide any scope for art in the shaping of their monuments. The carving of sculptures in bas-relief on the rocky inaccessible faces near these caves represents the next stage where there was some scope for art (No. 41). Yet the austerity of the Jainas should have restricted this tendency. We find simple but serene faces of the Tirthankaras in most of these,

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probably as a result of the religious trait and also the economic factor involved in having these carved in difficult places (no. 17). One may even wonder how and when these were worshipped. Most of the inscriptions associated with them refer to the authors only. Those which speak of worship and offerings are in cross which are accessible (nos. 12, 15, 18, 19 etc.). This is no doubt a later

The worship of yaksi, the prevalence of which has been sufficiently emphasised appears to have commenced some time between the 3rd and the 6th century A.D. One of the inscriptions noticed under no. 12 refers to the yaksi installed by Adigaiman Elini and renovated by his descendent in the 12th century. It is tempting indeed to take the origin of this yaksi to Sangam times. For, we hear of such names as Elini only in the Sangam Tamil works assignable to about the beginning of this era.

Another surprising feature in respect of the authors of these monuments is that none of the monks among them except two is mentioned along with his gaccha, gana, anvaya and sangha.² One of the three exceptions occurs in a Sanskrit and Tamil inscription from Siyamangalam (no. 44).

The text reads:

- 1. Svasti-Śrimad-Dravilasamgh-esmin
- 2. Nandisangh=est=y Arumkalah [la] Anvayo bhati
- 3. niś-śesa-śastra-varaśi-para-gaih
- 4. Śrī Arumkal-anvayattu mandal-acaryar
- 5. Gupaviradēvar sisyar Vajranandi-yōgindrar
- 6. seyvitta tirruppadanam [1] Eta [t] Vad-ība-simhasya

gateria, gana, antigo ---- and and Tamil inscription from Siyamangalam (no. 44). The text reads:

- 1. Svasti-Śrīmad-Dravilasamgh-ēsmin
- 2. Nandisangh=est=y Arumkalan [la] Anvayo bhati
- 3. nis-sēṣa-sāstra-varāsi-pāra-gaiḥ
- 4. Śrī Arumkal-anvayattu mandal-acaryar
- Gunaviradēvar šiņyar Vajranandi-yōgindrar
- 6. seyvitta tirruppadanam [1] Eta [t] Vad-ība-simhasya

 śāsanañ=jayatāc=ciram [I] yasya Syād-vāda-vajrena nir-bhinnāḥ ku-mat-ādrayaḥ-

Another rare instance, this time referring to Yapaniya-sangha and the Kumili-gana occurs in No. 19 (see also No. 27a). These inscriptions indicate the existence of the structure of their organisation as elsewhere, though the absence of such mention in all other cases cannot be explained.

The earliest reference to a palliccandam meaning an endowment in favour of a Jaina temple or monastery is available in the copper-plate charter of Pallava Simhavarman recording a grant to Tirupparuttikkunru in Kancipuram (no. 1). Thus this word had gained currency from the times when devadana and brahmadiva pertaining to the Agamic and Vedic institutions were used in Tamil inscriptions. The etymological meaning of the suffix candam in this word is not clear.

Another word used in a large measure almost exclusively in Jaina inscriptions is tirumēni. Mēni, the main word, means the figure referring to the sculpture which it points to.²

A reference to the topographical index at the end will make it clear that the majority of the monuments so far discovered are spread over the two districts of North Arcot and South Arcot which are in the immediate neighbourhood from the point of contact between Karnataka and Tamil Nadu—the route followed by Jainism in its expansion towards the east and the south. Parts of Salem and Dharmapuri districts representing the northern Kongu could have served as a base for the Jaina organisations under the patronage of the Gangas of Talaikkādu in the early centuries. Future explorations are likely to reveal the centres in this area.

List of Monuments

The list given below is chronologically arranged. A topographical index is provided at the end. Each item of the list is described under the following heads (1) Name—current, contemporary if in brackets (2) Place (3) Location of the monument or the inscription (4) Date, exact, latest limit or century, (5) Reference—the first is the number of the inscription and the second is the year of collection and (6) Remarks.

1. Kancipuram

Vardhamāna temple (Vardhamānesvara-dharma-tīrtha) Kāncīpuram, Kanchipuram Taluk, Chingleput District. Copper-plate grant unearthed at J.S.-12

Pallankovil, Tanjavur District, of c. 6th century A.D. (6th year of Simhavarman) App. A, No. 10 of 1958-59, Trans. Arch. Soc. of S.I., 1958-1959; pp. 41 ff. (See below for other inscriptions).

An inscription records the grant of Amanierkkai in Perunagar-nādu in Venkunrakkottam and land in Tamar to Vajranandik-kuravar of the Nandi-sangha at Paruttikkunru as palliccandam by the nattar. A mandapa of this temple is stated to have been constructed by a brahmana Vimavadugan sometime before the 20th year (1165-6 A.D.) of Chola Rajaraja II. He provided also for offerings on the occassion of awakening ceremony in the early morning S.I.I., IV, No. 363). Another inscription (*Ibid.*, No. 366-1198-99 A.D.) records grant of wide areas of land for maintaining Gurukkal Chandrakirtti-devar and variyap-pidaragal by the king (Chola Kulottunga III). An inscription dated Dundubhi (1382 A.D.) refers to Trailokya-vallabhar (E.p Ind., VII, No. 15A) and another dated Prabhava (1387-88 A.D.) records the construction of a great hall (mahāmandapa) for concerts (sangīt-ārttham) in front of the Jina Vardhamāna-nilaya by Iruggappa-dandanayaka, a Jinottama at the instance of Puspasena and the paving of the same all around with stones. This inscription (ibid., No. 15-B) is engraved on a slab built into the ceiling of the mandapa in front of the present shrine. The gopura is said to have been constructed by Puspasena Vamanarya (No. 98) of 1923 on the lintel of the gopura).

2. Tirunatharkungu

Singavaram, Gingee Taluk, South Arcot District. Rock 6th century
239/904; S.I.I., XVII, No. 262
Records that Candiranandi Āśirigar
(Āśiriyar) fasted unto death in 57 days
Reads: Aimbatt-ēļ-anaśanan norra
Candiranandi-Āśirigar nīśīdikai

This is the earliest Jaina inscription, barring the Brahmi inscriptions in the caves and caverns of Tamil Nadu.

2a Jaina temple (Vimala Śri Ārya Tīrthappalli)
Kil-Śattamangalam, Wandiwash (Vandavasi) Taluk, North Arcot District.
Inscription on a rock called 'Perumālpārai' in the village.
Before 743-44 A.D. (14th year of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla).
219/1968-69

The earliest inscription cited here records the arrangement made by Andai Ilaiyar Pavanandi for feeding the ascetics (tavasigal). A later inscription dated

in the 6th year of Kampavarman (a senior contemporary of Aditya I) records the renovation of the Jaina temple (palli), the construction of the mukha-mandapa, the renovation of the pāli, the construction of a temple for Iyakki-bhaṭāri and the gift of a big bell to the palli—all by Madevi, the wife of Kāḍakadiyaraiyar (No. 221/1968-69). The name Vimala Śrī Ārya-tīrthappalli is mentioned only in the inscription (No. 223/1968-69) dated in the 13th year (998 A.D.) in the reign of Rājarāja I.

3. Rṣabhanātha shrine (Iravikulasundarip-perumballi) Perumāndur, Tindivanam Taluk, South Arcot District. West Wall.

Before 748-9 A.D. (19th year of Pallava Nandivarman II)

220/1902; S.I.I., VII, No. 847.

Incomplete inscription. Records the endowment of paddy to provide probably for worship in the Perumballi. This is obviously different from No. 37.

4. Tiruppāmali

Panchapāndavarmalai, Walajahpet Taluk, North Arcot District, (within Vilāppakkam)

(1) Rock with image of a Tirthankara and (2) cave with a high relief inside bearing a female figure prominently with attendants of some regal status.

780 A.D. (50th year of Pallava, Nandivarman II

19/1890: Ep. Ind., IV, pp. 136-7

Records the cutting of the figure (padimam) of Ponniyakkiyar in the presence of Naganandi-guravar by Naranan, the son of the maruttuvar of Pugalalai-mangalam. A later inscription (ibid., pp. 137-140) of Rajaraja I dated in his 8th year (992-3 A.D.) records the exemption from levies, granted on tax-free palliccandan village to provide for worship at Tiruppanmalai by the Lata chief Virasolar, son of Pugalvipparagandar. (Cf. No. 22 below).

5. (Tirukkāttāmpaļļi of Kurandi)

Pallimadam, Aruppukkottai Taluk, Ramanathapuram Dt. Kurandi

Stones built into the Kalanathesvara temple.

Before 900 A.D.

428-431/1914 S.I.I. XIV Nos. 32, 34-35 and 39

The temple on which these inscribed slabs are found is a Saivite one. It is called Sundarapāndyesvara in the inscription and is now called Kālanāthesvara temple. It is a sepulchral temple built in memory of Sundara-pāndya, the elder brother of Rājasimha, (c. 903-928 A.D.).

9th century 562 of 1911

States that the image was caused to be made by the glorious Ajjanamdi.

7. Tirthappalli

Uttamapāļaiyam, Periyakulam Taluk, Madurai District. Sculptures on the Karuppannasāmi rock 9th century 722-732 of 1905; S.I.I. XIV, Nos. 69, 120-128.

One of these (722/1905) is dated in the reign of Pandya Rajasimha (c. 903-28 A.D.). The rest are labels giving the names of donors including Accanandi, Arittanemi, the disciple of Attopavasi (i.e. Astopavasi) Kanakavirar and Anantavira-adigal. The deity is called Tirukkunagirittevar (i.e., the deva on Sri Gunagiri).

8. Tiruvayirai

Aivarmalai near Aiyampālaiyam, Palani Taluk, Madurai District. Natural cave and images cut on the rock on the hill called Aivarmalai. Before 890 A.D. Saka 792 and 8th year of Pandya Veraguna II. 691-705/1905; S.1.1., XIV, Nos. 22, 107-119; Ep. Ind., XXXII.

Records the renovation of the images of Pārisvabhaṭāra i.e., Pārisvanātha and the attendant yakṣīs and the gift of 505 kāṇam of gold to provide for food offerings and the feeding of an ascetic, by Sāntivīrak-kuravadīgaļ of Kolumam, the disciple of Guṇavirak-kura-vadīgaļ on the specified date. There are also label inscriptions below the images of several Jaina Tīrthankaras cut in half relief on the hill. They were donated by Ajjaṇandi, Indrasēna, Mallisēna, and a female ascetic Avvaṇandik-kurattiyār, the disciple of Paṭṭinik-kurattiyār.

9. Anaimalai, Madurai Taluk, Madurai District. Rock with sculptures overhanging a natural cave. 9th century. 67-74/1905; S.I.I., XIV, Nos. 99-106

Records the names of persons who caused the sculptures to be made including Accapandi,

Records the names of persons who caused the sculptures to be made including Accapandi,

Rock with sculptures overhanging a natural cave. 9th century. 67-74/1905; S.I.I., XIV, Nos. 99-106

10. Āṇḍār-maḍam (Viḍār-paḷḷi)
Veḍāl, Arkonam-Taluk, North Arcot District
Natural cave called Aṇḍār-maḍam (?)
Boulders near the cave.
9th century (Āditya I)
82-84 of 1908; S.I.I., III, No. 92

Record the names Vidār-palli in Mādevi-Ārāndimangalam. The last epigraph records the provision made for feeding Kanakavīrak-kurattiyār, the disciple of Gunakīrtti-bhatāra, her disciples and female ascetics.

11. (Tirukkättampalli of Kurandi)

Kongar-Puliyangulam and Kilakkudi, Tirumangalam Taluk, Madurai District. Rock-cut Jaina images bearing inscriptions on their pedestals.

9th century

330-32 of 1908; 54, 61-69 of 1910

Records that the three images on which the inscriptions are engraved were cut by persons described as disciples of Gunasenadeva of 'this' palli. The first image was cut by Gunarenapt periyadigal, a disciple of Vardhamāna=pandītar who was the disciple of Gunasenadeva. Kurandi-Tirukkāṭṭāmpalli is said to be in Venbu-nādu. The other (54/1910) is engraved below a Jaina figure and reads in Vaṭṭeluttu Śrī Ajjanandi. The other inscriptions (61-69/1910) under the images on another side of the hill state that they were the benefactions of persons (names mentioned) described as disciples of Gunasenadeva of Kurandi.

12. (Tirumalaip-palli later called also Kundavai-Jinālaya)

Tirumalai, Polur Taluk, North Arcot District.

Jaina painted cave-temple on the hill-Rock-cut Jaina image.

Before 957-58 A.D.

80-92/1887, 65-66/1907 (S.I.I., Vol. I Nos. 66-67 Ep. Indi., IX, pp. 229 ff.)

The inscriptions give the following information:

The earliest mention of this temple occurs in the inscription (65/1907) of Rashtra-kuta Krishna III (19th year=957-58 A.D.) according to which, a servant of Gangamādevi, the queen of the Pangaļa-nāḍu chief Kannaradeva-Pridigangaraiyar, provided for a lamp for the yakṣa on the Tirumalai at Vaigāvūr. The setting up of a yakṣī by Ariṣṭanemi-ācārya of Kaḍaikkōṭṭūr a disciple of Paravādimalla of Tirumalai, is referred to in another inscription (S.I.I., Vol. 1, No. 73) apparently of the same period. We hear of this temple again in the 12th year (1023-24 A.D.) of Choṭa Rājendra I when the village Tirumalai is described as a palliccandam in Mugaī-nāḍu and temple is called Kundavai-jinālaya. Hultzchzis's statement that this temple was founded by Kundavai on account

of this name requires to be modified in view of the mention of this temple in an earlier inscription referred to above. It was apparently renovated and named after the princess who should be identified with Rajaraja's elder sister (vide item no. 36). This temple received gifts of land and money for maintaining perpetual lamps on this date. Arambhanandi, obviously the worshipping priest of the temple received them on behalf of the temple. Next we hear of this temple in the 12th century. Vyāmukta-śravanojįvala or Vidukād-alagiya perumāl, son of Rajaraja-Adigaiman is stated to have renovated the yaksa and yaksi originally set up by his ancestor Adigaimān Eliņi in the arhasugiri-Enguna-i rai Tirumalai, and to have presented them with a gong and a channel from Kadapperi. The yaksi mentioned here is obviously different from and earlier to the one set up by Aristanemi referred to above. The latest record pertaining to this Jaina temple belongs to the reign of Rajanarayana-Sambuvaraya. Dated in his 22nd year (1358-59 A.D.), it records the installation of the image of Srī-Vihāranāyanar Ponneyil-nātha by Nallāttāl the daughter of Mannai-Ponnandai of Ponnur. Thus this monument has endured for a long time.

13. Alagamalai, Meluk, Madurai District. Boulder, sculpture of seated Jaina image 9th century.
396 of 1954-55

Label below reads Śrī Accanandi śeyal i.e., this was caused to be made (by) Śrī Accanandi.

(Aruvāļam.)
 Eruvādi, Naguneri Taluk, Tirunelveli District.
 Sculpture on boulder.
 8th-9th century (768 + 43=before 811 A.D.)
 605/1915-S.I.I., XIV, No. 41.

This is the work of the famous Ajjanandi whose name figures in several records in Tamil Nāḍu. This sculpture was worshipped and provision is stated to have been made in the form of land as palliccandam to the temple of Aruva the Bhaṭṭāraka of Aruvāṭam at Tiruviruttalani in Nāṭṭārruppokku. The founder's name Ajjaṇandi indicates that it is a Jaina monument. The use of the word Bhaṭṭāraka generally found in Śaivite inscriptions is interesting. Further this monument was placed in the care of a sabhā (604 of 1915).

15. Sittamavāsal, Kulattur Taluk, Tiruchchirappalli District. Rock-cut Jaina temple
Before 850 A.D.
368/1904; S.1.1. XIV, No. 45,

Records the several benefactions such as construction of the existing mandapa in stone, construction of a mukha-mandapa, provision for food offering and for cleaning the premises by Ilān-Gautaman, an āsiriyan (ācārya) of Madirai (Madurai).

16. (Vaļuvāmoļip-perumbaļļi) Tondūr, Gingee Taluk, South Arcot District Boulder near the *Cheri* in the village 9th century (Parakesrivarman, year 3) 83/1935; S.I.I., XIX, No. 80

Records the grant of villages and lands as palliccandam to Vaccirasinga (Vajrasimha)—Ilamperumandigal of Parambur and his disciples perpetually by Vinnakovaraiyar Vayiri Malaiyan.

17. (Tirumalai and Araimalai) Kalugumalai, Kovilpatti Taluk, Tirunelveli District. Bidg rock with several sculptures bearing labels. 9th century. 19-117/1894; S.I.I., V. Nos. 308-406

These inscriptions speak of two important Jaina deities (I) Tirumalai-mel-bhaṭārar or dēvar and (2) Araimalai-ālvār, both at Tirunechchuram and record the cutting of the images by ascetics and laymen both male and female hailing from other important centres such as Tiruk-Kōṭṭaru, Kuraṇḍi, Tiruch-Chāraṇam and Tiru-Narunkoṇḍai. The last two inscriptions record provision made for āhāradāna for ascetics who expound the Siddhāntam. They also refer to an ascetic Guṇasāgara-bhaṭārar.

18. Appāṇḍanātha Temple (Nārpatteṇṇāyirap-perumballi) also called (?) Tirunarungoṇḍaip-palli Tirunarungoṇḍai, Tirukkoyilūr Taluk, South Arcot District. Walls of the temple and rock near the shrine 9th century 381-385 B/1902; S.I.I., VII, Nos. 1011-1017

The following establishments are referred to in the inscriptions: (1) Periyapāli (385/02/S.I.I. 1015), (2) Kilaippalļi (385 A/02/S.I.I., 1016) the shrine on the east (Caturmukhat-tirukkōyil) and (3) Melir-palli (383/02/S.I.I., VII, No. 1013)—the shrine on the west. The last mentioned shrine is known to have had a yakṣī for whose worship grant of money was made for a lamp and it was entrusted to Ādipaṭṭālakān Puppa(Puṣpa)senadevaṇ No. 384/02/S.I.I., 1014 records provision made for two festivals in the months of Vaikāsi and Tai

for the deity Appāṇḍār. Another record (382/02/S.I.I., 1012) refers to amaṇapidārar (Jaina bhaṭāras—ascetics). The Caturmukhat-tirukkoyil and the east maṇḍapa are said to have been constructed by Visaiyanallulān Kumaran Tevaṇ (306/939-40—9th century). Two pallis are referred to in an inscription assigned to the 9th century (308/1939-40—9th century). The construction of a prākāra is recorded in an inscription (314/1939-40-1234 A.D.) on its west wall. The steps cut on the rock on the way to the tank are said to have been constructed in the same period (316/1939-40). An image (bronze) of Kachchi-nāyakar (Candranātha) was caused to be made by Āļappirandān Mōhan Kacciyarāyaṇ (319/1939-40—12th century).

19. (Deśavallabha-Jinālaya)
Kīrappākkam, Chingleput Taluk, Chingleput District.
Slab near the boulders.
9th century.
22/1934-35

Records the construction of the temple to the north of village by Amaramudal-guru, a disciple of Mahāvīraguru of the Yāpanīya-sangha and the Kumili-gaṇa who also made provision for feeding the members of the sangha.

20 and 21. Vallimalai, Gudiyatham Taluk, North Arcot District. Cave in the rocky hill containing two groups of sculptures cut into the rock.

Middle of the 9th century.

6-9 of 1895: Ep. Ind., IV, pp. 140 ff. and plate.

Records the conversion of the cave into a vasati by Rājamalla, the son of Raṇavikrama, the grandson of Śripuruṣa and the great grandson of Śripuruṣa and the great grandson of Śripuruṣa, evidently of the Western Gaṅga family. It consists of two groups of sculptures one to the right and another to the left of the slope forming the wall. The group on the left containing the sculptures of Supārsvanātha and some other Tīrthaṅkaras along with the attendant deities including yakṣīs does not bear any inscription. Two sculptures in the group of the right bear inscriptions disclosing their authors among whom (21) Ajjamandi figures prominently.

21a. Nagamalai

Veralür, Madharantakam Taluk, Chinglepat District. Small boulder having a sculptured shrine and an inscription by its side.

9th century.

A.R.Ep., 1972-73

The inscription in Grantha and Tamil characters of about the 9th century states that it is the devāram caused to be made by Chatur-vimsati-sthāpaka Vāsudeva

Siddhanta-bhaṭārar. The sculptured shrine contains an image of Supārsvanatha with his attendants.

22. Vilappākkam, Walajahpet taluk, North Arcot District. Slab lying in front of the Nāganāthesvara temple. Before 944-45 A.D. (38th year in the reign of Parāntaka I) 53/1900; S.I.I., VII, No 56

Records the grant of a well for a nunnery (pen-palli) by Pattinikkuratti-adigal, disciple of Aristanemi-pidarar (bhatara) of Tiruppan malai (Cf. No. 4 above).

23, Candranatha Temple

(Vīrasanghātap-perumballi)

Vijayamangalam, Erode Taluk, Coimbatore District.

Inscribed stones in the central shrine, mandapa etc.,

10th century

596-600/1905

No. 597 which is the earliest states that the pillar in the mandapa on which it is engraved commemorates the $nisidik\bar{a}$ of Puliappai, the younger sister of Cāmundarāja, who is perhaps identical with the famous Ganga general of the same name known to us through the inscriptions of Śravana-Belagola. The Jaina temple could have been co-eval with the $nisidik\bar{a}$, but the earliest inscription (598/1905) is dated Śaka 1085 (1163-64 A.D.) in the reign of the Kongu king Kulottungacola.

The Jaina temple founded and named after Vīrasanghāta should have come into existence sometime in the latter half of the tenth century (vide *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, p. 95).

24. (1) (Gandarädittap-perumpalli)

Palliccandal, Tirukköyilür Taluk, South Arcot District

Rock called Kodampārai

near the Ondi Aiyanar shrine north of the village.

10th century, ins. dated 1221-22 A.D. (6th year of Cola Rajaraja III.

448 of 193 and 449 of 1938.

Registers the receipt (taravu) given by Neminātha in charge of the institution for an order declaring (portion of) Jambai alias Vīrarājendrapuram as an asylum for the oppressed with the name of Solatungan Ālavandān Anjinān pugalidam. It is possible that the institution was founded in the tenth century when the Cola king Gandarāditya, after whom it was perhaps named, lived.

The later inscription in the Sainiamman-koyil (Jaina-Ammana) dated in the reign of Vijayanagara Acyutarāya records a former order of exemption from taxes to provide for offerings and worship to Vijaya-nāyakar at Śanbai.

The identity of the monument and the deity respectively are not certain. But it is apparent that the village derived its name from Palliccandam meaning a Jaina endowment.

(2) (Nāṭṭār-Perumballi of Vāļaiyūr in Vāṇakōppāḍi)
.....
C. 10th century
446/1937-38

Records the gift of land after reclamation as *zrippatti* by Sakkan Vayiri. The lake (zn) is said to have belonged to the Jaina monastery whose location is not clear.

26. Vardhamāna Temple
Tirakkōl, Wandiwash Taluk, North Arcot District
Pillars in the maṇḍapa.
Before 1000 A.D.
280/1916

The pillars are stated to be the gift of Idaiyaran Atkondan Maviran of Arumolidevapuram.

27. (Sundarasolap-perumpalli)
Olagapuram, Tindivanam Taluk, South Arcot District.
Middle of the tenth century.
141/1919

The inscription is stated to have been drafted by Sāmantabāhu-ācārya, 'a worshipper of the palli in Ulōkamādevipuram (i.e., Olagapuram, the findspot of the inscription). The inscription is dated in the 3rd year (1063 A.D.) in the reign of Rājamehendra. It is obvious that the temple continued to be active at least upto this date from the date of its foundation in the reign (946-963 A.D.) of Sundarasola after whom it was named.

27 a. (Sundarasolapperumballi) Vēdāranyam, Tiratturaippundi Taluk, Thanjawur District. C. 965 A.D. Copper-plate grant. Trans. A.S.S.I., 1958-59, pp. 84 ff, and plate.

Records the foundation of the palli by Seletti (Siletti-Śresthi) Kudiyan and the royal grant of lands made also tax-free in a village (name lost) in Umbala-nādu as palliceandam. The lands were endowed specifically for the purpose of feeding ascetics and disciples both male and female. The nagarattar of Irumudisolapuram and the matter of the latter division arranged to delimit and draft the deed detailing the boundaries etc.

The institution must be located somewhere near Vēdāranyam in Thanjavur District. The former endowment was left in charge of the founder as hereditary tenant and the latter in charge of Santanandi-bhatārar alias Maunidēvar of Nandisangha.

28. Pārsvanātha temple (Kāṭṭāmballi) Siṛṛāmūr, Gingee (Chenji) Taluk, South Arcot District, Slab built into the floor. 10th century. 201/1902; S.I.I., No. 828 (contra: A.R.Ep. 1937-38, p. 109).

Records some grant made for a lamp for the mandapa where the recitation (Ottu) was held in the Kāṭṭāmballi. Arambhanandi is stated to be in charge of the palli.

29. (Śrikaranap-perumballi) Śiruvakkam, Kanchipuram Taluk, Chingleput District. Ruined structural temple in a mound. C. 10th century (?) 64/1923 in early characters.

Records the gift of land to the temple built at Sirupākkam.

30. (Jinagirip-palli)
Anandamangalam, Madhurāntakam Taluk, Chingleput District.
Jaina sculptures on rocks.
Before 945 A.D. (38th year of Cola Parāntaka I)
430/1922.

Records the gift of gold for feeding one devotee in Jinagirippalli by Vardhamāṇap-periyaṇigal, a disciple of Viṇaiyabhāsurak-kuravaṇigal. The place is called Arangamangalam in the other inscriptions from that village.

31. Cholavandipuram, Tirukkoyilur Taluk, South Arcot District. Boulder with a Gommata panel on the hillock called Anaimalai. Before 950 A.D. 251-2/1936-37 (251-Ep. Ind., XXX, pp. 199 ff. Inscription A)

No. 251 states that the shrine (tevaram) was caused to be made by Vili Kongaraiyar Puttadigal. The shrine is made up of a loose slab containing the sculpture of Padmāvatī touching at the ends two boulders with Gommata and Pārsvanātha panel respectively. The other inscription (no. 252) in Tamil verse dated in the 2nd year in the reign of Gandarāditya Mummudi-Cōla (son of Parāntaka I) records the grants of a village by Siddhavadavan, a Cedi chief for worship of the deities carved on the rock. It also mentions Guṇavīra-bhaṭāra of Kuṭanḍi.

32. Kunthu-Tirthankara temple (Vīrarājendrap-perumballi) Karandai, Cheyyar Taluk, North Arcot District.
Structural Temple.
11th century.
129-145/1939-40

The inscriptions refer to the following establishments, saints and deities: (1) Arugar-dever i.e., the main deity 130—11th century), (2) Tirukkāṭṭāmbaḷḷi-ālvār-Vardhamāna shrine (135—1114-15 A.D.) (3) Tirumēṭrisaipperumāl (141—1226 A.D.), (4) Munibhadrasvāmin (date not known) (5) Samantabhadra, the teacher of Pushpasēna-yōgīndra (16th century) and (6) Gopura of Kunthunāthasvāmi. Dēvarājasvāmi renovated in mortar in S. 1669 (1747 A.D.). This big monastic establishment was apparently originally founded in the name of Cola Vīrarājendra whose inscription (129) is the earliest. It is stated to be in Karandai or Tirupparambūr, both described as hamlets of Tirukkāmakkōṭṭappuram.

33. Puṣpanātha Temple Tingaļūr, Erode Taluk, Coimbatore District. Inscription on the door-post of kitchen— Before Śaka 967 (1045-46 A.D.), 40th year of Kōnāṭṭāṇ Vikrama sōḷa. 614/1905—Ep. Ind., XXX, pp. 243 ff. and plate.

The inscription records the construction of the mukhamandapa of the temple called Candravasadi by Ganita Mānikkaccetti, a merchant. It is therefore possible that the main temple was erected before the date of the record. Since the deity of the local Siva temple is called Candrapurisvara the name of this vasati should have been derived from the name of the place Tingal i.e., Candra (ibid., p. 243).

34. (Iravikulamāṇikkap-perumbaļļi) Puduppāḍi, Walajahpet Taluk, North Arcot district. Stone kept in P.W.D. Bungalow. 11th century 255/1906

Records just the name.

34 a. (Vīrakēraļap-perumbaļļi) Śaļukki, Wandiwash (Vandavāsi Taluk), North Arcot District. Location not known. C. 1057-58 A.D. 474/1920

Salukki was called Solakeralapuram apparently named after a viceroy, so called, appointed by Rājendra II. The inscription of Rājendra III cites the name Vīrakeralapperumballi. It is possible that the change in the name occurred during the long interval between the reigns of the two kings. Other details are not available.

35. (Gangasurap-perumpalli and Maisittap-perumpalli) (Tirakkol, Wandiwash Taluk, North Arcot District. Sculptures on a boulder Before 1015 A.D. 276/1916 S.I.I., XIX, No. 51 (277/16, Raj 22 S.I.I. XIII, No. 297).

Gift of sheep for shee to the palli at Tandapuram in Ponnur-nādū in Venkunrak-koṭṭam by Eranandi alias Naratonga-Pallavaraiyan of Nelvēli in Nelvelinādu in Panaiyār-nādu in Solamandalam 279/16; (S.I.I., XIX No. 301) Mentions Kankavira-siddhadigal and Sembiyan Sembiyan Sembottilādanār.

36. (Kundavai-Jinālaya)Dādāpuram, Tindivanam Taluk, South Arcot District.Before 1006 A.D.8 and 17/1919

Kundavai-pirāṭṭiyār, the (elder) sister of Rājarāja I, daughter of Poṇmāli-gail-tunjiṇadēvar is stated to have built three temples (1) Kundavai-viṇnagar (for Viṣṇu), (2) Iravikulamāṇikka-Isvara (for Śiva) and (3) Kundavai-Jinālaya which is not existing.

36 a. (Nakhara-Jinālaya)
Mudigondān, Kollegal Taluk, Coimbatore District.
Inscription on a slab built into the steps on the southern side of the tank.
Before 1109-10 A.D. (saka 103(1)).
10/1910

The inscription in Kannağa records the gifts of a village in Hadi-nāḍu to this temple at Muḍigoṇḍasolapuram dedicated to Candraprabhasvāmi for repairs and worship. The name of the temple seems to suggest that it was founded by merchants,

37. Gandranātha Temple (Iravikulasundarip-perumbaļļi) Perumāndūr, Tindivanam Taluk, South Arcot Dt. Pillar in the mandapa. Before 1190-91 A.D. (14th year of Kulothunga III 219/1902; S.I.I., VII, No. 846.

Records the grant of land by Rājarājac-Cambuvarāyan alias Gaṇḍar-sūriyaṇ to the yakṣī Mangaiyar-nāyaki Varasundariyār for avibali (havirbali)—arcanai for the merit of Mangaiyar-nāyaki, a maid-servant (muṇ-vēļai-koṇḍa) of the donor. The donor is stated to have installed the deity (apparently named after the lady) after erecting a shrine. (see also no. 3).

38. Bhagavati-nāyakar temple (Nārpattennāyirap-perumbaļļi)
Iļaiyānguḍi, Paramakkudi Taluk, Ramanāthapuram Dt. 12th century?—4—3rd year of king (name lost).
33 of 1946-47.

Fragmentary and damaged inscription. Seems to record an endowment of land as palliccandam for conducting worship and festivals in the temple of Bhagavati-nāyakar.

39. Malaināth Temple (Tiruvūrāmballi) Śirrāmūr, Gingee (Chenji Taluk, South Arcot District, 12th century. 202/1902; S.I.I., VII, No. 329.

Records grant of land as palliceandam for the deity Tiruvūrāmballi-āļvār.

40. Yakşī image Sembāṭṭūr, Tiruchchirappalli District. Pedestal of a seated image found in the Singārattoppu near the Siva temple. C. 11-12th century. 218/1940-41.

Records that the image of Yakşi was made by Mūvēndaļūrdēvar of Jayangonda-soļak-kulamangala-nāḍu.

41. (Chittiralekhaip-perumballī) Avaraņi, Nagapattinam Taluk, Thanjavur District.

Before 1193(AD. (15th year of Chola Kulottunga III) 487/1922.

The inscription refers to this Jaina establishment in the course of a land transaction in which the lands of this palli and a Siva temple were exchanged.

42. (Kavirājap-perumbaļļi)

Before 1232-33 A.D. (17th year of Rājarāja III). 32/1937-38.

Only a reference is made to amanpalli i.e., Jaina monastery named Kavirājap-perumballi.

43. Bhagavati temple (Nyāyaparipālap-perumballi)

Singikulam, Nanguneri Taluk, Tirunelveli District.

Structural temple on the hill.

Before 1300 A.D. (15th year of Mara Sundara-pāndya). 269-70/1940-41.

Records the exemption from taxes on lands purchased and endowed for the temple by Matisāgaran Ādibhaṭṭālakan as kāranmai-palliceandam to provide for worship to the image of Enakkunalla-nāyakar set up in the temple on the hill at Tiḍiyūr alias Jinagirimamālai by the donor. The image was named after the officer Oruvāṛ-uṇarundān Enakkunallaperumāļ alias Aṇṇan Tamilappallavaraiyan.

Siyamangalam, Wandiwash Taluk, North Arcot District. Boulder near the Stambhesvara temple.

c. 13th century.

227-A/1901; S.I.I., VII, No. 441.

Records the construction of a platform (padanam) by Vajranandi-yogindrar, disciple of Gunaviradevar, described as the mandalācārya of the Arungalānvaya in the Nandi-sangha in the Dravilasangha.

45. Alurutti-malai

Ammāsatram, Tiruchchirappalli District.

Natural cave east of the rock.

13th century.

367/1904, S.I.I., XVII, No. 397, Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State, No. 474.

Records gift of land as palliccandam to Nāyaṇār Tirumāṇaimalai-ālvār by Gangādharar, a merchant,. It mentions Kanakacandra-paṇāita and his disciple Danmadēva-ācāriyaṇ.

46. Ponninātha Temple (Vīravīra-Jinālayam) Pūṇḍi, Ārni Taluk, North Arcot District. West Wall of the shrine. 13th century (?) 58/1900; S.I.I., VII, No. 62.

Records the grant of Pūnāi, free from taxes, to provide for worship to Jinavara, after building the temple probably by Sīyan Sambuman i.e. Siyan Sambuvarāyan. The boundaries were required to be demarcated by planting stones marked with the pitcher (kundikai).

47. Arhat temple

Ōdalavāḍi, Polur Taluk, North Arcot District. South base of the central shrine in the structural temple. Before c. 1271 A.D. (3rd year of Kulaśēkhara-pāṇḍya). 142/1941-42.

Records the gift of land made tax-free as Palliccandam to the temple of Nāyanār Aniyādalagiyār by odalan Solan Mūrttiyāļvār of Odalapāḍi.

48. (Nikarākarap-perumbaļļi)
Perunguļam, Srivaikuntam Taluk, Tirunelveli District.
Location not known.
Before 1230-31 A.D.
243/1932-33.

Contains a reference to the land belonging to the Jaina temple which was exchanged for another in the course of a transaction pertaining to the Māyak-kūtta-perumāļ temple in the village.

49. Adinātha temple Ponnūr, Wandiwash Taluk, North Arcot District. Structural temple. Before 1260 A.D. (7th year of Maravarman Vikramapāndya) 415-18/1928-29.

No. 415 refers to the palli-vilāgam of Adinātha. The formation of this word is apparently connected with tirumaḍai-vilāgam of the Saiva temple. The income from taxes on those living in the area around the temple (palli-vilāgam) was assigned by the nāṭṭār for worship and works of construction. A later inscription (416) dated S. 1655 (1733 A.D.) stipulates that the Jainas of Svaruapura (poṇṇūr)-kanakagiri should take the images of Pārsvanātha and Jvālāmālinī-ammaṇ from the temple of Adisvara every Sunday to Nīlagiri-parvata to the north west

of the temple, at the time of the weekly worship of Helacarya (Ep. Ind., XXX, pp. 201, Inscription II).

50. Rsabhanatha basti

Kunnattur, Polur Taluk, North Arcot District.

East Wall-structural temple.

Šaka 1363 (1441-42 A. D.).

103/1942-43.

Records the construction of the Arhat temple at Kunrai.

51. (Chittiramelip-perumballi)

Arasankalani, Saidapet Taluk, Chingleput District.

16th century.

186 of 1961-62.

Records grant of land as palliccandam to the palli at....nāyakar-viļāgam in

Puliyūr-kōṭṭam. Contains an ensemble of designs associated with Chittirameli. It is obvious that this institution should have flourished from about the 12th century when the Chittirameli organisation was born.

52. Mānastambha and Gopura, Jaina Temple (name not available). Chittāmūr, Tirukkoyilur Taluk, South Arcot Dt. Before 1578-79 A.D. (Šaka 1500) 517-520/38.

Nos. 517 and 518 (in Tamil and Sanskrit respectively) pertain to the erection of the respective Mānastambhas on which they are engraved. The former is dated S. 1500. The latter is undated. No. 520 on the gopura records its erection by public subscription by Abhinava Adisēna-bhaṭṭāraka in Saka 1787 (1865 A.D.).

53. Mālavanātha temple

Hanumantagudi, Tiruvadanai Taluk, Ramanathapuram District.

Structural temple.

s. 1445 (1523-24 A.D.)

408/1907.

Mentions Jinendramangalam alias Kuruvadimidi.....The present name Mālavanātha seems to suggest that the temple owes its orign to one of the local chiefs who were known during this period by their titles Mālava or Māluvanādālvān, °Cakravarti or °araiyan.

54. Vēlūr, Tindivanam Taluk, South Arcot District

Modern (?)

124/1919.

J,S.-14

The inscription in modern characters engraved at the entrance into the central shrine of the temple records that it was renovated by Jayasena.

TOPOGRAPHICAL INDEX

The names of villages alphabetically arranged are followed by the first letter of the districts of their location in brackets and then by the serial number of the list: (M—Madurai, T. Ch.—Tiruchchirappalli, Ch—Chingleput, T—Thanjavur, SA—South Arcot (R—Ramanathapuram, T.N.—Tirunelveli, Ch—Chingleput, Na—North Arcot, C—Coimbatore)

Aivarmalai (M) 8, Alagarmalai (M) 13, Amma-astatram (Tich) 45, Anaimalai (M) 9, Anandamangalam (ch) 30, Arasankalani (Ch) 51, Avarani (T) 41 Chittamur (SA) 52, Cholavandipuram (SA) 31 Dadapuram (SA) 36 Eruvadi (TN) 14 Hanumantagudi (R) 53 Ilaiyangudi (R) 38 Kalugumalai (T.N.) 17, Kanchipuram (Ch) 1, Karandai (NA) 32, Karungalakkudi (M) 6, Kil-Šāttamangalam (NA) 2a, Kirappakkam (Ch) 19, Kongar-Puliyangulam and Kolakkudi (M) 11, Kunnatur (N.A.) 50, Kuppalnattam (M) 25 Mudigondan (C) 36 a Odalavadi (NA) 47, Olagapuram (SA) 27 Pallichchandal (SA) 24, Pallimadam (R) 5, Panchapandavar malai (NA) 4, Perumandur (SA), 3, 37, Peringulam (T.N.) 48, Ponnur (NA) 49, Puduppadi (NA) 34,

Pundi (NA) 46

Salukki (NA) 34 a, Sembattur (T.Ch) 40, Singavaram (SA) 2, Singikulam (T.N.) 43, Sirramur (SA) 28, Siruvakkam (CH) 29, Sittannavasal (T.Ch.) 15, Siyamangalam (SA) 44 Tingalur (C) 33, Tirakkol (NA) 26, 35, Tirumalai (NA) 12, Tirunarungondai (SA) 18, Tondur (SA) 16, Uttamapalaiyam (M) 7 Vallimalai (NA) 20, Vedal (NA) 10, Vedaranyam (T) 27 a, Velur (SA) 54, Vijayamangalam (C) 23, Vilappakkam (NA) 22 Unidentified 42

NOTES

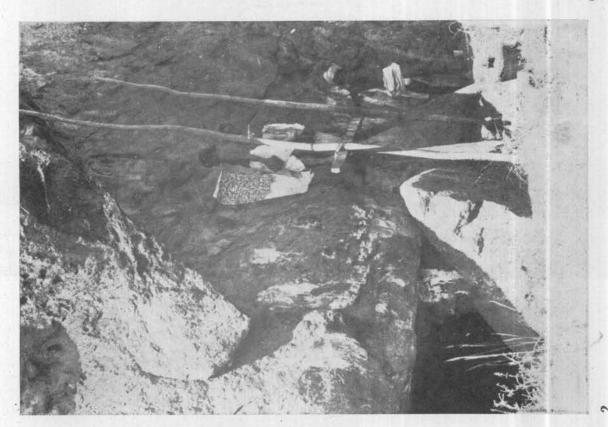
- 1. P. B. Desai: Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs, p. 90.
- 2. Ibid., p. 75.
- 3. Ibid., p. 78 This word has been explained as a Tamil adaptation or the word svanta-sonda-conda-candam.
- 4. Padimam is another important word. This is obviously the tat-sama of pratima through the Prakrit medium.

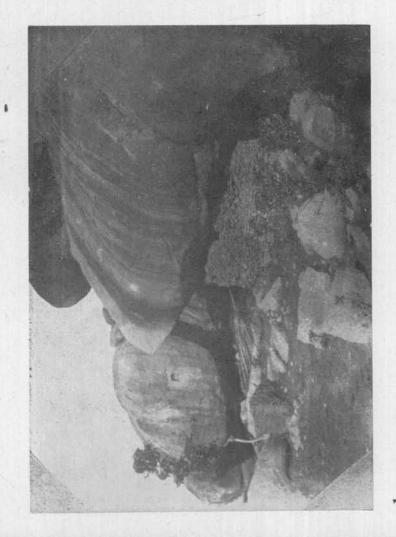
ILLUSTRATIONS

- 1. Jina image on rock near a cavern, Karungälakkudi, Madurai district. 9th century A.D.
- Sculpture on boulder, Aruvāļam, Eruvāḍi, Tirunelveli district.
 8th-9th century A.D.
- Sculptures on rock, Kalugumal, Tirunelveli district.
 9th century A.D.
- 4. Sculpture on the rock, Anandamangalam, Chingelput district. Before 945 A.D.
- A series of Jaina reliefs, panels with label records, on cliff face near Vettuvan koil monolith, Kalugumalai.
 9th century A.D.

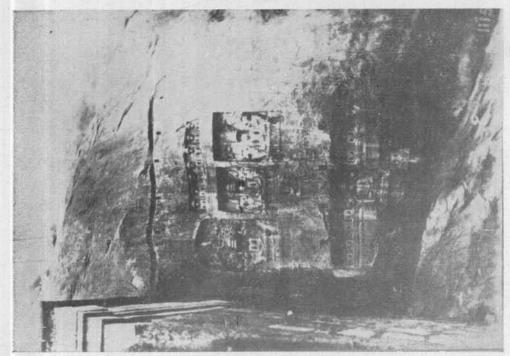
6. Cavern on hill, Kalugumalai, Tirunelveli district. Group of Jaina Sculptures.

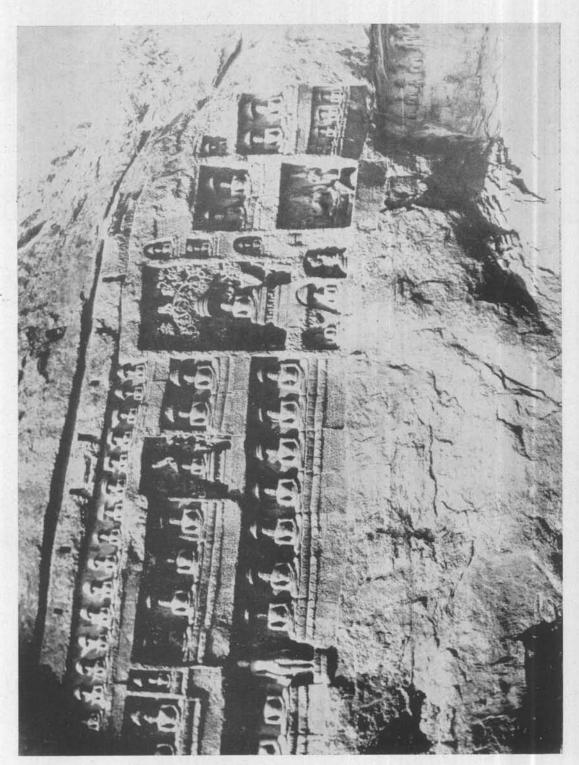
- 7. Jaina reliefs on a boulder at Samanarkoil Anaimalai, Madurai district. 9th century A.D.
- Ambikā-yakṣī and a row of Tirthankaras.
 Anandamangalam, Chingleput district.
 Before 945 A.D.
- 9. Pārsvanātha protected by Dharanendra and his Queen. Kalugumalai. 9th century A.D.



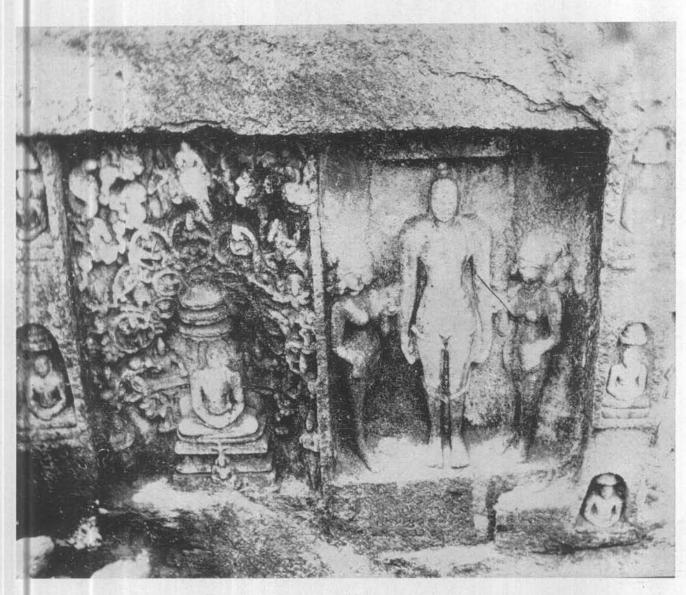




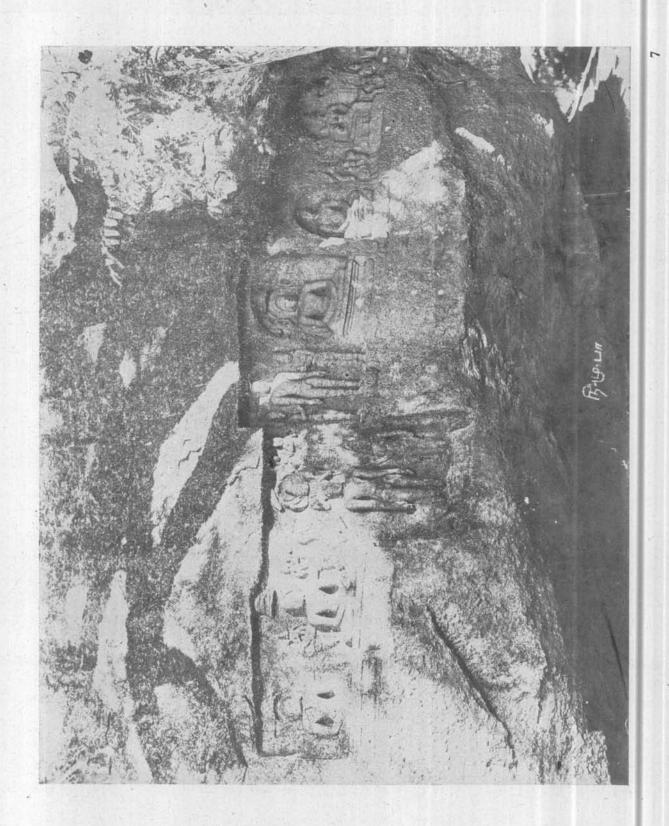




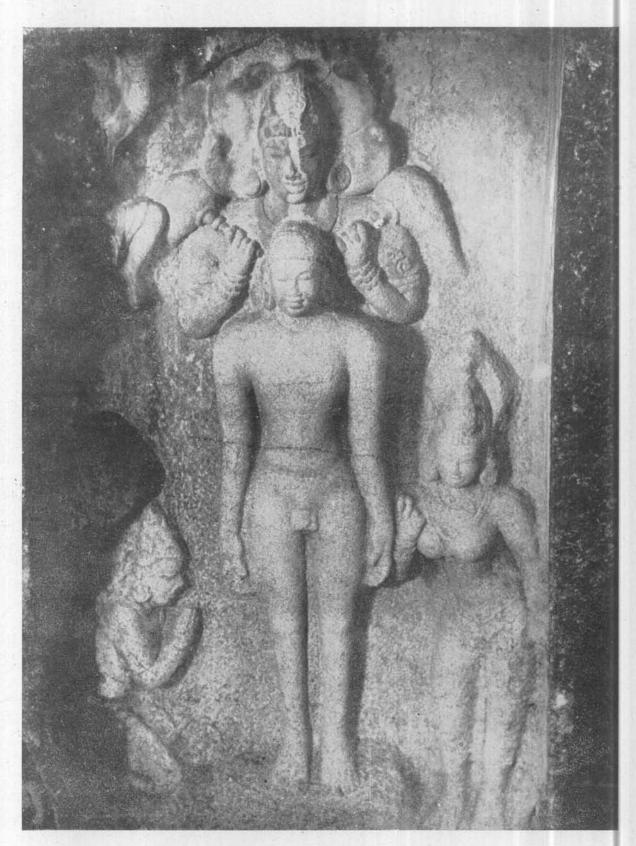


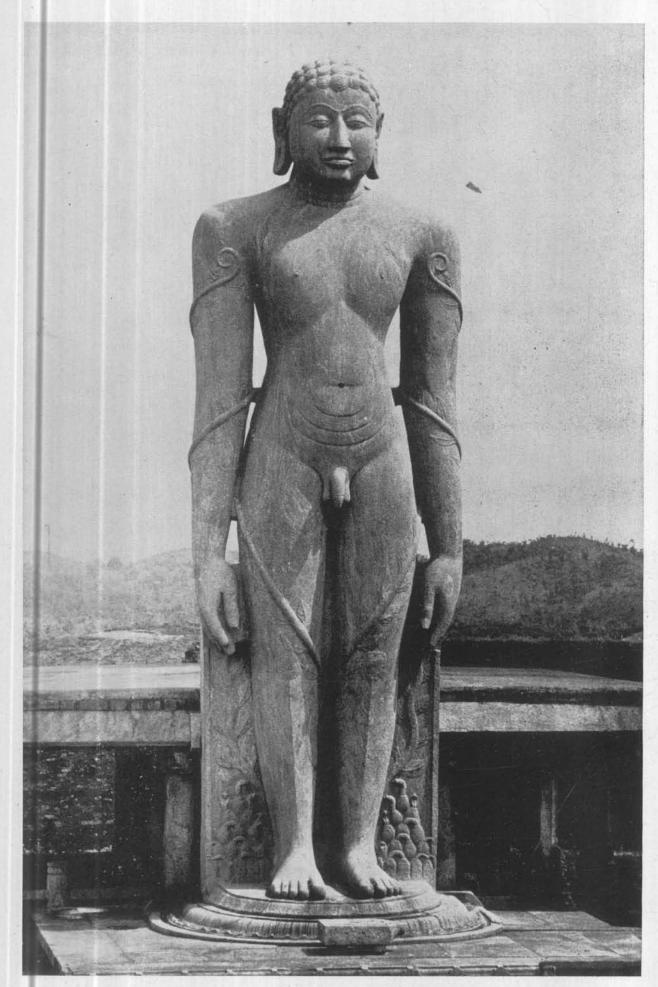


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10. THE JAINA ART AND ARCHITECTURE OF TUĻUNĀŅU (A STUDY BASED MAINLY ON INSCRIPTIONS)

K. V. RAMESH

This paper does not aim to be a descriptive and analytical study of the Jaina art and architecture of Tulunādu. Such an attempt is yet to be undertaken at length by experts on iconography and architecture whom the fertile land of Tulunādu awaits with prospects of a rich and varied harvest. On the other hand, true to my profession as an epigraphist, I shall endeavour to convey through this paper, with the help of the Jaina epigraphs of South Kanara (i.e. Tulunādu), certain interesting details regarding the nature of the patronage which brought into existence the numerous Jaina monuments of that coastal tract. I also propose to trace here briefly the chronological and architectural history of some of these monuments, in respect of their structural foundation and growth, as far as can be done with the help of published inscriptions. In that process, incidentally though, I will also briefly discuss some interesting technical terms, some of them of local usage, which occur in the Jaina epigraphs of Tulunādu.

If we rely upon epigraphy as the only source of information, the antiquity of Jainism in Tulunadu cannot be dated to a period much earlier than the beginnings of the thirteenth century, a conclusion not contradicted by the hitherto known Jaina monuments of that region. While there is a sporadic incidence of Jaina bastis and inscriptions in the other taluks of the South Kanara District, the Karkala Taluk is by far the most leading centre of Jainism in Tulunadu. Mūḍabidure (referred to in inscriptions also as ₩ēņupura and Vamsapura), Kārakaļa, Vēņūru, Keravase, Varānga and Hiriyangadi are all wellknown centres of Jainism in Tulunadu, situated in the Karkala Taluk. This concentration is due to the historical fact that, towards the end of the fourteenth century, the Kalasa ruling house, whose members were devout Jainas, established its hegemony over the Karakala region and gave new life and sustenance to Jainism which appears to have lain dormant in Tulunadu until then; the copious availability of viable rock medium in the Karakala region, suitable for giving expression to the religious zeal and devotion of the Kalasa rulers in the form of artistic monuments was, indeed, one of those curious coincidences of history. We

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learn from the provenance of inscriptions that a few other places in Tulunādu such as Koraga, Nallūru, Nārāvi, Mundukūru and Nellikara in the Karkala Taluk, Basarūru, Baindūru and Hatyangadi in the Coondapur Taluk, Guruvāyankere in the Puttūr Taluk, Paḍuva-Paṇambūru and Mulki in the Mangalore Taluk, Bārakūru, Hiriyadka, Kāpu, Yermāļu and Hosāļa in the Udipi Taluk and Dharmasthaļa in the Belthangady Taluk had their own Jaina populace and establishments.

NATURE OF PATRONAGE: A study of the available Jaina epigraphs of South Kanara reveals that the patrons responsible for the spread of Jainism and for the erection of the numerous Jaina monuments in Tulunadu were principally of the undernoted four categories:

- 1. Royal personages
- 2. Jaina pontiffs
- 3. Mercantile guilds and administrative bodies, and
- 4. Lay followers

Royal Patronage: The earliest available mention of royal patronage to Jainism in Tulunadu occurs in the undated Varanga inscription of Kundana, palaeographically assignable to the first half of the thirteenth century A.D. We learn from this record that Jakala-mahadevi, the consort of the Alupa king Kulasekhara I (1160-1220 A.D.) had a tank excavated and performed many other acts of piety in the Jaina township of Varanga; according to the same inscription, the Santara prince Kundana, who ruled over Tulunadu as a regent between 1220 and 1235 A.D., restored the grant of land, made in earlier days by the great man (maha-purusa) Varanga, to the (Nemisvara)-basti and its tank at Varanga. The fact that Kulasekhara III (1355-90 A.D.), one of the Alupa rulers, who were for centuries staunch Saivites, describes himself as a worshipper at the feet of the Jaina preceptor Carukirtti (Śrimac-Carukirtti-divya-śri-

pāda-padm-ārādhaka) and had actually set up his bejewelled throne at a basti at Mūdabidure in 1384 A.D.,² shows that by the end of the fourteenth century Jainism had struck deep roots on the soil of Tulunādu.

It was during the Vijayanagara period, particularly during the fifteenth and the following centuries, that Jainism rose to great heights in Tulunādu and rulers of minor principalities, not only within Tulunādu but in the neighbouring district of North Kanara as well, vied with one another, beyond the pale of political rivalries, in erecting the numerous Jaina bastis and other monuments, transforming Mūḍabidure, Kārakaļa and Vēṇūru into great treasure houses of Jaina art and architecture that they admittedly are even to this day. Among such local Jaina rulers, those of the Kalasa-Kārakaļa principality occupy the pride of

place. The construction of the Nemisvara-caityalaya at Karakala is attributed, in an inscription³ from Varanga, to Bhairava I who established for the first time, in the latter half of the fourteenth century, the hegemony of the Kalasa house over the Karakala region. His nephew Pandya-bhūpala, a great builder, was responsible not only for the construction of the Parsvanatha-basti at Barakuru in 1408 A.D.4 but also for the installation of the Bāhubali or Gummata (Gommata) colossus at Kārakaļa in February, 1432 A.D.5: (fig. 1). To mark the latter achievement, he assumed the second name of Abhinava-Camundaraya after the Ganga minister Camundaraya who, in the tenth century A.D., had caused the world-famous Gommata image at Śravaṇa-Belagola to be made. This 41½ feet Kärakala monolith is installed on top of a rounded rocky hill, three or four hundred feet high, and, as Walhouse says6 in all ecstacy, it stands there, like a giant over the rampart of an enchanted castle, uninjured, though darkened with the monsoons of centuries-its calm gaze directed eastward toward the magnificent mountain-wall of the Ghats, that, mantled with forests and covered with green domes and peaks, stretches north and south some dozen miles distant.

This monolith consists of the figure itself, of a slab against which it leans and which reaches upto its wrists, and of a round pedestal which is sunk into a thousand-petalled lotus flower. The monolith stands on a platform of stones and is surrounded by a stone-railing and two laterite enclosures. There are mandapas with stone roofs at the gate of the outer enclosure, in the outer courtyard and behind the image. The legs and arms of the figure are entwined with creepers. On both sides of the feet a number of snakes are cut out of the slab against which the image leans. In front of the outer gateway stands a graceful stone pillar bearing a seated figure of Brahmadēva and surrounded by stone-railings.⁷

Pāndya's nephew, also Pāndya by name, got erected towards the middle of the fifteenth century the sky-high mānastambha in front of the Nēmīśvara-basti constructed, as already stated, by his grandfather Bhairava I at Kārakaļa.8

By January 1544 A. D., another Pāṇḍya, the fourth Kalasa-Kārakaļa ruler of that name, had completed the construction of a three-storeyed bash, called caturbhadraka and caturmukha in an inscription, at Pāṇḍya-nagari, a part of the capital city of Kārakaļa—'Śri-Vīrapāṇḍyapp-oḍeyaru Kārakaļada Pāṇḍya-nagariyalu catur-mukhada bastiyanu kaṭṭisi Pārs'vanātha-mukhyavāda nele mūṇarallu naḍeva dēva-pūjege sāsan-ānkitavāgi bitta kshētrada vivara.'

Another Caturmukha-basti was caused to be built in the same locality in 1586 A.D. by another Kalasa-Kārakala ruler, Immadi Bhairava by name. ¹⁰ More will be said about this basti towards the end of this paper.

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The contributions made by the Nagire and Hāduvalli (or Sangītapura) ruling houses of North Kanara to Jaina art and architecture in Tulunādu are by no means negligible. In 1430 A.D., Bhairava, ruler of the Nagire principality, who had earlier instituted many services in the bastis at Gērusoppe, Beļuguļa, Chandragutti and Honnāvara, provided copper-covering for the third storey of the Tribhuvana-Cūdāmaṇi-caityālaya at Mūdabidure; his crowned queen Nāgaladēvi had a magnificent mānastambha made and got it installed in front of that Caityālaya.¹¹

Sāļuva Jinadāsa Mallidēva of the Hāduvaļļi house is eulogised in an inscription¹² from Mūdabidure as hiran ya-caityālaya-nirmāpaka, suvarņa-kaļasa-sthāpan-ācārya and ratna-suvarņa-rajata-Jinabimba-pratisth-ācārya while, among his ancestors, Sangamēndra and Bhairava are respectively eulogised as mānastambhottambhana-jambhāri and jīrna-Jinacaityālay-ōddharana-dhurīna.

Among contributions made by other local ruling houses, mention may be made of the construction of the shrine (dēvasva) of Candogra-pārsvadēva in the Gurugaļa-basti of Mūdabidure by the Cauta ruler Vikru-Cauta in 1390 A.D.¹³

Timmarāja, another local chieftain of the Ajila dynasty, set up, in the year 1604 A.D., another Gummaţa colossus on a gentle tree-clad hillock at Vēnūru, Karkala Taluk.¹⁴ It stands on a pedestal which rises in several tiers from a platform. In front of the platform is a stone railing, and at the back of the statue an unfinished mandapa. Seven steps flanked by two elephants lead up to the platform. In front of the temple stands a Brahma-stambha just as at Kārakaļa.¹⁵

Speaking in common of the Jaina colossi of Śravana-Belagola, Kārakaļa and Vēnūru, Walhouse observes: "The salient characteristics of all these colossi are the broad, square shoulders, very massive at the setting on of the arms; the thickness and remarkable length of the arms themselves; the tips of the fingers . . . nearly reaching the knees; the hands and nails very full, large and well-shaped. Considering the great massiveness of the upper part of the bust, the waist appears unnaturally slender; the legs are well proportioned . . All the colossi are distinguished by crispy, close-curled hair and pendulous ears." 16

Again, describing the Venuru colossus, he says: "In the Yenur image I noted . . . that the forehead was medium, neither high nor retreating; the nose slightly hooked, with broad nostrils; the lips full, especially the upper, and the cheeks remarkably broad, widening towards the bottom; the chins moderate. The neck is short and thick, with three crosses across it; the same across the belly" 17.

And next, comparing the Venuru colossus with the other two, Walhouse further writes: "It resembles its brother colossi in all essential particulars, but

has the special peculiarity of the cheeks being dimpled with a deep grave smile."18

The Candranātha and Śāntīśvara Caityālayas to the left and right respectively of the Vēṇūru colossus were built in the same year (1604 A.D.) respectively by Mallidēvi and Timmarāja's queen Pārśvadēvi, the former on the site donated for that purpose by the Ajila princess Pāṇḍyakadēvi alias Vardhamānakka.¹⁹

At this juncture, I may also allude to two other striking works of Jaina architecture at Venuru. At some distance from the temple of Gommata is a partially ruined stone temple called Santisvara-basti, and it has a handsome manastambha in front. This monolithic pillar, nearly forty feet high, rises on a square stepped pyramidal platform formed of four stages. The shaft is quadrangular at base for nearly a third of its height, each face bearing a different design of intricate interlacement. Above this, the shaft rises in four-sections, the first two octagonal, the next sixteen-sided, the fourth plain, with arabasque enrichments on every alternate, third or sixth side, and an ornamental band between each section. Over the fourth section, the shaft passes into a bell-shaped necking, reeded and enriched with elaborate mouldings, the upper one spreading out circularly with downward curving edge, toothed with pendants, and supporting a square abacus on which a stone canopy, ending in a flame-like finial, rests on four colonnettes. The canopy covers a square block bearing in relief on each side a long-armed, curly-headed tīrthankara. From a moulding below the capital, four griffin-like monsters stretch upward, meeting each corner of the abacus with their heads. 20 Such sculpturally artistic and attractive $m\bar{a}nastambhas$ are found set up in front of the bastis at Karakala, Keravase, Hiriyangadi and Mulki also. Speaking in general about these Jaina mānastambhas of Tulunādu, Walhouse says: "The whole capital and canopy are a wonder of light, elegant, highly decorated stone-work; and nothing can surpass the stately grace of these beautiful pillars, whose proportions and adaptation to surrounding scenery are always perfect, and whose richness of decoration never offends.21

To the left of the Santisvara-basti of Vēnūru is another shrine called Tīrthankara-basti, the carvings on the stone gate of which are exceedingly good and effective. "The doorway is square-headed, its sides and top framed with long narrow slabs of black serpentine, of almost steely hardness and lustre, carved with a luxuriance and delicacy of ornament absolutely marvellous. A band of most elegant wavy foliage is succeeded by another bearing a line of rosettes bordered and separated by tasteful beading: and several other bands rich with foliage, moulding and rosette work fill up the deeply recessed entrance. The innder door-step bears in the middle a lion's head, and a large rosette at each end, the I.S.-15

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spaces between being finely worked; and the massive door itself is admirably carved in compartments, several bearing rosettes.²²

Pontifical Patronage: The thirteenth century Varanga inscription of Kundana, already referred to, informs us that Śricandra-yōgi renovated (punar-bhṛtam $m\bar{a}didar$) the basti (Jaina-gṛha), its gate-house ($b\bar{a}gil$ -goṭṭage) and the tank at Varanga; it may be pointed out here, in passing, that by $b\bar{a}gil$ -goṭṭage, which is an exact Kannada rendering of the Sanskrit architectural term $dv\bar{a}ra-k\bar{o}s$ ṭhaka, the mukhamandapa or mukhasalā, the latter occurring as moga-sāle in Kannada inscriptions, is, in all probability, intended. The Varanga inscription further states that Śricandra caused to be built bastis at Kurlikunda, Alevūru and also Varanga.

In an inscription of 1334 A.D. from Hiriyangadi,²³ Kumudacandra-bhattārakadēva of Mūla-sagmha and Krānūr-gana is culogised as khanda-sphutita-jīrnna-jinālaya-ōddhāraka and the Sāntinātha-basti of that place was built at his instance. In fact a study of Jaina inscriptions from Tulunādu makes it abundantly clear that most of the major architectural projects in that region were undertaken by lay patrons at the instance of venerable pontiffs.

Patronage of Guilds and Administrative Bodies: With the inclusion of Tulunadu in the Vijayanagara empire in the middle of the fourteenth century A.D., there was a phenomenal increase in inland and overseas trade. There was a consequential increase in the number, importance and affluence of trade-guilds and administrative bodies which also became major patrons of the religious schools of Tulunadu, the foremost beneficiary among them being Jainism. The extent of their contribution to the wealth of Jaina art and architecture in Tulunadu will unfold itself when I discuss the history of the Hosa-basti of Mūdabidure. Suffice it to point out here that the samastahalaru, a federation of trade-guilds and administrative bodies of Mūdabidure, which was responsible for the construction of the Hosa-basti, is eulogised in an inscription²⁴ as nūtanapurātana-caityālaya-nirmāpan-oddharana-parinat-āntahkaranar.

Patronage of the Laity: Inscriptions from the important Jaina centres of Tulunādu bear clear testimony to the contributions made by private citizens, officials and traders, individually and collectively, in the construction and renovation of a number of Jaina bastis. This will also be amply borne out when I narrate the history of the Hosa-basti of Mūdabidure. I may, however, mention here a couple of instances in which the laity figure as the builders or renovators of Jaina monuments. In 1334 A.D., the Santinatha-basti of Hiriyangadi was built through the joint efforts of all the disciples of Kumudacandra-bhatta-rakadēva-(Śrī-Kumudacandra-bhattārakadēvara Kārakaļada samasta-guddugaļu kattīsīda Śantināthadēvara-basti).²⁵

Again, in 1475 A.D., a number of individuals, who were the disciples of Maladhāri-Lalitakirtti-bhattārakadēva and were mostly traders by profession, were responsible for the construction of the mukhamandapa of the Chavisatīrthankara-basti of Hiriyangadi.²⁶

In 1538 A.D., when the gaddige-mandapa of the Gurugala-basti of Mūdabidure had to be repaired, a private individual gave his share of the expenses in gold and, with that money, works were undertaken in order to stop water percolation—nīru nivāraneya kelasa.²⁷

I will now take up here for brief narration the history first of the Hosa-basti of Mudabidure and then of the Caturmukha-basti of Karakala, the details that follow being mostly drawn from the epigraphical source.

Hosa-basti or The Tribhuvanacudamani-caityalaya

There are no less than eighteen Jaina bastis at Mūdabidure. Several of them are elaborate buildings with massive stone roofs and are surrounded by laterite enclosures. A special feature of this style of architecture is a lofty monolithic mānastambha-column which is set up in front of seven of the bastis. In two of them, a flag-staff (dhvaja-stambha), which consists of wood covered with copper-sheet, is placed between the mānastambha and the shrinc. Six of them are called Settara-basti and accordingly must have been built by Jaina merchants (settis)²⁸.

The largest and the finest of the Mūdabidure Jaina temples is the Hosabasti, popularly known also as the sāvira-kambada (-thousand-pillared)—basti and named in the epigraphical records of the locality as the Tribhuvanacūdāmaṇicaityālaya. It possesses a double laterite enclosure. The door-frame of the main entrance, which is flanked by a dvāra-pālaka image on each side, is richly carved. On passing through this main entrance, one beholds the forty feet high mānastambha which is a richly worked monolithic shaft with a stepped pyramidal base in three stages. Beyond this and in front of the main temple is a separate hall, the mukhamandapa, built in 1451 A.D. by a number of traders but now called, for reasons unknown, as the Bhairādēvi-mandapa. The pillars of this star-shaped mandapa carry exquisite engravings and its deep corbelled ceiling is very well worked. Round its base runs a band of sculptures, among which the figures of a giraffe, a Chinese dragon, a huntress and a rutting elephant deserve special mention.

Beyond the mukhamandapa is the main complex of the basti consisting of the garbhagrha and, in its front, three navaranga halls are built on a rectangular 116 K. V. Ramesh

stone basement, four feet high. The garbhagtha enshrines a panca-loha image of Jina Candranatha in the $k\bar{a}yotsarga$ posture. This image is seven feet tall and is, perhaps, the tallest bronze in all South India. The caityālaya is three storeyed the second and third storeys being provided with copper covering. It is said that the first and second floors house many beautiful Jaina images. The upper-most storey consists of wood-work and was restored some eight decades ago.²⁹

Apart from being an architecturally interesting monument, the Tribhuvanacudamani-caityalaya has the unique distinction of having many details of its early history faithfully recorded in a number of inscriptions.30 The construction of the kernel of this caityālaya was completed in January, 1430 A.D. on a site donated for that purpose to Abhinavacarukirtti-panditadeva by the imperial governor Devaraja-odeya on the orders of the Vijayanagara emperor Dēvarāya II-(Dēvarā ya-mahārā yara nirūpadim Dēvarā ja-odeyaru Abhinava-cārukīrttipanditadevarugalige caityalaya-nirmapan-arthavagi kotta ksetradalli)31. The builders were members of a confederate body called halaru or samasta-halaru which included within its fold two merchant guilds of Venupura (i.e. Mūdabidure), namely the eight-member settikara guild and the four-member elame guild (Vēnupurada entu-praje settikararu nalvaru elamegal-olagada samasta-halaru). In the accomplishment of this stupendous task, the halaru received the assistance of the people of Sālike-nādu, the Cauta ruler and the six ballālus (Sālike-nādu Cautaru mukhyavāda aruvaru ballalugala sahayadim). The basti thus built is vividly described in the following Kannada verse in Mattebhavikridita metre by the anonymous author of an inscription:

Lalita-stambha-kadambamam madana-kayyam
loveyam dvāra-citra-latā-bandhaman-udgha-bhittiyan-adhiṣṭhān-ādiyam bēr.e-bē--|
rolavim baṇṇisi pēlal-ān-ar iyen-ondam
ballen-ā caitya-kausalamam bhāvisi Visvakarman-anugindam
strshamam tūguvam |

This verse may be freely translated as follows:

"I cannot indeed describe in words graceful enough the various parts of the caityālaya such as the multitudes of elegant pillars, the madanikā (apsaras) bearing struts of the caves (madana-kay), the frame-work of the sloping roof (love-Skt. $l\bar{u}p\bar{a}$), the artistic creeper bands at the doorway, the strong (or excellent) walls, the basement, etc.; but I know for sure one thing that viśvakarmā, the celestial architect, on beholding the skillful execution of the caitya, sways his head in admiration".

The madana-kay (madanike in modern parlance), the ornamental supports of the eaves of this caityālaya, are of wood and are of high artistic merits.

The samasta-halaru also caused to be made and installed a bronze image of Candraprabha-tīrthēsvara which was pleasing to the eyes with its dasa-tāla characteristic—mattam-ā Bidireya halar-ā Tribhuvanacūdāmani-caityālayakke Śrī-Candra-prabha-tīrthēsvarara paramaudārika-divya-mūrttiyam kancinind-asta-mahā-prātihārya-samētavāgi karacelvappantu nirmisidar and dasa-tāla-lakṣanam kanga-esedire sat-kāmsyadinda Candraprabharam)³².

Two undated inscriptions, no doubt written in 1430 A.D. itself, contain lists of the names of those noble souls who shared among themselves the responsibility of constructing the second and third storeys of the caityālaya at the instance of Abhinavacārukīrtti and with the consent of the halaru (Śrīmad-Vēnu-purada entu-praje settikāraru nālvaru elamegal-olagāda samasta-halaru nirmisida Tribhu-vanacūdāmaniy-emba mahā-caityālayada eradeneya neleyanu panditadēvarugala nirūpadindalū halara anumatiyindalū hanneradu bhāgegalāgi mādisida bhavya-janangal³³ and......
mūraneya neleyanu Panditadēvarugala nirūpadindalū halara anumatiyindalū hanneradu bhāgegalāgi mādisida bhavya-janangal).³⁴

This three storeyed caityālaya in its full grandeur is described as the very abode of the wealth of all the three worlds in the two following verses, one in Sanskrit and the other in Kannada:

'Nija-nilaya-traya-suracita-ratnatrayadattir-ēṣa Jina-nilayaḥ|
nilayas-trijagac-chrīnām Tribhuvanacūḍāmaṇis-ciram jayatu||35 and
'Vilasat-Taulava-dēsa-Vēnupuradol
candraprabh-āvāsamam|
nele-mūrum nele mūru-lokada mahā
śrīg-embavol-torpudam||36

It is interesting to note that the words nilaya and its tadhhava nele are used in the Jaina inscriptions of Tulunadu to denote the storeys of the caityālayas. Inscriptions in the basti under discussion refer to the ground floor of Candraprabha as kelagana-nele, the first or the middle floor of Suparivatīrthankara as naduvana (-middle) or eradaneya (-second) nele and the second or upper-most floor of Candraprabha as mēgana (=top) or mūraneya (=third) nele. In an inscription³⁷ of 1542 A.D. from Paduva-Panambūru in Mangalore Taluk, the shrine on the top floor is referred to as mēlana neleya dēhāra while in yet another epigraph³⁸ the shrines on the different floors of a basti are together referred to as samasta-dēhāra.

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In the same year (i.e. 1430 A.D.), the Nagire chief of North Kanara, Bhairava I provided the third storey of the Caityālaya with copper covering on the advice of his preceptor Vīrasēna-muni and with the consent of the halaru, the original builders of the basti:

Bharadim mādisidam tritīya-nilayakk-ā
caityagēh-āgradol
karacelvāgire tāmradim podakeyam-srīBhairava-kṣmāvaram/39 and
Jinagēh-ōparitana-tāmr-ācchādanamari-bhairava Bhairavendra-kāritam40

His crowned queen Nagaladevi got a magnificent manastambha made and had it installed in front of the caityalaya. This monolith stands as if it were the pillar set up to commemorate the triumph of the Jina over the baser human instincts:

Manasija-jayadol-nilisida
Jinana jaya-stambhadante Jina-sannidhiyol|
ghanatara-mana-stambham
jana-nuta-Nagarasiyinde karitam-esegum||41

The mukhamandapa of this great caityālaya was caused to be built in the year 1451 A.D. by a number of traders (settis)—Tribhuvanacūdāmani-caityālayada mukhamantapamam sakala-jana-manō-nayan-ābhirāmamum-atyāscaryakaramum-appantu mādisidarā bhavya-janangal.⁴²

According to another inscription⁴³, the samasta-halaru got constructed in 1476 A.D., two gandha-kutis i.e. 'perfumed chambers' in the middle floor (naduvana nele) of the caityālaya and also made some grants for the conduct of worship in these two shrines; the priest appointed to conduct worship (gandha-kuṭiya pūjeya nadesuva pūjāri) was also the recipient of some grants.

CATURMUKHA-BASTI

The town of Kārakala and its immediate surroundings are rich in historical monuments; those of the Jaina community are of comparatively greater number and interest. Their most celebrated structural temple in Kārakaļa is the Tribhuvana-tilaka-Jina-caityālaya, popularly known as the Caturmukha-basti. Under the gaze of the Kārakaļa colossus stands this "remarkable and beautiful temple, which is four-square, half of each front filled with a projecting portico with pillar and pediments profusely sculptured; many of the blocks of stones in the walls are also ornamented with grotesque or fanciful designs, such as two snakes inextricably intertwined, geometrical figures, flowers, grinning faces etc. The

temple is roofed with immense sloping slabs or flag stones overlapping like tiles and projecting in deep eaves; and in the centre there appears to have been some sort of tower—now in ruins. On the large heavy folding doors in one of the porticos being rolled back, a striking—almost startling—sight is revealed for, as the day light penetrates the interior, three tall images, each about six feet high, of burnished copper, are seen standing side by side in a square gloomy recess, where they almost seem to start into life as the sunshine suddenly lights them up. Each resembles each. An exactly similar triad stands within the entrance of each portico."44

An inscription recorded on Wednesday, the 16th March, 1586 A.D. informs us that Immadi-Bhairarasa-odeya, the Kalasa-Kārakala ruler, caused this Caturmukha-basti, referred to in the said epigraph also as Ratnatraya-dhāma and Tribhuvanatilaka-Jina-caityālaya, to be built on the Cikkabetta (=small hillock) in front of the Gummata colossus in Pāndyanagari, a part of the capital city of Kārakala. As pointed out by Krishna Sastry, 45 caturmukha-basti, the present popular name of the temple, is derived from the fact that the temple was constructed with four symmetrical faces (catur-mukha) and has four entrances. The royal builder also set up one set of identical images of the three tīrthankaras, Ara, Malli and Munisuvrata on each of the four faces of the basti and also got installed, in the western face, the images of the twenty-four tīrthankaras and, in the outer niches (bahir-valayada gundangal) of the four faces, the images of the Jinas flanked by the Brahma and Padmāvatī images to the left and right.

Each of the four symmetrical quarters of the basti is referred to in the record by the terms dikku (=Skt. dik) and dig-bhāga, the four faces together being called $n\bar{a}lku$ -dikku, while the four entrances are mentioned as $b\bar{a}gil$ (paduvaṇa $b\bar{a}gil$ = Western entrance; badagaṇa $b\bar{a}gil$ = northern entrance, etc.). Similarly the niches on the four outer faces are referred to as $m\bar{u}da$ -guṇḍaṅgal (eastern niches), teṅkaṇa guṇḍaṅgal (southern niches), etc.

The expression sarvatobhadra-caturmukha-ratnatraya-rūpa-Tribhuvanatilaka-Jina-caityālaya occurring in the said record has been translated by the learned eidtor Krishna Sastry to mean "the Tribhuvanatilaka-Jina-caityālaya, which is auspicious on every side (sarvatobhadra), has four faces (caturmukha) (and) is the embodiment of the three jewels".46 There are, however, reasons to contend, at least as far as Tuļunādu is concerned, that sarvatobhadra is not a mere descriptive phrase meaning 'auspicious on every side' but is a technical term in architecture applicable to those structures which are essentially square in plan. This term sarvatobhadra and another, catur-bhadraka41 applied to an earlier Caturmukhabasti built in 1544 A.D. at Kārakaļa itself by Pāndya of the same Kaļasa-Kārakaļa ruling house, are synonyms. That sarvatobhdara is an architectural term

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applicable to structures which are necessarily square in plan is substantiated by the fact that, in the Kārakaļa inscription of 1586 A.D. which is under discussion now, the square citra-prabandha, made up of twentyfive square parts, consists of a verse composed in the style of the sarvatōbhadra puzzle—(paāca-vimsaty-akṣara-likhita-paāc-ākṣara-rūpa-sarvatōbhadra-citraprabandhadinda racisida citra-slōka. There is a similar sarvatōbhadra citra-slōka engraved on the south face of the mānastambha in front of the Jaina basti at Mulki, Mangalore Taluk. It is therefore clear that sarvatōbhadra-caturmukha-basti is a caityālaya which is square in plan with four entrances, by entering through any of which the devotee reaches the same goal.

And now, by way of conclusion, it may be pointed out that, as is revealed by the foregoing account, the building activities of the Jainas of Tulunadu were most hectic during and throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The installation of the venuru colossus was almost like the valedictory achievement of the Tuluva Jainas in this sphere. The handful of Jaina insriptions we get in the South Kanara district for the subsequent period mostly pertain to grants made to the already existing bastis and very little seems to have been done in the matter of constructing new temples and shrines, and for that matter, even in regard to the conservation of old structures. The reasons for this sudden and lasting set-back are not difficult to find. For one thing, the school of Madhva had caught the imagination of the local people as a result of which there was a strong revival of the Vaisnava faith. Nonetheless, the main reason for this marked decline in the constructional activities of the Jainas of Tulunadu was two-fold: (1) the entry of the Keladi rulers on the political arena of that region. In about 1544 A.D., the province of Tuluva was gifted away by the Vijayanagara rulers as a permanent fief to Sadasiva-nayaka of the Keladi dynasty: The Keladi rulers were very staunch, if not fanatical followers of the Vira-Saiva faith. They overran Tulunadu and put down, ostensibly for reasons of political exigency, all the local ruling families, many of which were Jaina by persuasion. With the reduction of these Jaina ruling houses, patronage to Jainism suffered a sharp nose-dive; (2) The reins of inland and overseas trade which had till then remained in the hands of the Jaina and Saivite traders and trade-guilds of Tulunadu slipped out of their hands round about that time and, instead, fell into the hands of the Konkani traders who seem to have greatly furthered their trading potentials with the assistance of the portuguese of Goa. This naturally deprived the Jaina faith of the great patronage of the trade guilds and the traders as well.

In the face of this crippling loss of royal and mercantile patronage, all that the Jainas of Tulunadu could do, from the dawn of the seventeenth century onwards, was to try to preserve what they had inherited from their

zealous ancestors. That they were not very successful in this attempt is clearly proved by the obtaining condition of the Jaina monuments of Tulunādu many of which are in a sad state of disrepair. Nevertheless what little of Tulunādu Jainism has survived to-date in that region more than amply serves as a māna-stambha commemorating those long days of glory which that ever-glorious faith had enjoyed in the land of the Tuluvas. In fact, even a modern visitor to these Jaina bastis of Tulunādu is tempted to echo the words of Anna-sāmanta-nṛpa, a local chieftain of the fifteen century:

Alliya Jinālayangalan-ellavanati-bhaktiyinda vandipe nān

'I salute, with great devotion, all the Jaina temples of Tulunadu'.*

REFERENCES

- 1. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXVII, pp. 269-76 and plate.
- 2. cf. K. V. Ramesh: A History of South Kanara, Dharwar 1970, pp. 148 & 298,
- 3. ARSIE, 1928-29, No. 529; Ramesh, South Kanara, p. 188.
- 4. Ramesh, Ibid., p. 301.
- 5. Ibid., p. 189.
- 6. Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 36.
- 7. See A.R.Ep., 1901, p. 4.
- 8. ARSIE., 1928-29, No. 529; Ramesh, p. 190.
- 9. SII., Vol. VII, No. 248.
- 10. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, pp. 122-38.
- 11. SH., Vol. VII, No. 202.
- 12. Ibid., No. 207.
- 13. Ibid., No. 229.
- 14. Ibid., No. 252; Ep. Ind., Vol. VII.
- 15. See A. R. Ep. 1901, p. 4.
- 16. Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 37.
- 17. Ibid., p. 37.
- 18. Ibid.
- 19. SII., Vol. VII, Nos. 251-52
- 20. Ind. Ant., Vol. V, pp. 38-39.
- 21. Ibid.
- 22. Ibid., p. 38.
- 23. SII., Vol. VII, No. 247.
- 24. SII., Vol. VII, No. 196.
- 25. Ibid., No. 247.
- 26. Ibid., No. 242. The names of the builders as also the share (bhāge=Skt. bhāga) of each individual's contribution are given in the text.

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- 27. Ibid., No. 214.
- 28. See A.E.Ep., 1901, p. 3.
- 29. See A.R.Ep., 1901, p. 3.
- 30. SII., Vol. VII, Nos. 196-210.
- 31. Ibid., No. 196.
- 32. Ibid., No. 196.
- 33. Ibid., No. 204.
- 34. Ibid., No. 206.
- 35. Ibid., No. 204; Metre: Aryā-giti.
- 36. Ibid., Metre: Mattebhavikriditem.
- 37. Ibid., No. 262.
- 38. Ibid., No. 264.
- 39. Ibid., No. 202; Metre: Mattebhavikriditam.
- 40. Ibid.
- 41. Ibid., Metre: Kanda.
- 42. Ibid., No. 197.
- 43. Ibid., No. 209.
- 44. Ind. Ant., Vol. V, pp. 39-40.
- 45. Ibid., p. 125, footnote 3.
- 46. Ibid., p. 135.
- 47. SII., Vol. VII, No. 248. The second half of the verse in Sārdūlavikridita metre, describing the earlier Caturmukha-basti reads:

Śrimad-Bhōja-narēndra-sannibha-yaśāḥ Śri-Pāṇdya-pṛthvipatiḥ

srimaj-Jaina-niketanam racitavan-namna catur-bhadrakam//

The Kannada portion of the text reads—Śri-Vira-Pānd yappodeyaru Kārakalada Pānd yanagariyalu catur-mukhada bastiyanu katṭisi. This clearly shows that sarvat bhadra, caturbhadraka and catur-mukha are closely related and practically synonymous architectural terms.

* I am thankful to my estcemed friend Shri S. Nagaraju of the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Mysore, who had gone through this paper and had made many useful suggestions.

ILLUSTRATION

1. Colossal Statue of Gommatesvara (Bāhubali) at Kārkaļ.

11. JAINA ART AND ARCHITECTURE UNDER THE PALLAVAS

R. NAGASWAMY

The Pallava period extends from the end of the third century to the end of the ninth century A.D. To understand the Jaina art and architecture of this period it would be useful to briefly review the art and architecture of the period that preceded it.

Pre-Pallava Period

Natural rock shelters with Damili inscriptions, dating back to third and second century B.C., are found all over Tamilnadu. They record mostly the dedication of abodes to Jaina monks. Such abodes are called adhisthana, uraiyul, kañcana, pāli, kal, pā (bed) uṇai-, tāna, cayana, and munru. In all these cases we find nothing more than rockbeds, cut to provide a smooth surface for the monks to recline. Drip lines are cut in the overhanging rocks, to prevent the rain water flowing into the caves. A grove in the outer periphery of the floor, also drained out the rain water. Though most of the caverns today carry images of Tirthankaras, none of the latter are coeval with early epigraphs; they invariably belong to later periods. One of the caverns at Sennakkunru, near Karūr, bears, on the bed, carved symbols of Svastika and Srīvatsa. This could be dated to the third century A.D. Beyond this we have no Jaina sculpture or architectural entity which could be dated to Pre-Christian era or for that matter to the first few centuries of the Christian era. In all probability, the Jaina architecture of the period, represented as it could be by simple structures, did not perhaps differ much from the prevalent Brahmanical or secular forms. At least one thing seems certain that the worship of the Jina in sculptural form does not seem to have taken root among the Jainas of Tamilnadu in the period between the third century B.C. to third century A.D.

Pallava Period

The earliest reference to Jainas in Pallava period, seems to be that of Simhanandi of Lokavibhāga, in Śaka 380/455 A.D. But no relic of such an early date has so far come to light. Two other records of the subsequent Pallavas are

of some interest. One is the copper plate charter of Pallava Simhavarman, father of Simhaviṣṇu (assignable to circa 560 A.D.). This records the gift of land to certain Vajranandi, belonging to the gana of Nandisangha, in the village of Parthikunru. The village itself is called 'Vardhamānīsvara-Dharmatīrtha'. Another epigraph, almost of the same period, is the copper plate record called the Hosekottee plates of the Ganga king Avinīta. It records the gift of land by a Pallava queen, the mother of Simhaviṣṇu to an Arhadevatāyatana maintained by the Yāpanīya sangha. This is perhaps an earliest direct reference to a Jaina temple, but about its architectural elements or sculptural wealth, we know nothing. The Pallava Simhaviṣṇu is identified with the Pallava of Kāñcī by some scholars. We are still not sure whether this Simhaviṣṇu, of Hosekotte plates is the same as the ruler of Kāñcī, because here he is mentioned as a subordinate of Avinīta.

This brings us to the reign of Mahendravarman I. Mahendra, a follower of Jainism, was converted to Saivism by Appar, Though we have a number of excavated caves of this great Pallava monarch, no Jaina cave that could be ascribed positively to Mahendra has come to light. There is an excavated but unfinished cave at Vilappakkam in North Arcot district (Fig. 1). It is a large cave with the figure of a Jaina image carved on the facade. A vivid description of this cave is found in the Pallava cave temples by K. R. Srinivasan. It has been suggested that the cave could have originally been intended for Siva but later converted into a Jaina temple. Like all other rock shelters, the cavern on the top of this hill, should have been under the occupation of the Jainas from the pre-Christian era and continued to be so at least till the end of the cola period. As such, the cave should have been intended for the Jaina faith from the very beginning. We earlier mentioned that there is no positive clue to its dating. If it were a cave of Mahendra, the problem would be whether it was excavated before his conversion or after. If before his conversion, it would be earlier to the Mandagapattu cave, and if later, it would mean that Mahendra continued his patronage to Jainas even after his conversion. Though Saivite traditions assert that Mahēndra destroyed many Jaina pallis, a study of Mahēndra's inscriptions and writings prove that he was no bigot. The excavation of this cave should be studied in the light of rock-cut sculptures at Tirumalai, another great Jaina centre near this place.

According to a Saivite tradition, Mahendra constructed a temple dedicated to Siva, named Gunadharisvara at Tiruvadigai, utilising the materials from Jaina pallis which he destroyed. A few sculptures of the Pallava period are seen at Tiruvadigai, in a small temple now called Gunadharisvaram. These represent Visnu (Fig. 2), Sürya, and Ganesa and are most likely of the period of Mahendra. It is of interest to mention that some Jaina sculptures of the Pallava period are found near this temple. One represents a seated Tirthankara image,

another a squattish gana (Fig. 3), seated. The sculptures have the same quality and strength as those of Mahēndra. If the tradition is to be believed, then these sculptures would be of Mahēndra's period and thus represent the sixth century Jaina art in Tamilnādu. Also, if this view is acceptable, then these would be the earliest extent sculptures so far as Tamilnādu is concerned.

After Mahendra, artistic expressions of the Pallavas relating to either Hindu or Jaina faiths are not clearly seen till we come to the reign of Rājasimha, in the beginning of eighth century. We have established with the help of epigraphs that all the monuments at Māmallapuram, were created by Rājasimha. It is in this context that the Jaina art and architecture of the Pallavas assume significance.

The Jaina temple dedicated to Candraprabha at Tirupparuttikunnam (Fig. 4) is assigned to the beginning of eighth century by T. N. Ramachandran. A vivid description of this temple's architecture is to be found in his work Tirupparuttikunnaram and its Temples (Fig. 5.) The temple consists mainly of two parts, namely, the ground floor and the upper floor. The upper floor with its surmounting Nagara-vimana, is built of brick and is of the simple variety. The walls are built of fine bricks on a very thin film of lime mortar, and the joints are almost invisible. The outer walls carry plain recesses. The other points of interest are the stucco figures on the karnakūtas and salās, and the presence of simha-figures on the corners of the grīvā. The front pillared pavilion in the upper floor has a stone ceiling. The upper floor and its front mandapa are clearly later in date and may date from the Vijayanagara period.

It is the ground floor of this temple that provides us with the earliest surviving Jaina architecture of the Pallava period. The ground floor is built of stone and resembles the other Pallava temples of Kanci. The adhisthana is of the Padabandha variety with only the tripatta kumuda and pattika now visible. The walls above the adhisthana, start without a vedika. The walls are embellished with plain pilasters surmounted by the simple kalasa, phalaka etc. of the Pallava type. At the corners are seen rampant vyālas as in the other Pallava temples of Kanci. There are niches outlined on the outer walls of the sanctum and the front mandapa. The usual makara-toranas are absent but the handle like projection as seen elsewhere are found. The presence of these niche-outlines and the torana handle would save them from becoming outer prakara walls and should be considered the main walls of the sanctum. Ramachandran rightly points out to the passage around the main sanctum which has been blocked in later times. This proves that this was a sandhara temple, with a stone superstructure like other Pallava temples. The superstructure should have crumbled due to neglect and the present one built later. Ramachandran has also rightly pointed

out that there should have been a sanctum at the ground floor and this has been closed. The sanctum is now in the upper floor on the lines of Varadarāja temple at Kāñcī. Had the original been provided with a sanctum in the upper floor it would have had more than one sanctum, placed one over the other like the Dharmarājaratha at Māmallapuram and Vaikunthaperumāļ at Kāñcī. At any rate, the Candraprabha temple is an important Jaina building of the eighth century. Some assign this to the reign of Rājāsimha and others to that of Paramēsvara II. At any rate, it is to be dated to the first half of the eighth century A.D. It must be mentioned that, in the adjascent large temple of Ādinātha, there exists no structure which could be dated to that period.

The Jaina temple at Tirumalai needs special mention at this stage. It has a number of structures and sculptures which were either built or carved during various periods of South Indian history. The earliest of them represent a group of three sculptures, carved on a rock. They represent in order Pārsvanātha with attendants, a seated Tīrthankara (Fig. 7), and Bāhubali (Fig. 6). These three Pallava images are undoubtedly the best Jaina sculptures in Tamil land. Particularly the sculpture of Bāhubali, flanked by female attendants is a masterpiece, The female attendants are shown in three-quarters profile, with supple limbs and voluptuous beauty, unsurpassed in South Indian Jaina sculptures. They at once recall the Māmallapuram sculptures of Rājasimha in Arjuna ratha. The elephants shown above the panels are all in Māmallapuram style and thus the three sculptures are to be assigned to the reign of Rājasimha. Below the seat of Mahāvīra, two lines of inscriptions in Tamil script, of the eighth century are noticed. As the floor is built up and covers a part of the inscription, the full import of the inscription is lost. The beginning reads Svasti Śri.

By the side of the panel is carved an image of a Yakṣi holding a long sugar cane. Sages and attendant figures are shown on either side of her. An inscription towards her right hand records the making of this image by a certain Acārya Aristanemi of Kadaikoṭṭūr. Though this Yakṣi figure is in line with the other three figures of Bāhubali, Mahāvira and Pārivanātha, it is bigger and evidently a later carving. It may be assigned to the tenth century. However, the presence of two early inscriptions, one of Parāntaka and another of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III near this group suggest that the three panels were greatly revered even before the tenth century and that the Yakṣi figure was added in the tenth century A.D.

Thus we have a group of three sculptures of Rājasimha's period carved on the rock at Tirumalai. Viewed in this perspective, it is not unlikely that the Pañcapāṇḍava-malai cave at Vilappakkam, was a creation of Rājasimha, though left unfinished like the Māmallapuram caves.

An interesting standing figure carved in sandstone and now preserved in the Jvaraharesvara temple of Kāncī, bears on its crown a seated Jina sculpture and probably represents a Yakşa. The figure itself is badly worn out but is about three and a half feet in height. This might also belong to early eighth century A.D. Another image of Mahāvīra, seated on a simhāsana and flanked by two male caurī-bearers now preserved in Tirumalai belong to the period of Rājasimha. The draperies, treatment of head-dress, and the slenderness of the body point to the above conclusion:

A group of twenty four seated Tirthankara figures, shown in two rows on the hill of Tirunāthakunru (Fig. 8) may also be assigned to the same date. So far as the Jina images are concerned, it is difficult to assign any date but our guiding factors are the attendant figures or the Yaksi figures in whose case we can compare the dress, ornaments, flexions of the body and the general feeling with other dated figures and arrive at some tangible dates. In the absence of any pārsva figures at Tirunātharkunru, our dating is only tentative.

The reign of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, in the eighth century, is an important period in the history of South Indian Jainism. There we have instances where some figures are dated with inscriptions. The Ponniyakki (Golden Yakṣī) image in Pañcapāṇdavamalai (Fig. 9) was caused to be made by a certain Naranam in the 50th regnal year of Nandi. An image of his preceptor Nāganandi is also said to have been carved by the same person. The Yakṣī image, a robust seated female figure, still exists. This is described in detail and identified with Siddhāyikā by P. B. Desai. Though the figure is poised in a realistic manner as in other Pallava sculptures, it exhibits a vibrant strength, which seems to manifest the increasing popularity of the Yakṣī cult in the Tamil country.

The Tamilnādu State Department of Archaeology has noticed a group of inscriptions at Sattamangalam in North Arcot, dated in the reign of Nandi as well as some Cola monarchs. The rock where these inscriptions are found, show traces of structures erected over it. A number of small square pits found here, were probably intended for installing the images. No architectural details survive here which could be dated to that period. An image of a seated Tirthankara in greenish stone is now preserved in a modern Jaina temple and this may be dated to the reign of Nandivarman.

A recent find of Jaina sculptures at Karuppan Kunru (by Madras University) is also of interest. Two sculptures are found in this hill. One represents the figure of a Tirthankara flanked by his attendants. The other figure is an image of Pārsvanātha, carved in a deep niche embellished on its façade with the

figure of an ekatala alpa $pr\bar{a}s\bar{a}da$. The adhisthana part of the temple is not carved, but bhitti, prastara, $gr\bar{v}\bar{a}$ and sikhara elements are shown prominently. This $vim\bar{a}na$ sculpture shows that the temple architecture of the Tamil Jainas was in no way different from the Brahmanical temples of the region. Parsvanatha is flanked by his usual $p\bar{a}rsva$ -deities. An inscription to its right records that a certain Vasudeva-Siddhanta Bhattara caused this temple to be built. These two images may be assigned to the period of Nandivarman.

Almost to the same period must be attributed the rock shelter at Armamalai, North Arcot District. The cavern had been first noticed by J. Dubriel. It has some surviving mud brick walls, which formed part of an original monastry. The surviving brick structures do not show any special architectural features. The bricks are laid in thick mud plaster and were originally plastered with lime and painted. Traces of painting are still to be seen sticking to the walls. But the most beautiful paintings are to be seen in the ceiling rock. The paintings are in patches and are fairly well preserved. Two parts of the paintings deserve special mention; one represent scroll designs with a few hamsas (Fig. 10) inside. The other panels, the most important to survive, depict within separate squares, a goat and a buffalo, each serving as a mount to some divinities. I have examined them in close detail and feel they represent the Dikpalas, the one representing goat standing for Agni (Fig. 11) and the other a buffalo for Yama (Fig. 12). Obviously the whole group of Dikpālas were originally painted in their respective directions, with a central panel representing some unknown scene. All these have disappeared. The lines are drawn with firm hands. The pigments used are green, yellow, red and black. Though the figures are not preserved in full, they sufficiently exhibit mastery over lines, the selection of colours and powerful delineation.

The dating of the painting is associated with the find of an inscription and two stone sculptures. The sculptures represent $dv\bar{a}rap\bar{a}la$ (Fig. 13) which are assignable to the eighth century. An inscription on a stone slab carrying a lotus carving, refers to a student of Uttanandi Bhaṭāra of Kadaikkottūr, and the inscription is to be dated on paleographical grounds to the eighth century. It would be highly tempting to date the paintings also to the same period but the possibility of the paintings being later are not ruled out.

In Sattamangalam there is an inscription dated in the reign of Pallava Kampavarman. The inscription records the renovation to the Jaina temple and palli, and the erection of a mukhamandapa and a new temple to Yaksī Bhaṭārī (Yakkā Bhaṭārī). This also indicates the popularity of the Yaksī cult in the ninth century.

A number of Jaina sculptures found in Tondaimandalam region are also to be assigned to this period. It may be of interest here to mention two factors regarding Jaina art and architecture of the Pallavas. The Pallava period particularly in the sixth and seventh century witnessed a great revival not only of Saivism and Vaisnavism but also of Jainism. The number of Jaina devotional poems cited in the Tamil work Yapparunkalam, speak eloquently of this great movement of the Jaina faith. We have vivid description not only of Tirthankaras but also of the Pārsvadevatas. These are soul-stirring poems, very much like the Devaram and Divya-prabandham hymns.

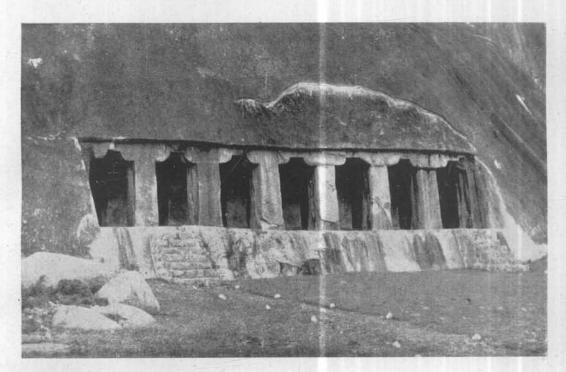
The innumerable references in inscriptions to various Jaina endowments in Pallava period also attest to this movement. It must be mentioned that the earliest surviving sculptures date back only from the sixth-seventh century, thus coinciding with the Saivite and Vaisnavite movements. Simultaneously, we also notice the importance given to Yaksi images which are carved as independent figures all over Tamilnādu. There had been many movements of Jaina teachers and their disciples from one part of the Tamil country to the other, inspite of differing, at times mutually hostile, dynasties ruling in different sub-territories. With this religious migration, the art and architectural motives also travelled and each inspired the other. Thus, when there is a great revival in Tondai-mandalam regions, we notice the same upsurge in the Pānāya country as well. A few of the teachers mentioned in Tondai region are also found referred to in the Pānāya territory. A study of the Jaina art and architecture in Tamilnādu will be complete only with a study of Jainism in the context of all South India.

ILLUSTRATIONS

- 1. The Jaina Cave temple, Vilappakkam, North Arcot district, Tamil Nadu. Paltava Period, 8th century A.D.
- 2. An image of Visnu, in the temple of Gunadharisvaram, Thiruvadigai, Tamil Nadu. Pallava Period, 7th century A.D.
- A sculpture of probably a Yakşa, near Gunadharisvara temple, Thiruvadigai, Pallava Period, 7th century A.D.
- 4. Candraprabha temple, Thirupparuthikundram, Chingleput district, Tamil Nadu. Pallava Period, 8th century A.D.
- 5. A view of Jaina temple complex, showing Vimānas, Thirupparuthikundram, Chingleput district. Brāhmī and Sundarī,.
- Rock-cut relief of Bāhubali within Neminātha temple, Thirumalai, North Arcot district.
 Rashtrakūţa style.
- 7. A seated Tîrthankara image, in temple at the foot of the hill, Thirumalai, North Arcot district. Pallava period, 8th century A.D.

8. Rock-cut images of 24 Tirthankaras, Thirunatha kundram. Pallava Period, 8th century A.D.

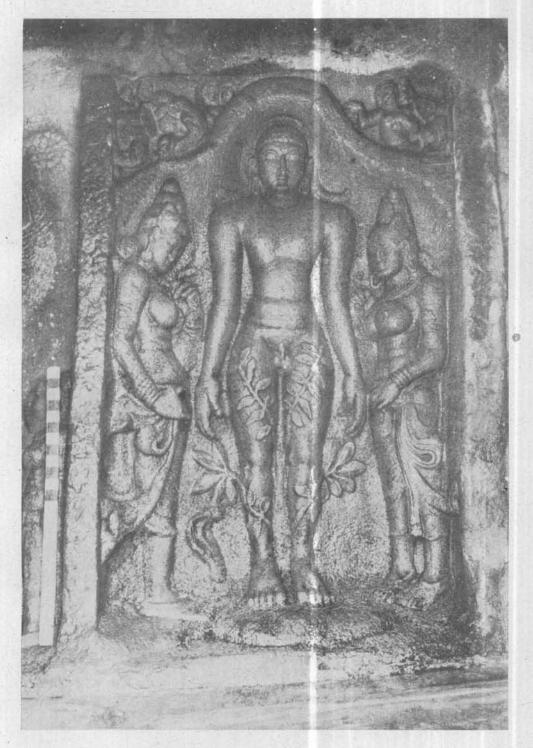
- 9. Rock-cut image of Ponniyakki, in Pañcapandavar Malai, N. Arcot district. Pallava period, 8th century, A.D.
- Mural of a swan, ceiling of natural cavern, Aramamalai, N. Arcot district, 8th century A. D.
- 11. Mural of a goat carrying bearded Agni, ceiling, natural cavern, Armamalai, N. Arcot
- Mural of a buffalo carrying yama dikpāla, ceiling of natural cavern, Armumali, N. Arcot-district, Probably 8th century A. D.
- 13. Dharattendra yakşa, natural cavern, Armamati, N. Arcot district, Pallava, 8th century A.D.

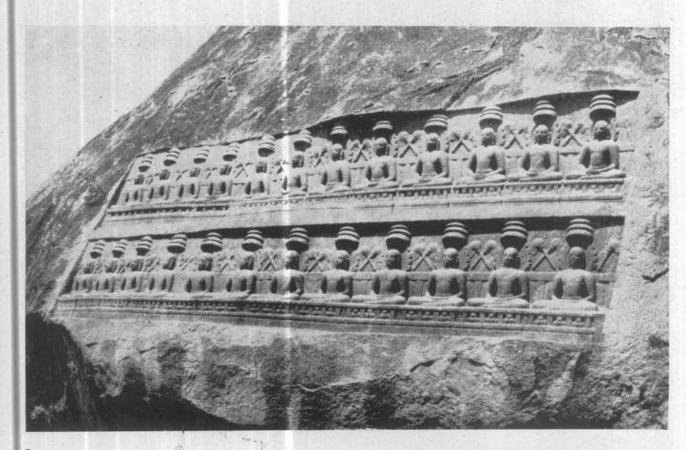




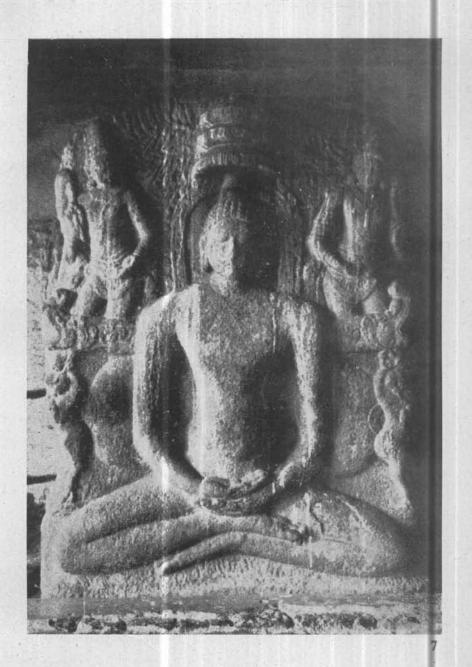




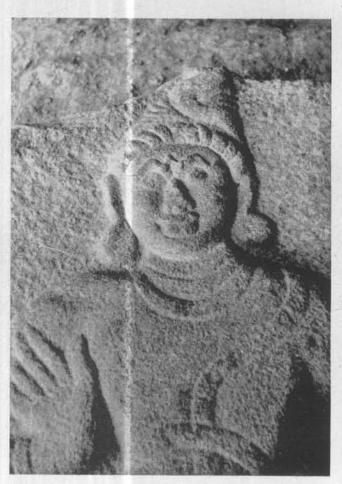


















12. JAINA ART AND ARCHITECTURE UNDER THE COLAS

R. NAGASWAMY

The Jaina art and architecture under the Colas of Thanjavur represent only a continuation of the tradition left over by the Pallavas in the North and the Pandyas in the South. As the Colas brought both the countries under their sway, there was a greater unifying trend and with reference to architectural expressions as well as art modellings, the Cola idiom, as witnessed by Brahmanical buildings and sculpture emerged as a main form, a form that came to stay.

It would be unrealistic to consider that the Jaina population was considerable before the Saiva and Vaisnava Bhakti-movement and after that it was much reduced due to persecution. Archaeological evidence does not prove this theory; on the contrary, it shows that the Jainas enjoyed the same patronage and support as in early days. Their population has been more or less retained in the same proportion and its presence becomes manifest through the Jaina art and literature of the time. We have enough epigraphs to prove the catholicity of outlook and the support extended by the Colas to the Jaina Church from the time of Aditya I, almost to the end of their rule. We may cite only two examples of the period of the Colas, to demonstrate how impartial and equanimous they were in honouring all religions. The first is of Cola Gandaraditya, who is wellknown as a great devotee of Siva. He has left immortal hymns in praise of Siva. He is referred to as a great Saiva Saint and is praised in religious literature. His psalms are included among the sacred hymns of Tirumurai. Now we know of a Jaina palli, probably erected by him, called Gandaraditta Perumpalli. Kundavai, the elder sister of Rājarāja the Great, is the second instance, the pious lady had inspired her brother Rajaraja in doing religious deeds and has been reverentially mentioned in the great temple of Thanjavur. She herself had given a number of gifts to Siva temples of Thanjavur. There are a number of other Siva temples which have received her personal benefactions. Yet we find this lady erecting Jaina temples in various parts of the Cola empire. Cola house has, in fact, contributed substantially to support Jaina art and architecture.

So far as the architecture of the period goes, a few surviving structures are available, such as at Chettipatti. But again we have only fragments till we

come to the reign of Vīrarājendra. An inscription of Vīrarājendra found engraved on the adhiṣṭhāna of the main sanctum in the village of Karandai is still preserved. The God is mentioned as Arhatdeva of Vīrarājendra Perumpalli in another inscription found in the same place. Evidently, the temple was erected by Vīrarājendra Cōla and as the inscription is on the base, it may be taken as founded by him. All structures earlier to that period have undergone modification or alterations. Kundavai's Jaina foundations were three, one at Tirumalai, the second at Dādāpuram and the third at Tirumālavāḍi. Unfortunately, they all have disappeared. A few mouldings of the adhiṣṭhāna, bearing inscriptions of Rājendra's period are found lying in the prākāra of the Tirumalai temple. In all probability, they represent the adhiṣṭhāna of the Kundavai-Jinālaya of the inscriptions.

At Tirupparunttikunnram (Jina-Kāncī) we have a new trend. The Candraprabha temple was the centre of activity till the reign of Rājendra, for three of his inscriptions are found on the base; but about the architectural additions to that building we know very little. But from the time of Kulottunga I, the centre of activity shifts to the near by Ādinātha temple. The stone mandapas immediately preceeding the shrines are dated in the reign of Kulottunga I (1116 A.D.). Later we have additional structures as abutting it, built in the reign of Kulottunga III.

However, a number of existing gopuras of the Jaina temples were built in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The enclosure wall of the Tirupparunt-tikunnram temple was built in the reign of Kopperunjinga (Alagiya Pallava).

The gopura of the Karandai temple bears inscriptions of Kopperunjinga and another Pallava chieftains who won victory at Tellaru. The latter also figures in the inscriptions at a number of other places in the same region, as at Atti. The Karandai gopura is to be assigned to the thirteenth century. The mandapa in front of the Jaina temple at the foot of the hill of Tirumalai, carries pillars of the reign of Rājarāja II. In one of them we have a sculpture of a chief worshipping a Jina. It probably represents a portrait.

Sculptures

Like the Pallava period, a few dated sculptures that could be assigned to the Cola period are available, which help understanding the art of the period. Mention has been earlier made, that the Yaksī image carved along side the Bāhubali, Vardhamāna and Pārsvanātha in Tirumalai hill, belongs to the tenth century. An inscription records the making of this image by one Aristanemi Ācārya. An inscription in Vilappakkam village refers Aristanemi Bhaṭāra in the reign of Parāntaka I. Inscriptions of Parāntaka and Rāsṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa

are found by the side of the Yakṣi figure at Tirumalai. Hence the Yakṣi figure is to be dated to the reign of Parāntaka. It is not unlikely that the Tirthankara image now in Vilappakkam village also belongs to the period of Parāntaka.

The rock-cut sculptures of the Tirthankaras and a Yakṣi in Ānandamangalam near Kānci, may also be assigned to this period. As in the case of Tirumalai, prominence is given to the Yakṣi, who is identified with Ambikā by P. B. Desai. Near these sculptures, an inscription of Parāntaka is found, recording some gifts to the Jinagiri-perumpalli.

A group of sculptures at Vallimalai, are also assigned to this period. From an inscription here we learn that this Jaina abode was founded by the western Ganga prince Rājamalla. One of the sculptures was made by Ajjanandi Bhaṭṭāra. There are Kannaḍa epigraphs below other images. Here we have direct evidence of Kannaḍa art traditions mingling with the Tamilian one. It must be mentioned that Ajjanandi, the maker of this image, seems a very popular figure of the time and his name is mentioned in the inscriptions in various parts of Tamilnaḍu. Some of the sculptures in the Paṇḍyan territories, particularly Tirunelveli and Kanyākumārī regions, also bear sculptures with his inscriptions. Kannaḍa art forms had travelled to the extreme south of India with Ajjanandi, it may be said.

An image of Padmāvatī Yakṣī, installed in a crevice among the boulders of Colavandipuram also belongs to the reign of Parāntaka I. On either side of this image, are figures of Gummaṭa and Pārivanātha, carved on the boulders. According to an inscription, a certain Veli Kongaraiar Puttadigal caused this Tevaram to be made. He is identified with a Jaina monk by P. B. Desai, but he was in fact a noble, seen making donations to Brahmanical establishments at various places. The famous temple of Sundaravarada at Uttaramerūr, built in the reign of Pallaya Nandivarman, was renovated by a certain Veli Kongaraiyar and was renamed Śrīveli Visnugrha and Kongaraiyar Śrī-Kōil. He and other members of his family have made endowments for the maintenance of the Vairamegha Tataka at Uttaramerūr. The Veli Kongaraiyar Puttadigal of Cola Pāndiapuram is probably identical with this chief and is to be assigned to the tenth century.

Another inscription from the same place, dated in the reign of Mummudi Cola Gandaraditta records the setting up of Pindikkadavul (Tirthankara), and provisions made for its worship. Though it is difficult to identify the sculpture referred to in this epigraph, one of the existing sculptures was obviously carved in the reign of Gandaraditta in the tenth century.

Of the sculptures of Rajaraja's reign, the most remarkable and elegant is the standing Tirthankara figure on the top of the Tirumalai Hill, in North

Arcot District. The image is identified with Jina Neminātha, and is shown standing in kā yōtsarga pose and is over sixteen feet in height (Fig. 6). The rock has been scooped out to give sufficient depth to carve this remarkable image. Inspite of its height, the proportions are well maintained and the face exhibits divine charm, reflecting as it does the pious personality of Kundavai, sister of Rājarāja the Great, who caused this image to be carved. The sculpture has all the qualities of mature art of the period of Rājarāja. An inscription of Rājendra Cōla near this statue, the only one here, refers to the endowment to Kundavai-Jinālaya, pointing to the fact that this was the image made by Kundavai (Fig. 2). The importance of this has not been sufficiently grasped, for most of the writers on this temple loosely refer to the Kundavai-Jinālaya in the Tirumalai Hill.

It must be mentioned that there are three groups of structures in Tirumalai hill. One is on top of the hill, the other in the middle, and the third at the foot of the hill near the village. The one on the top of the hill is a late structure housing an image. The group in the middle of the hill carries the impressive, sixteen feet tall rock-cut image of Neminatha with a brick structure encasing it. A part of the mandapa has also survived in front of this figure. The existing structures are late, but originally a lovely Cola stone structure, built by Kundavai, should have enshrined this image. We have mentioned a few pieces of adhisthana mouldings, belonging to this structure, which are lying in the temple at the foot of the hill. From the execution of this lovely sculpture it is evident that the sculptor's talent for and ability to carve rock-cut figures had not died out with the Pallavas but indeed was very much alive. Unfortunately, the other Jaina sculptures of Kundavai foundations have not been traced, either at Dadapuram or at Tirumalavadi.

Sculptures of the later Cola period abound in various parts of Tamilnādu. As mentioned earlier, the royal patronage extended by later Cola sovereigns like Vīrarājendra, Kulottunga and others are reflected in sculptures of the period. The dress, the ornaments and treatment of the period do not differ in any way from the contemporary Brahmanical sculptures. As an example we may cite the image of Yakṣī Ambikā, recently noticed by the Tamilnādu State Department of Archaeology at Venkunram, near Wāndavāsi, which bears all the characters of the later Cola period (Fig. 4). Additions and alterations to various Jaina settlements were made in the reign of Kulottunga III, Rājarāja III and in the reign of Rājanārāyana Sambuvaraya of the fourteenth century.

Bronzes

Jaina bronzes in considerable number were also under worship during this period and a few pointed references to the processional deities are found in the

epigraphs of the period. A few of them have been illustrated by P. R. Srinivasan in his Bronzes of South India. They mainly relate to two groups,—one representing a seated Tirthankara flanked by attendants from Sivaganga now preserved in the Madras Museum and the other relates to three figures from Sengenikuppam, in South Arcot; two of them represent standing Tirthankaras (Fig. 5) and the third a standing Yaksi Ambika (Fig. 1).

The Sivaganga image and the Sengenikuppam images are perhaps the earliest Jaina bronzes to survive in Tamilnādu. and relate to the Cōla period. Srinivasan assigns the Sivaganga image to thirteenth century (ca. 1200), the Yakṣī Ambikā also to the same period and one of the Tīrthankaras of Sengenikuppam to the fourteenth century. The datings by P. R. Srinivasan are only tentative and mainly based on comparison with Brahmanical icons. These datings, however, have this inherent defect in that the contemporary dated Jaina sculptures have not been taken into consideration for comparison. Srinivasan's book, valuable as it is, has this short coming; and this is true not only with Jaina bronzes but also with reference to all Brahmanical bronzes which he discusses.

In my opinion, the Sivaganga image, with its soft contours and broad draperies of the attendant deities, should be assigned to ca. 900. The Sengeni-kuppam group bronzes, all of them, are to be assigned to ca. 1100 and not to different periods as fourteenth, fifteenth, etc. as mentioned by the author of Bronzes of South India.

Paintings

Sivaramamurti has assigned the painting at Tirumalai to the Cola period. There are two groups of paintings at Tirumalai. One is inside the cavern, on the walls and ceilings depicting a few monks and floral and geometric designs, and a remarkable cakra showing groups of people within its spokes. The other group of paintings is found on the western wall of the brick structure encasing the rock-cut sculptures of Bāhubali etc. (Fig. 3), and on the adjoining rock faces. Of particular artistic merit are the three busts of females painted on the western wall of the brick structure (Fig. 7). These figures recall the Ajantā tradition and are master-pieces of Jaina paintings. The brick structure, however, seems to be a Vijayanagara structure and the paintings should be assigned to early Vijayanagar period and not to the Cola period. Though there are some insignificant traces of painted plaster on various rock-cut images, no Jaina painting, datable to the Cola period seem to exist.

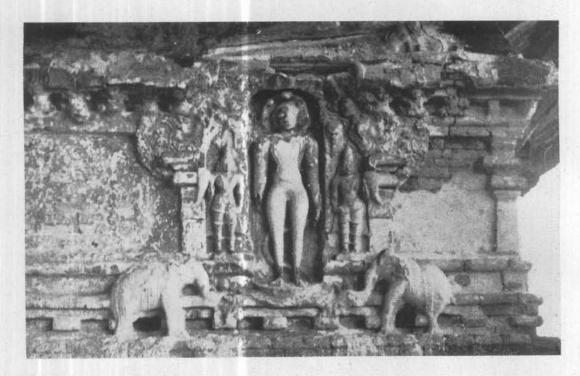
ILLUSTRATIONS

- Ambikā-yakṣī, bronze, from Singenikkuppam, now in Madras Museum. Cola Period, 12th century A.D. Courtesy, Madras Museum.
- 2. An inscription of Rajendra Cola, referring to Kundavai-Jinālaya at Thirumalai, Cola, 11th century A.D. (The inscription refers to the image of Jina, 16 ft. tall and rock-cut, at this place).
- 3. Stucco figure of Pārsvanātha, on the brick structure, in the Jaina temple at Thirumalai. Probably of Vijayanagara Period.
 - The side wall carries paintings of female figures, of exquisite beauty.
- 4. Image of Ambikā-Yakṣī, temple at Venkundram, North Arcot district. Probably of period of Kulottunga III, 13th century A.D.
- 5. Bronze Figure of a standing Tirthankara from Singenikkuppam, now in Madras Museum. Cola Period, end of 11th century A.D.
- 6. Rock-cut colossus figure (16 feet) of Neminātha, gift of Kuṇḍavai, at Thirumalai. Eleventh century A.D.
- 7. Painted figures on the wall of the Jaina temple, Thirumalai. N. Arcot district. Vijayanagara Period, 15th century A.D.

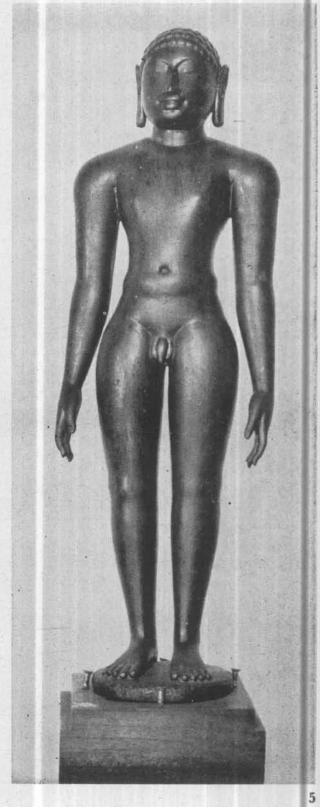




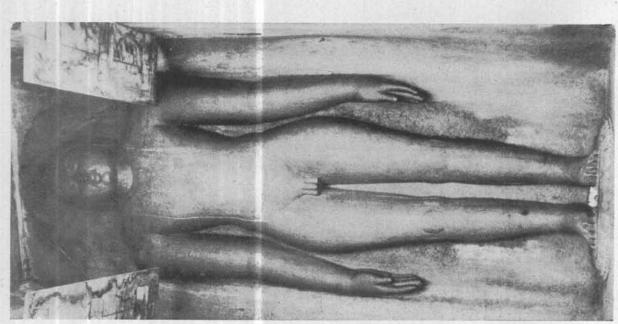












13. JAINA ART AND ARCHITECTURE IN TAMILNĀDU

K. V. SOUNDARA RAJAN

I

INTRODUCTORY-HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL

The oldest copper plate charter of the early pallayas of Kanci, namely, the Pallankoil grant of Simhavisou (6th year) is dedicated to the grant of Palliccandam village in the Perunagar area (near Wandiwash) which had consequently been the most important Jaina settlement till today, and the grant was made to Vajranandi, Guru of 'Tirupparuttikunram-Amanserkai' (Jina Kañci) across Vegavati river, at Kancipuram, and would show how respectable and important status had been enjoyed by Jaina teachers in the metropolitan centres of Tamilnadu, already in and before the 6th century A.D. Dharmasena (later on becoming Appar, one of the four early Saiva saints or Nayanmars) who is said to have been a contemporary of Pallava Mahendra, Bhavanandi (Pavanandi), the author of Nannul, a Tamil grammatical work, who lived in the 12th-13th century A.D., at Vijayamangalam in Coimbatore district and was patronised by Amarabharana Siyaganga-a feudal of Kulottunga III-were a few other important leaders of Jainism. The author of the greatest aphoristic literature, Tirukkūral, namely, Tiruvalluvar who lived at Mylapore, (Madras) in the Pallava period, invokes Adinātha or Vrsabhanātha in his very first aphorism. The oldest and most important grammar of the Tamil language, namely Tolkappiyam, Neminatham, Yapparungalam and its commentary, Silappadikaram authored by the Cera prince Ilango Adigal, Jivaka Cintamani, Cudamani Nighantu, Perungagai (a Tamil version of Guoadhya's Brhat-katha, written by Konguvelir of Vijayamangalam), Naladiyar and several other important works, owe their origin to Jaina thinkers and leaders of the early Tamil history.

The entry of Jainism into the capital of the northern Tamil country, namely, Kānci, was made through the western periphery of the State, from the neighbouring Ganga territory of Kanata where Śravana-belagola and other centres were located, and that is why we find North Arcot, (besides Coimbatore and Western part of Tiruci district) of Tamilnadu, containing of the largest number

of Jaina vestiges till today, like Vallimalai, Tirunarungonrai, Tirunathankunru, Arpakkam, Armamalai (Fig. 2), Tirumalai, Perunagar, Venkunram, Piridiyur, Vijayamangalam, Araccalūr, Pugaliyūr, Ratnagiri etc., having continuous Jaina traditions extending even upto today in most of these places. The clustering of the main series of ancient natural cavern beds with early Tamil Brahmi records and sundry vestiges of their life in these caverns was mainly around the old capitals of the Tamil kingdoms of the Pandyas, Colas, and Ceras as at Madurai, Tirunelveli, Uraiyūr and Karūr-Vañji and the other metropolitan centres, as Kānci. It is also interesting that in one of the early settlements, in the Sangam period (c. 3rd century A. D., to 5th century A. D.), the name was given as Patalipura-for the modern Tiruppadirippuliyur in the coastal part of South Arcot district, between Kadalür and Cidambaram-doubtless after the ancient and primary Mauryan capital of Patalipura (Patna) in Bihar. An old Dramila Sangha or academy of the Jainas is said to have existed here. The southern groups of Jainism in the Karnataka and the Tamil country had been mainly of the Digambara order, as against the dominant Svetambara order of the western Indian groups in Gujarat, Rājasthān, and Delhi, and had spread south in the Satavahana times, when there was the largest movement of trade and commerce and of people from the very borders of Bihar to almost the very tip of the Peninsula—a movement which spread the teachings of Jainism and Buddhism to the far corners of the Deccan and the south, without in any way conflicting with the sedate evolution of post-vedic Brahminism.

The spread of Jainism in South India is one of the most important sociological developments that took place in the history of that region. It had impacted upon several spheres of the then-existing religio-cultural activity, no less than the economic situation, and brought to bear upon the whole society, a new awareness, a stimulus for material and ethical enrichment, and ultimately, an invigorating spurt in the literary and scriptural traditions of the land. It has sometimes been considered by scholars that this was a 'partial attempt to Aryanise the Dravidian races'. This might probably be an over-stretching of the implications of the terms 'Dravidian' and 'Aryan' beyond their mere linguistic confines. All the same, it suggests the near-profound character of the event. In Tamilnadu especially, the introduction of Jainism was fraught with epochmaking consequences, in almost every field, especially literary and cultural. Kāñci became important under the Digambara mission of Visakhacarya, which, with several groups of emigrants-in the wake of the earlier Kalakacarya and still earlier Bhadrabahu I and Candragupta Maurya of traditional fame-entered the Cola and Pandya countries, and Kundakundacarya-the first in all the southern Jaina genealogies-is referred to with distinction in the Kural of Tiruvalluvar, and the twin epics, namely, Silappadikaram and Manimekhalai. Hieun-Tsang had gone on record that in the city of Kanci and Madurai, the majority

of the Devakulas belong to Digambaras living in those cities. When we consider in this context, the fact that some of the very earliest known natural caverns with polished beds and early Tamil Brahm; records in different parts of Tamilnadu, aggregating to as many as 75 (see Appendix for list) have been caused by patronage of Jainism, the signal contribution of Jaina thought and culture on the matrix of the Tamil country becomes more than obvious. Pallava Mahendravarman I and Kun Pandya (or Nedumara) were said to have been Jainas first and restored to Brahmanism by the early Saiva saints, Appar and Jiānasambandar. This process ended only with Hoysala Visnuvardhana who was an ardent Jaina having been converted to by Sri Ramanuja, the founder of Visistadvaita-Vaisnavism. His royal queen Santaladevi continued to be an active Jaina patron throughout her life. The Ganga kings who had nurtured Jainism with such eternal glory as has been reflected by the nerve centre of the Jaina activity in Karnataka like the Sravana-Belagola, had, in their territories along the borders of the Tamil country, as at Vallimalai, excavated such Jaina beds and images under Rajamalla I (817-828 A.D.); and his son Nitimarga who was also a Jaina. The Vijayanagara kings had been discerning patrons of Jainism, as the 'abhayas'āsana' compact between Jainism and Vaisnavism caused by Bukka I (1357-1378 A.D.) and the erection of Ganigitti Jinalaya at Hampi, and the Sangita mandapa by Iruguppa, the General of Bukka II (1385-1406 A.D.) at Tirupparuttikunram prove.

H

(A) EARLY PHASE

The architecture of early Tamil country had received certain important assignments at the hands of Jainism and its patrons, the oldest among these being the innumerable natural caverns and beds of these ascetic votaries of Jaina religion, living in the remote corners of the country, alone as recluses, and meditating upon the feet of Vardhamāna, the twenty-four Tīrthankara and their founder.

The most important thing that prima facie arrests our attention in respect of these cave beds, is the extremely smooth polish the stone in the 'bed' areas has received. It would not be too far afield to attribute this to the admitted knowledge of 'polished stone' as in the Mauryan columns, that could be boasted by the first Jaina immigrants into South India in the centuries before Christ—among whom no doubt had been some craftsmen as well. It may be looked upon as an archaeological and architectural proof of their Mauryan importation in the deep south.

Of the upwards of 75 cave Brāhmī records, a very great majority relates to Jaina endowments and would support the theory that these Jaina mendicants

were sought after especially by the trading class for wholesome advice, blessings and religious services. A whole series of craftsmen, comprising goldsmith, cloth-merchant, iron-monger, salt merchant, lapider etc., are found endowing several cave beds in their individual capacity in the largest cluster of such beds around the metropolitan city of Madurai, and these form, as it were, an ancient 'Chamber of Commerce'. The early Tamil Brāhmī records themselves give interesting names like Aritan (Harita), Kuviran (Kubera) Cen-Kuviran (Red Kubera), Ariyti (Hāritī), Ven Kasipan (White Kāsyapa), Tavirai (Sthavirai), Ila Kutumpikan (house-holder from Ceylon), Caiyalan (from Simhala), Cen Kayapan (Red Kasyapa) etc., which are of great interest; considering their time of dispersal in Tamilnadu. Especially may be noted the distinction of two colour-systems, the red and white in some of the names above. In the mediaeval times also, the Jains employ the attribution of Red and White colours to their groups, temples etc., in Northern India. A situation, thus, not unlike that which prevailed in Northern India in the early days of the Gautama-Buddha and Vardhamana and their disciples, with the non-brahmin communities mustering around the new credo which made religious thinking and god-heads ever so simpler and down to the earth, had also prevailed in the period between the 2nd-1st century B.C., and 5th-6th century A.D., in Tamilnadu. By the very ethical nature of its teachings at that time, early Jainism in Tamilnadu had not created for itself visible structural models of shrines and devakulas. This development by which the inevitability of the inclusion, into Jaina religion, of minor divinities that were always revered by the masses, and the emphasis on the supremacy of Mahāvīra and the other 'earlier' Tirthankaras before him, starting from Adinātha, came to existence, is to be ascribed only to the next important phase, approximately from around the 5th-6th century A.D. onwards and led not only to the very earliest rock art examples in Tamilnadu in the form of cave temples, but also those of individual sculptural carvings that stud the rock face at or near the very caverns which were the earlier traditional resort of the Jaina ascetics. These are represented by the vestiges at Pecciparai, Sittannavassal (Fig. 10), Nāgamalai, Kilavalavu (Fig. 26), Uttamapālayam (Fig. 32), Kalugumalai (Fig. 30), Vallimalai, Armamalai (Fig. 2), Tirumalai (Fig. 15), Chithral (Tiruccarranarmalai) and several other places. The patterns of this rock-art would seem to suggest that the art and architectural models adopted by Jainism were not any the different from those of their coeval brahmanical compeers but, at the same time, within the development of Jaina art and iconography, showed significant stages of growth. The earliest of these as could be seen either at Pecciparai (Cokkampatti near Kadayanallur, Tirunelveli district) and Sittannavasal, did not show the formula of Mahavira, Pariva and Gommata but only two of the main Tîrthankaras, namely, the first two, and boldly introduce several other pontifical leaders as also the yaksas and yaksas, the former in forms which should

be taken as portrait sculptuers. The nearness of ponds or natural tarns to the cave beds, sometimes larger than the immediate needs of these mendicants, coupled with the fact that atleast in two of these, namely at Sittannavāsal and Ārmamalai, we have the painted vestiges of the Samavasarana (Fig. 13) showing the lotus tank and the *bhavyas*, would suggest that these large tanks nearby were to stand for the Samavasarana symbolism. The holy Sravana-Belagola itself, by its very name, substantiates the significance of the tank of whitness ('Beligula'), for the sramanas. Such tanks exist everywhere, as at Nāgamalai, Saranarmalai at Chitharal, Kalugumalai etc.

Peccipparai and Malayadikurichi in the Paudyan country together with the Arivar-koil cave temple at Sittannavasal (Figs. 11-12) would comprise the most well planned Jaina cave temples in Tamilnadu. Otherwise, most of the vestiges of Jainism in this region have only a natural cavern location with sculptural carvings alone representing the Tirthankara and vaksi figures typical of the Jaina religion, substantiated by records also. This would show that well organised Jaina architectural enterprise with royal patronage was mainly in a short period in the seventh century A.D., but otherwise, earlier as well as later, the several Jaina teachers that had spread over the Tamil country were content with the individual patronage of tradesmen and disciples. Only from the 8th century A.D. onwards, sculptural carvings of Tirthankaras, and vaksis find a place in these sites. The earlier trend was in favour of meditation and mortification of the body by exposing it to the elements, and ritual Jainism, with the detailed worship of the Tirthankaras, Pañca—Paramestis, and other external artistic symbolism not yet consolidated.

The Sculptural Style:

Jaina art in Tamilnadu follows essentially the trends of the art pool of Brahmanical architecture of the historical period. This art-tradition was to some extent moulded by the Satavahana craftsmanship, but had only this major difference that the latter operated on soft stones while those of Tamilnadu, had no option but to opt for the hard granite rocks which are plentiful in this region. On this basic outlook, the guilds that worked in the land of Tamils belonged to the Pallava and Pandya territories, and, at a later stage in the tenth century A.D., they were exposed to the Rastrakuta mannerism, but were otherwise subjected to the Cola norms. It is, however, generally found that the style and idom were, by and large, conservative in the early stage (c. 600-1000 A.D.) and given to a suppleness of face and heftness of body which had seemingly been invented in the Pallava phase, but had continued to prevail with a degree of consistency and monotony even upto the early mediaeval times, when the rise of the Vijayanagar vigour heralded a new outlook in the Jaina art

as well, informed alike by a certain ornamentation and ethnic bias, reflecting folk urges. The earlier norm was regulated by the repetitive and uniform character of the icons, most of which were mainly the Tirthankara figures, standing and seated (variously of Mahāvīra or Jina), Pāršvanātha, Siddhāyikā, Mātanga and Bāhubali. It would seem to reflect the essential conservatism of Tamilnāḍu Jainism which did not in full measure participates in the ritual and iconographic inflexion and ramifications elsewhere in the Karnāṭaka where Jainism for long continued to be a stable and dominant faith of the masses, with profuse royal and commercial patronage. The Vijayanagara and Nāyaka phases, however, introduced the new trend of vivacity and group composition, in contrast to the stoney stillness of the earlier sculptures. The only concession to any warmth in the carvings would, perhaps, have been the full lips which invariably adorned these figures all along in the early period. This brought about a modicum of universal compassion to the figure that is so characteristic of the Jaina credo.

The important centres under the Pallavas, Pāṇḍyas and the Cōlas steadily helped in the growth of Jaina ritual and art, and by the eighth century A.D., at least, we have the variations of the several Tīrthaṇara forms in the structural temples, and also separate individual shrines or temples for them and for the yakṣīs. The Late Cōla and early Vijayanagara period was undoubtedly the most eventful period in the expansion of Jaina iconography in Tamilnādu, and we see for the first time, after an earlier heritage between ninth and the twelfth centuries A.D., of acrimonious relationships between Jainism and Brahmanism, a close and pervasive role played by Jaina art throughout in the Tamil society. Jaina patronage, however, did not diminish all through the period, and several structures like Kundavai Jinālaya of the time of Rāja-Rāja, attest to this. A list of the various personalities and names that had enriched the Jaina communities in Tamilnādu right from the earliest times of the cavern beds upto the Vijayanagara periods, if compiled, would make impressive reading.

(B) CAVE ART PHASE

PĀŅDINĀDU

Pecciparai (Chekkampatti):

About three miles from the village of Kadayanallur, on the higher slope of the mountain is found an early rock excavation which has architectural features that relate it to the lay-outs adopted for early brahmanical cave temples, as at Lower Rock-cut cave, Tirucci, or Tiruvellarai, not far away from the former datable to the very end of the seventh century A.D. The exterior scarp is left undisturbed except to show a finished edging for the cornice of the facade in the form of a smooth band decorated with circular nailhead motif for the

caves-board, on the wood architectural proto-type. The interior shows two endshrines facing each other across a common hall, with the body of the chamber cut into at least two bays, though left partially finished. The side shrines show the door frame and well formed cornices, and within the cells have incomplete figures that could be attributed to Jainism by the details available like cobrahood (for Pārśvanātha) and outlines of the figure chiseiled out. It is likely that the back wall might have carried provision for a niche figure.

Malayadikurichi:

The other example is at Malayadikurichi where a finished cave with inscription of the seventeenth year of Māran Candan (who is the same king of the Vaigai bed inscription of Madurai, and was the father of Arikesari Māravarman, and was called Celiyan in some early records) is also found. Here the niche figures on the back wall of the rock-cut hall appear to have been completely obliterated by being deliberately chiselled off in a stage of conflict, and could have been for Jaina religion originally, and was converted into Brahmanical subsequently. The sanctum does not have rock cut feature of the original character that vitiates against this hypothesis, nor does the inscribed record itself have any direct import that the cave temple had been excavated for brahmanical gods, but simply calls it the stone temple cut by a local chieftain in the seventeenth year of Māran Candan.

Rock-cut temple—Arivar Kovil—Temple of Arhats

Plan comprises an inner shrine 10ft. square and 7½ ft. high, an ardhamandaba in front, measuring $22\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$. A door way measuring $5\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ approached by surul-yali flanked steps, leads into the inner shrine. In the facade are two massive square pillars and end pilasters. Beams are also indicated with flexed cornice and fluted horizontal, roll-ornamented corbel below. The ceiling of the garbha shows wheel with hubs, representing the Dharmacakra. Lotus medallions adorn pillar and pilaster faces. In the niche on the northern wall of the transverse outer hall is a figure of a Jaina ācārya seated in dhyāna pose, cross-legged, palm on palm. A single chatra is over the head to indicate that he is not a Tirthankara. An inscription on a pillar near it designates him as Tiruvāsiriyan or the venerable teacher or ācārya. The opposite wall has a niche, with a Pārsvanātha figure seated, with five-hooded serpent above. The sanctum carries three images in high relief, the northern and central, representing Adinatha and Mahāvīra, have triple umbrellas, while the southern has only a single umbrella and was perhaps an acarya or arhat. The entire surface of the walls, ceiling, pillars etc., were painted originally.

Especially delightful is the depiction of the Samavasarana with the souls of the bhavyas inhabiting it, for hearing the Tirthankara discourses. Before reaching the heaven, the souls are said to pass through several regions., including one of a lotus pool with birds, fish, animals, like makaras, elephants and bulls and men sporting there. The bhavyas are represented in colours (lesyā) like deep red (padma), orange (pīta) etc., which along with white (sukla) are considered as the colours of pure souls, as different from black (kṛṣṇa), indigo (nīla) and grey, of the wicked souls. The paintings on the northern and southern facade pillars, of dancers with a pose of danda hasta or latāwṛṣcika is even more beautiful and impressive, and the natural hair-do and facial features, recall the best classical values near to the Ajaṇṭā paintings of the first six centuries A.D., or the Sigiria (Ceylon) paintings of the fifth century A.D. The technique employed is of the fresco-seco type, on a lime medium. The colours used are black, green, yellow, orange, blue and white.

The side face of the cave rock carries an inscription of the Pāṇāya king Avanipasekhara (Śri Māra Śri Vallabha) during whose time the mukhamandapa, apparently structural in stone, was added to preserve the main cave. The style is of the Pāṇāyan cave art, as found in several centres elsewhere, in Southern Tamilnādu.

(C) BAS-RELIEF PHASE

PANDYAN COUNTRY

Kalugumalai (Fig. 30):

At a distance of thirteen miles from Koilpatti R.S. lies Kalugumalai, already wellknown for its Pandyan monolith 'Vettuvankoil' and cave temple for Subrahmanya (ARE. 1894, 18-117). Inscribed records on the rock in Vatteluttu and dedicatory in character (S.I.I. Vol. V, 1926, No. 307-406) mentions several names of Jaina personages involved at Kalugumalai which should thus have been one of the most active Jaina centres in the period between the eighth and the tenth century A.D.

These carvings and inscriptions show how important the place had been for Jainism in the ninth-tenth century A.D., and how it had kept its contacts with several other Jaina centres in Tamilnādu like Citarāl, Tirupparuttikuṇram, Tirunarungoṇḍai, and Kottaru. It is also interesting to see that a hierarchy of disciples is recorded here and cross-checked by other records elsewhere in the region which was a typical feature of the Digambara Jainism of Tamilnādu.

Aivarmalai at Ayyampalayam:

Several caverns and Jaina carvings of the ninth-tenth century A.D., and very important inscriptions of the same period are found here. These records refer to the hill as Aiyiraimalai and one of them, of the time of Pāṇḍya king

Varaguna II dated to 870 A.D., reckoning his regnal year from 862—historically important in fixing a Varaguna-Nrpatunga synchronism—deals with a Pārsvanātha sculpture and yakṣīs, got renovated here by one Santiviraguruva, disciple of Guṇavīraguruva. It is likely that this very Guṇavīraguruva was the author of the famous Tamil work Neminātham. Other inscriptions refer to the famous saint Ajjanandi, Indrasena, Mallisena periyar, Pārsvabhaṭāra, Perumbaṭṭiyūr Pattinikkuratti, her disciple Purva Nandi kuratti etc. All these names and records belong to ninth-tenth century A.D., and are referred to elsewhere also in Tamilnādu as at Kalugumalai.

Uttamapāļayam:

A small rock outcrop called Karuppannasvāmī rock here with a tarn below, occurring outside the village was selected for Jaina carvings and records. The carvings (Fig. 32) represent Mahāvīra, Pārsvanātha and some religious teachers with their names. The cave beds and carvings around Madurai, the capital of the Pāṇḍyan country form the most important group, historically and for the bas-reliefs, those from Nāgamalai (Samanarmalai) Kilakkuilkudi and Karadipatti, Kilavalavu.

Nāgamalai:

This has two important groups, one on the hill and other on the rear slopes. The former has a series of carvings, in a row, of seated Jina, standing Pārśvanātha, Padmāvatī and those of some pontiffs. The carvings reflect a high degree of artistic skill and uniformity of style with other similar carvings from Kaļugumalai, Chitarāl etc., and are of the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. Inscribed records occur from several of these.

Karadipatti (Figs. 27, 31):

This group of carvings is on the inner face of a hemispherical cavity caused by an exfoliation and fall of the rock on the slopes of the hill here and has Yaksi Ambikā on her lion mount, almost similar to that of Chitarāl and Mātanga at the other end, with Mahāvīra (Fig. 27) and Pārsvanātha in between. Out-side, on the brow of the scarp is another and larger figure of Mahāvīra which has been carefully carved with pītha, chaurī-bearers, hovering gandharvas, and with the scroll work with foliage above the triple umbrella not yet deeply relieved and somewhat incomplete. Inscribed records in Vatteluttu occur under all the carvings referring to their context and character.

Kilavalavu:

Here close to a cavern with early Tamil Brahmi record and smooth beds on the rock floor are found a series of Mahāvīra and Pārsvanātha figures, J.S.-19

complete with pitha and other details of attendants, makara architecture for the seat-back etc. It also carries vestiges of a fine painted plaster over and around them showing floral and figural details in them, in green and other colours.

Tirumurtimalai:

There are several Jaina sculptures at this place located at the foot of the Anāmalai hills. These consist of a Tīrthankara flanked by two attendants. An inscription near these carvings refers itself to one Ettulappa Nāyakka (in 1793 A.D.) according to which an agreement was made for granting 4 gold pieces as marriage tax for the 'Amanēsvara' temple here, from the head of Amanasamudram village and to prevent the transfer of the ownership of this land at any time.

TONDAINĀDU

Vilapakkam:

This place near Velur contains also an unfinished early Pallava cave temple on the Pancapandavar malai, at one end of which close to the road but on the higher slopes of the hill is a boulder with a tarn below and some natural caverns. It contains inscribed records of the 50th year of Nandippottarasar (Nandivarman II) and refers to the figure of Ponni Yakṣī whose image is also carved on the rock-face.

Vallimalai:

There is a natural cavern with images carved on the inner slopy ceiling and back wall of the rock and four inscription of the Gangas and Bāṇas recording the founding of a Jaina shrine, setting up of Jaina images etc. The Ganga king was Rājamalla, son of Bāṇa Vikrama, grandson of Śrī Puruṣa, and the great grandson of Śivamāra, as given in the record. He improved the cavern for a vasatī. A Jaina image of Dēvasena, a pupil of Bhāvanandin who was a spiritual preceptor of a Bāṇa king is also found here. This image and another Tīrthankara carving, were set up by a Jaina preceptor Āryanandin. Even the back wall of the Subrahmanya cave shrine at this place contains Jaina carvings.

Kudagumalai:

In the Kudagumalai, adjoining Ammacatram village, there are several natural caverns with vaulted ceilings and traces of polished beds on the floor, and drip-ledge on the rock scarp face. Some Jaina images, damaged, including a standing figure of Tirthankara and circular stone pedestal with carvings (which

might have been part of a mānasthamba pedestal) are also found, ascribable to the eighth and ninth century A.D. Records from here of the fourth and the fifth year of a Rājakesarivarman (9th or 10th century A.D.) refer to gifts of land in honour of the Tirthankara of the Tiruppallimalai in Vadasiruvai-nādu.

PĀŊDYAN AND ĀY COUNTRY (VENĀD)

Chitharal (Tirucchanattumalai):

By the side of the over-hanging rock forming a natural cave, are found sculptured figures of Tirthankaras, which are votive images carved by visitors to this holy shrine here from distant places in the past. The figures are those of Parsvanatha, Mahavira and other Tirthankaras and of Padmavati devi. The place seems to have been sufficiently famous in the past to have attracted Jainas from such distant places as Tirunarungondai in Tirukkoilur taluk of South Arcot Dt., Kuđavāsal in Thanjāvūr district etc. Archaic Vatteluttu records below the figures on the seat refer to Ajjanandi, Uttanandi of Kattampalli at Tirunedumbarai, Pattini bhatariar of Tiruccharanam and Viranandi Adigal of Melaipalli at Tirunarungondai. One of the other records is important inasmuch as it is pertaining to the Ay king Vikramaditya Varagunavarman in his twenty-eighth year, and refers to a grant to God for certain services at the temples endowed by Gunantangi Guravis, disciples of Aristanemi Bhatara for the Ambikā at Tiruccharanam. The figure of Ambikā especially has been carved carefully and vigorously like Durga, with her lion mount with a female gana at the right carrying something in a bowl.

This earlier rock cut reliefs had been supplemented by a regular shrine in the mediaeval times of a simple nature, along with a gopura entrance for the precincts suggesting the development of architectural forms co-eval with those for Hindu temples in the region.

Ш

STRUCTURAL ARCHITECTURE AND ART

(A) EARLY STAGE

Tirupparuttikunram (Jina Kanci) (Figs. 3-9):

This place, which was also called Amanserkkai, contains two temples, one for Candraprabha separated, and another large complex dedicated to Vardhamāna, but containing several sub-shrines, inside a high prākāra and a gopura entrance. The Candraprabha temple faces east. It is a very unique structure of the later Pallava style of Nandivarman II, not unlike, in many respects, as that of Vaikuntha-perumāl of Kāncī, and has the shrine located only in the upper storey or bhūmi of the temple, the lower being essentially comprised in its

ardhamandapa part of a transverse passage with access to the upper floor at the northern end. The inner wall carries the typical Pallava pilasters without the rampant lion motifs which are found on the exterior and has recesses on it, with the deepest in the centre. In the original disposition it might have had an ambulatory around and steps leading to the upper floor, as in Vaikuntha perumal temple. The upper floor is at a height of 12 ft. above ground and carries the sanctum and its own ardhamandapa, leading to the ambulatory landing of the flight of steps from below. The superstructure externally carries the hara parapet around, which is sandhara, and could also be circuited from outside, and, is overlain by the square grīvā and sikhara in the centre. Internally, the sanctum carried a fairly large image of Candranatha of stucco as the principal figure, and two smaller images of Kunthunatha, the seventeenth Tirthankara, and Vardhamāna, all seated in paryankāsana and in dhyāna pose. Two cāmara-dhārīdevatas of stucco are found on either side of Candranatha. The two flanking Tirthankara images above, are found to be recent additions, although they could be on the basis of ancient vestiges here. The lower chamber at ground floor, directly below the upper sanctum appears to have been filled up.

The upper granite pattika moulding of the outer plinth of the temples, (above a lower sandstone kumuda_mouldings and divided by a kantha), though mutilated badly, contains two records, both of the time of Rajendra Cola I. This structure, with the assuredly later Pallava character of the edifice itself, is in contrast with the Vardhamana temple complex which had not come into being before the time of Kulottunga I (1070-1120 A.D.), whose record is the oldest of the many there. The fact, therefore, is clear that the Candraprabha temple existed much earlier to the erection of the Vardhamana temple, and is admittedly Pallava in architectural details like the sandstone Pratibandha class of adhisthana with the pattika above of granite and without the vedi above—a feature which does not occur in Tamilnadu before Parantaka I (903-954 A.D.); by the multiplicity of bhittistambhas dividing the wall space, and having Sinha stambhas only at the corner as on the outer wall; by the showing of niche pilasters which do not have any feature above their beam or uttara, which is particularly a Pallava feature seen at other shrines at Kanci etc. Makara-toranas with profuse details, above niches are found only from the mid-third quarter of the ninth century A.D., in early Cola times; by the open plain niches in the outer wall of the upper tala; by the most well formed and well spaced $h\bar{a}ra$ elements; and by the general pleasing, though somewhat subdued, proportions of the $gr\bar{v}\bar{a}$ and the caturasra sikhara with its flanged rim. Above all, the location of the temple shrine proper on the upper tala has also some earlier analogues, as in the Kailasa cave at Ellora where over a solid lower magnum-plinth, the main temple rises apart from the nearcr examples like the early Pandyan Visnu temple

of Tirukkoshtiyūr. The later Pallava origin of the temple also fits to a nicety with the tradition that Akalanka (who is more closely connected with Kāńci than any other earlier sage) is traditionally said to have, in about 788 A.D., confuted in discussion the Buddhists at the court of king Sahasratunga Hima Śītala at Kāńci and besides converting the king to Jainism., caused the expulsion of the Buddhists from Kāńci for good to Ceylon.

Armamalai remains at Malayambattu (North Arcot Dt.) (Fig. 2):

The ancient cave site is located at Armamalai about six furlongs from Malayambattu village. The site is a large natural cavern facing south, and into a horse-shoe valley. There is an accumulation of cultural deposit on the cave floor relating to the Iron Age, funerary remains of which times are found in the valley in the form of black-and-red ware pottery, urn-burial fragments, etc.

The top of this deposit has been securely scaled by a mud and earth flooring in the historical period, at the time of Jaina monks re-utilised the cavern. There are mud brick walls, rising above this floor and upto the rocky ceiling and forming a shrine complex with a near sanctum cell that does not touch the rock-wall behind but is well ahead of it. In front of this sanctum is an ardhamandapa leading into a transverse and wider mahāmandapa without any distinctively line of separation with the ardhamandapa. This transverse hall gives access to two subsidiary shrines which are located on either side of the main sanctum. There is an outer walling providing a narrow passage all around the shrine in such a way that it could be used for circumambulation. Some subsidiary corner shrines which could have existed originally on the rear part of the cavern have been almost obliterated now. Towards the eastern end of the cavern, there is a rock spring in a low crevice. The mud bricks have sizes of $15'' \times 9'' \times 3''$ laid in mud mortar and plaster over by red murram upto 3" and plastered over by a fine plaster layers of mud and lime respectively. The mahāmandapa wall also shows ventilator windows on the front. It is likely that the entire walling might have been painted over, as layers of pigments are seen attaching to the front face of the mahamandapa. Remains of granite stone pillar shaft, capital etc., are scattered on some parts of the cave floor. These pillar types show flattened octagonal section with middle facets wider than the other, and carrying a mālāsthāna. Some pedestal fragments having the blossomed lotus medallion over the basal course is also found.

There are also two dvārapāla slabs one of which has the head missing, but is otherwise similar in style and dimensions to the other. It is cut out of the thick slabs in low relief. It has a karanda-makuṭa type of jaṭābhāra with a writhing cobra shown, a sparsely ornamented body with an yajnopavīta and necklet and

an arched udarabandha and hand ornaments, ardhoruka for the loins, tied by a kati vastra. The body is turned in three quarters profile in prstha-svastika pose and is an ābhanga-lalita leg stance. The facial feature carry a broad similarity with Pallava and Pāndya dvārapāla types, except in respect of the writhing eye-brows. The figures are both two armed. The detached slabs character of the door-guardian which might have intended to be fixed to the mud and plaster wall is interesting, and is not in conformity with the Pallava tradition.

The rocky ceiling of the front part of the temple had been carefully plastered in lime 1" thick with capping fine plaster and carries multi-colour paintings, figural as well as floral, and with bird designs, in which geese are prominent. The figures seem to have been panelled out and surrounded by wide decorated margins and, in the preserved portion, depict mithuna figures riding on certain animals as mounts, of which two using bull and buffalo could be observed. These might be the grid pattern depiction of Dikpālas on the ceiling, as is very common in the Calukyan country and in this case, above, could represent Isana and Yama respectively. The style appears to have affinities with Rastrakuta mural art. On the western end of the ceiling are found a large area decorated with floral designs with lotus as a dominating motif. There are other painted patches, one of which shows a standing lady with other members. These are of assured brush-work. It is likely that the floral patterns might have been the reproduction of the Samavasarana themes, as at Sittannavassal. The triple-chambered temple in the cave would indeed be a trikūtāvala, perhaps, intended for Mahāvīra, Adinātha and Pārsvanātha (or for Bāhubali, as the case may be). The date of the paintings, stone fragments and dvārapālas might not be later than the tenth century A.D., but could be appreciably earlier. There are some inscribed pedestal fragments which also palaeographically corroborates this date, in the valley nearby, and the village of Malayambattu also has a stone plinth of a Jaina temple, of which only the figure of a seated Jina alone has survived. In style, this temple could perhaps be of the late Cola times.

The Rastrakuta invasion into Tamilnadu entered through this Vaniyambadi gorge of Palar, and the famous town of Udayendram is also only a few miles from this site. The site should have been an important land mark from early times, as it is mentioned even in the Udayendram copper plate of the time of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla, as on the boundaries of the donce village, and is designated there as the Lohita-Guhā.

(B) LATER STAGES

Tirupparuttikunram (Figs. 3-9):

The Vardhamana or Trailokyanatha temple at Tirupparuttikunram enables one to arrive at its age, on the basis of its architectural stages, as from its

inscriptions—which are many—the oldest being of the time of Kulottunga I as already stated. The records refer variously to tax-free land grant to the temple from the villages of Kannipakkam, Ambi (the modern Anbil near Kāñcī), etc. One of the earliest Vijayanagara inscriptions is of the time of Iruguppa, the General of Bukkaraya, son of Harihara II, dated in 1382 A.D., and purports to the construction, at the instance of Puspasēna, a mahāmandapa in front of the Jina temple, for holding musical concerts and paved it with granite slabs all around. It also grants a village of Mahēndramangalam in Mamamdūr division for this temple. The compound or prākāra (and perhaps the gōpura also) was constructed by one Alagīya Pallava, (most probably standing for Kadavarayan Kopperuñcinga) after c. 1243 A.D., as shown by a record.

The temple complex comprises the apsidal shrine of Vardhamana or Trailokyanatha standing in the middle of a court, with two shrines, one on each side, dedicated variously to Puspadanta (also apsidal), the ninth Tirthankara, and Dharmadevi (also called Ambika and the Yaksi of Neminatha, the 22nd-Tirthankara) respectively. A transverse hall occurs in front of the three temples, and there is also a mukhamandapa in its front. Adjoining this main group of three on the south are two more shrines, with a third sandwitched in between them fortuitously, together called the trikūtabasti and dedicated variously to Padmaprabha, Vāsupūjya and Pārsvanātha, the 6th, 12th and 23rd Tirthankaras. This trikūta-basti has also an ardhamandapa and mukhamandapa, and the columnar Sangita-mandapa (already referred to) becomes a common kalyanamandapa for the two series of shrines referred to above. It is interesting that by local tradition, the Dharmadevi image and shrine is said to have been inducted into this temple in the thirteenth century A.D., from the Kamaksi temple which is regarded as an original Jaina shrine for this Yaksi of Neminatha. There is an ambulatory, with several structures all around like the kitchen on south-east, Brahmadeva shrine on southwest, Munisuvrata and stores on the north-east, and a comparatively later Rsabhadeva on the north-west corner.

The bronzes in the temple include Brahma Yakşa with his consorts Pūrņa and Puṣkala, Yakṣī Padmāvatī with her hooded nāga head, representations of Nandīsvara in metal (apart from stone also), Sarvāhņa Yakṣī, Dharaṇendra Yakṣa with Yakṣī Padmāvatī, a Dharmādēvī bronze, another standing Dharaṇendra and standing Padmāvatī, a Pārsvanātha on a massive bronze pedestal, Vardhamāna standing, his Yakṣa Mātanga (standing) and his Yakṣī, and 12-armed Siddhāyikā also standing, Jvālāmālini (8-armed) and seated in ardha paryaṅkāsana on a pedestal placed on a buffalo, Sarasvatī (four-armed), Bāhubali, Pañca-Parameṣthi or Navadēvatā-Yantra mounted on a pedestal and borne by vyālas, and a standing Anantanātha bronze.

The large scale mural paintings on the ceiling of the mukhamandapa and the sangita-mandapa in the temple of Trailokyanātha at Tirupparuttikunram illustrating the life story of three out of the 24-Tīrthankaras, namely, Rṣabha, Vardhamāna, Neminātha as also Kṛṣṇa, deserve some comments not only because they have, one and all of them, been labels in Tamil under each meticulously, but also from the conventional representations of paintings, almost on a folk style, in free sketching though with considerable fidelity in respect of dress and other decorative elements. They derived their stony source from the $\dot{S}r\bar{i}$ - $Pur\bar{a}na$. This donor General Irugappa was the same as the person who endowed the Ganigitti Jinālaya at Hampi.

Tirumalai (Figs. (15-19):

This important Jaina centre situated in Polur taluk contains on the top of the hillock, at middle level (in the form of caverns) and at the foot (in the form of two structural temples) one of the richest historical and art materials. by way of records, carvings and paintings of Jainism, dating from the Rastrakūta times to the late Vijayanagara period. The hill is called Vaigaimalai, presumably from the name Vaigavur to the Jaina village at the foot. Even works like that of building a sluice to the tank nearby was done at the times of Rajaraja I, by a certain Gunaviramamunivan, and was named after his teacher Ganisekhara maru-porchurian (the second golden Sūrya Ganisekhara). Another record of the time of Rajendra Cola in his 12th year records gift to temple at the top of the hill which it mentions by the name 'Tirumalai' and this temple on top is called Kundavvai Jinalaya, apparently named after Raja-Raja's daughter, and thus of his time itself (even if it stands for Rajaraja's own elder sister of the same name). The record of Rajendra informs that Camundabbe, the wife of a merchant Nannappayan living in Perumbanappadi, gave a perpetual lamp to this temple on the hill top and also grant for sacred food. Another, also in the 12th year of Rājēndra, refers to the gift of lamp by one Ilayamani Nangai and the lord of the temple is called Arambhanandin. Money was endowed for the tamp by one Sinnavvai, a queen of a Pallava king.

A record on the wall of a mandapa at the base of the Tirumalai hill, dated in the tenth year of Kō-Māravarman Tribhuvanacakravartin Vīra Pāṇāya dēva, refers to the building of a sluice at this place from the Madageri tank by one Ambala perumāl or Sinattarayan, a headman. A record of the twelfth year of Rājanārāyana Sambuvarayan mentions the setting up of a Jaina image on the hill by one Nallattal, daughter of Mannai Ponnadai of Ponnūr for Viharanayanar Penneyilnāthan (synonymous for arhat). A small record on the lower temple mandapa refers to the pious gift of well by the sons of Idaiyaran Appan for merit to accrue to one Sirrinangai. A long record of the time of Saka 1296

in the reign of Ommana Udayar, son of Kambana-Udayar forms a registration receipt for gift of land for the temple, bought by one Visnu Kambuli Nayakar, by the people of the village for which the land was bought, represented by one Ankarai Śrīdhara-Bhatta.

A record in a small shrine below the painted cave refers to the image of a Yakṣī (which is seen also there) having been caused to be made by one Ariṣṭhanemi Ācharyan of Kodaikottur and a pupil of Paravādimallan of Tirumalai. An interesting record on the outer wall of the doorway leading to the painted cave refers to gifts made by one Vyāmukta-śravanojvala or (in Tamil) Viduka-duragīya-perumāl alias Atigaiman of the Cēra race, with his capital at Takata (Tagadūr), who was the son of Rājarāja and descendant of a certain Yavanikā (Erini) king of Vengi. This king repaired the images of a Yakṣā and Yakṣī made by Yavanikā and placed them on the hill and presented a gong and constructed a channel. The hill here is called Arhasugiri (Engunavirai Tirumalai).

The remains on the hill (Tirumalai) comprise a large monolithic image of Neminātha on the hill top and a series of caverns converted into abodes, with paintings of various geometrical and other designs, besides Samavasarana scenes. Besides these, of the two structural temples, one of them, with an intact gopura entrance, at the lowest length, has painted panel scenes displayed in the sanctum on the drum-like circular zone above the wall proper and at the base of the sikhara shell. These two temples, dedicated to Vardhamāna and Neminātha respectively, are typical southern vimāna types of the late Cola and early Vijayanagara period respectively, the larger and later being on the upper terrace of the hill relatively close to the cavern series. A large prākāra wall skirts the whole complex at the foot of the hill. The Vardhamāna temple rises in tritala with a circular grīvā and sikhara at the top. The interior plan is that of garbhagha, ardhamandapa, mahāmandapa all closed and an open mukhamandapa, with a common flat roof terrace.

The Neminatha temple has again another prakara bandha with a gopura entrance. The tower of this temple is missing. The garbhagtha is square and has an ardhamandapa of similar width but a widening closed mahamandapa and an open pillared mukhamandapa. The cornices of the mukhamandapas of both the temple are massive, with kodungai ribbings underneath in a typical Vijayanagara style. The topmost terrace also carries a small shrine which is attached to the bulge of the rock scarp here and is in alignment with the cavernous recession containing other caverns. Excavations occur at different levels vertically, with partially structural floors and stair-cases, rising three storeys high, with the topmost resting immediately under the horizontally projecting and over-hanging rocky bluff. The storeys are characterised by corner J.S.-20

cantoning pilasters but the top two talas also carry wall pilasters and niche figures of Ajitanātha, within a makara torana niche, flanked by Mahā Yakṣa and Rohinī, and with two standing elephants laterally shown carrying garlands on their slightly lifted trunks, against the varimana and vedī courses in applique stucco technique. The interior shrines at different levels show rock-cut carvings of the Cola and Vijayanagara times. Of these the Dharmādēvi shrine with Gommaṭa and two male attendants of the Imperial Cola times (11th century A.D.) deserve attention, although the figure of Dharmādēvi is itself of the Vijayanagara times. The main shrine is, however, for Neminātha and is known as the Araikkoil (or the covered chambered temple) and is distinguished by extensive Vijayanagara and Nāyaka paintings.

Jaina vestiges in the Pudukkottai division of Tiruci District:

In the Pudukkottai area, Tenimalai, Sittannavāsal (Figs. 10-13) and Annavasal were important centres of Jainism between the ninth and the fourteenth century A.D. Three Jaina temples had even been brought to light at Chettipatti, (figs. 20-22), formerly known as Tiruvennayil, with the fragmentary inscriptions there calling the temple as associated with Udaiya-matisakara arukar-ācāryan—a famous Jaina ācārya of the tenth century A.D., and appears to be of the time of Rājarāja I (late 10th—early 11th century) alike by record as by architecture, and has several Jaina images, including an attractive Pārsvanātha figure. The monastery attached to this temple was called Ainnurruvaperumpalli endowed by Jayavīra Perilamaiyar, a merchant of the noted guild of the 500.

Sembattūr, on palli-urani channel (itself associated in its name with a palli) had yielded the remains of a Jaina shrine containing a Tīrthankara and Yakṣī images, pillar-shafts with a lion base (Fig. 25). Nārttamalai had two flourishing monasteries, at Aluruthmalai (anciently called Veda-tiruppalli-malai also) and another at Bommaimalai (anciently called ten-tiruppalli-malai). An unidentified inscription of Sundara Pāṇāya, possibly of ɛ. 14th century A.D. (P.S.I. 474) names two ācāryas, Dharmadēva ācārya of Tiruppallimalai monastery and his preceptor Kanakacandra Paṇāita. A Tenimalai inscription (P.S.I. 1-9) mentions that Malayadhi-rājan, a Jaina ascetic lived there and an Irukkuvel chief gave him rent free avippuram or land endowment for maintenance. In a matha there, called Andarmadam, a Seruvotti made an image of Jina Mahāvīra, as indicated by another record here.

Aluruttimalai has a natural cavern on its northern hill with four polished beds, two forming a double bed with a Tirthankara-carving on the rock with triple umbrella above them. A record of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya refers to this place as Tirumanaimalai or Tiruppallimalai. It also mentions two ācāryas, Dharmadēva and his guru Kanakacandra paṇḍita.

Pudukkottai town:

The bronze images of Jaina Tirthankaras now exhibited in the State Museum at Pudukkottai were found on the site on which the Raja's college, Pudukkottai stands at present. They indicate that there was a Jaina habitation at the place. Sadayapparai near Tirugokarnam had a Jaina temple and monastery. At Sadayapparai, there is a Jina image with a record dated in the twenty-fourth year of an unidentified Sundara Pandiadeva in which land free of tax was granted for offerings etc., to the Alwar of Perunarkilli-Cola Perumpalli shrine in the monastery of Kallarru-Palli forming part of Tenkavi-nādu.

Velavanpatti:

An image of a Tirthankara discovered at this place, seated in *dhyāna* pose, under triple umbrella with attendant deity on either side. The whole group is surmounted by scroll work. As the *lānchana* is defaced, it is difficult to identify this figure.

Alattiir:

Mahāvīra image, cut in high relief, found in front of the local Siva temple. It is seated on a padma-pīṭha, attended by cauri-bearers and having the triple umbrella. There are two yālīs on either side of the pedestal.

Annavasal:

Together with Sittannavāsal, it was an ancient Jaina centre. Two Tīrthankara images occur to the west of Palli-urani channel in the village, the head of one of which was found broken. It is a figure of Mahāvīra seated on a pedestal with attendants, Mātanga and Siddhāyikā, with scroll work decoration over the head and flying divinities on the sides and with rampant lion motif for the architrave beam of the seat-back.

Nanjūr:

To the west of the agrahāra, and north of the water-tank, an idol of Tirthankara (Mahāvīra) occurs representing in dhyāna pose with the triple numbrella and caurī-bearers on either side.

KONGU COUNTRY

Vijayamangalam (Fig. 14):

This is one of the most important centres of Jainism in the western Tamil country which is traditionally called Kongudesa. One of the localities at this

place was called Bastipura and contains the interesting structural temple of Candranatha or Candraprabha. The various sub-shrines of the temple contain the images of Adinatha, Anantanatha, Mahavira and Kusmandini Yaksi. There are also friezes representing the events of Adinatha's life on the beams of the mandapa which should perhaps belong to the early Vijayanagara times. The ruins of a separate temple intended for Adinatha is also found on the north-west part of the temple compound. The oldest inscriptions of the temple refer to the niṣidhikā of Puliyappai, sister of the Ganga General Cāmundarāya (in the time of Ganga Rājamalla, ca. late 10th century). In the Cōla period, this temple was known as Vīrasanghāta-perum-palli, as referred to by a record of the time of Kulottunga II, dated 1163 A.D. Vīrasanghāta is considered as the military title of the chief who would have endowed this temple in the Cōla period. A record datable to 1412 A.D. in the reign of Harihara II of the Vijayanagara dynasty is also found., referring to land grants.

The innermost main original complex comprises the garbhagtha, ardhamandapa and mahāmandapa of less than medium size, capped by an octagonal sikhara over a single tala. This structure is entirely of brick, plastered on the outside and is datable to the late ninth century A.D. The garbhagtha contains (as was the practice in the late Cola and early Vijayanagara times in some other temples of Tamilnādu also, as at Tirumalai) mural paintings, both figural and vegetal, in several rows of bands over the deity on the side walls of the garbhagtha shell.

The widening large mahāmandapa which gives an exit towards the north and has also a sub-shrine for Kuṣmāndinī Yakṣī on the southern side, was erected during the Cola times while the still wider and much larger open pillared outer mandapa, along with the very lofty go pura a little beyond on the eastern side and the tall granite mānastambha column outside the go pura were of the times of early Vijayanagara kings. The Cola and Vijayanagara structures are also of granite.

Tingalur:

There is a temple of the ninth Tirthankara Puspanātha here, and is referred to in the records as the Candra-vasati, and it is revealed that a new mukhamandapa was added to the temple in the Konattan Vikrama Cola (in 1045 A.D.) whose title Simhalāntaka is mentioned. This king was apparently, a vassal of the Imperial Cola kings Rājēndra and his successors. The actual donor was one Kanita Manikka Cheţţi, grandson of Arattulan Dēvan.

Dharmapuri:

Jainism was well patronised here in the time of Mahendradhiraja Nolamba and his successors in the ninth-tenth century A.D. A Jaina temple was built here

in the ninth century A.D. by two tradesmen Nidhiyanna and Candiyanna and land grants were given in 892 A.D. A grant of the village Mulapalli for the maintenance of the temple was also made, and was placed under the custody of one Kanakasēna Siddhānta Bhaṭāra, disciple of Vijayasēna of Siddhānta Bhaṭāra. These records are found on the pillars of the Brahmanical temple now going by the name of Mallikārjuna. It is just possible that the temple itself was originally intended for Jainism.

A temple called Nagara-Jinalaya was also located in a place known as Mudikondan, datable to the twelfth century A.D.

TONDAIMANDALAM

Tirunarungondai:

The site had been a famous centre of Jainism. In its records, it is referred to as the Narpattennayirapperumpalli (or the great shrine of the 48,000) In the ninth year of the reign of Kulottunga, gift of taxes to the temple by one Vīrasekhara-Kadavarayan is found, and another record of the tenth year of Rājādhirājadēva refers to the gift of money for a lamp to the Yakṣī in the western temple (melir-palli) The money was made over to the chief priest Puṣpasēnadēva. The main shrine structure, as it stands today goes by the name of Appandanātha temple, with shrine chambers for Candranātha and his Yakṣī. It is to be noted that one Vīranandi of the western shrine (of Yakṣī) of this place had visited Chitarāl and got some images engraved on the rock there.

Venkunram:

The area around Wandiwash has been an ancient zone of Jaina colonisation in Tamilnadu, coming under Perunagar-nadu, from the early Pallava times (6th century A.D.). The Arugar temple at Venkunram is part of a Jaina village, and has a degenerate mediaeval garb now, but historically is rich in its associations. It is a dvitala temple with circular sikhara and a simple wall section over a mancabandha plinth. A subshrine for Dharmadevi carrying a fine stone sculpture of this Goddess of the Vijayanagara style in its sanctum, occurs at right angles to the main sanctum across its common mahamandapa. It carries a sala sikhara, a Vijayanagara hall-mark for Devi or Amman shrine in Tamilnadu.

The Pirudiyūr temple has an early stone image of Vardhamāna (mutilated and kept in the front mandapa) and a later image in the main sanctum. The dēvī-shrine is built on the north-east corner facing south. The plinth of the main shrine is of stone and its body rises to a dvitala structure with a circular sikhara. The vimāna-tower shows on the kosthas of the first tala-prastara, the images

of the Tirthankara, namely, Vṛṣabhanātha, Sambhavanātha and Candranātha, along with their respective Yakṣas flanking them. They are all rendered in stucco.

Nagerkoil (Śrī Nagarkoilpalli):

The important Jaina vestiges at this place are found in the Nagaraja temple of the town. It appears to have become a Naga shrine for Hinduism only after the time of king Bhūtalavīra Udayar Mardanda Varmaraja, until which time even the officiating priest carried typical Jaina names like Kamala vāhana paṇḍita and Guṇavīra paṇḍita. Six Jaina images in worship are found here, including three seated figures of Mahāvīra, a seated and a standing figure of Pārsvanātha, and another of Padmāvatī dēvī. One of the Vardhamāna images and those of Pārsvanātha and Padmāvatī are carved on the pillar of the maṇḍapa in front of the central shrine, and two others in the central shrine itself. There are two brass images of a later period, also of Pārsvanātha standing and Padmāvatī standing, with hooded cobra for both of them. The gateway to the temple, now in typical Kēraļa style of wood work, lofty stone pillars and tiled roof, is called 'Mahāmeru Māligai' and should itself have its connections with Jaina mythology.

Besides the figures referred to above, we have also illustrated here a few more plates in Figs. 1, 23, 24, 28, 29, 33, 34 from different sites in the list of illustrations.

REFERENCE

1. Tirunāthankunru record (c. 5th-6th century A.D.) near Singavaram close to Gingee (South Arcot Dt.)., accompanying a crowded depiction of the 24 Tirthankaras in a stereo-typed way, mentions that 'this was the place of penance of Candiranandi, the monk who (died) observing 57 days of fasting.

ILLUSTRATIONS

- 1. Natural Cavern with beds for Jaina monks. Sitharmalai, Mettupatti, Madurai district.
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APPENDIX

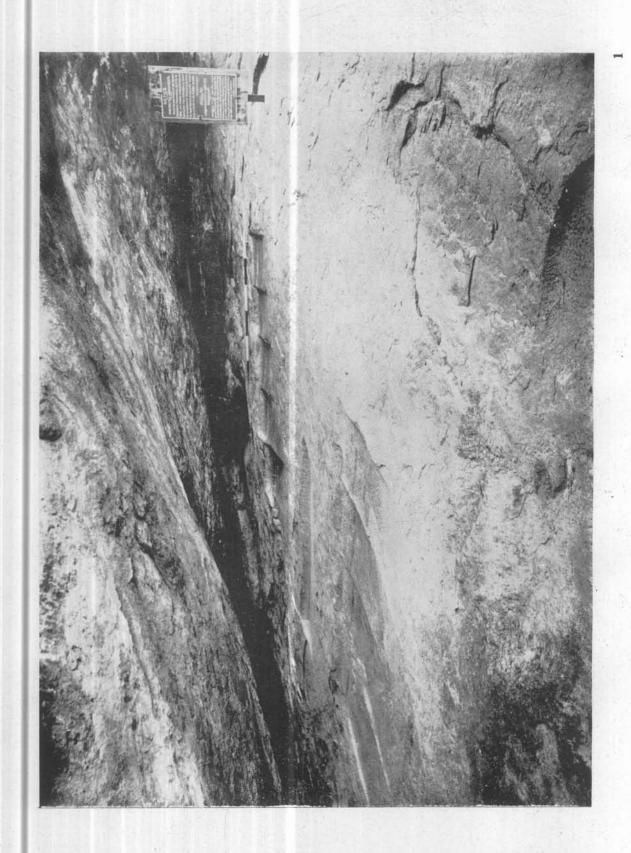
List of places containing cave beds and/or Brahmi records and bas-reliefs.

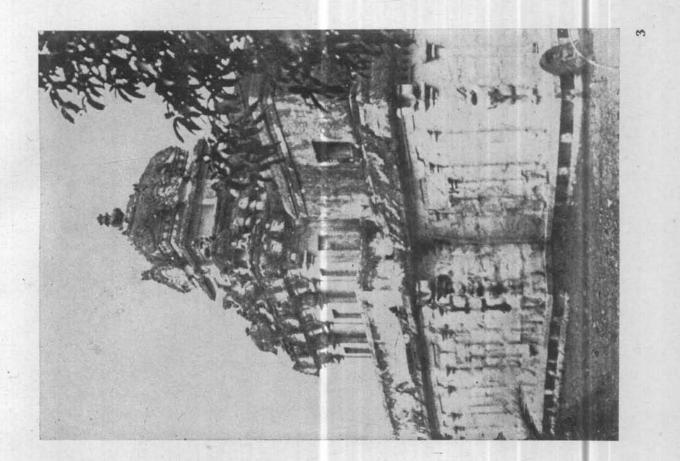
Sl. No.	Name of Place	District
1.	Arachalur	Coimbatore
2.	Chitaral	Kanyakumari
3.	Alagarmalai	Madurai
4.	Anaimalai	do
5.	Karungalakkudi	do
6.	Kongarpuliyankulam	do
7.	Kilavalavu	do
8.	Mangulam	do
9.	Nagamalai, Keelakuilkudi	do
10.	Karadipatti	do
11.	Uttamapalayam	do
12.	Mamandur	North Arcot
13.	Vilapakkam	do
14.	Vallimalai	do
15.	Armamalai	do
16.	Perunagar	do
17.	Kunnakkudi	Ramanathapuram
18.	Tirunathankunru	South Arcot
19.	Marugulathalai	Tirunelveli
20.	Kalugumalai	do
21.	Sittannayassal	Tiruchirapalli
22.	Tiruchi	do
23.	Pugalur	do
24.	Narttamalai	do

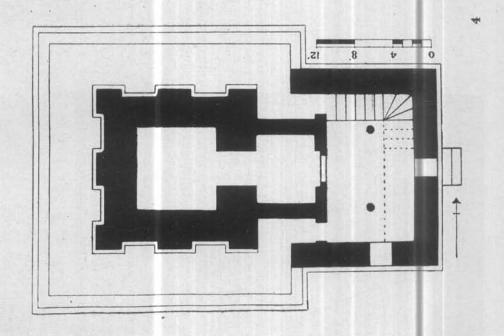
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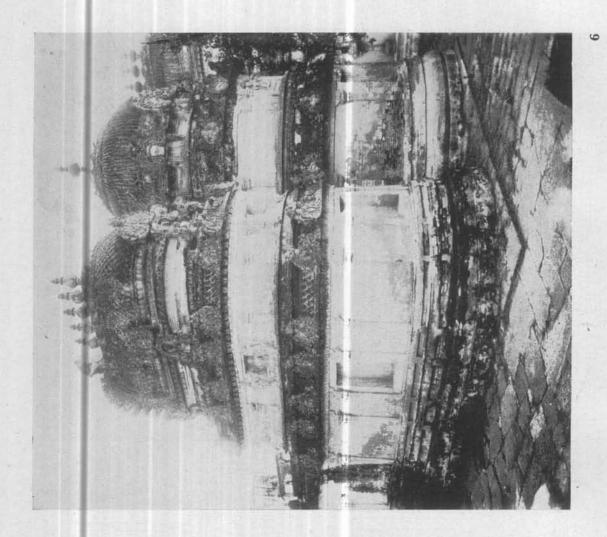
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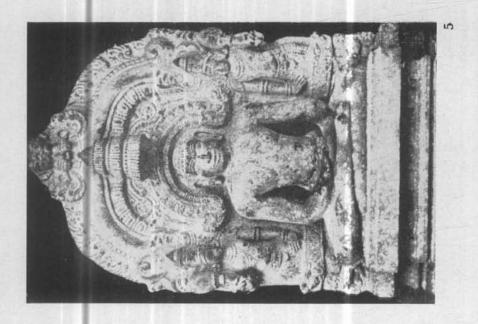
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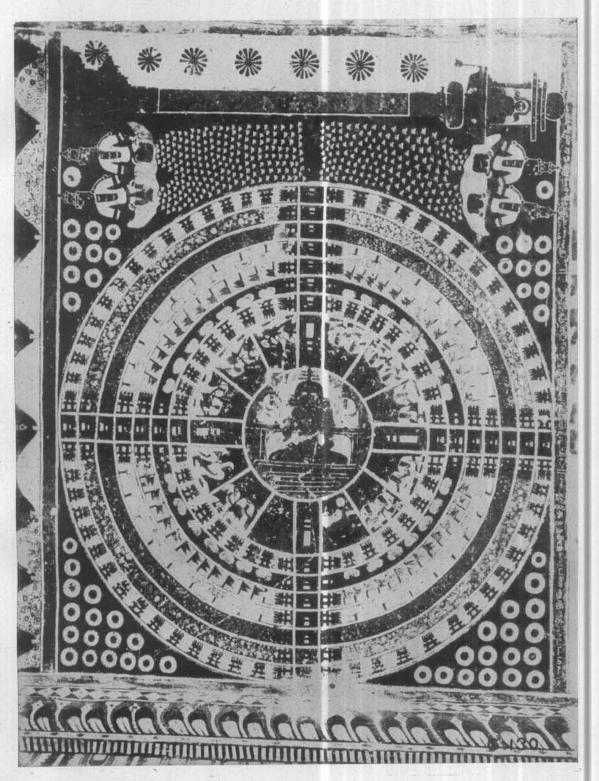


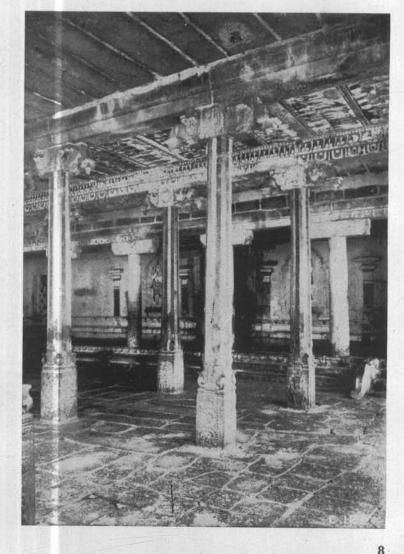




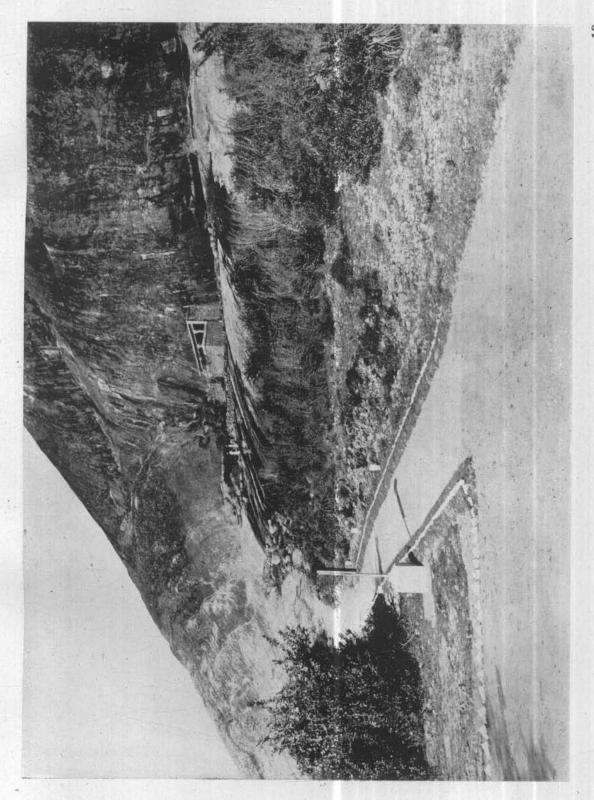


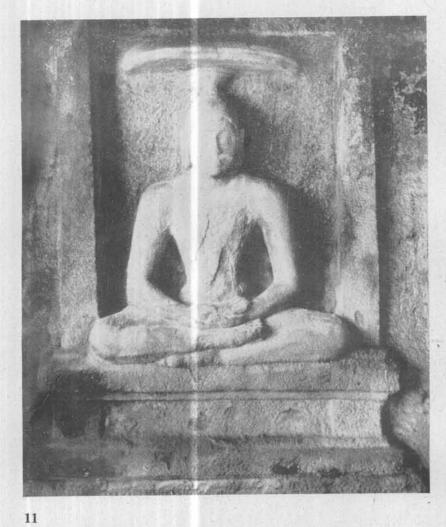


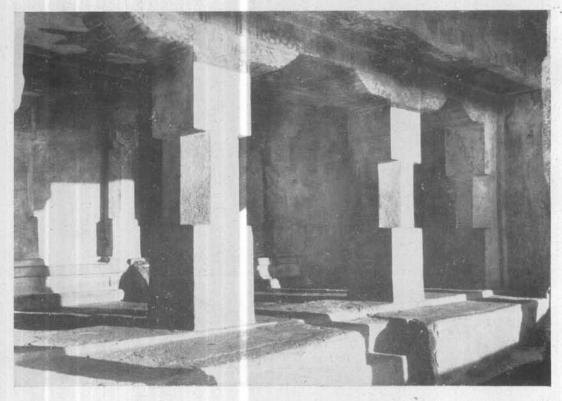






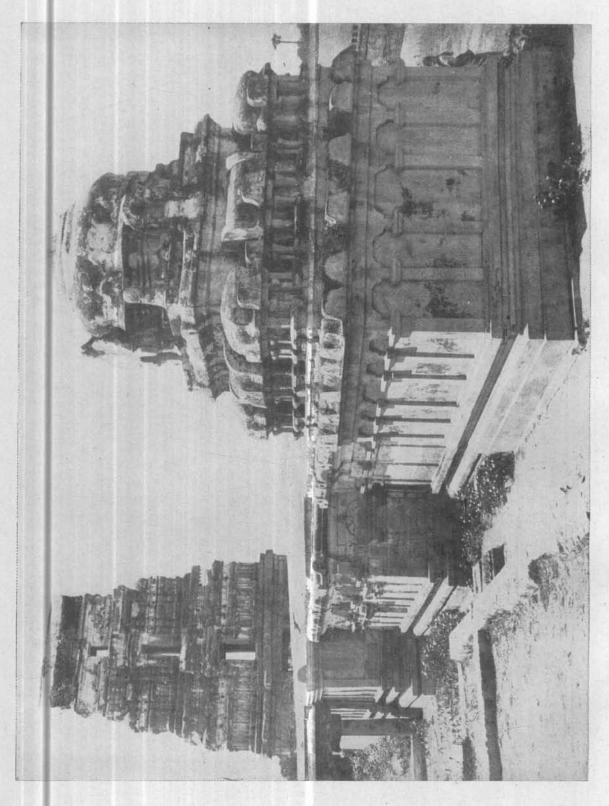








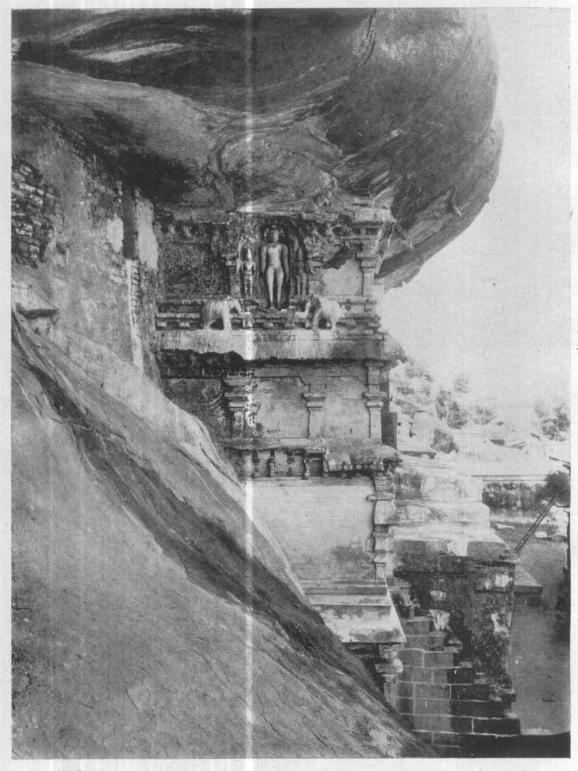
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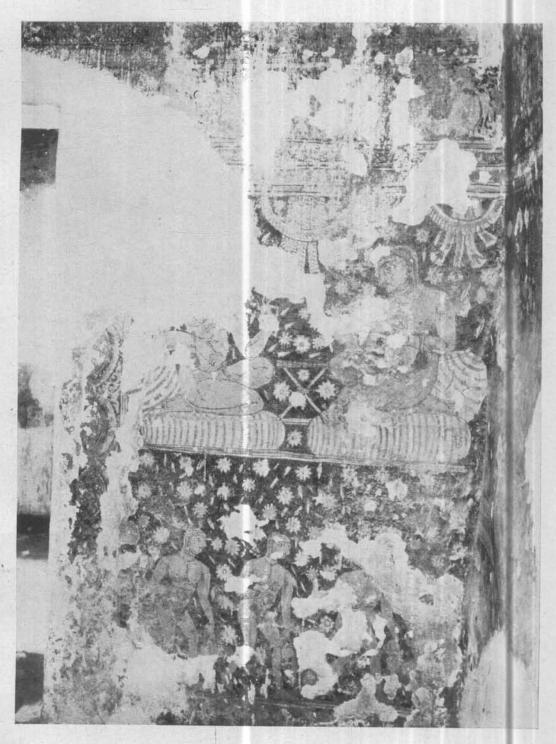


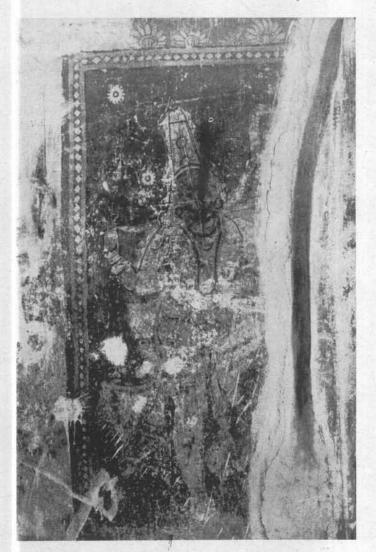












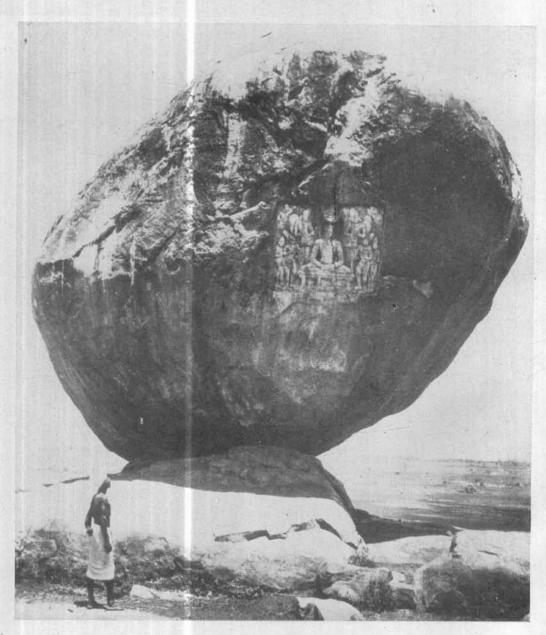


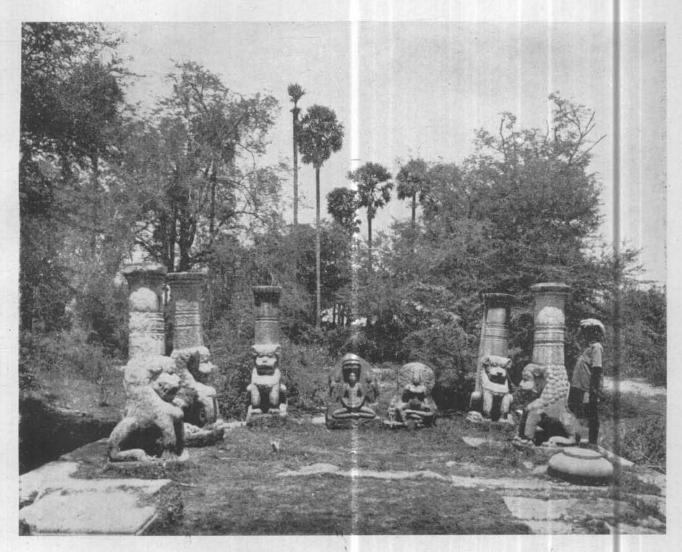




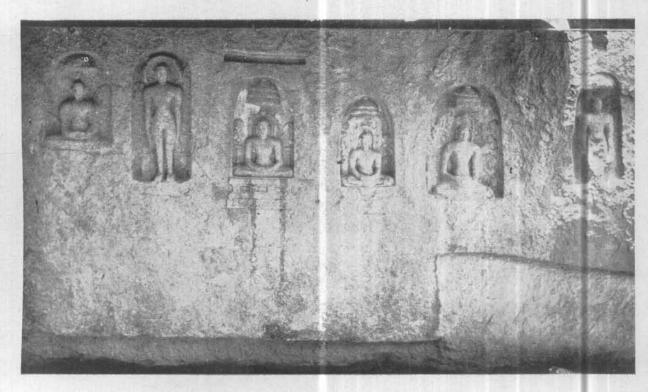




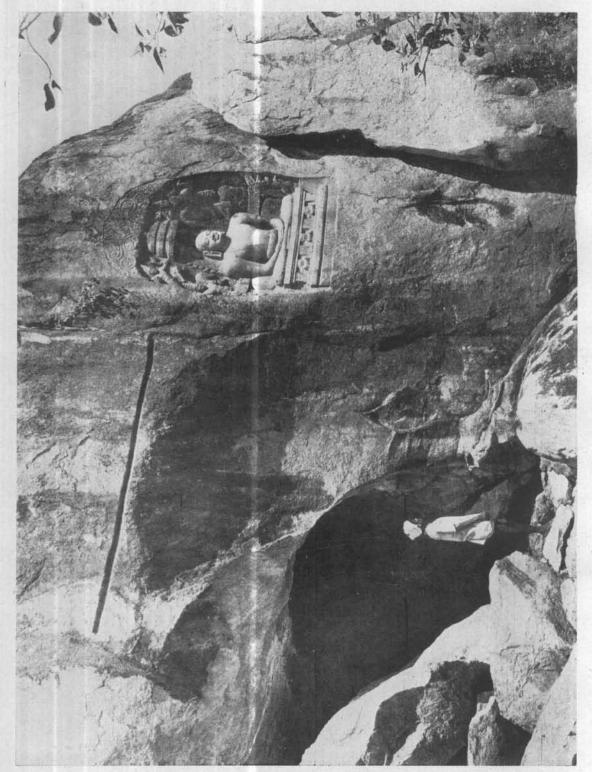










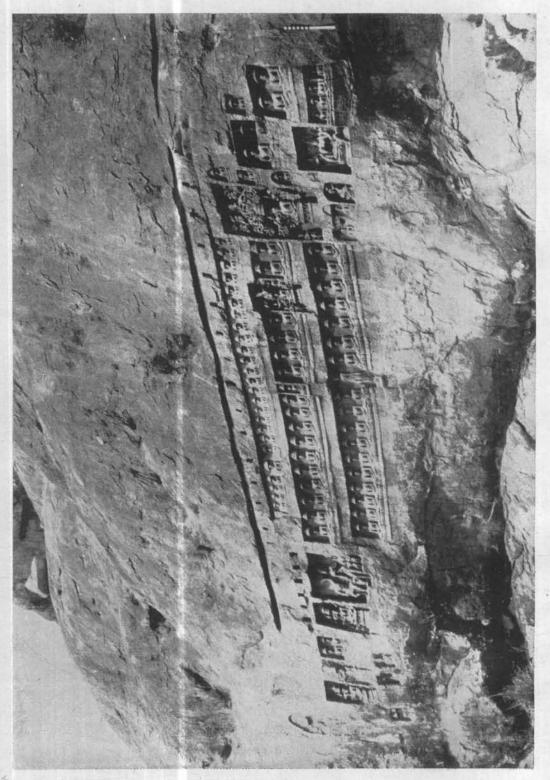




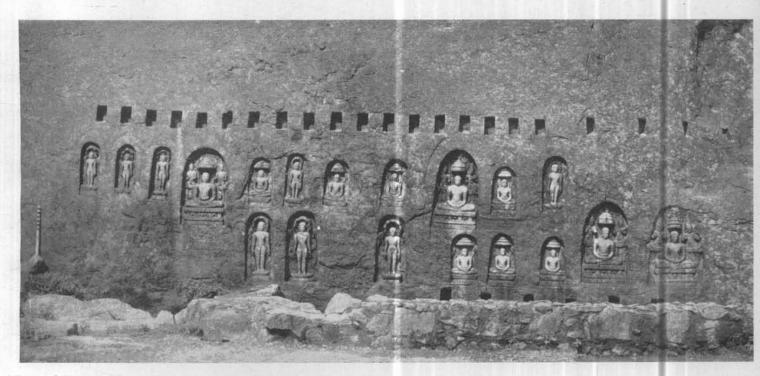
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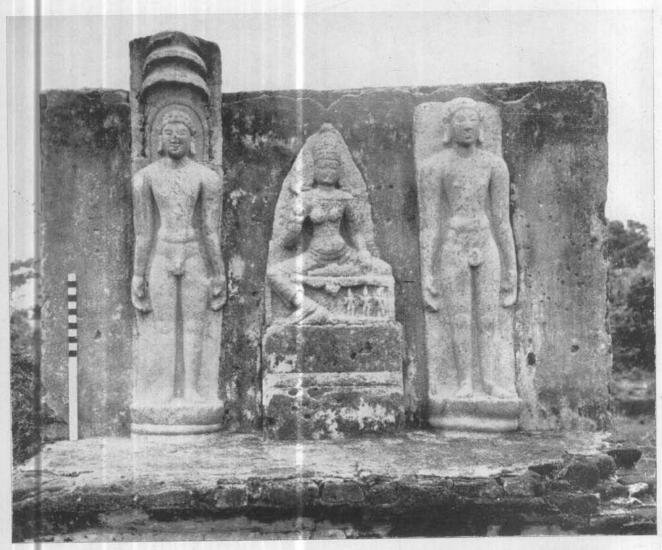
















14. JAINA ART AND ARCHITECTURE UNDER THE GANGAS OF TALAKAD

K. R. SRINIVASAN

In the era of great architectural and artistic achievements initiated in stone contemporaneously by the Cālukyas of Bādāmi and the Pallavas of Kāncī, commencing from the later half of the 6th century A.D., the Gangas of Talakad, or the Western Gangas as they are alternatively designated, had a considerable share of contribution to the general artistic and architectural heritage of the South. Hemmed in by the three great contemporary empires of the Cālukyas—later replaced by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, on the North, of the Pallavas on the east and of the Pāndyas of Madurai on the South the Ganga region, with changing allegiance to one or the other of the three as the current politics dictated, acted too as the channel for the flow of artistic and architectural influences and impulses from one to the other, besides making creative contributions by itself to the norms and forms of architecture and styles and idioms of sculpture.

Jainism had a greater hold in this region than in the Cālukya-Rāṣṭrakūṭa and the Pāndyan areas, and the great centre and focus of South Indian Jainism—Sravana Belagola was located in its domains. This was the point that radiated Jainism, through the Sanghas and Gacchas to the Tamil countries of the Pāndyas and the Pallavas to the South, East, and West and to the Kannada country on the North. The importance of this nerve centre of Digambara Jainism was sustained through the centuries, and the place still retains its primacy even in the present alterated conditions of Jainism in the South. Naturally one would look for the best in the expression of artistic and architectural impulses of the Jainas in the region in and around this great centre, under the patronage of the Jaina rulers of the Ganga line or of their nobles.

The Calukyas continuing the tradition of rock-architecture or architectural sculpture in deliberately chosen soft rocks of the region excavated their Hindu and Jaina cave-temples and almost soon after learnt to erect structural temples with stones quarried from the soft sand stone rocks of Badami and its neighbourhood. The contemporary Pallavas, on the other hand, initiated the hitherto unknown

technique of cutting-in cave temples and cutting-out monolithic vimana formes from out of the very hard rocks of their region, a feat started by Asoka and his grandson Dasaratha in the hard quatzose gneiss of Barabar and its neighbourhood in Gaya a millennium earlier. Though the Pallava achievement in 'rock architecture' or 'architectural sculpture on a grand scale' and the in-situ figural relief sculpture is considerable, one finds that, when they reached the more rational and purposeful structural phase in stone construction in c. 700 A.D., they faltered for want of satisfactory technique and knowhow and the tools required for quarrying fresh blocks of stone from out of the hard rocks. Pallava Rajasimha himself experimented on different kinds of hard stones, as his structural temples in Mahabalipuram and Panamalai would demonstrate; ultimately he resorted, as inevitable, in order to keep pace with the progress in soft stone structures made and being made in the rival Calukyan domains, to the employment of the local friable and arenacious varieties of sandstone, though of quality much inferior to that of the Calukyas. This sand stone continues to be the main fabric of construction in the structures of his successors and in later Pallava times, in the reign of Dantivarman (A.D. 796-847), one finds a relapse to the much earlier modes of brick and timber structures as in the two noted temples of Uttiramērūr that are such sankīrna vimānas, while contemporarily large and notable sand stone structures like those in Pattadkal, Aiholē etc. had come up and the famous rock-cut Kailasa monolith and the similar Jaina Chota Kailasa and the like had come into being in Ellora.

It is in this context, that the achievement of the Gangas, as also of the contemporary Pāndyas, who had continued the rock-cut or cutting-in mode longer and have left a greater number of such creations than the Pallavas and others put together, has to be assessed. Both these dynasties, by dint of their persistence in the hard material had evolved the needed technique of quarrying blocks from out of the hard rock and invented the tools for the laborious and difficult process of sizing, shaping and sculpture in the material. Soon small structural, all-stone temples in the hard granites, gneisses and charnokites were erected in their regions, the Gangas exhibiting greater skill in the process. Parenthetically one may state, that the Ganga stone workers perfected their skill to such an extent and developed a tradition, that their successors in that region of Kongu mandalam in Tamilnadu and the South Mysore area, which formed the Gangavādī of yore, continued to be the best quarrymen, and even to-day they are in demand for such stone work in all parts of India, where great structural engineering projects are on hand.

The Western Gangas, who usually follow in their architectural compositions and sculptural creations many of the Calukya-Rastrakūta patterns, yet exhibiting a distinct style and idiom of their own, preferred the Pallava-Panaya fabric

of hard rock-material, in which medium they have left two rock-cut cave temples on the quartzose granite-hill of Melkote, near Mysore. But for these, one is struck by the total absence of this rock-architecture effort in the whole of the Mysore country and the Kongu area, that formed Gangavadi, the two cave temples in Namakkal being of the Atīya (Adigaiman) King Gunasila. The two rock-cut cave-temples in Melkote excavated in the scarp overlooking a valley between two hills, one above the other, do not present any outstanding architectural features, and the absence of sculpture is notable. They were apparently of Jaina dedication.

But when the Ganga craftsmen took up construction of all-stone temples of hard rock, they could exhibit unique skill in producing really artistic models. The triple shrines, standing in a line and facing south, and at present included as a northern lateral annex of the later Katalë basti complex on the smaller hill or Cikkabetta, also called Candragiri in Śravana Belgola, are early Ganga specimens of Jaina dedication. The triple unit consists of two samacaturasra, small vimānas, about 2 meters square each, complete with superstructure standing at either end of an east-west line, with an intervening cella of the same dimensions, almost hemmed in between and closed behind by the hind wall, which is a continuous one on the rear of all the three shrines. This central shrine is devoid of the usual vimana superstructure. This unit goes by the name Candragupta basti (Fig. 4). The three ardhamand apas, also square and of the same dimensions as and attached to the shrines in front, convert the whole into a larger more-or-less square structure. It is these ardhamandapa fronts that are found provided with a perforated and much later trellis screen of steatite or soap stone that is lavishly carved, as all Hoysala work is, with the label of the stone-mason, inscribed often. While what Jaina icons these three early temples enshrined originally is not known, one finds streatite icons of the two Yaksīs-Padmāvatī, and Kūsmāndinī, respectively in the two lateral cellas, the intervening cella containing Parsvanatha in the same soap-stone material; all the three evidently later replacements of the original Ganga consecration. The adhisthana, common to all the components, is of the early simple type consisting of the upana, jagati, tripatta, kumuda, kantha, pattikā and prati. The vimāna walls display two pairs of simple pilasters on each face, lateral and rear, exposed in the west and north of the western end shrine and east and north of the eastern end shrine, and the similar side walls of their two ardhamandapas, exposed at the west and east have two pairs, again, of pilasters or kud yastambhas of the same type. The rear wall of the interposed central cell, exhibits only a pair of dwarf-pilasters or nakula-padas that form torana-stambhas with a lintel-plate architrave on top, as if forming a shallow niche or dēvakostha, devoid of any sculpture. The capitals of the wall pilaster, cantoning the corners as well as those coming in between on each face, have well formed architectural constituents—the padmabandha-cum-mālā-

sthana on top of the square shaft or danda, the lasuna or kalasa, with embossed carving at the corners, the similarly decorated tadi, kumbha, pali and phalaka or abacus, all akin to the late Pallava pattern, the phalaka, being large massive and square in section as all the parts below are. The potika or corbel on top of the capitals are characteristically Ganga, with the corbel arms, thinner than the main block from which they project, instead of being of the same thickness as in the Pallava and other cases. The prastara over its uttira or beam has a hamsa-valabhi-frieze of hamsas, characteristic of the Gangas and differing from the Pallava and other types where it is a bhuta-gana-valabhi, or frieze of bhūtas. The kūdu or alpanāsikā ornaments of the flexed cornice or kapota, too, is different in that it often carries a trefoil finial, instead of the flat, 'shovel head' of the Pallavas. The top of the prastara or architrave is a vyālamāla or frieze of vyālas. The prastara in all its members, like the adhisthāna below, is continued right through the tops of the walls of the three shrine parts as also their ardhamandapas. The seeming second tala is a simple one of very short height, much obscured by the heavy terrace laid during subsequent repairs. The grīvā over the pindi is square, carrying a four-sided kūtasikhara, decorated by the embossed konapatta on the four ribs. The stone-stupi is missing. While this scheme follows the then common vogue of dvitala or astanga vimanas, it is characterised by the absence of the hara or string of miniature shrines or aediculae over the architrave of the aditala, a common feature found in the Eastern Calukya or Vengi areas, and sometimes in the Western Calukya area itself. This makes one suspect them to be ekatala, alpavimanas. Such dvitala types, without hara over the aditala are to be seen in the cloister vimanas composing the mālikā round the main Rājasimhēsvara vimāna of the Kāñcī Kailasanatha complex, as also the Mahendravarmesvara in front of it and the separate row of memorial shrines in front again of the whole complex.

After this simple essay in stone structural vimāna architecture, we have the more elaborate and complex structure of the Gangas, in what is called the Pańcakūṭa-basti in Kambadahalli (Fig. 3), near Śrvana Belagola. This unique complex is a text-book model, displaying many of the diverse types of architectural members and motifs as codified in the then current manuals on Āgama, Śilpa and Vāstu and as such is of great interest not only to the student of architecture and art, but also to the aesthete, who can perceive in its parts many fine points of line and grace. Originally this complex was conceived as a trikūtācala consisting of three equal sized vimānas, each with its own ardhamandapa opening into a common mukhamandapa, from its east, west and south sides, the mukhamandapa itself opens on the fourth or northern side, extended further by the addition of another closed and pillared mahāmandapa in front. The principal central vimāna of the trikūta, on the main axial line, thus faces north, while the two

lateral vimānas on the east and west lie on the transverse axis of the common square mandapa. The almost immediate addition of two more vimānas a little distance in front resulted in the complex of five vimānas—the pancakūta.

Firstly the three vimanas of the trikuta formation illustrate the ternary classification of the vimanas, as Nagara, Dravida and Vēsara according to the southern-texts on Vimana architecture and taxonomy based on the foursided, polygonal or curvituar plan of the vimana, more particularly of its head, the grīvā-sikhara, for it is the head alone even if severed that would determine the individuality of a person while the same cannot be so well possible from the headless body. The principal central vimana of the trio, at the southern end of the main long axis of the complex, facing north, has a grīvā-sikhara that is square on plan-samacaturasra, making the vimana Nagara, even as the body below is of the same plan and hence Nagara of the pure type. The western member of the trio facing east has over its square aditala and uparitala, an octagonal grīvā-sikhara head, making it Drāvida, and since the octagonal mastaka on a similar grīvā surmounts a square basal part, the vimāna is of the misra, and not of the pure Dravida type. The third vimana of the trikuta on the east, facing west, has a circular grīvā-sikhara roof or head, on the square basal structure, making it a Vesara vimana of the misra type again. The directional orientation of the three seems to imply some significance, the Nagara vimana facing north, where such vimanas of the Deccan region, are predominently Nagara, as are the Rikha-Prasadas of the North Indian type and with which they have a geographical contiguity. The east facing one is Dravida, the type that is more common in the vimanas of the eastern region from this focus, namely, the Kongu, Pandya, Cola and Pallava territories of Tamilnadu. The west facing Vējara type, seems to indicate a similar regional type as more of the west.

The adhisthana of the entire unit is of the simple pratibandha variety, common in the early Pallava and Pandya temples, consisting of the upana, jagati, tripatta kumuda, kampa, kantha, kampa, and pattika with prati. The vimana bhittis above on each face of the aditala have six kud yastambhas including the two cantoning either corner. These pilasters are typical in their parts and are decorated. They are of the Brahmakantha type, four-sided in section throughout from base to top, that is from the oma, to the vira-kantha. The padmabandha and malasthana on top of the danda or pillar shaft, and coming below the capital members, show interesting variations in their composition and design as do the uniformly shaped capital components themselves, namely, the lasuna (kalasa), tadi, kumbha, pali, phalaka and virakantha, in respect of their decoration. The variation in form, too, is, however, noticed in the case of the pali, or doucene on the underside of the phalaka or abacus, which conforms to the

earlier and currently common pattern of a smooth doucene in the eastern and the southern vimāna while it shows incipent petal markings at its base in the western vimāna, heralding its ultimate conversion into an inverted lotus blossom as becomes common in much later examples in the south, when it came to be designated padma (lotus) or idal. (Tamil, petal) instead of its earlier cognomon pāli, from its saucer-shape. All the potikās on top of the pilasters are cross-corbels with four arms, since the pilasters really represent full pillars supporting the architrave and the superstructure, with screen walls in between. Their lateral arms are in line with the walls, taking the main uttira (wall-plate) over them as do the intervening bhitti lengths, the forward and rear arms taking the cross joists—the lupas and jayantis of the ceiling composition in wooden originals. The potikā arms are of the taranga type with a median pattā that is embossed with patralatā design, as in the Pallava corbels, but their end faces, too, instead of being plain as elsewhere are adorned by lotus designs—a quite novel feature.

The architrave or prastara consists as usual of the uttira or beam, vajana, valabhi, vājana, kapota (cronice), the ālinga and antari. The doucene valabhi, in combination with the vajanas above and below it, is a frieze of hamsas—a hamsavalabhi—a typical Ganga characteristic. The alinga-antari combination constitutes the upper frieze or blocking-course of vyālas, the vyālamālā as it is called. Corresponding to the six pilasters or bhittipadas on each face of the vimāna āditala, the Kapota length on top has three pairs of alpanāsikā arches or the kūdus, which have trefoil finials as against the flat shovel forms of the Pallava kūdus. The hamsavarī valabhī, stated as characteristic of the Ganga structures, is not to be found in the tala prastaras of the Pallava and Muttaraiyan examples, where it is mostly a bhūta-varī or frieze of bhūtas or ganas, though the hamsa frieze is often found in the valabhi of the griva, below the sikhara. In the space between the two inner pilasters of bhittipādas in the centre of each face of the aditala, the bhitti has a sunk niche or devakostha flanked by two dwarf pilasters or nakula pādas, which are torana stambhas in that they carry on top over their capitals an arched torana, surmounting the niche entrance, the two arcuate arms of the toranas issuing from the gapes of two makaras placed one on either top of the bhittipadas, the arms terminating alike into the gapes of two addorsed smaller makara heads forming the crest of the arch. But in these essentially makera torana types, the architectdesigner has contrived to depict different torana forms as described in the texts by varying the composition and content of each of the torana arches fifteen in all—nine on the three vimana aditala walls and six on their ardhamandapas (one on each side wall). In some they are simple patra-toranas or a festoon of foliage and flower, in others they are citra-toranas with birds and

animals of various forms included in the curved arms of the torana arch, yet in some other cases they are vidyādhara—toranas with a frieze flying vidyādharas in the making of the two arms of the arch—a feature not very usually found either in the texts or in practice, but mentioned later in the well-known prasasti part of the inscriptions of Rājēndra Cōlas I, (A.D. 1012-44), as having been brought by him from his naval campaigns in Kidāram (Katāha-Malaya) and Śri-Vijaya in South East Asia. The more commonly recurring general pattern is the usual makara tōrana with the festoon arch made up of branches of twisted pearl and gem garlands. The dēvakōṣthas are empty, the sculptures inside them lost.

Pilasters of the same type as on the vimanas and their ardha-manadpas are found at the four corners, one each at every corner of the larger, closed mahāmandapa, while two more flank the main entrance on the north. Inside, this mandapa shows columns of the navaranga pattern, typical of the Calukyan and Rastrakuta structures with four central pillars enclosing a large central ankana or bay, and more pillars disposed in alignment with the central column all round the central Catuska. The central four are of the Pallava type each with a square base or oma, resting on padma pedestals, octagonally chamferred shaft (danda) carrying the capital parts like kalasa, tādi and kumbha, the last carrying the potikas, as in the mandapa type Mamalla style cave-temples of the Pallayas, without the intervention of the pall and phalaka (abacus). The other pillars are of the usual mandapa-pillar-type each with a square saduram at the base and top, below the corbel, with an intervening Kattu that is octagonal in section. These present a unique feature in that the top of the octagonal segment that forms the danda or shaft at its junction with the base of the top saduram has a malasthana of pendent loops of garlands, indicating thereby that the top saduram is a mere simplification of the capital, while the bottom saduram, likewise, stands for the omā. The Cāļukya-Rāstrakūta affinity is further suggested by the carved samatala vitana or ceiling slab in the bay over the four central pillars. This square plaque depicts the dikpālas on the respective diks and vidiks, round a large central figure of Dharanëndra yaksa, stanoing twoarmed holding a bow in one, in $K\overline{\sigma}_d$ and a $R\overline{\sigma}_d$ and a conch in the other, like Krsna, applied to the mouth as if blowing it. His head is shaded by a five-hooded serpent that rises behind him, while two camara-bearers are placed on either side of him. The figure is finely modelled.

The mandapa entrance had in front of it a large platform, of equal width, approached by flights of steps (sopāna) from either side, guarded by balustrades of the makarayāli type. In front of the landing, placed on the ground is a bali-pītha of interesting design, coeval with the main structures. It rises over the basal upāna in three tiers of diminishing sizes and variant plans. The lower most is a square block, the next one is an octagonal block with the sculptures

of dikpālas in its eight faces and the top one is circular recalling the square, octagonal, and circular grīvā-sikhara, patterns of the three principal shrines on the one hand and emphasizing as it were that the square was the primordial shape by the bevelling of the corners of which the octagon is formed which by repeated bevelling of the corners ultimately goes to form a circle. This is in accordance with our ancient Sulba, dealing with geometrical designs, and the still prevalent methods of reducing a square to an octagon, polygon and ultimately forming a circle a vogue of the Indian carpenters of to-day who starting with the squared timber reduce it to polygons and cylinders by bevelling. The landing in front of the mandapa entrance, has been roofed over in later Western Cāļukyan times by a ceiling carried on tops of typical late Western Cāļukyan or early Hōysala columns, placed at its four corners.

The three shrine chambers enshrine Tirthankara images on simhāsanas, wrought in granite, with chaurie-bearers on either side, but the sculptures of the Tirthankaras themselves, as extent, are of polished steatite, a soft stone material which the later Western Cālukyas and after them the Hōysalas of the Mysore country employed without exception in all their architecture and sculpture. The earlier dedication appears to be Adinātha, in the main north facing vimāna, the east facing one dedicated to Nēminātha, and the west facing to Śāntinātha.

Externally again the hara, or string of aediculae, over the aditala prastara of each of the three vimanas consists of four karnakūtas, placed one at each corner, and four bhadrasalas, placed over the middle of each side, all interconnected by harantara lengths of lesser height than the square karnakutas and oblong bhadra-salas and with a well-marked rounded coping. Each harantara length over the aditala of the main axial vimana of the trikuta, that faces north, has a single ksudranāsikā in relief while those on the two lateral vimāna aditalas have a pair for each length of harantara, a subtle device as it were to distinguish primordial Nagara vimana of the mula-na yaka from the other two of the trio. More interestingly enough, the ksudranāsikās of the western vimāna (east facing Vēsara vimāna), have the relieved lower parts of each ksudranāsikā framed by pilasters ranged in a semi-circle below the nida-arch form of the kūdu superstructure projected from the hārāntara coping, suggesting, a total Vēšara simulation of structure with oval or circular body and a gajaprstha or nīda superstructure, as would conform with the Vesara nature of the parent vimana structure on which it comes to be an appendage or anukaya. This form is suggestive of the original of what is called the Vrttasphathita motif in the earlier texts.

From behind this $h\bar{a}r\ddot{a}$, over each of the three $\bar{a}ditalas$ rises the second tala, a lesser square, with the harmya wall relieved on each face by four

kud yastambhas, including the ones at the corners, of the same type as in the \bar{a} ditala-walls but with the two intermediary ones set a little more in advance of the wall face. The prastara has the same hamsa-valabhī and the $K\bar{u}du$ arches have trefoil finials as opposed to the lower series where some have simhamukha finials. The top course of the second tala, is a $vy\bar{a}lam\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ as usual. Placed on its four corners are four couchant lions each with one of its fore-paws raised, and head turned towards the side, forming the $l\bar{a}nchanas$ of a Jaina temple and in position as prescribed by the texts, a feature that came into vogue after A.D. 700-730 from the time of Rajasimha Pallava.

The four faces of the square grīva-sikhara of the north facing main vimāna, the similar octant faces, of the western vimāna, all the eight of them have projected mahānāsikās composed of a flat slab or tablet-like lower part relieved from the griva face with a plain doucone valabhi on top. This tablet is in place of the distinct nakulapāda pilasters, enclosing a niche in between, as is more usual, while the sikhara part bears the projected dormer-like torana superstructure of the mahānāsikā, as usual, without variation. This plain tablet-form of the infra structure of the mahanasika, recalls the similar eight primordial ones found on the griva of the Pallava, Dharmaraja ratha monolith and the structural Shore-Temple in Mahābalipuram, marking the transitary phase from the original functional lattice-window ventilator to a painted tablet or shuttered window, that is closed, giving place later to an open window, or niche with an icon or shrine model relief inside. The four cantoning pilasters of the square grīvā of the Nāgara Vimāna, and the eight corner ones of the octagonal grīvā of the Dravida vimana are simple flat pilasters devoid of capitals. The grīvā-sikhara of the Vēsara Vimāna, too, has the same type of mahānāsikās, one on each cardinal. In line with their basic Pallava-Pandya derivation of form, as also of fabric-that is similar hard stone, none of the vimānas have the much projected sukanāsikā in front as is the characteristic of the vimanas of the Calukya-Rastrakuta-Hoysala genre as also of the derivatives of the Northern Prāsāda types.

In consonance with the Nāgara, Drāvida, Vēsara forms of the grīvā-sikhara, the shapes or finials on top of the respective vimānas were square, octagonal and circular in plan, and they were of steatite as could be seen from the fallen member from the Nāgara vimāna. The other two stūpis are missing.

A slightly later addition, also Ganga, are the two additional vimanas of almost the same dimensions and Caturasra dvitala, astanga, Nagara, Vimanas, both dedicated to Mahavira. They face each other, east and west in a transverse line to the east of the balipitha of the triple structure complex. Each has J.S.-22

its own closed ardha-and-maha-mandapas in front and the frontal closed mahamandapas of both are joined together by a common, open mukhamandapa, that comes exactly in front of the balipitha to its north and immediately behind the main go pura dvara to its south and has a flight of steps both in front on the north and behind on the south. The architect shows a number of subtle variations in the parts of these two opposing vimana units, thus adding to the repertoire of architectural examples, already noticed in the trikūta unit. For instance the western vimana of this opposing pair, has in place of the tripatta kumuda of the adhistana of the trikuta unit, a vrtta kumuda. This type of adhisthana common to this vimana and its ardha-and-maha-mandapas, has the upāna, jagatī vettakumuda (semi-circularly moulded torus), a recessed short gala or kşudragala and a vājanapattikā of the pratimukha type constituting a vyālamālā with a bold and much spaced-out frieze of rampant vyālas. The position of each vyāla corresponds to the base of the bhitti pada on the wall above. The adhisthana of the vimana part as well as the aditala parts above it including the prastara, are relieved into three bhadras, on each face with two recessed salilantaras, in between the three offsets, but the bases and walls of the mandapas in front have their adhisthana and walls rendered straight on the vinyasa-sutra and as such lack the bhadras offsetting. The bhadra of the vimana faces correspond to the four karnakutas and four bhadrasalas of the hara on top of the prastara, the central one wider with four pilasters, the two inner among them enclosing a devakostha in between the corner ones having only two pilasters set closer to each other. These kudyastambhas are of the same pattern as those on the main trikūta unit, with the difference that the corbel arms have a straight bevel with the median patta. The harantara segments between the kūtas and sālās, have each a single kṣudranāsikā of the vrttasphāthita pattern as on the main central vimānas of the trikūta. The second tala resembles that of the main central vimana, in having two-vettasphatika ksudranāsikās on each face, and carries on top over the four corners four lions, around the base of the square griva and sikhara.

The eastern vimāna of the opposing pair exhibits a third type of adhişthāna—the kapotabandha type, made up of the upāna, jagatī, tripatta kumuda, kantha, surmounted by a flexed kapota (or cornice) with kūdu arches at intervals along its length corresponding in position to the wall pilasters above. The adhişthāna of all the parts are laid straight on the vinyāsa sūtra, or peripheral norm line and there are no bhadras or salilāntaras on the vimāna faces. The āditala wall has six pilasters on each face, the central two spaced wider apart than the extreme pairs, constituted by the corner and the intermediate ones on either wing in accordance with the basal plans of the four bhadrasālas and four karnakūtas on top. The pilasters are of the same pattern

as those on the western vimāna unit opposite. The valabhi of the prastara as usual is a hamsa frieze of the Gangas. The second tala harmya has plain walls, devoid of the vrttasphāthita elements, and carries the same type of four lions or lānchanas as in the other cases.

Interesting variations, again, are found in the pillars inside the mahāmandapas of these two opposing units. Both are of the navaranga plan with four central pillars. Those found in western mahāmandapa have each a padmapātha pedestal or plinth, short octagonal shaft (Viṣmu kāntha), with prominently carved padmabandha and mālāsthāna on top, that carries a squat lasuna, kumbha and pāli, all octagonal in plan again, but with the phalaka (abacus) square, as also the vīrakantha above. The plain bevelled carbel arms lack the median patta. In contrast, the four central pillars of the other opposing mahāmandapa of the eastern unit are of softer steatite and of the lathe-turned type, each having squared pedestal with a kapāta moulding as on the main adhisthāna outside. Except for the square base or omā and the similarly square abacus or phalaka, the shaft and capital are circular in plan-Rudrakāntha.

The short gopuram in front is almost coival with the main trikūta nucleus with an adhiṣṭhāna of the same simple type and having dēvakōṣṭhās on the wall faces flanking the central passage or nālīgēhā. The tōraṇas of these niches are of a different type, consisting of two volutes issuing out of the gape of a central vyālamukhā suggesting the beginnings of the familiar 'kālamakara' festoon of the doorways of temples of the far-east. Seated Tīrthankara reliefs adorn the ghātas inside the tōraṇa arches, while those placed in the niches below are lost as is the case with all the other dēvakōṣṭhā niches in this fine temple unit of Pañcakūṭa basti. The corbel arms, have plain bevels, without median paṭṭā. The doorways totally lack the elaborate outer frame of multiple sākhās and uttarāṇga architrave of the Cāļukyan and the North-Indian regional styles, but they are of the simple type as in the Pallava-Pāṇḍya-Cōļa series.

In many respects—fabric, layout, proportions, plan, rise and style—the whole complex completed in three phases within the same century—the trikūta unit first, the gopuram next, and the frontal annexe of the two vimānas last—conform more to the temples of the Pallava-Pandya styles constructed in the eastern regions between A.D. 900 to 1000. But as noticed before in various contexts Cāļukyan-Rāṣṭrakūṭa influences, though few, are not entirely lacking. The original sculptural element, as extant, some in fragments, reflects the Ganga idiom as found elsewhere. All these make this unique temple complex, a landmark in South Indian Architecture.

Less ornate in its architectural decor and more austere in form, the Chāvundararāya Bastı (Chāmunda Rāja Basadi) (Figs. 1, 7) is yet a noble piece

of architectural composition in hard stone with attendant figure sculpture and perhaps the largest of the Ganga series known. It was built by Chāmunda rāja, the minister of Ganga Rāchamalla II, in the last quarter of the tenth century, and stands on the Chikkabetta hill or Chandragiri hill in Sravana Belagola. In the samacaturasra tritala form and in having the aditala and second tala functional as shrine chambers for Tirthankaras in worship it resembles the Pallava Candraprabha temple in Tirupparuttikkunram (Jina Kānci), on the one hand and the two-storeyed Rāstrakūta Jaina temple on the outskirts of Pattadakal. The third square tala is a dummy, that is closed on all four sides, without providing a shrine chamber with the entrance and acts more as an upagriva intended mainly to raise the total stature of the vimana than form a tala proper. The aditala (37 feet square) and the large closed mukhamandapa (37×40 feet) in front on the east, of equal width as the aditala itself, stand on the same type of adhisthana of which the upana alone is laid straight on the vinyasa line while the jagati, tripattakumuda, kantha and pattika of the aditala have offsets and recesses. The aditala part over this has five bhadra reliefs on each face, south, west and north with the much wider central bay having a devakostha. All parts of the adhisthana, as also the wall above of the mandapa are laid straight without bays, and between the two central pilasters on the north and south faces of its walls are narrow devakosthas, as in the vimana part, intended for standing sculptures. All the devakosthas are plain niches devoid of flanking pilasters, lintel and torana top. The padmabandha of the pilasters are indicated by four straight lines without the mala loop below and the top section of the danda, below the lines is shaped as an inverted lasuna, reminiscent of earlier Mauryan shaft heads. The capital above consists of the usual, kalasa (lasuna), tadi, kumbha, pali, phalaka, and virakantha, all square in section as the danda below. The prastara sports a hamsa-valabhi of rather close-set hamsas over the uttiva, with the over-hanging flexed kapota above having ornate kudu arches at intervals, as in the Kambadahalli temple (Fig. 3) complex.

Over the prastara on top of the $vy\bar{a}lam\bar{a}la$, the $h\bar{a}ra$ aedicules are composed of all the three units—the $k\bar{u}ta$, kostha and $n\bar{i}da$ (or panjara) rendered in full shape all round, since, there is an open alinda behind. The arrangement over each face, as on the west, south and north, is two $karnak\bar{u}tas$, one at either end, a central bhadra $s\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ and two $n\bar{i}das$ one on either side of the central $s\bar{a}l\bar{a}$, between it and the $karnak\bar{u}ta$. The $vy\bar{a}la-m\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ below the $h\bar{a}ra$ of the mandapa part is, relieved and recessed, according to the offset $h\bar{a}ra$ aediculae and the intervening recessed $h\bar{a}r\bar{a}ntara$ sections, while the other parts of the structure from $jagat\bar{i}$ to the $kap\bar{o}ta$ are rendered straight. The $vy\bar{a}las$ too show interesting forms and variations. They are $gajavy\bar{a}las$ over the longer bhadra

sections under the bhadra salas, and again at the corners, while under the karnakūtas and nidas, the central pair are simhavyālas, and for the rest they are the usual cornuate leonine ihamrgas called walas. The hara line also thus extended over the top periphery of the front mandapa, has the karnakūtas śālās and panjaras, all, rendered ornate with the nāsikā niches on their exposed faces filled with finely wrought figure sculpture (Fig. 1), such as Kubera in the north east and south east karnaküta of the vimana aditala, facing the antarāla. The nāsikā niches of the bhadra sālās contain figures of seated Tirthankaras, while at either extreme, of the $s\bar{a}l\bar{a}$, as two rampant lions, springing up from the vēdikā below and bulling against the eaves or ostha of the sala-sikhara above. The nida frontals too enclose Tirthankara reliefs. The harantara sections, connecting up the kuta-kostha (sala) and panjara (nīda) aediculae, each has a ksudranāsikā. In their niches are depicted other types of sculptures-Yaksas, Yaksinis and devotees, both men and women. The finest figure in this series is that of Padmavati Yaksi recalling the form of the Gajalaksmi in the Mahabalipuram Pallava sculpture; but without the lustrating elephants. The royal emblem of the Gangas-the elephant, is also shown in the series in its recumbent form, signifying obeisance in the ksudranāsikā of the hārāntara over the antarāla part on the south, incidentally putting the Ganga stamp on the authorship. The frontal nasika arches of the salas of the mandapa $h\bar{a}r\bar{a}$, as in those of the $\bar{a}ditala$ part, depict inside them miniature reliefs of Nāgara vimānas. The similar nāsikā arches of the kūta fronts display miniature replicas of two-storeyed pavilions of or mandapa of various designs, while the ghātās in the panjara arch fronts are devoid of such relief model decoration.

The central sala of the hara over the castern face or main entrance of the mandapa has its central sala or kostha marked off as the dvarasala having a design in its nasika arch of a four-storeyed timber structure, while its grīvā part below has a nālāgēha, or passage suggesting a göpuram entrance. This device overtopping the main doorway below suggests very well a twostoreyed gopuram or dvārasalā ensemble. Two sculptures of seated women, in the harantara ksudranasikas, one on either side of this dvarasala, can be said to be best specimens of human sculpture in the whole series found on this temple. The open agramandapa, with its sopana, appears to be a later addition in place of the original sopana. The dvara at the mandapa entrance itself has an ornate door-frame with uttaranga architrave, that has a hamsa-valabhi as usual in Ganga structures, and on top is a row of two kutas one at either extreme and three intervening salas, all in miniature form, the central sala larger than the rest suggesting its place as the dvarasala again. In between these are found ksudranāsikās. The whole pattern is much reminiscent of the Calukya-Rastrakuta tradition that is unknown to the Pallava-Pandya

norms and practice which this temple, as Ganga architecture in general does mostly, derive from or approximates.

The mandapa interior has its ceiling supported on sixteen free-standing pillars. The peripheral twelve are of the usual mandapa-pillar-type with basal and top sadurams and intervening octagonal kattu, the bases resting on bhadra-pithas. The four-central columns are polished ones of circular section with capital, the potika mounted over the kumbha, with the elimination of the pali and phalaka elements. But they lack the elaborate decoration of the Calukyan and the later lathe-turned soft-stone pillars. These surround the raised floor of the central bay and the samatala ceiling on top has a large expanding lotus devoid of the central torus and bounded by an outer patralata circle. The rest of the mandapa ceiling all round lacks the boxing or cofferring of the usual navaranga ceiling, and there are traces of old painting on the ceiling here and there. In front of the antarala are two more pillars of the central type, but with full capitals including the pali and phalaka. At the south-east corner is the stair-case leading to the open terrace over the mandapa affording access to the second tala sanctum and surrounded by the hara chain.

The second tala harmya is a lesser square with four pairs of pilasters, including the corner ones, on the south and north faces, the anterior pair corresponding to the antarala of this shrine, as would be indicated by the fact that the rear or west wall face has only three pairs of pilasters. The pilasters are similar in all respects to those of the aditala, but with the padmabandha and malasthana more clearly marked. The wider space between the two central pilasters constitutes a shallow niche, each filled by a low stucco relief of a standing Tirthankara. The prastara has a hamsa-valabhi, the hamsa frieze interrupted at the corners by figures of lions. Over to Kapota and Vyālamālā is the hārā of four karnakūtas and bhadrasālās each coming in between the corner kutas and ksudranāsikās in pairs are provided for each of the harantara intervals. The nasika niches of the kutas and salas enshrine seated Tirthankara reliefs while the ksudranāsikās have reliefs of devoteesmen and women as below. The prastara over the antarala walls, south and north in their extended hara lengths, has each a full nida of the gajaprstha form, with its frontal torana, and having in the niche a Tirthankara in dhyana pose. On the east the $h\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ over the antar $\bar{a}la$ carries over the entrance a gopuram-like bhadrasala. The shrine entrance proper, like the one below in the aditala, is a simple door-frame and the shrine contains a later sculpture of Pārsvanātha.

The third tala or upagriva is a lesser square, closed on all sides with four pilasters cantoning the four corners, with two more between them on each

face. Nearer the cantoning pilaster on each face and between it and the inner pilaster is a $ksudran\overline{a}sik\overline{a}$ of the $v_rttasph\overline{a}thita$ type with an adoring devotee inside, and the central wall-space between the two inner pilasters has a seated $T_1rthankara$. The prastara has the usual $hamsavalabh\overline{i}$.

On top of the third tala or upagrīva is the octagonal pindi of the octagonal grīvā carrying the octagonal sikhara thus making it a Drāvida Vimāna. The sikhara dome, however, is much less elegant than the finely proportioned ones of the five shrines of the Pancakūta basti in Kambadahalli. All the eight faces of the grīva-sikhara combination have mahānāsikās. The niches of the four cardinal ones have Tīrthankara reliefs, while there are adoring devotees in the others.

The foundation inscription states that this $C\bar{a}vundar\bar{a}ya$ basti was caused to be constructed by $C\bar{a}mundar\bar{a}ja$ in A.D. 982, and the inscription on the original $p\bar{i}tha$ of the Parsvanatha icon in the upper shrine chamber mentions the date of its consecration by the minister's son in A.D. 995 indicating thereby an interval of some 13 years for the completion of the construction from foundation to consecration. This is another of the few valuable records that give us an idea of the time factor in respect of such structural works. The front agramandapa seems to have been added in the times of Hoysala Visnuvardhana.

The stupi over the sikhara is of unusual type, and instead of being of one stone, is a composite of four sections, the first forming the base, the second and third the lower and upper halves respectively of the vase of kalasa body, all of granite, while the topmost bud or kudmala of finial is of black steatite stuck into the vase.

The aditala sanctum at present enshrines a steatite icon of Neminatha, a later replacement evidently and the inscribed pedestal below too states that it belonged to the temple of Trailokyaranjana, evidently a different temple founded by one Echana in about A.D. 1138.

The brick temple of Candraprabha, standing on a mounted stone adhisthana in the same hill behind the Camundaraya basti, was originally founded, according to an inscription on the rock nearby, in circa A.D. 800. While the original stone adhisthana is preserved insitu, the brick work superstructure over it is a much later replacement of the original brick-work.

But another early brick vimāna, facing south, and containing a nisidikā stele incorporated into its later front mandapa is of the times of Cāmundarāja, again, located in Vijayamangalam (Fig. 8), in the Kongu mandalam territory

of the Gangas. The place is celebrated as the birth place of the Jaina Tamil grammarian Nāladiyār. The nisidikā is that of a lady, Pullappa, sister of the Ganga minister Caundaraja. On the south face of the stele is a figure niche in the upper register of which, inside a horse-shoe shaped frame, is shown a seated Tirthankara, while below in the scooped niche of the lower register is the portrait of a lady evidently Pullappa. The Grantha-and-Tamil inscription relating to this nisidika and giving the details is inscribed on the other three faces. The extant vimana part alone of this complex is Ganga. It is built of brick from base to finial with the original features much altered by the later plaster of lime and brick powder, applied by way of repairs. It is a square dvitala vimana, Dravida, with octagonal griva and sikhara, with the mahanāsikās enshrining Tīrthankara forms in stucco. The sanctum is consecrated to Candranatha and is in worship. The interior of the superstructure is rendered hollow by the adoption of the kadalikakarana mode, resulting in diminishing squares from base above and ending in a false ceiling below the level of the octagonal grīvā. The faces of the square stages contain old paintings now much faded or spoilt. One could still discern outlines of lotuses, women in dancing poses, particularly in the two lowest tiers. The third tier has paintings relating to Jaina mythology and the top one shows a festoon of looped garlandsjavanikā-like, with vignettes painted inside the loops. The tiers further up also seem to have paintings, rendered invisible in the darkness. The ardhamandapa, mahāmandapa and agramandapa of stone are all later additions.

Among the tall hypaethral free-standing columns—two mānastambha or Brahmayakṣa pillars, familiar to the Jaina temples, may be mentioned. The two Ganga columns are in Sravaṇa Belagola and Kambaḍahalli. The Kūgē Brahmadēva pillar (Fig. 6) standing inside the south entrance of the enclosure round the Chikkabeṭṭa or Candragiri complex in Sravaṇa Belagola, is a notable Ganga column with all the components of a pillar and carrying the sculpture of Brahmadēva on top of its abacus facing east. The pedestal of the pillar was laid over sculptures of the eight dik-gajas of which only five are now extant. The inscription on the pillar commemorates the death of the Ganga king Mārasimha II, that took place in A.D. 974, indicating that the date of the pillar cannot be much later than that year. In front of the gopuram of the Pañcakūṭabasti in Kambaḍahalli and at a little distance away stands the tall and well wrought granite pillar (Fig. 2) bearing a figure of a yakṣa on top and coeval with the temple. The village Kambadahalli derives its name from this very prominent Kamba or column.

The colossal sculpture, carved out in the round from a good, fine-grained granite on top of a larger *Doddabetta* or Indragiri hill in Sravana Belagola would get the palm amongst all the Ganga achievements in Architecture and

Sculpture. Conceived as the mulana yaka of a hypaethral temple, and overtopping the entire area for miles around, this colossal sculpture of Gommata or Bāhubali (Fig. 10), measuring 58 feet in height, stands on the rounded top of a large hill which is itself 470 feet high from the surrounding plains. Finished in the round, from head to the knees, by the elimination of all the unwanted rock all round, and with the base of the parent for still in organic contact on the rear and sides of the region below the knees, this north facing sculpture is finely polished. This is an ancient Mauryan technique, as seen in the finely polished interiors of the Ajivika caves in hard rock in the Barabar group near Gaya, recaptured by the Ganga craftsman, for not only its aesthetic effect, but also for its refractive properties of acting as a deterrant to corrosion by rain, wind and weather and reflecting away solar heat in such an exposed situation, in a region of sharply contrasting climates and widely varying day and night temperatures. True to their expectations the statue has well withstood the ravages of climate, rains and storms for nearly thirteen centuries. The pedestal below the feet of Gommata (each measuring 9 feet or 2.75 m) is a full-bloom lotus. He stands erect in the khadagāsana pose with his long arms (ājānabāhu) dangling on the sides and reaching the knees with the thumbs facing in. The carving of the almost rounded head (measuring 7.6 feet or 2.2 m. in height), erect, facing the north, with a sublime composure, is a marvellous composition of any age. The half closed and long contemplative eyes with gaze turned towards the tip of the sharp and sensitive nose, the well-shaped pouting lips wearing a benign and serene smile, could be discerned from any angle from which the viewer or the devotee gazes at the colossus. The rounded face with sharp and sensitive nose, the slightly projected and dimpled chin and the imperceptably high cheek, the long-lobed ears, and the subdued and voluted curls of locks on the pate, a few rebellious ones invading the broad forehead (lalata-phalaka) all go to enhance the grace and charm of the sculpture, while at the same time emphasising the brachycephalic Ganga physiognomy that is special to its sculptures, which are more akin to the Calukya-Rastrakūta predecessors than to the oval-faced Pallava and broad rounded Pandya faces, but yet with a distinctiveness all its own. The broad shoulders (26 feet or 8 m. across) of sturdy type, not quite squared, but with a graceful yoke curve on either side of the nape, the finely shaped nape itself, with the fold lines on the fronts of the neck, the elemination of the faithful and anatomical bony reduplication of the elbow, wrist, knee and ankle joints and their rounded plumpy moulding, suggesting flesh, the broad and slightly heaved up chest, the narrow hip (10 feet or 3 m. wide), the wider pelvis (13 feet or 4 m. across in front), the well rounded buteal rumps, as if to balance the erect stance, the incurved and serpentine channel of the middle line of the back, the firmly planted pair of feet, in brief all the mahāpuruṣa-lakṣanas in good proportion J.S.-23

only go to accentuate the beauty of the modelling and the grace of the stance. At the same time they well follow the austere Jaina iconographic convention adopted in respect of the Tirthankara forms that had to eschew undue emphasis on corporeal graces tending to the worldly and voluptuous. The Ganga sculptor has very effectively brought into existence in stone his fine concept of a mahapurusa with all the anga-laksanas. The stark nudity of the sculpture, indicates with force the absolute renunciation of a Kēvalin and the stiff erectness of the stance itself suggests the firm determination and self-control of a Jina. At the same time the severity of the pose is offset by the mildness of the contemplative gaze, and the kindly grace of the beaming yet subdued smile adds to the majesty of the mien, all graces and lines of modelling blending together in the hands of the master sculptor in giving to the world a marvellous composition in sculpture though of colossal dimensions. The attention to details such as the display of the curls over the pate, with a few locks falling over the forehead, the dilineation of the finger and toe-nails, the crease lines on the neck and the palm lines etc. go to show the mastery over material and the technique of the sculptor who had contrived to achieve all this out of all insitu hard rock, on top of an inaccessible hill. Thus as Fergussan remarks 'nothing grander or more imposing exists anywhere out of Egypt, and even there no known statue surpasses it in height". This Gommațesvara sculpture, one should remember, is wholly in the round from head to the knees, cut out and is wrought out of the hardest stone as compared to the Egyptian reliefs and the Bamian Buddha reliefs carved in much softer sand stone or lime stone. None of the later copies of Gommatesvara of lesser stature as those in Karkala (A.D. 1342) Vēņūr (A.D. 1604) and on a hill near Bangalore (all in the Karnataka region and the Ganga territory), approaches this in any respect—size, location, beauty of finish . and aesthetics of style included. The sculptures of ant-hills and kukkuta-sarpas and the ascending madhavi creeper, effectively enough, hide the fact of bold relief of the nether limbs and enhance the suggestion of a complete sculpture in the round. The Suttale or pillared cloister with shrines for the 24 Tirthankaras, was erected by Ganga rāja, the general under Hoyasala Vispuvardhana (A.D. 1110-1152). The earlier inscription at the base, on either side of the rock flanking feet of the colossus is in three scripts-Tamil-Grantha, Nagari (Old Marathi) and Kannada. This and others elsewhere would show that the Gommatesvara was got made by Camundaraya, the minister and general under the Ganga king Rajamalla Satyavakya or Rachamalla (A.D. 974-984), some time after A.D. 978, the date of the Camundaraya Purana composed by Cāmundarāya himself, which does not mention this great achievement of his. The date of its creation is taken as A.D. 983, though the traditional date of its consecration, according to several later literary works is Sunday; the fifth lunar day of the bright fortnight in caitra in the cyclic year Vibhava, corresponding to Kali year 600 of the Kalki era which is equated to A.D. 1028

This great sculpture would appear to have been inspired by a group of carlier existing metal images for the casting of which and other forms of the metal work Sravana Belagola has been a great centre, from very early times, as it continues to be so even to-day. Among many of them that have been lost particular mention may be made of a fine bronze in the large collection found in the Jaina matha of the place kept mostly in worship. This bronze which had apparently moved out of its place of origin, and was kept in worship in a distant Jaina centre in the Kannada country itself, came into the possession of a coffee planter, Mr. Crawford, as a treasure trove find in his plantation in the Manjarabad taluka and was presented by him to the Sravana Belagola Jaina matha. It is a Jina standing in the ka yotsarga pose on a rectangular bhadrasana, provided with two short lateral upright pins or tenons for fixing, by insertion, a tiruvāsi frame or prabhāvali, that is, however, lost. The moulded bhadrāsana presents all the angas of an adhisthana-upana, jagati, vittakumuda kantha and prati, but there is no cognizance or lanchana usually found on the face of the pedestal. This makes the exact identification of the icon difficult. The two sinuously moulded arms dangling on either side, the elegant narrowing of the hip region, the slightly drooping and finely rounded shoulders, the sublimely serene face, the contemplative eyes, the faint smile on the lips the distended ear lobes and the curly locks on the head-the mien in general and the form, add beauty to this otherwise unadorned nude figure, recalling at the same time the features, physiognomy, and grace of the Gommatesvara colossus in the same place. It is dated by a single line inscription that runs all round the pedestal. It is in praise of Kundana Somidevi, elder sister of the Ganga King Nolamba-Kuläntaka Mārasimha or Māra Simha II (A.D. 961-974). This king was the predecessor of Rāmachamalla, whose minister Cāmuṇḍarāya got the Gommatesvara colossus made. As such the Ganga metal image is not only the predecessor, in point of the time to the stone colossus, but possibly also its model (photo and brief description in Mysore Govt. Guide to Sravana Belagola, 1953, p. 29, pl. XXIII).

In the collection of the Prince of Wales Museum (Bombay) is a fine Jaina bronze of Bāhubali, (published by U. P. Shah and again noticed by Sivaramamurti, South Indian Bronzes, Pl. 11. C), recorded as coming from Sravana Belagola. The Jina stands in Kāyōtsarga, with the arms pendant. Both legs and upper arms are entwined by the mādhavi creeper, the ear-lobes prominently distended, the locks curly, and two twisted tresses of Kesavallari fall gracefully from the head on either shoulder. The serene face, the rather acquiline nose and the expressive lips, and the aspect of blissful beatitude, add beauty and grace to this bronze, and its entire form and features are reminiscent of the Jaina colossus of the place. Sivaramamurti puts it in the 9th century A.D., and

remarks on the resemblance to a similar carving from Ellora, and assigns it to the "Western Ganga-Rāstrakūṭa" style.

The very graceful metal icon of a Jaina Yakṣī in the (captain) Jones collection in the British Museum noticed again by Sivaramamurti (South Indian Bronzes, Pl. III, b), also belongs to this school. The typical pearl string of the Cālukya-Rāṣṭrakūṭa genre decking the coiffure, according to him, is reminiscent of the Umā-Mahēśvara group from Hēmavati, indicating its date. The provenance of this bronze too is recorded as the Mysore area, and evidently it also comes from Śravaṇa Belagola.

The Pudukkottai Museum specimen has Adinatha as the mulana yaka, standing on a circular padmāsana in Kayotsarga. The padmāsana itself is mounted on a rectangular bhadrasana, with the bull-lanchana embossed recumbent in front of the recessed kantha of the pedestal, while at either end is a squatting lion indicating the pedestal to be a simhāsana. The principal icon cast in the round is 15.8 cms. high. The dangling ear lobes and the kesawallari are characteristic. The face is quite composed and the moulding of the limbs perfect and graceful. The tinuvāsi frame (36 cms. high and 13 cms. wide). is composed of two torana stambhas surmounted by a cusped torana arch, and springing from the phalaka on top of either supporting column from behind two alavattams or padmadala-like fans; the top terminating in a lotus bud finial. The two sasana devatas—Gomukha with bull-face and Cakresvari. are seated on the right and left respectively on either side at the base of the columns. Over their heads on the torana stambha face are seated five Tirthankara reliefs in miniature in a vertical row. On top of the column and in between the top most figure of either vertical row are shown two more Tirthankara forms seated on the lintel piece. In relation to each of the three cusps of the semi-arch arms are three horizontal rows of Tirthankaras five in the lower most row, five again in the middle row, and a single one—Pārsyanātha, on top below the finial. This came from a treasure trove hoard in the southeastern part of Pudukkottai town, from a place known to inscriptions as Kalasamangalam, that was a Jaina centre. The bronze belongs to the 9th-10th centuries A.D., and U. P. Shah (Lalit Kala, Nos. 1-2, April., 1955, Fig. 2 and note) would date it arround A.D. 1000 and not earlier, because, according to him, in Jaina metal sculpture the bull-faced attendant Gomukha and Yaksī Cakresvari are not found introduced in this form prior to A.D. 1000. He too, like the present author, observes that the bronze is not of local origin that belongs to the Pallava-Pandya style and thinks it came from some region under the rule of the Rāstrakūtas or Cālukyas. We feel that it is from the Śravana Belagola Ganga centre,

As against this migrant bronze to the south, another Caturvimsatika piece had reached a northern centre, and has come up in a treasure trove collection, along with other icons, from Lilvādēva, in the Panchmahāls district. The hoard first described by U. P. Shah in Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and again by S. R. Rao (Jaina Bronzes from Lilvadeva, Journal of Indian Museums, Vol. XI, 1935, pp. 30-33, plates X-XII). The mulanayaka, in contrast to the Pudukkottai Museum specimen, is seated in ardha-paryanka in dhyanamudra on a padmāsana, placed over a bhadrāsana on either side of which are the attendant Yakşa and Yakşī. In front, below the bhadrasana and attached to its two front legs are shown a pair of devotees, a man on the right and a lady on the left. The lanchana in the gala recess of the bhadrasana is indistinct and corroded—possibly it is a lion which would make the mulana yaka Mahavira. The paksa attendant on the right has no bull-sace, but he is all human. The head of the mulana yaka has a bhamandala behind, with the trichatra rising over and butting against the lintel piece of the trivāsi frame that is supported on two short stambhas, one on either side of the mulana yaka. The stambhas have the typical capital parts as found in a South Indian column. Kneeling on top of either abacus is a camara-bearer holding the fly-whisk over the outer shoulder by the hand of that side, rightly observed by U. P. Shah as a typical South Indian feature again since in the North Indian Specimens the cāmara-bearers do not take such a position but are placed below the mūla-nāyaka. The twenty three other Tirthankara miniatures are found distributed in a slightly different manner as compared with the Pudukkottai specimen. The finial on top is kudmala, typically southern and unlike the ones found over the parikaras of the other bronzes found in the same hoard. Nine bubble-like dots between the legs of the pedestal in front indicate the Navagrahas, as found in the other specimens of the same hoard, but absent in the Pudukkottai example in which the corresponding piece of metal is broken and lost. An inscription in Devanāgari script on the pedestal could only be partly read as "..... Jala sangha." In all respects this icon stands apart from the rest of the hoard, with characteristic Southern features and is evidently the earliest among them in point of time. The mulana yaka may not be Adinatha as Rao thinks, but possibly Mahāvīra. Rao also admits that the related Yaksa and Yaksī cannot be identified and we have noted that they are not Gomukha and Cakresvari. Possibly they represent Mātanga and Siddhāyikā the Śāsanadevatās of Mahāvīra who, among the few others, is the most common Tirthankara depicted in sculpture.

The third example, from nearer home, is one with a badly broken tinuvāsi frame, coming from a treasure trove from Kogaļi in the Bellary district and in the reserve collection of the Madras Museum. T. N. Ramachandran describes

it briefly and identifies the mūlanāyakas as Mahāvīra (Jaina Monuments of first class importance, published by the Vīra Sāsana Sangha, Calcutta, 1944, pp. 64-65). The other Jaina images in the hoard have Kannača inscriptions of a later date. The mūlanāyaka stands on a padmāsana over a rectangular bhadrāsana, supported on four legs and has upright pins on either side for fixing the tiruvāsi frame. These also form the supports for the attendant Yaksa and Yaksī. The broken frame depicts the 23 other Tīrthankaras arranged in rows, with Pārsvanātha on top. There are cāmara-bearers on either side over the central mūrti that has a bhāmandala behind his head with a trichatra over it. The image is finely finished with the characteristic Kēsavallarī, hanging on either side. This icon too may belong to c. 1000 A.D. if not a little earlier as the one described above, and evidently hails from the same Ganga centre.

Vallimalai in the North Arcot district, is the most outstanding among the natural caverns associated with Jaina art vestiges in that area of Ganga domination. The foundation of one of the shrines here is by Rachamalla I according to an inscription. The rock faces above the caverns and the adjoining parts are replete with bas-relief sculptures of Tirthankaras and attendant deities among which Ambikā with her lion and a yakṣa (Brahmaiāstā?) on elephant may be mentioned. But the most exquisite piece of sculpture, is the portrait of a lady standing in a graceful flexed pose. The Tirthankaras represent Mahāvīra and Pārsvanātha and Gōmmaṭa mostly. The vidyādhara cāmara-bearers, particularly those shown on either side above the shoulders of the Tīrthankara in characteristic South Indian fashion form a study by themselves, as also the tiruvāsi tōranas. The small relief of a seated woman holding a child inter posed between two Tīrthankara reliefs perhaps represents Ambikā.

Bhatara.' The two dvarapalas represent Canda, and Mancanda, possibly guarding the originally the central larger shrine dedicated to the principal Tirthankara, while the smaller lateral shrines housed the forms, in stucco, of the Yakşa and Yakşî. What are more interesting are the fragments in patches of a Citravitana on the ceiling of the cavern and on the extent partition walls all executed in fresco-seco over a coat of plaster. It is a floral carpet canopy, as in the Pandyan Sittannavasal cave-temple painting, with lotus flowers in bud and blossom, along with elephants, fish, etc. shown in the waters of the pondrepresenting the Khātikābhumi of the Jaina Samavasarana. As in Sittannavāsal, again, there is also extant a portrait figure of the head of a royal personage on the eastern part of the front wall. Other fragments found here and identifiable in a greater or lesser measure, are riding couples, hamsas, etc. One such couple riding a ram, depicts the male as holding the reins in one hand with the other hand held in stava pose, the female similarly raising one in stava or praise (adoration) with her other arm in kati resting on her slender hip. Another patch depicts only the rump of a buffalo and the legs of the riding couple. These two can clearly be identified as Agni with his consort on ram, the guardian of the South-east, and Yama with his consort on buffalo, the guardian of the south, among the eight dikpālas. The remaining six are lost. The presence of the dikpālas is a feature more reminiscent of the Ganga-Rāstrakūta-Cāļukya area than of the Pallava-Pāndya, where they are quite rare in such early times. These would indicate a date of the ninth-tenth centuries A.D., for the paintings, which in point of time and space, would come in between the Rastrakuta paintings in Ellora, in the north particularly those in the Indra Sabhā, and the Pandyan paintings of Sittaunavasal in the south, which they resemble in the main theme of the lotus tank and the royal portrait and other particulars of the subject matter-barring the dikpālas. In point of style they may be said to be nearer the Ellora specimens constituting perhaps the only known Ganga paintings of any extent.

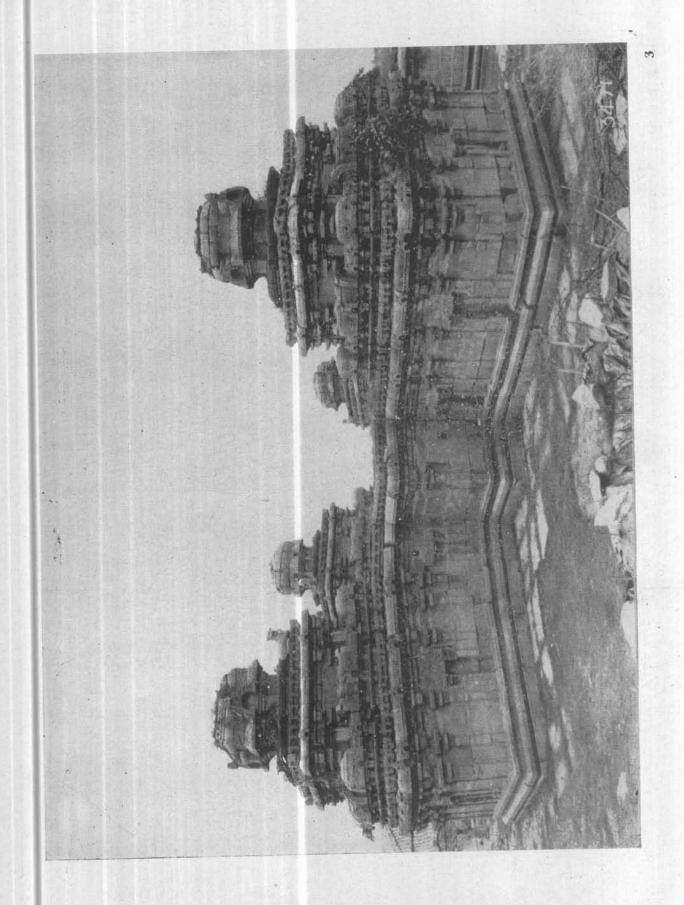
This brief survey of the most outstanding examples of the architecture, sculpture, metal icons and paintings of the Gangas is only intended to stimulate further intensive research and study of the different regional and dynastic styles of Jaina art in South India.

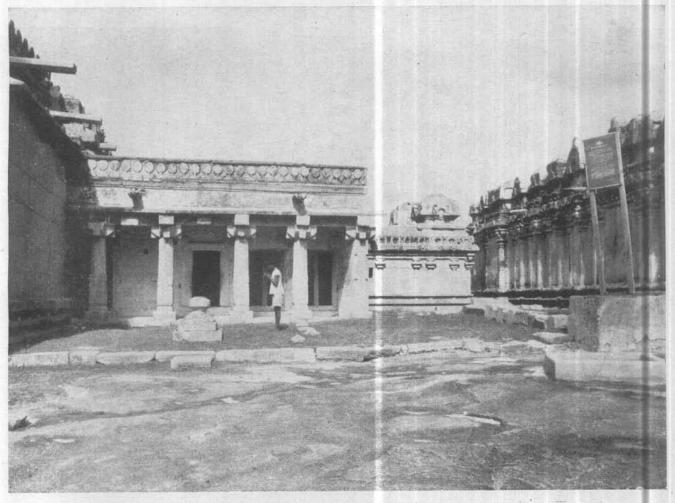
ILLUSTRATIONS

- 1. Row of Jaina Sculptures of hara of Cavundaraya Basti, Śravana Belgola
- 2. Mānastambha-Brahmadeva (?) Pillar, Kambadahalli, Mandya district, Karņāṭaka
- 3. Paficakūta Basti, Main trikūta and vimānas in front of trikūta, Kambadahalli
- 4. Candragupta Basti, north of mandapa, Śravana Belgola
- 5. Jaina Bas-reliefs, Vallimalai, North Arcot district, Tamil Nadu.
- 6. Pārsvanātha Basti, with Mānastambha (Kuge Brahmadeva Pillar), Śravaṇa Belgola, Karṇātaka.
- 7. Cavundaraya Basti, view from south-east, Śravana Belgola.
- 8. Jaina temple, Vijayamangalam, Coimbatore district (Vimana or main shrine in foreground is Ganga).
- 9. Tirthankara with Camaradharas, Śantinatha Basti, Kambadahalli, Kannataka.
- 10. Gommateśvara (Bāhubali), Śravaṇa Belgola.

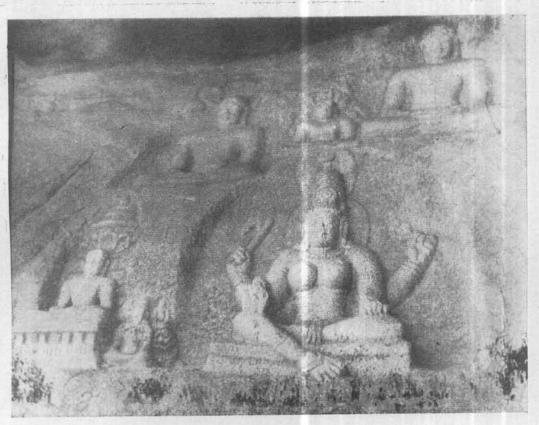


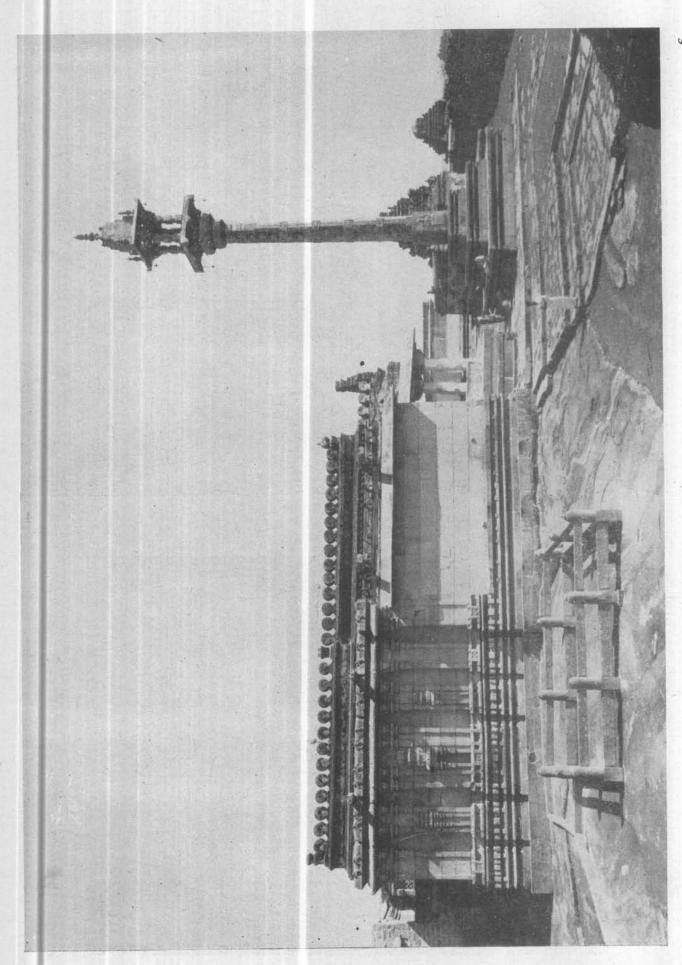




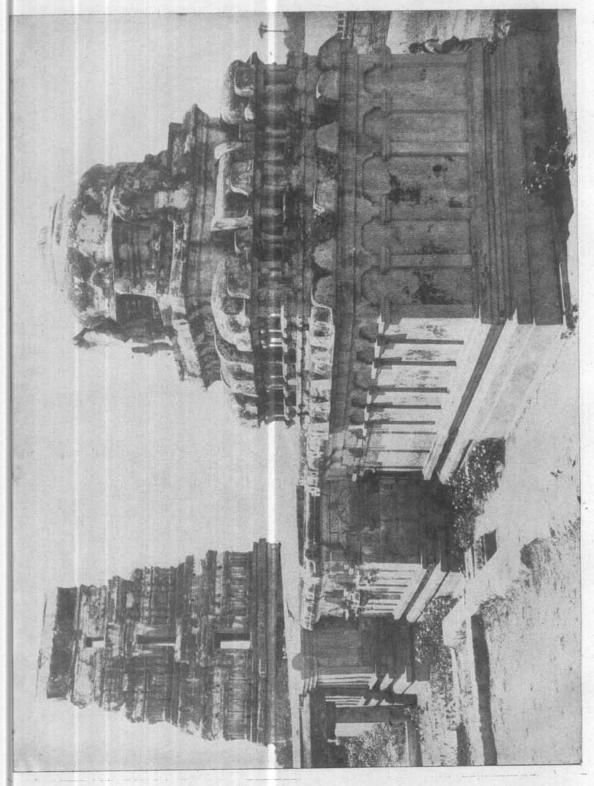






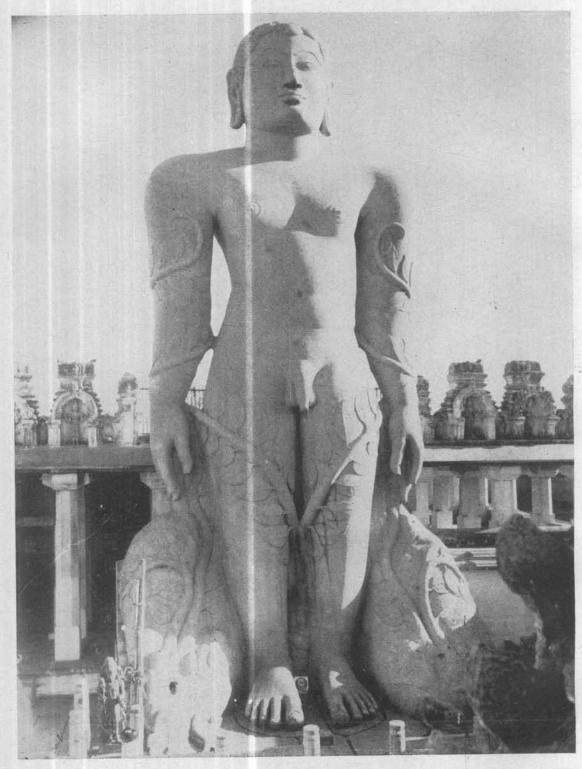






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15. ŚĀNTARA ARCHITECTURE

M. A. DHAKY

The Santaras of Humca or Pattipombulccapura were, like the Gangas of Talakadu, a Jaina dynasty about whom I have said at some length in my earlier paper entitled "Santara Sculpture". The date of the alleged founder of the dynasty, namely, Jinadattaraya is still unsettled, or at least not very certain, nor quite his historicity though it may be suspected that he may have flourished, if he did, in a period not later than the middle of the ninth century. The later Santara inscriptions credit Jinadattaraya with the foundation of 'Lokkiyabbe Jina-geha' which was a temple sacred to Parsvanatha with Padmavati as the tutelory deity. Lokkiyabbe or Jakkiyabbe Padmavatī was also the patrongoddess of the Santaras and the presiding deity of the city of Pombulcca; to her, Santara inscriptions time and again reverentially refer. A ceiling piece containing the zoomorphic figure of the serpent king Dharanendra and a few sculptures assignable to the probable time of Jinadattaraya are the only relics of earlier art and architecture today surviving in Humca.²

Not much is known concerning the art and architecture of the immediate descendents of Jinadattarāya, though a few sculptures, as I had earlier suggested,³ may fall into that dark phase. But the curtain is lifted in the late ninth century, in the period of Vikrama Sāntara I whose known dates are from 898 to the early years of the next century, though he may have begun his career some years before the former date and ended perhaps around 920. Vikrama Sāntara founded a temple to Bāhubali on Humca hill in 898. Two other buildings in Humca also seem to date from his time.

Important Santara temples appear to have been built almost exclusively under the royal patronage. They fall into two broad phases, early and late. The earlier buildings, excepting one, apparently date from Vikrama Śantara's time. Vikrama Śantara himself founded a stone temple on the hill behind Huma town in Ś 819/A.D. 898, a notice to the effect being once recorded on a wall of this very temple which, till its recent demolition, was known as Guddada-basti and was sacred to Bahubali. Two other buildings in the village,

the precise origins of which are unknown, namely the Sule-basti and the Bogāra-basti, are otherwise in the same general style. Then there is the smallest of the group, namely, the Parsivanātha temple in the Pancakūṭa-basti group which draws in the same circle of early buildings, though in style and date it is somewhat later than Vikrama Santara's time.

The existing early temples of Humca, though modest in dimensions and fewer in number, reveal the main tendencies of the style, and the favoured architectural patterns. They also give some indications regarding the origins of the style.

Architectural Features

The extant buildings show that the early Santara temple consisted of a vimāna (sanctum-building proper) of the Brahmacchanda (square) class with a mahāmandapa (closed hall) in front, broader and also larger than the vimāna. The ground plan of the vimāna is not differentiated into bhadra-offsets and karna-angles.

In elevation, the temple has either the Padabandha, or the Pratibandha, but not infrequently the Kapotabandha class of adhisthana (base), where the kandhara (recessed moulding), unlike the buildings of the lower Dravidadesa, shows galapadas (neck-pilasters) also in positions lying between the post-points of the pada (wall-pilaster) of the vimana. The wall-pilasters are invariably of the Brahmakanta type, but the lasuna (vase-formed member) is shorter, and, in addition, duplicated; the lower lasuna being carved in an inverted position, in shape vaguely recalling the so-called bell-capitals of the early Indian architecture. The inverted lasuna is separated from the upper opposite one by a broader, intervening belt, a significant feature occurring also in the context of the later Karņāța style under the Caļukyas of Kalyaņa. The superstructure, wherever present, is dvitala and crowned by a square sikhara. The grhapindi (wall of the upper storey) generally has the ornamental enrichment of salapanjara at the bhadra-s and kapotapanjara-s at the karna-section. The doorframe of the mahamandapa was elegantly carved in the more richly ornamented temples. In the interior of the mahamandapa are found four pillars forming the nave, sometimes beautifully ornamented as in the Bogara and the Guddada-basti. Unlike the temples of lower Dravidadesa, but like the Jaina Cave IV at Badami (ca. early 7th century) and some Rastrakuta buildings, the nave pillars, in two examples, are of the Brahmakanta order; in case of the Guddada-basti, they are of the compound class. A free standing makara-torana resting on a pair of pillars was set up, as a rule, at some distance in front of the doorway of the mandapa; the earlier buildings however have lost this feature, otherwise inferable

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from the fragments of the surviving torana-pediment and what is preserved in later temples such as the Pancakūta-basadi.

Sūle-basti

The oldest of the four extant early buildings at Huma is very probably the Sule-basti (Figs. 1 & 2). It is also the largest, being about 17 ft. in width. The adhisthana is of the general Kapotabandha class. On the karna part of the wall is carved a panjara-kostha framed niche-and-dormer with a very shallow slit-niche, which is also found at the bhadra. While this feature is reminiscent of Pandyan buildings, the makara-torana crowning the niche—characteristically present in the buildings of Lower Dravidadesa—does not apparently find a place in the Santara wall-scheme. The bosses of the nasika-dormers of the panjara-kostha as well as of the kapota of the prastara are unfinished. The temple has lost its mahamandapa. The superstructure over the vimana seems never to have been built, or if at all, in perishable materials such as timber, brick and plaster.

Bogara-basti

The building immediately following the Sūle-basti in time is the Bōgāra-basti. Of late it has been saddled with unsightly additions but the older fabric is still intact. Judging from the elegant proportions as well as the high quality of workmanship, it must rank among the most beautiful temples of this period in all Karnātadesa.

The vimana possesses an unusual variety of adhisthana, probably of the Pratibandha class and the wall is relieved by Brahmakanta pilasters very similar to those of the Sule-basti though a little less archaic: (Fig. 3). Above the uttara (architrave) of the prastara (entablature) is a figural band compounded of three different varieties of malas, namely the hamsamala (gander-belt), the bhatamala (goblin-belt) and the vyālamālā (gryphon-belt); (Fig. 3). The kapota of the prastara bears alpanāsīs (smaller dormers) which are placed co-axially with the wall pilasters. The mukhapatti of each alpanāsi shows a crisply cut, unusually rich and very elegant vine ornament; and the gadha (cavity) harbours a seated Jina figure. The chain of decorative elements above the prastara consists of elegantly shaped $k\bar{u}tas$ (temple aediculae) at the corners and a $s\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ (aediculae of wagonvault shrine) in the middle. The mukhapatti-s (circumscribing fillets) of the $n\bar{a}s\bar{i}-s$ of the $k\bar{u}ta$ -s and the $s\bar{a}l\bar{a}-s$ and those applied over the $kap\bar{o}ta$ of the harantara-recesses are very richly carved and in form and manner different from those found in any other style of South India. The nasika-dormer in each case is crowned by a simhasrota, lion-head. A Jina head peeps out from the gādha of the sālā, a kinnarī-head from that of the kūta and a vyāla figure from that of the hara.

The upper storey (Fig. 3) is formed by a grhapindi with a bhadra-projection which is enriched with a salakostha, while the karna bears a storied kapotapanjara. The latter feature is especial to this style, and has a bearing on the development of the wall-surface of Kamāta temples built during the subsequent period of the Cāļukyas of Kalyāna.

The sikhara is now partially concealed by an ugly modern chamber with tiled roof; its mahānāsī-s contain seated Jina figures. The curvature as well as the proportions of the sikhara also differ from contemporary examples in lower Drāvidadesa but is beautiful and blend with the lower structure.

A short antarāla connects the vimāna with the mahāmandapa which is about 20 ft. 5 ins. wide. It is outwardly a simple structure with an adhiṣṭhāna of the Pādabandha variety possessing a pile of triplicated ālinga and antarita courses between the tripaṭṭa-kumuda and the prati. The doorway has no guardian figures, and the surround consists of only two sākhā-jambs, the outer one decorated with a deeply undercut scroll: (Fig. 4). Two images, apparently of Sankhanidhi and Padmanidhi are carved above, and not below the jamb.4

The shafts of the four free standing Brahmakanta pillars inside the hall are enriched with ornamental detail of a very superior kind (Figs. 5, 7 & 8). There is, first, just above the cubical base, a vertically shot scroll-band, as is found in the wall-pilasters of the later Dravidian temple of Nagaral of the period of the Badami Calukyas (ca. late seventh century) and also the Rastrakūta monolith, the Kailasa at Ellora (ca. second half of the 8th century). Next we find a broad belt consisting of grasamukha-s emitting jewelled ropes and foliate scrolls succeeded by yet another band containing an undulating creeper. The malasthana is surmounted by a lasuna-vase with an ornamental floral motif. The rich exuberance and the crisp carving of the applied ornament is in keeping with the usually high standard of decorative work maintained in Karpata at all times, early or late. The engaged pillars are also carved in the same spirit of richness, though the pattern is slightly varied. The belt of grasamukha-s and undulating croepers is here replaced by one with standing nude Jaina figures (Pārsvanātha and Bāhubali) and an exquisite manibandha respectively: (Fig. 6). The lion throne inside the garbhagrha is as old as the temple; but the image seems to be a recent replacement.

Guddada-basti

The sanctuary of Bahubali atop the hill was built, as earlier said in 898 by Vikrama Śantara for Mauni-Siddhanta Bhaṭaraka, a pontiff of the Konda-kundanvaya of the southern Digambara Church. The original temple had been very recently pulled down to give place to a cement-concrete structure. From

the remains of the dismantled temple still spread over the site, it is clear that in style, plan and dimensions it was somewhat similar to the Bogara-basti. The adhisthana was of the Kapotabandha class. The Misraka pillars that were once in the hall (Figs. 9, 10, 11) show a plain cubical base, the shaft immediately above being decorated with a pattern consisting of elongated overlapping petals with frilled edges. Next come two necking courses, a jewelled string and a cable moulding followed by a bell-shaped member, the lower part of which consists of a grasakinkanika (lion with bell and chain) and the upper part either of a manibandha or a scroll band. Next follows the mālāsthāna and lasuna decorated all around with a series of petalled ornaments. Altogether, they seem to be rather rare type of decorated pillars just as perhaps some of the most beautiful in all Karnāta. Fragments of the pancasākhā doorframe indicate that it possessed patra, bāhya and ratnasākhā-s, the other two being left plain.

Parsvanatha-basti

The last temple of the early series is the southerly oriented dvitala temple of Pārsvanātha now relegated to a subsidiary position in the later Pañcakūtabasti complex (Fig. 14). The width of the vimāna is only 7 ft. 9 ins. and of the mandapa, 14ft. 8½ ins. It has most of the characteristics of Bōgāra-basti excepting the decorative enrichment. The wall pilasters show some departure from the usual design, since it drops the upper lasuna member and retains only the bell-shaped member which is decorated with leaf-motif, a feature anticipating later Karnāta temples. The nāsikās of the kūtas and sālās possess, in lieu of human heads, just lotus flowers in full bloom, which completely fill the gādha: (Fig. 13). The grhapindi and the sikhara (now covered by a tiled roof) resemble those of the Bōgāra-basti.

The four pillars in the mahāmandapa are unadorned (Fig. 15), but otherwise similar to their counterparts in the Bōgāra-basti, including the taranga-potikā (bracket-capital). There is, moreover, a ceiling of 'aṣṭa-Dikpālas' with a yakṣa figure in the central quadrant. Çeiling of this type became commoner half a century later in the other styles in Karnāta, notably those of Nolambavādi and Gangavādi.

The Parsvanatha-basti is possibly the Paliyakkan-basti founded by Paliyakkan according to an inscription of the mid tenth century built in its wall. Its style is a little more advanced than both the Bogara and the Guddada-basti, and a date in the first half of the tenth century, rather than the last quarter of the ninth, seems most likely.

It has been suggested that the Pārsvanātha-basti under discussion may have been constructed from the material of the old, original Pāļiyakkan-basti in A.D. 950, which is about the date of the inscription and thus the date of foundation

of this temple (ASMAR, 1929). There is, however, no evidence suggesting rebuilding. The shrine is too small and severe to be a royal foundation, if the builder is assumed to have had royal connections.

The early Malanad or rather Santalige style is fresh in expression and revels in clarity, delicacy and chasteness of detail not obtained in the slightly later work of Kuntala proper, such as for example in the Rastrakuta temples at Kukkanur, Aihole and the pillars now surviving at Kodur of the late Rastrakuta period. The sense of balance and feeling for form in architectural conception are also wanting in the contemporary Rastrakuta idiom which was for certain on the decline. Only Gangavadi's architecture, at the close of the tenth century, approaches that of Santalige in its concern for elegance of proportions and shapes; even so, its fineness is unmatched not only in Gangavadi, but in all upper Drāvidadesa, with the possible exception of early Rāstrakūta work where taste and craftsmanship of a comparable level, if not kind, are to be found, as for example, in the Nandimandapa of the Mallikarjuna temple at Pattadakkal or in the wall-pilasters of the Kailasa temple at Ellora. The style of the period of Vikrama Śantara, however, differs from that of Jinadatta; and although the course of its evolution cannot be firmly traced, it would appear that the pillar, in its broad features, shows affiliation to both the early and late Rastrakuta types. Santara idiom would now appear to be a high quality provincial variation of the Rastrakuta style with some links, as in adhisthana types, to the temples of Lower Dravidadesa and later temples in Kerala. It also contains the seeds of the kostha-panjara and other formal decorative devices which later on became viable in the period of the Calukyas of Kalyana.

After Vikrama Šāntara his son Cāgī Šāntara ruled for some years. The events which followed next seem to have sent Šāntaras in temporary obscurity. The direct control of the land of Šāntaras by Cāļukyan feudatories ruling from Vanavāsī, the invasion of Cōla Rājarāja in Cāļukya Satyāsraya's time (997-1008) and subsequently the occupation of the Šāntara kingdom by two Cāļukyan princes—Bijjaras and Gonarāja—brought about the eclipse of the dynasty from about the third quarter of the tenth century to around 1060.5 But Vīra Šāntara II freed the Šāntaļige-nāḍ from the usurpers and once more restored the glory of his clan. This begins to reflect in the sculpture and architecture found in the capital city, Humca. Vīra Šāntāra rebuilt the family shrine of Jakkiyabbe-Padmāvatī, to which a tōrana was added by his consort Cāgeādēvī in 1062. A village headsman and probably tradesman named Paṭṭaṇa-svāmī Nokkaya-Seṭṭī built Paṭṭaṇa-svāmī Jinālaya (also called Tīrthada basti)6 in 1065.

Vīra Šāntara's son Bhujabala Šāntāra founded Bhujabala-Sāntāra Jinālaya in \$ 987/A.D. 1065 and gave donations to the Tīrthada-basti of Paṭṭaṇa-svāmī,

Next, when Bhujabala's brother Nanni Śantara was ruling, Queen Cattaladevi—sister of Queen Viramahadevi who was consort of Vira Śantara II—founded the famous Pańcakūṭa-basti at Humca in memory of her parents.

Vīra Śāntara's temple of Pārsvanātha and Padmāvatī still exist, though the tōraṇa set up by Cāgaladēvī has vanished.⁸ The style of this period is quite different from the style of Vikrama Śāntara's times. It shows strong affiliation with the Imperial style of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa; but the buildings are much simpler and austere in contra-distinction with the Cālukyan. To that extent they are disappointing.

Today there are two temples in the Pārsvanātha temple group, the larger one is that of Jina Pārsvanātha and the other, smaller, is of Padmāvatī, the latter having a very small image of the Yakṣī which does not seem to be very ancient. The original temple of Jinadatta must have been on the site of the sanctuary of Pārsvanātha which is traditionally held the most sacred. It has been termed 'Lokkiyabbe-Jinageha' in the inscriptions which also implies that it primarily was the temple to Jina, which in the context of Yakṣī Padmāvatī has to be of Pārsvanātha, with Jakkiyabbe Padmāvatī figuring prominently beside the Jina. The present structure, by tradition and by virtue of its sculptured association; is this very temple. It is a substitution by Vīra Śāntara, as said earlier, in the year before 1062, very probably for the original (and perhaps desecreted) temple of Jinadattarāya.

On plan it is a structure oblong a long cast-west axis and divided into three parts, the garbhagtha, the first hall and the second hall. The garbhagtha enshrines the image of Pārsvanātha, Yakṣa Sarvānubhūti and Yakṣī Padmāvati. Supporting a cross-bar inside the garbha are two simple but ancient-looking pillars, which may perhaps be of Jinadatta's time. In the forehall is a pair of standing figures of Jina Pārsvanātha. The second hall has Śrīkāra pillars in the Cāļukyan style, with bejewelled, floral and pearl-festoon decorative belts: (cf. Fig. 16). A mukhamandapa in the Vijayanagara style was added in the fourteenth or the fifteenth century, when the Jina image in the sanctuary was provided with a new pair of caurī-bearers, and Sarvānubhūti was given a canopy of cobra-hood, converting him thus into Yakṣa Dharanēndra. The shrine faces cast. The adhiṣthāna is Cāļukyan having a wide kandhara-recess but the basal and top mouldings are fewer and devoid of ornamentation. The sanctuary has no superstructure.

The Pañcakūta-basti, founded about seventeen years after the rebuilding of the last-noted temple, is also a rectangular structure but the longer axis lies along the north-south direction. There is an open pillared mukhamandapa (Fig. 19) with a torana attached to its front: (Fig. 20).

The main portion of the building is divided into two halves, the rear part contains five cells in juxtaposition, each enshrining a large Jina figure, that in the central cell being Jina Pārsvanātha.10 The doorway-surround of each cell is ornamented in the manner of Calukyan doorframes. In the fore part of the five cells is a rectangular hall, pattasala, with extensions done toward north in 1147. Inside this hall are simple pillars along with faceted and well-defined ones (Fig. 17), but none is ornamentally treated. There are some images of Sasana-devatas placed along the east wall of the hall; but they date from the twelfth century as judged by the style; and one of them is of 1147 set up by Pampadevi, sister of Vikrama Santara IV, as stated in an inscription on a pillar.11 An ornate doorway flanked by a pair of door-guardians, in style close to those in the Calukyan temple of Tripurantakesvara at Baligamve (1070), leads into the mukhamandapa. The pillars of the mukhamandapa, slender and elegant as they are (Figs. 19-20), possess varied shapes that find close parallel in those of the mukhamandapa of the said temple at Baligamve. The mukhamandapa is covered by a modern tiled roof. The ingress inside the mukhamandapa is obtained through a stairway with hastihasta-railing in its profiles: (cf. Fig. 12). There is a manastambha in front of the mukhamandapa with the carving of bhuta-s (goblins), vyāla-s (gryphons) and human and divine figures,

In the north-east corner of the shrine is that little south-facing shrine of Pārsvanātha earlier discussed.¹² There is a corresponding shrine in the opposite corner, but now much repaired.

The Bhujabala Santara Jinalaya and the Pattana-svami Jinalaya are now untraceable. The Pancakuta-basti has been termed 'Urvi-tilaka Jinalaya' or 'Panca-Jina mandira' in the inscriptions.

The conversion of Santaras lately to Vira-Saivism and the subsequent shifting of their capital to the other side of the Malanaa hills left no scope for further additions of Jaina buildings in Humca. In any case the main interest in Santara architecture is confined to the earlier buildings which are all Jaina. Humca to this day maintains its exclusive Jaina character, and somehow seems to have escaped the onslaughts of the Vira-Saiva fanaticism.

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- Ibid., plts. XIV-XV.
- 3. Ibid., pp. 84-85 and plts. XVI-XVII.

4. In the Calukyan temples, wherever these figures are present and in Colanadu where the convention of representing the two Nidhi figures is met within the late Cola period in the context of the gopura-gatas, they are carved at the lower end.

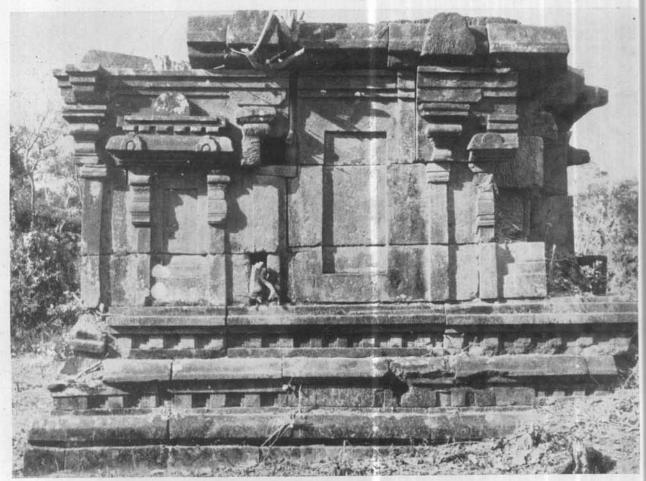
- 5. I have discussed at some length the historical events in "Santara Sculpture".
- 6. Ibid.
- 7. For the inscriptions and related matter, see the discussion in "Santara" and the original sources cited thereof.
- 8. In the sculptures staked in the compound of the Pārsvanātha temple, there are fragments of a tōraṇa attributable to the latter half of the eleventh century. Some of these could be of the Queen's tōraṇa.
- 9. cf. "Santara", plts. XXIV and XXV.
- 10. Ibid., plts. XXVI-XXVIII.
- 11. Artistically it is an unimportant image.
- 12. cf. here p. 189.

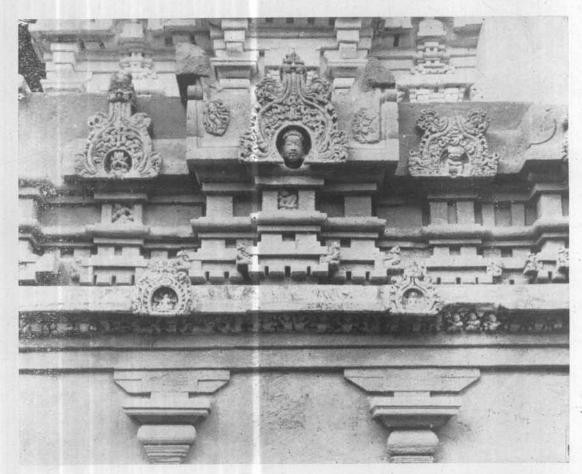
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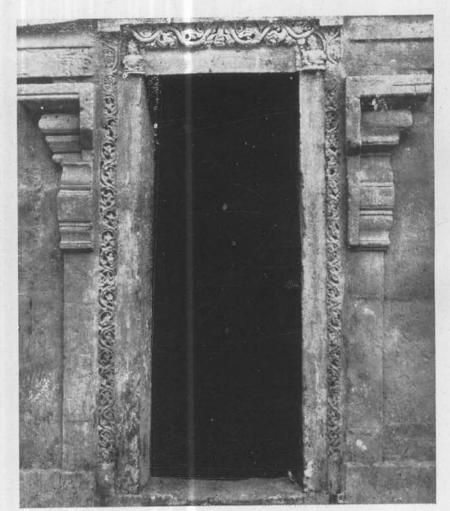
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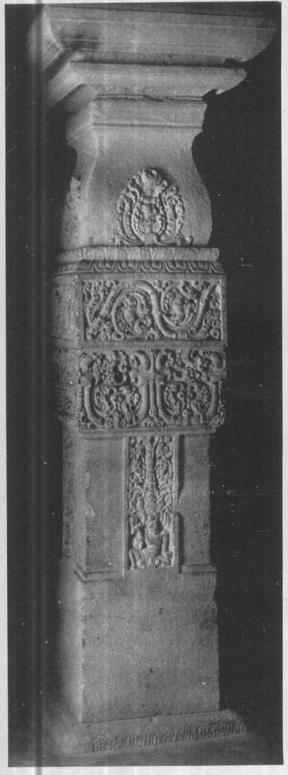


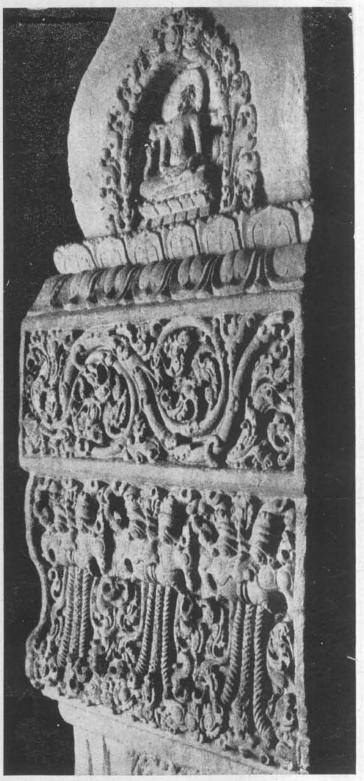








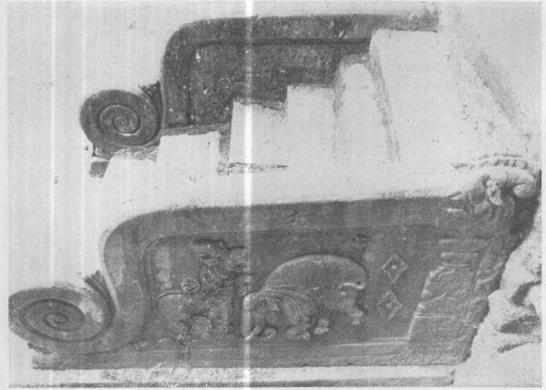


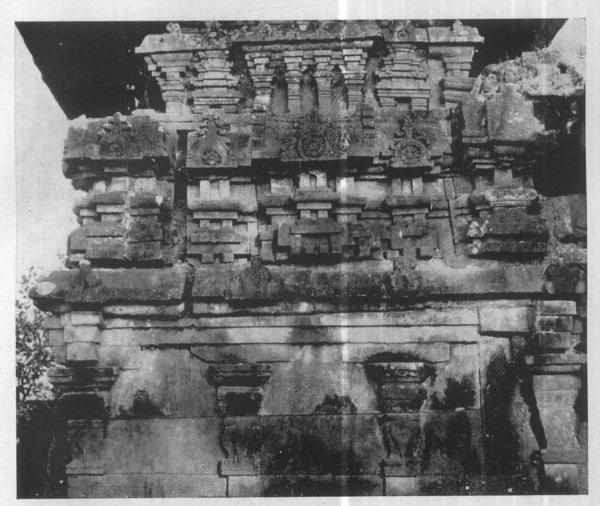












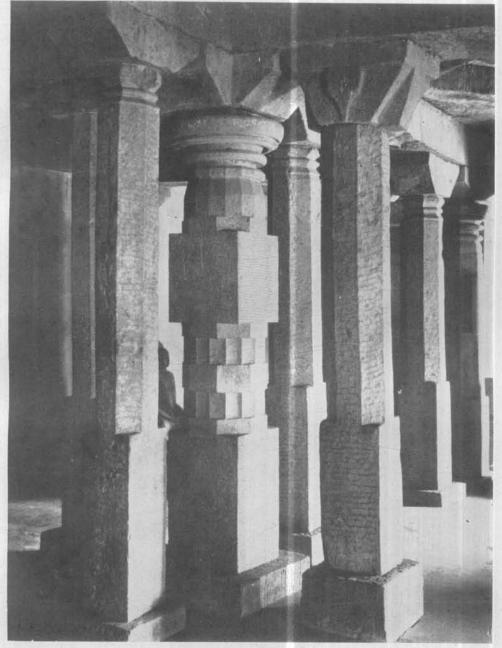
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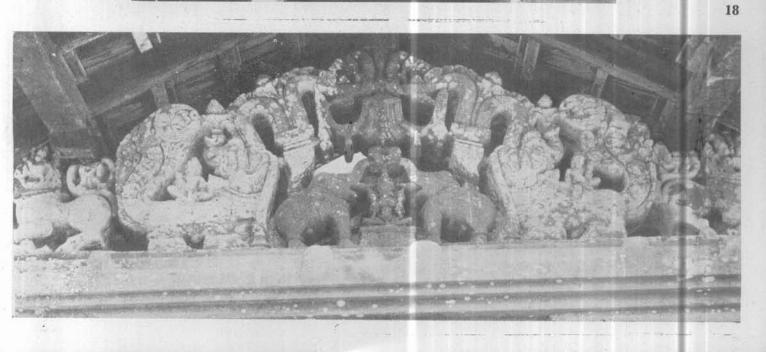


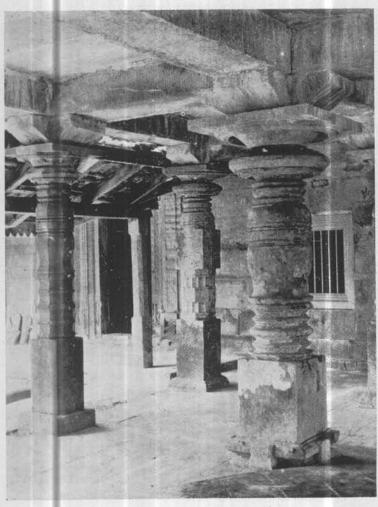
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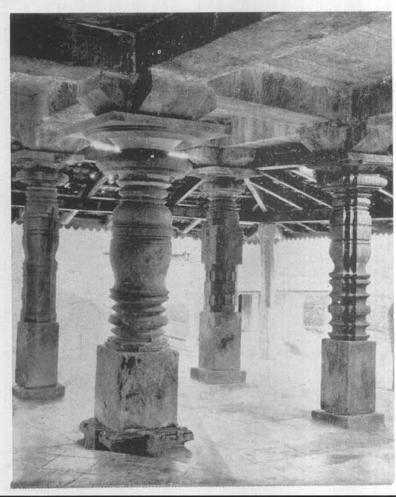












16. GANGA JAINA SCULPTURE

M. A. DHAKY

The Gangas of Talkad (anc. Talakadu) were among the royalties foremost in patronizing Jainism in Karnatadesa. The evidence of Gangas' Jaina persuation comes from around the sixth century and the dynasty seems to have adhered to Jaina faith till it ended as a ruling clan in Gangavadi, that was about the end of the tenth century. The sions of the Ganga dynasty survived for a few centuries more, still following Jaina creed, but their history and deeds do not concern with the central theme of the present paper.

The epigraphical evidence for the existence of Jainism in Gangavadi dates from around the seventh century, available as it is from Sravana-Belgola (anc. Śramana-Belgūla), the site which within centuries that followed, became one of the holy of the holies of Digambara Jainism in South India. The Ganga princes are known to have founded Jaina temples, but the evidence of their constructional activities is mostly from Kuntala proper,2 from places such as Annigeri (anc. Annigere) and Laksmesvara (anc. Purigere), rather than from their own homeland, Gangavādi.3 But in their time, particularly from about the third quarter of the tenth century, in the period of Racamalla, IV, there took place an outburst of Jaina religious architecture, sponsored as it mainly was by the Minister Camundaraya, and contemporaneously perhaps, by other Jaina officials and princedom's Jaina tradesmen, and, we may suspect, by Jaina laity as well but whose records are today untraceable. The centre, pivotal as also of prolonged Jaina building activities, was of course the famed and haloed Sravana-Belagola. The two other places where Jaina foundations of Ganga extraction exist are Kambadahalli and Varunā.4

Some of the ancient Ganga buildings of Jaina affiliation are on the Candragiri Hill at Śravana-Belgola. The Candragupta-basadi (ca. third quarter of the 10th century) and the Cāmundarāya-basadi (983) are the earliest of the group of buildings there. The Jaina temples at Varunā are now in perished state; their sacred images scattered around near the traces of old ruins. But the Kambadahalli temples are in a tolerably good condition and possess most of their sculpture intact just as in original position.

Not much sculpture is associated with the Ganga Jaina buildings. There is some in the string-course and on the *gthapindi* (wall of the upper storey) of the Camundaraya-basadi and in the wall-niches of the Pancakuta-basadi at Kambadahalli.

The decorative sculpture connected with the Sravanā-Belgola building consists of seated Jina figures in sālā-s, kūṭa-s, and pan jara-s in string, and the images of Yakṣa Sarvānubhūti, and, in several instances, of apsarases beneath the alpanāsīs in the hārāntara-intervals. The Kambadahalli temple has standing Jinas in tōrana-bearing niches on its walls, some now missing.

Then there is one other category of images, cult and quasi-cult, such as of Jinas in the sanctuaries proper, and of Yakşas and Yakşas placed in the antarāla, vestibule,, or in the mandapa hall. Such images in some instances are contemporaneous with the shrines; in some they are of varying dates, mostly later and hence post-Ganga, and also in differing styles.

The Candragupta-basadi at Śravana-Belgola has as its cult figure the image of standing Pārsvanātha of excellent workmanship, an embodiment veritably of spiritual essence. The present mūlanāyaka image in the sanctum of Cāmundarāya-basadi is a replacement of the Hoysala period. The Kambadahalli temples have their cult and some of the accessory images original and in situ.

In the present paper I wish to make a brief survey of the relatively earlier sculptures in the Jaina sites in Gangavādi which are of the undoubted Ganga affiliation. For in Kambadahalli, as in Varunā and in the Trikūta-basadi on the Gommatagiri Hill at Sravana-Belgola, there are sculptures of what may possibly represent the late Ganga or rather the post-Ganga phases, in strains more than one. Some among the latter group are akin also to early and middle Hoysala, going by style judgement.¹¹

Kambadahalli possesses two Jaina temples, the Pañcakūṭa-basadi being relatively the older building. The second building is the Sāntinātha-basadi. Both the buildings are in Drāvidian style. I shall not go into their architectural details but refer to such features as may serve the discussion to follow. The Pāncakūṭa-basadi consists of two groups of shrines separately done but conceived as parts of the total lay out. There is, first, a three-shrined temple,—Ādinātha basadi,—the constituent shrines disposed around and articulated to a common hall; the group as a whole faces north. Then a little distance in front of the hall-porch, is a twin-shrined temple, one of its two shrines facing east and the other, west. The halls of the two are conjoined by a common porch. The assemblage is surrounded by a prākāra, wall, now very ruined and having a pratolī, gatehouse, in the north, which is still in good condition. 12

The devakostha-niches at the bhadra-parts of the basadi's walls still preserve some standing Jina figures in kayotsarga posture. Perhaps the nobler of such figures is in the west wall of the central shrine of the Adinatha-basadi: (Fig. 1). The Jina's meditative head is in perfect consonnance with the etheriality of the rest of the body; the contour of his round, serene arms configures an ideal equilibrium of the total mass.

The sancta of the Pancaknta-basadi contain seated Jina images attended by cauri-bearers, two examples of which I here select for illustration. The Jina in padmāsana (cf. Fig. 2) with halo broken but the rest intact, is a good example of Ganga workmanship, the head in particular. But it is the cāmara-bearers, more than the Jina, who in this example are of superior artistic pretension. Each of them is provided with a small nimbus. The cauri-bearer on the left (from viewer's standpoint) is more elegant, seeming as though a painting transformed into sculpture. This painterliness is reflected in sculpture's configuration, posture, tilt of the head, just as in the treatment of ornaments, the manner of holding the cauri, and, lastly, in the flow and sweep of the cauri. The figure has the grace of an Ajantan Avalokitēsvara and gait and verve of the cauri-bearers in the late Kalcūri-Gālukyan caves at Ellorā. The cāmara-bearer's beautiful rotund-at-the-top kirīta-crown is a forerunner of some of the Kongu-Keralite types of crown paralleled both in stone and bronze and whose descendents are to be seen in the present day Kathakali dancer's head-wears.

The cauri-bearer's face is indeed very noble; the modulation of the eyebrows, gracious; the straight nose beautifully expanding at the lower and balances the figure's delicately formed lotus-petal lips. The bulk of the jewelled upavita,—sacred thread,—departs from its border-string and gracefully curves to pass over the right arm, the departure just as curvature creates a rhythm of uncommon elegance, of the kind possible, we may once again note, only in painting.¹³

His counterpart, a somewhat sturdier being, seems to pose less classically. The buckle of his upavita—present only in his case—compensates for the somewhat less graceful flow and equally listless drop of the latter. His kirita is of the same kind and style as of his companion. The pearl necklace and torque, the elaborate mekhalä, waistband, with prettily done knots, and the keyūras, armlets, are of good design, going well with the posture and the trunk of both these cāmara-bearing attendants.

The cauri-bearers attending the second Jina (Fig. 3) are distinguished by a contrast in spirit just as in details, if not in the general idiom peculiar to the style. That on the left (spectator's viewpoint) seems to possess assured physical strength, replacing as it were the elegance of curve of the shoulders and bend of

the torso of the corresponding one in fig. 2. There is an udarabandha, belly-belt, not found in the former instance, and the former's kirīta is here replaced by a karanda-crown. The undulating flow of the fly-whisk, fully shown on the reflex-side, has a grace which distinguishes the bearer as a born aesthete. The caurībearer, we may sense, has a regality about him, the poise and pretension of a Nagaraja.

His counterpart, by comparison, is disappointing. He looks like a prosaic female attendant discharging duty uninterestedly, even somewhat perfunctorily. Seems the carver is a lesser artist, accustomed to do female images of no particular elegance.

But it is the Jina image, which here has been the object of all attention, done by a specialist of great competence.* Jina's equipoised body in this instance has the stability of the famous 'scribe' of the old kingdom Egypt. His broad shoulders, and arms, massive at the root and tapering like elephant-trunk, recall Jina's wellknown epithet, 'thee, aroma-bearing elephant among men', '14 and seem to reflect the first moment of the congealed transcendence. The head matches the body in proportion and in the feeling it evokes of materialized spirituality. The arched, picked eyebrows, and the distinctly marked open eyes, the shorter forehead and the fuller cheeks of Jina's elongate head seem to draw in, rather than radiate out, the numinous power within his being. The expanding chest coheres with the rhythm of the contracting, back-streaming spirituality, of the kind somewhat akin to that of the gods of Ancient Egypt and Archaic Greece. The Jina image is not only the finest Ganga creation for the Jaina creed; it is one of the greater and profounder images of Jina, fully endorsing what the Vāstuvidyā qualifies in terms apt and unequalled:

"The formal who begot from the formless, the embodiment of Cosmos, the Lord of the Universe; the possessor of Absolute Knowledge, O Lord Jina, thou who art above the fretters of attachment: Thee, two armed and one-faced one, sitting as thou doest in lotus-posture and lost in contemplation of the Supreme Brahman,—the Ultimate Reality; O the concretioned Jina, the World-Teacher, (it is thine image that I [Visvakarmā] shall now tell about.)"16

Of the several Yakşa and Yakşī icons in the Pancakuṭa-basadi, the only one that seems contemporary with the Jinas discussed in the foregoing, is the figure of Yakşa Sarvānubhūti: (Fig. 4). The Yakṣa's face has a faint tinge of joviality which normally a bhūta-figure¹⁷ possesses with some insistence in South Indian rendering. The ornaments are somewhat schematically rendered, as in the case of some of the relief figures on the Cāmuṇḍarāya-basadi. 19

On the Candragiri Hill at Śravana-Belgola is an over life-sized Jaina statue in Kā votsarga posture, going by the name of Bharatēsvara (Fig. 5)—emperor Bharata,—brother of the mighty Bāhubali alias Gommațēsvara whose famous monolithic statue stands on the opposite Hill,20 Indragiri or Gommatagiri. Bharata's forehead over the rather squarishly round face (with only a faint suspicion of elongation) is short, shorter indeed than any other Ganga Jaina images we discussed. The eyebrows are picked but the picking has not been, like the Gommatesvara, overdone to a degree seeming unpleasant. The long fish-shaped eyes may at first seem vacant; but when viewed in conjunction with the lower facial half, they start becoming expressive, of mild curiosity mingled with imperceptible surprise. In some unaccountable way, these emotions are distilled over and supplied by the ample checks, just as by the small but very full lower lip and the slightly but elegantly frilled-at-the-end nose. There is, in this face, registered boyish innocence, and, together with it, comprehension of the futility of the vanity of empire-building, exposed bare in front of the material presence of Absolute, who in this case is symbolized by the colossal Gommatesvara Bāhubali standing immovable and lost in contemplation on the opposite hill. This knowledge of the presence of the Transcendental has brought about not only the ebbing down of the vain, mundane thoughts but also brought on the surface a feeling of quite but intense happiness crystallized into and expressed through a rarefied smile on the image's vivid, youthful and adolescent face. The facial plane of Gommatesivara is, by comparison, somewhat flat; what is admirable there is the snail-shaped hair-locks on the head looking wonderfully Poseidon-like from the back (Fig. 11). Cakrī Bharata's face, with the pierced pendulous lobs of his beautifully formed elongate ears, is, in some respects, superior to that of the famous monumental statue of his brother Bāhubali,

The Cakri's face, on the other hand, has no cosmic dimension as the Jinas of Kambadahalli: (cf. Figs. 1 & 3). The figure's quiescence is intensely human and that is what was intended to be, for Bharata was still a mortal having enlightenment yet unattained, treading as he was his first footsteps on the path of salvation, but still far away from the goal, which he was to reach in the mirror gallery when he spotted the turning of his dark lustrous hair into grey, a reminder of the eventual and inevitable end which every mortal meets.

The second Jaina temple at Kambadahalli, namely, the Santinatha-basadi seems to have been founded a few years after the Pancakuta-basadi. The temple consists of the *vimāna* and two *rangamandapa*-halls, each linked with the other forming a common long rectangle. The square sanctum with the free-standing pillars

inside, shelter a huge and impressive image of Santinatha. In the first rangahall are placed three images, of which two are of the Ganga period and one, Hoysala.

Of the Ganga images we may notice first the seated Jina figure with two fly-whisk bearers standing behind the throne (Fig. 6). The composition is more articulate than the one we saw in figs. 2 & 3. The central Jina figure in this instance represents a different aesthetic as well as a differing formula of expression.²¹ The arms, somewhat tubular and longer as compared to the Pasicakūta Jinas, the torso narrower, also elongate and upsurging as though under gentle but definite and decisive lateral thrusts, resulting in a compressed, compact, but nevertheless an unflattened mass; the oval fruitlike head with prominently picked out eyes and eyelashes, the hair-do like the eyed peal of custard apple; and lastly the horse-shoe shaped halo having ratnabandha, jewel band along the rim, point to the direction of development which soon after was followed by the Jina figures at Lakkundi (ca. 1008), the Cālukyan provincial capital in Kuntaladesa.²²

The two vāhikas with their flywhisks are poised with elegant flexture, particularly the right one is a first rate example of the Ganga art at its finale. They show the medievalism in this part of Karnāṭa in its early mood and in its more perfect moment.

The seated four armed Yakşa (Fig. 7), too, is differently conceived, as it seems when we compare it with the Yakşa in Fig. 3. The ornaments,—detailed and gorgeous,—the face, hardened yet expressive of inner calm, the elephantine legs and the conspicuously done corpulent belly offer further contrast and the image seeming to stand, as the former example is, on the border of late classicality and the early brooding of Karpāṭan mediēvalīsm.

The next illustration represents the central panel (Fig. 8) of the astadikpāla ceiling of the rear hall.²³ The panel is crowded with figures, which, nevertheless, resolve into orderly and mutually balancing groups. The emphasis is on the central figure of Jina, very dignified, sitting as he is on a lion-throne with gorgeous seat-back and a flaming halo with two very picturesque cāmara-bearers on the back, who again are much in the painterly fashion, possessing poise, elegance and mood attentive. They seem naturalistic rather than symbolic. One other pair of vāhikas,—(Nāgēndras in effect) who are equally evocative,—stands by the throne-flanks. Mātanga and Siddhāyikā,—the attendant Yakṣa and Yakṣī of Jina Mahāvīra,—both seated, take their positions at the bottom-extremities with gestures and postures, sentiments and mood that are attuned to and blending with the rhythm of the composition. On the top, on either side of the

caitya-tree, are the flying vidyādhara-angels, which introduces a contrasting yet harmonizing note of dynamism in the stately, very refined and delicately vivid group of attendants encircling the Jina. This is one of the most beautiful compositions known from the Jaina art. The earlier, solid, monolithic transcendence gives way, in these later examples, to worldly finery but the one which also becomes rarefied and refined elegance, illustrating what the Ganga Jaina art was capable of at its end.

Between the sculptures of this end-period of the Ganga art and those of Kambadahalli half century before, stand the acroterion figures in the super-structural decoration of the Cāmuṇḍarāya-basadi at Śravaṇa-Belgola (983) to which a brief reference has earlier been made. I select two illustrations of the $h\bar{a}ra$ -figures, those that nestle in the $s\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ -s, $alpan\bar{a}s\bar{i}$ -s and the $pa\bar{n}jara$ -s: (figs. 9 & 10). The central $s\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ figures of the Jinas reflect the same poise, though a little less spirituality of the Kambaḍahalli Jinas. The Yakṣa Sarvāṇubhūti has the refinement of the later figures without their over ornamentation, and the vitality and contemplative gaze just as substantiality—now fluid, now condensed—of the earlier images. The elegantly bent apsarases offering obeissance to the central Jina figures are notable for their sensuousness, tempered and sublimated by a sentiment of unconditional dedication to the Ultimate Thought and the Supreme Thinker, Jina, the victor.

REFERENCES

- Present day Karnataka State in South India.
- 2. Karnataka; nuclear country of the Calukyas of Kalyana.
- 3. The eastern part of the lower Karnataka.
- 4. We as yet do not know about the situation in Gangas' capital, Talkadu. The town seems to have been burried under the high silt deposited by Kavert floods some time in late Vijayanagara or post-Vijayanagara period. A few Brahmanical temples and some excellent Ganga sculpture of the tenth century have been cleared from under the 15ft. silt. Still a very extensive mound of silt remains to be cleared. The clearance may perhaps reveal the town's Jaina temples.
 - Aediculae of the wagon-vault shrines, customarily positioned in the middle of the stringcourse.
- 6. Shrine-aediculae placed over vimana's corners, in the string ends.
- 7. Aediculae of the fronton of apsidal shrines.
- 8. Minor caitya-dormers, usually associated with the kapota, roll-eave.
- 9. I regret I am unable to reproduce it here.
- 10. Of the 12th century.
- 11. Some of these I am discussing in my forthcoming monograph, Hoysala Sculpture. J.S.-26

 For comprehending the layout, see Archaeological Survey of Mysore Annual Report 1939, plate VII.

- 13. An earlier instance of this tendency in Karnāta is seen in some of the figures in the Jaina Cave at Aihole (ca. late 6th century), including those of the court-bearers, all rendered in a painterly way.
 - * Perhaps he is the same artist who rendered the standing Jina illustrated in fig. 1.
- 14. Purisa-vara-gandhahaththinam:

__Śakra-stava, Bhagavati-sūtra

(The Bhagavati-sūtra is now dated around the second century, I am grateful to Pt. Dalsukhbhai Malvania for this information.)

- 15. A certain degree of austerity coupled with some identity of attitudes heighten such an impression.
- 16. [Visvakarmā uvāca:]

(Atah param pravakşyāmi Jinendramūrti-lakṣaṇam)

Arūpam rūpa-mākāram visvarūpam jagadprabhum/

Kevala-Jñāna-mūrti-s-ca vItarāgain Jinēsvaram//

dvi-bhujam c-aikavaktram ca baddha-padmāsana-sthitam/

Ityamānam param Brahmam Jinamūrti Jagadguru//

-Vastuvidya, Jinendramürtilakşanadhyaya 1-2

The work is at present being edited by Shri Prabhashankar O. Sompura and the present author.

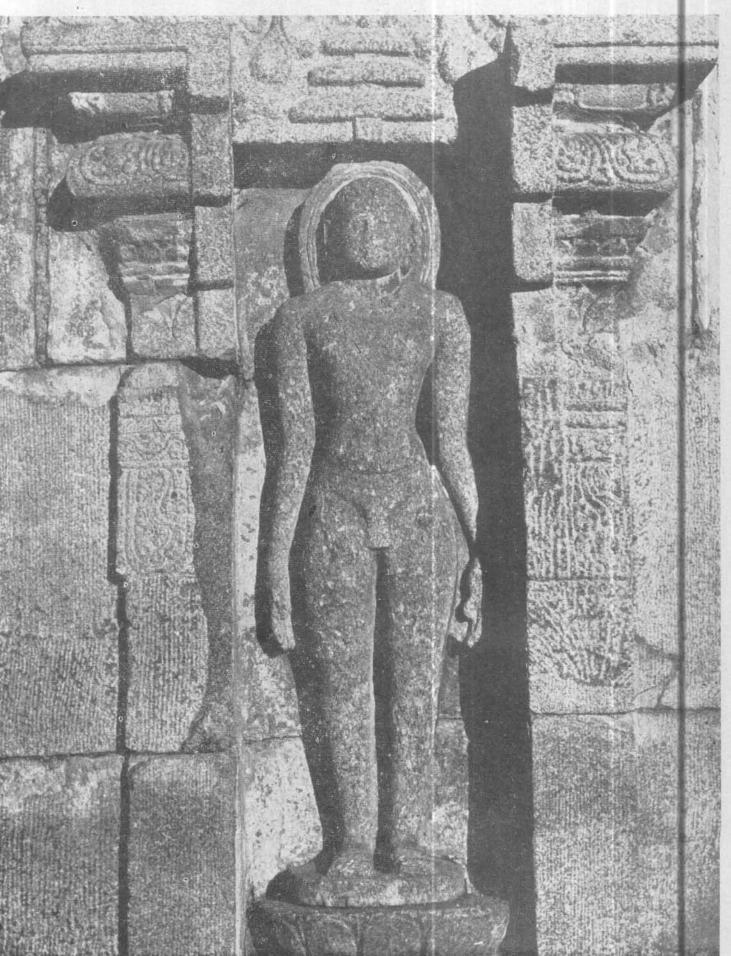
- 17. Dwarf, frolicsome genii.
- 18. e.g., those on the friezes of the upper tala-floor of the Pāṇḍyan monolith Vetuvan-kōvil, Kaļagumalai, ca. 800.
- cf. my article "Cola Sculpture", Chhavi: Golden Jubilee Volume, Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi 1971, figs. 416-417.
- The image is very famous and oft reproduced; to be found in almost any publication dealing with Indian art.
- 21. First illustrated as frontispiece in ASMAR 1939.
- 22. I have in mind the images I saw in and around the famous two storied Jaina temple.

 I am discussing the latter temple elsewhere in this Volume.
- 23. For the view of the ceiling, see ASMAR 1939, plate XI.

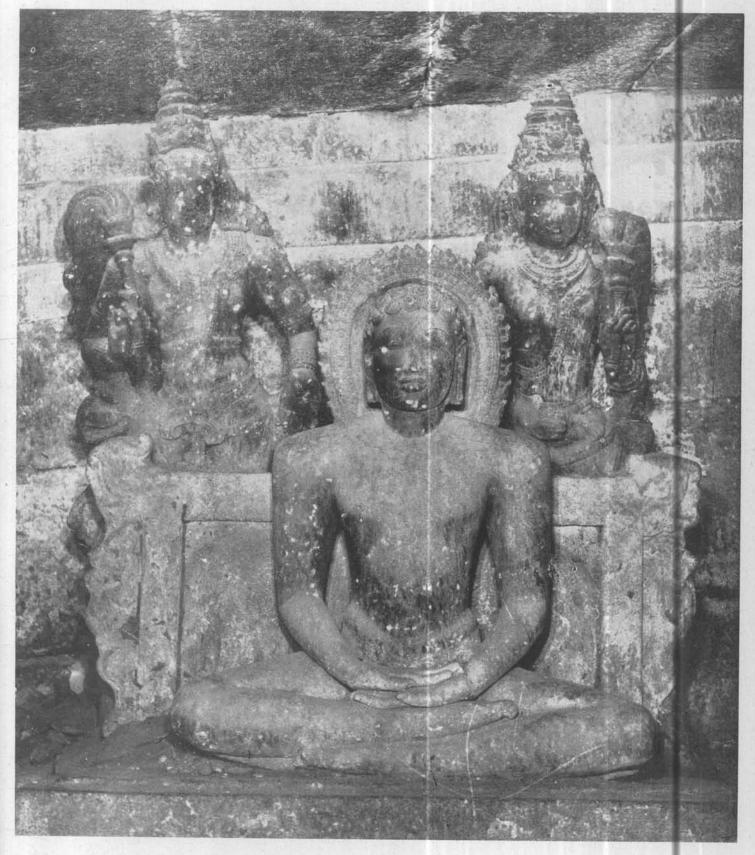
The present study is the expanded and revised version of the note the author read before the 'Seminar on Jaina Art' held in Lucknow in the last week of January 1972. The illustrations reproduced here are by the courtesy and assistance of the American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi.

ILLUSTRATIONS

- 1. Jina standing, west wall of the central shrine, Adinatha basadi in Pañcakūta-basadi, Kambadahalli, ca. 3rd quarter of the 10th century.
- 2. Seated Jina with camara-bearers, Adinatha-basadi in Panicakuta-basadi, Kambadahalli, ca. 3rd quarter of the 10th century.
- 3. One other Jina-image with court-bearers, Adinātha-basadi in Paficakūṭa-basadi, Kambaḍahalli, ca. 3rd quarter of the 10th century.
- 4. Yakşa Sarvānubhūti, Paficakūta-hasadi, Kambadahalli, ca. 3rd quarter of the 10th century.
- 5. Bharatesvara, Candragiri Hill, Sravana Belgola ca. late 10th century.
- 6. Seated Jina with cauri-bearers, rangamandapa, Santinatha-basadi, Kambadahalli, ca. end of the tenth century.
- 7. Yakşa Santinatha-basadi, rangamandapa, Kambadahalli, ca. end of the tenth century.
- 8: Jina and attendants, central panel, asta-Dikpāla ceiling, rangamandapa, Śāntinātha temple, Kambadahalli, ca. end of the tenth century.
- 9. Detail of String-course, south-face, Camundaraya-basadi, Śravana Belgola, 983.
- . 10. Another detail of the hara, self-same temple.
 - 11. Bāhubali's head, back-view, Gommatagiri, Sravaņa Belgola, 983.

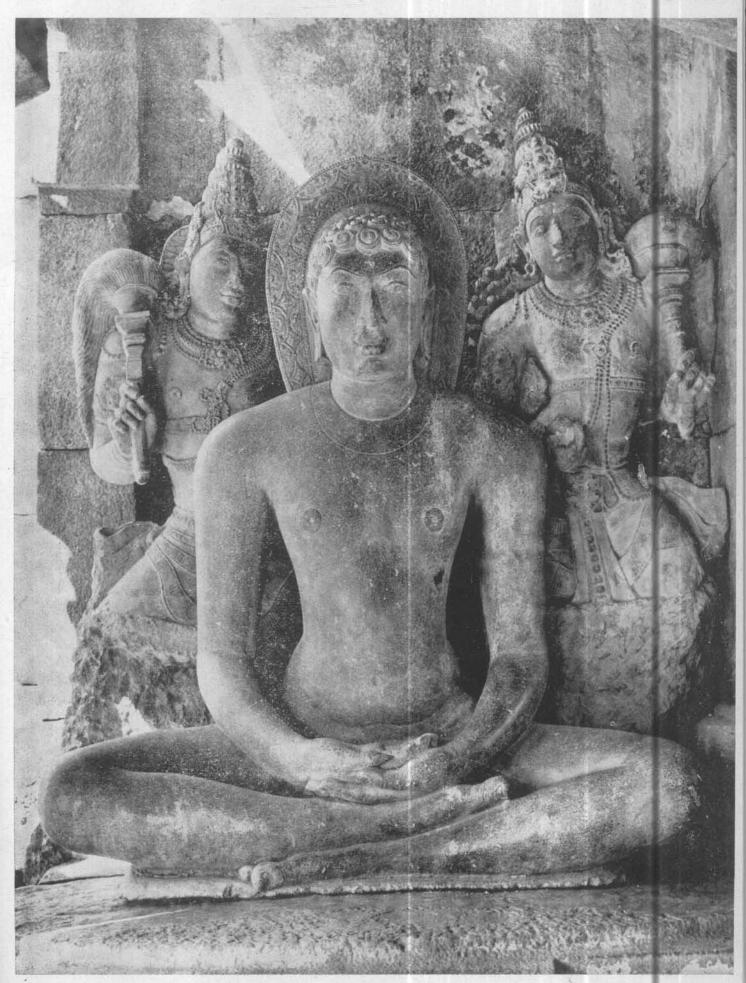






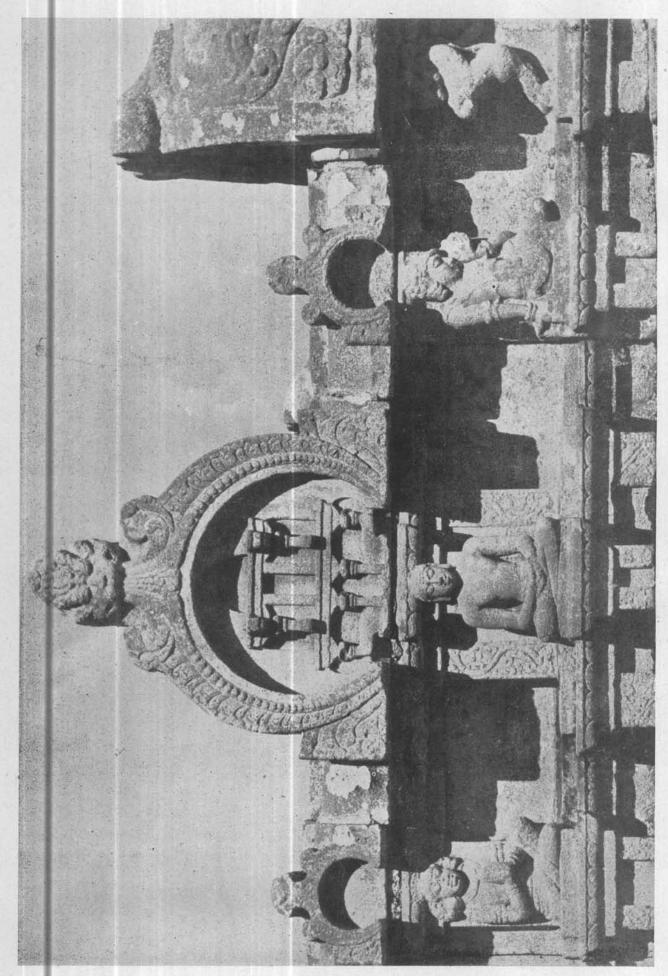




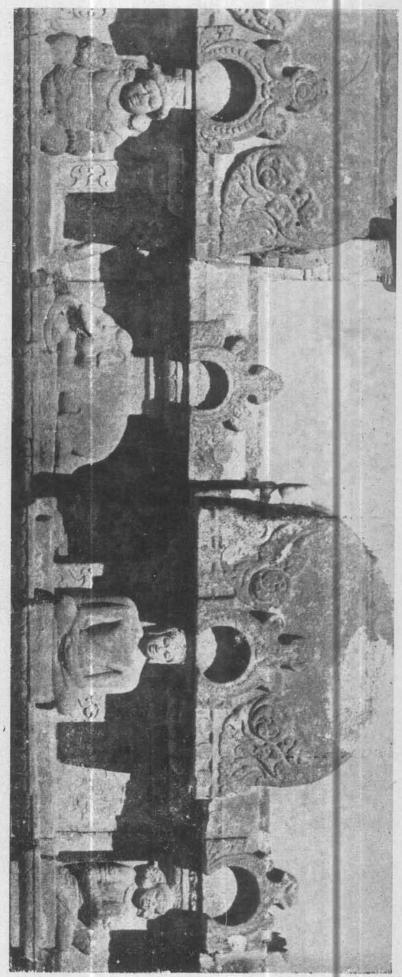


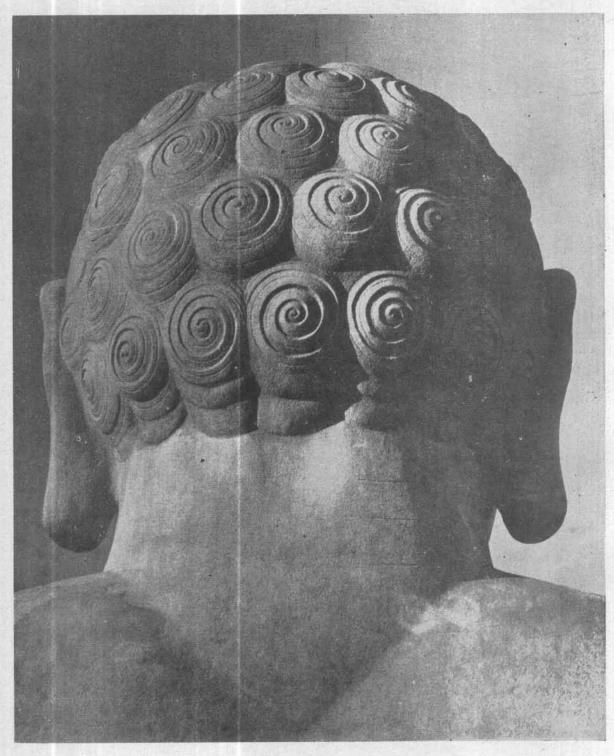












17. A RĀŞTRAKŪTA TEMPLE AT HALLUR IN BIJAPUR DISTRICT

KIRIT MANKODI

During the reign of the Cālukyas of Badami started, in the second half of the 6th century, a movement of building temples which was to have great significance for the history of Indian architecture. Scores of shrines of small and medium size, and almost a dozen of considerable size, were built at Aiholi, Badami and Mahakut by the 7th century, showing a mixture of many styles, types and influences. The 8th century marked the "second generation" of temple forms under the Cālukyas; though fewer in number, they are larger, well developed and more homogeneous, and show a strong southern influence. And when the Cālukyas were supplanted by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the middle of that century, the temple building activity was continued under the new dynasty.

Though the temples of the Cālukyas and the Rāstrakūtas are well known to scholars, detailed studies of them have only just begun to be made. The importance of complete descriptions and comparisons of temples, in order to classify them into groups and to establish their affinities and influences, has been pointed out by James Harle in an article in *Arts asiatiques*.¹

The present paper aims to give before this gathering an account of an 8th century temple at Hallur in District Bijapur in Karnataka.

Hallur is a small village about ten miles east of the taluka head-quarters of Bagalkot, on the road to Sangam. The Jaina temple called the Melgudi is situated just outside the village, to its north, on a gentle rise of the ground.

Earlier Accounts of the Temple

The existence of the Melgudi temple has been on record for almost one hundred years, but the temple has remained largely unknown to students of Calukya and Rastrakuta art. It was reported, probably for the first time, in 1877, in "Revised Lists of Remains in the Ahmednagar, Nasik, Puna, Thana, and Kaladgi Zillas" by J. Burgess,² with a brief description. This first account

was repeated in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, along with a few architectural notes.³ Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Annual Report for 1920-21, gave one paragraph to the temple and reproduced a photograph.⁴ K. V. Soundara Rajan has included a passing mention of the Melgudi temple in a discussion of the early temples in Karnataka in two recent books, Early Temple Architecture in Karnataka and Its Ramifications, and Indian Temple Styles⁵: This is about all that is published about the Jaina temple at Hallur.

The temple, fortunately, is fairly well preserved. The upper shrine alone has suffered damage, probably from age or from the lightning which struck the temple, as reported by the Gazetteer. Some huge slabs lie scattered on the roof. Bad luck, however, overtakes the scholar in the fact that work on the temple was abandoned, for unknown reasons, before it was finished. Many elements of the temple—and, especially, surface carving—have remained in various stages of completion. Thus, roughly chiselled triangular blocks remain attached to the kapota moulding of the plinth from which nāsikā shapes would be relieved; in the topmost, patta course of the plinth, which corresponds to the floor level in the interior, makara heads and rampant lions were never carved fully from the oblong blocks. Outlines only are traced of the large makaras crowning the Jinas on the walls, and the entablature and the hāra over the walls were left in an even more rudimentary state. Inside the hall, too, what little sculpture was planned was never completed. Consequently, the task of dating the temple is considerably difficult, as we shall see.

The Architecture

The temple consists of a square closed ranga-mandapa or hall and a smaller square garbha-grha with a narrow closed circumambulatory passage (Figs. 1-2); the garbha-grha is, thus, twice closed in, once by its own walls and again by the walls of the circumambulatory. On the roof, the inner walls of the sanctum are elevated so as to form an upper shrine, this itself with an open passage all around it, corresponding to that of the ground floor sanctum. Over-all measurements of the temple are $69' \times 41'$ (about $21m \times 12.5$ m.) The Melgudi provides an exception to the prevalent Cāļukya and Rāstrakūta temple form of the region: the ranga-mandapa hall has no porches on any side, and the only entrance is in the front or south wall.

The hall and the sanctum stand on a common adhisthana or platform (Fig. 3). The mouldings of this basement are: upāna, like the North Indian khura-kumbha, kampa, antarita, tripatta-kumuda, narrow kantha, kampa, ūrdhva-pattikā, kapota, and patta at the floor level. They have a decidedly heavy appearance on account of their being unfinished. The plinth has mild projections and recesses—five

projections and four recesses—on each wall, of the hall as well as the sanctum. The kapota moulding carries $n\bar{a}sik\bar{a}s$, two on each projection excepting the broader bhadra projection, which has four, but most of them exist only in the form of rough blocks. Those on the west side of the sanctum platform alone are complete, besides two at the north-west corner of the sanctum.⁶

The walls are made of plain blocks of ashlar masonry without any cementing. The treatment of the walls is basically the same all over, though the walls of the mandapa are adorned by three Jina sculptures and two latticed windows. The mandapa wall has five pilastered bays, the central bay being the widest, the extreme bays narrower than it, and the two remaining intermediate bays still narrower. The wall surface is entirely flat, in contrast to the plinth; only the pilastered bays serve to emphasize the projections and recesses of the plinth and, as it were, carry on the scheme on the walls. Thus the five bays correspond to the five offsets and the neutral areas to the recesses. On the wall of the hall the central and the two extreme compartments contain three standing figures of Jinas. The Jinas are framed in by the pilasters themselves without any devakostha niches, properly speaking. The central figures of the Jinas, on both the east and west walls, are framed by four pilasters instead of two, and are crowned by makara arches. Two of the recessed bays carry latticed windows.

The pilasters framing the bays are tall and slender, with a narrow neck and square "cushion" capital and corbel. The orderly repetition of the pilaster shapes all along the walls, and the fact that they span the whole height of the wall, thus accentuating the relief of the plinth, give them an architectural appearance. They are not structural elements in any functional sense; in fact they are carved on the masonry blocks, so that a pilaster has as many segments as courses of masonry forming the wall (Fig. 4). Their only role is to emphasize the articulation of the wall, for they connect the offsets and recesses of the plinth with the hara of the entablature.

The disposition of the front wall is basically the same as that of the side walls, except that the central bhadra compartment gives way to the door.

Small sculptured panels decorate the walls at the tops, just below the cornice, showing such motifs as Jinas enthroned or being bathed, flying couples, and musicians. The triple corbels of the pilasters are rather slender, with a straight outline and no ribbing or roll, unlike those in the interior of the hall.

A boldly carved hamsamālā frieze runs on all sides over the entablature, on the underside of the cornice (Fig. 5). The division of the space below that was

begun by the bays and recesses of the basement and was continued by the nonfunctional pilasters of the walls is observed in this member by the arrangement of the birds over the wall compartments: the birds over each compartment are divided into two rows facing each other, and converging upon a lotus or some other flower in the centre the two nearest birds pecking at it. In one or two places, garland bearing dwarf figures replace the birds.

Like everywhere else on this temple, the cornice and the hāra above, too, lack detail because of their unfinished carving. On the cornice remain kudus barely chiselled, rough blocks left in place to be carved later into shape. On the level of the entablature are rows of ornamental animal figures. At intervals, all around the temple, are place spouts to drain off rain water; generally plain pierced blocks, sometimes they are carved in the form of makara-praṇālas.

Over the entablature is a $h\bar{a}ra$ of which details might be missed at first sight. It runs all around the temple, over the $vim\bar{a}na$ as well as the mandapa, and comprises, or would have comprised when finished, of $k\bar{u}tas$ at the corners or $karna-k\bar{u}tas$, $s'\bar{a}l\bar{a}s$ and $pa\bar{n}jaras$. In their present state, blocks of stone with the barest of shaping mark the $n\bar{a}sik\bar{a}s$ and other details. A few $n\bar{a}sik\bar{a}s$ are relatively complete (Fig. 4), and contain miniature forms of $s'\bar{a}l\bar{a}s$, $k\bar{u}tas$ and, once or twice, of seated Jinas. Large $k\bar{i}rtimukhas$ crown a few of the $s'\bar{a}l\bar{a}s$ of the $h\bar{a}ra$.

The Superstructure

A narrow ladder placed in a confined chamber created for the purpose in the right aisle, back of the hall, leads one up to the roof; the top of the landing also is covered by a small roofed chamber. The roof of the hall is flat all over, though a gentle slope is provided to drain off water.

The inner walls of the ground floor sanctum continue upward to form the roof shrine. This shrine chamber, measuring 12' 6" (3.8 m_e) square, shows the same structural elements as the ground floor, and is original to the temple. It has suffered damage; it was probably this part that was struck by the lightning. The roof courses are entirely ruined; only one course remains—a kapota cornice, decorated with kudus. Another course now lies upside down on one side of the terrace. On this fallen course some carving of lotus petal and perhaps one kūta may be detected. A few stray slabs lie scattered about this chamber. The doorframes show plain mouldings which run all around the doorway. At the base of the doorframes are plain blocks, without any carving.

The Interior

The mandapa has no adjunct of any kind, such as a mukha-mandapa; a doorway in the centre of the front wall directly gives access to the interior. Five

or six steps with "elephant's head" balustrades flanking the top three steps lead one up to the entrance. The balustrades are rather crude, and their squat shapes are quite out of proportion to the height of the temple's base (Fig. 1). At the bases of the doorframes are uncarved blocks of stone, the mouldings beginning from some way up the height of the doorway. There are three projecting mouldings on each side separated by recesses. The innermost moulding is plain. The second has a pilaster form with some carving at the level of the $m\bar{a}l\bar{a}sth\bar{a}na$; it is provided with capitals and corbels like the pilasters on the walls, and supports a cornice crowning the doorway. The outermost one again is a thin chamfered moulding with cubical blocks at regular intervals. It is obvious that the last touch had not been given to the doorway courses when the builders abandoned work.

The interior of the temple shows a peculiarity of design: the hall is not a true navaranga-mandapa, but there probably was some attempt to make it conform to a navaranga. A true navaranga has in the centre a raised square area (ankana) enclosed by four pillars, and around this central block, in alignment with the pillars, are twelve more pillars; in other words, there are four rows of four pillars each. This arrangement of a central pillared block and twelve peripheral pillars divides the total area into nine (equal) bays, and is typical of temples of the Early Calukyas and those derived from them.

In the hall of the Melgudi temple, four rows of five pillars divide the hall into a wide central nave and two very confined aisles on each side (Fig. 6); the total of twenty pillars make twelve bays, and not of equal size. Within the nave is a raised ankana, as in a navaranga-mandapa; but since there are five pillars in each row it was not possible for it to be in the centre of the grid—it appears to be shifted toward the outer door of the hall, and the symmetry is lost. The architect had apparently realized the lack of logic in this, for the raised area was extended on the sanctum side almost as far as the next pair of pillars so as to bring it back in the centre.

The pillars are of massive size, two feet square at their shafts (Fig. 6). Above the base and again about midway they carry plain cubical blocks or bands; over each of these blocks—on all four faces—are plain medallions nearly round, and at each corner between two of these roundels is a lenticular ornament. Similar blocks in second generation Cālukya temples often carry decorative or narrative reliefs, though here they are plain. There are no capitals, and the corbels are squat and heavy, with double volute mouldings and a projecting tenon. The entablature over the pillars is unsculptured, and the ceilings are all plain. Only, the undersides of the cross-beams over the pillars are carved, with three lotuses each. At the ends of each row of pillars are

pilasters on the front and back walls, and there are pilasters on the side walls also.

The doorway leading from the hall to the circumambulatory passage is slightly more detailed (Fig. 7). There are three principal projecting mouldings. The simple innermost moulding runs right around the door. The second is a pilaster moulding with, as in the case of the hall door, capitals and corbels, across which is stretched a beam. Surmounting the doorway is a cornice, like that over the hall doorway; two traced kudus at the ends, two on the face and one more, also traced, in the middle, adorn it. On the underside of this cornice is a hamsamālā similar to that on the outer walls. A huge uncarved slab covers the gap between the top of the doorway and the roof of the nave.

On the back wall of the hall, to right and left of this doorway are two pilasters on which lean figures of guardian Yakşas, and beyond these again, are niches for sculptures, or devakosthas. The Yakşa and the niche on the left alone are relatively more finished. The devakostha niche is in fact a flat relief of a large $s\bar{s}$ supported on two pilasters.

Inside the circumambulatory, two pillars flank the doorway to the sanctum. A polished black stone sculpture of Nandi is in the ambulatory facing the *linga*, dating from the time of the conversion of the temple to *linga* worship.

The interior of the sanctum is severely plain, except for four corner pilasters; the doorframes, too, are uncarved.

The Sculpture

The sculptural decoration of the Melgudi consists of eight standing images Pārsvanātha and Bāhubali; a broken relief of a seated Jina which was the main image of the temple, now lying in the hall; and one sculpture of a guardian Yakṣa at the circumambulatory door. The statuary on the mandapa walls represents Pārsvanātha and Bāhubali in four sculptures each. The scheme of the sculptures on both the side walls of the mandapa is identical: Pārsvanātha on the central or bhadra positions, and Bāhubali on both corners. The two sculptures on the front wall are both of Pārsva. They all stand on low pedestals. Erect and pilaster-like, the nude figures merge with the real pilasters of the walls. The tall figures have thin hips, long slender legs, a torso with an hour-glass outline, and long arms hanging limp; there is a single fold on the abdomen. The figures of Pārsva have seven-headed cobras standing on their tails behind him and making a canopy over his head (Fig. 8). The Bāhubali figures have plain oval-shaped haloes with borders of beads. A mādhavī creeper encircles his limbs, thinly, and spreads a screen of leaves behind his shoulders (Fig. 9).

The sculpture of Pārśva on the right or east corner of the front wall is different from the other sculptures (Fig. 10). It shows the myth of the hero standing unperturbed before an attack by the Asura Meghamālin. The composition does not agree with other 8th and 9th century sculptures of the theme in the Deccan, in which the Asura's agents surround the Jina's figure; in the present sculpture, the attackers—a demon hurling a boulder, two lions and a bull charging at Pārśva, and an archer—crowd a small oblong panel just under the entablature, above the sculpture.

The two latticed windows on each side wall of the hall are, with the large wall sculptures, the only single elements that had been completed when work was abandoned (Figs. 2 and 11). Both show lattice forms well known from other—and earlier—temples of this region: The one is an intricate construction of four spoked squares standing one above another on their tips in such a way that the upper and lower tips of one square meet in the hubs of the squares above and below; it has a very pleasing appearance. The other window also shows a design well known from early Cälukya temples: it is of vertical and horizontal bars with bosses in the shapes of lotus flowers.

The Date of the Temple

There is no inscription on this temple that might help in dating it; thus the scholar has to rely entirely on the style of the architecture and the sculpture for dating it. But, as we have seen, many of its parts are unfinished; and details of carving, and ornament, which are vessels of stylistic change, almost do not exist. Clearly, the Melgudi temple, when completed, would not have looked as bare as it does in its present state.

Mr Soundara Rajan is perhaps the only scholar who has written on this temple. He describes it—rightly, in my view—as an example of the provincial style. However, the temple at Hallur is not as close to the Meguti Jaina temple at Aiholi as might appear at first sight. The differences in the planning and architectural treatment of the two temples are considerable. The Meguti is a temple of the mandapa type; its hall is divided into a scheme of nine square bays, and the main sanctum occupies the larger central bay, with two more shrines in the two corner bays in the back. In the temple at Hallur the sanctum is a separate unit, provided with its own circumambulatory, and to which is attached the hall, which is an independent architectural unit. Secondly, the Meguti temple has a muthamandapa in front of the closed hall containing the shrine. But the temple at Hallur, as we have seen, has no porch or adjunct of any kind. Thirdly, the walls of the Meguti temple at Aiholi have four real projections and three recesses, with deep sunken niches on the projectiors for

sculptures. The wall surface of the Melgudi, on the contrary, shows a greatly changed design: while the plinth is relieved, all offsets of the wall have been dispensed with and the surface is entirely flat (Fig. 2).

It is true, however, that though the walls of the temple at Hallur are not themselves relieved, parts of the walls have the values of offsets and recesses: the compartments which are "virtual" offsets, flanked by pilasters and carrying images, alternate with the other areas two of which carry sunken latticed windows—the "virtual" recesses.

And finally, the upper shrine of the Jaina temple at Aiholi was probably a later construction, while the Melgudi's superstructure is original.

The Jaina temple at Hallur has many elements that would indicate a date later than A.D. 634, the date of the Meguti.

The earliest occurrence in the Cālukya area of panjaras in the hāra, capping the spouts, was in the Sangamesvara temple at Pattadkal, built by Vijayāditya between A.D. 696 and 733.9 In the Melgudi temple the panjaras and spouts are not only more numerous, but the spouts have become prominent makara-pranālas. And one must remember that in our temple the panjaras of the hāra were to be crowned by bold kīrtimukhas. The curvature of the nāsikās on the hāra, as that of the few kudus on the temple's plinth, also suggests a later date.

The fabric of the Melgudi's walls with their slender flat pilasters anticipates later temples like the Jaina temple outside the village at Pattadkal and, to some extent, even the later Cālukya temples at Lakkundi. The same impression is made by the makara arches crowning the principal sculptures on the wall of the hall; though incomplete, they were conceived on a grand scale, and remind one of those over the devakosthas of a temple at Pattadkal, or of those flanking the sanctum doorway of the Jaina temple there.

An advance over the early series of temples is suggested also by the fact that whereas in the early two-storeyed temples access to the terrace might be through a plain hole in the ceiling slab on the top of the ladder, in our temple the top and the bottom of the ladder alike are provided with shelters.

And finally, the form of the latticed window with the lotus design also suggests, as was pointed out, a date later than the Early Calukya temples.

On the other hand, the temple at Hallur cannot be placed very far from true Early Calukya temples, for if the delineation of the lotus grill shows a later workmanship, the forms of both the windows are those evolved by Calukya sculptors. And the massive square pillars in the hall are also a Calukya element.

All told, the Melgudi temple looks forward, as it were, to those which followed it; it does not resemble any earlier temple in a striking way. On the balance, a date late in the 8th century, in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rule, might be suggested for this temple.

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The Jaina temple at Hallur evidences a lack of imagination or ambition. Its sculptural scheme is the same on both walls of the mandapa, and the sculptures on the west or left wall are of inferior quality. In the latticed windows, too, the same two patterns occur on both sides, and there is some suggestion of being stereotype.

However, for all its limitations, the Melgudi temple at Hallur deserves the scholar's care, especially in the light of the fact that the structural temples of the Rastrakūtas are fewer in numbers, and are less consequential, in comparison with their excavations, like the Kailāsa monolith or the Jama caves at Ellora.

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- Appended to Archaeological Survey of Western India's No. 6, Notes on the Antiquities of the Talukas of Parner, Sangamner, Ankole, and Kopargaum, by W. F. Sinclair.
- 3. Volume XXIII, Bijapur (Bombay 1884), p. 650.
- 4. Page 121, and Pl. VIII (b)—probably the only view of the temple ever published. The temple at Hallur is particularly unfortunate: other temples in the region, though they have not all been studied in detail, are at least better known, and photographs of many of them can be seen in a number of books.—This report notes that "No mention has been made in the Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency". This statement would seem to be inaccurate in the light of foot-note 2 above.
- 5. Early Temple Architecture in Karnataka and Its Ramifications (Dharwar 1969), p. 19; Indian Temple Styles (New Delhi 1972), p. 42.
- 6. Work on the western side of the sanctum was ahead of the other parts of the temple when construction was given up: besides the finished nāsikās of the plinth here, in the interior also, as we shall see, the niche and the guardian on the left or west side of the sanctum door alone had been carved.
- 7. Growding the narrow chamber at the foot of the ladder leading up to the roof are two small sandstone Nandis. They do not belong here, and must obviously have been brought from some other place.
- 8. Outside the door of the hall is a worn inscribed slab, but it cannot be original to this Jaina temple, as the Nandi and linga carved at its top suggest.
- 9. K. R. Srinivasan, Temples of South India (New Delhi, 1971), p. 132.

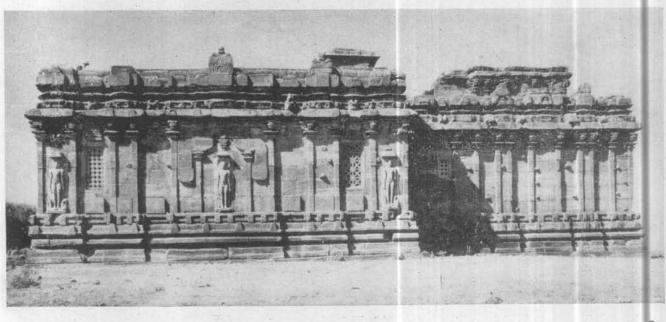
ILLUSTRATIONS

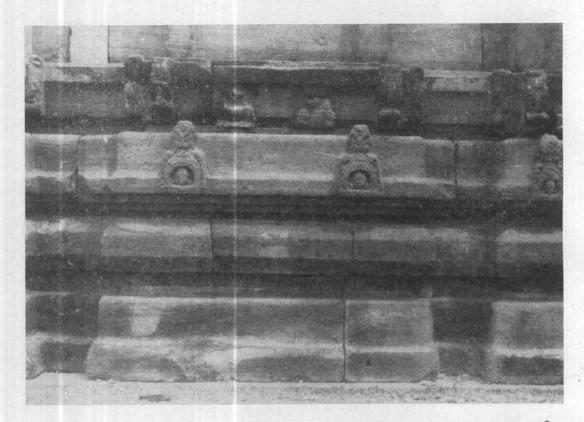
1.	Hallur,	Jaina	temple.	From south-east.
2.	**	**	"	From east.
3.	"	,,	,,	Adhisthāna of sanctum, west side.
4.	39	1)	23	Sanctum, from north-east.
5.	**	,,	1)	Hamsamala, north wall of sanctum.
6.	,,	**	,,	Mandapa, interior.
7.	,,	17	,,	Doorway of circumambulatory.
8.	,,	,,	,,	Pārsvanātha, east wall of mandapa.
9.	**	,,	1,	Bāhubali, east wall of mandapa.
10.	,,	,,	,,	Pärsvanätha, front wall.
11.	"	,,	"	Window, east wall of mandapa.

Figs. 1-2, and 4-9 are by courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi; Figs. 3, 10-11 are by the author.







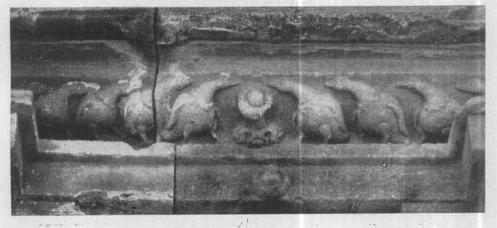


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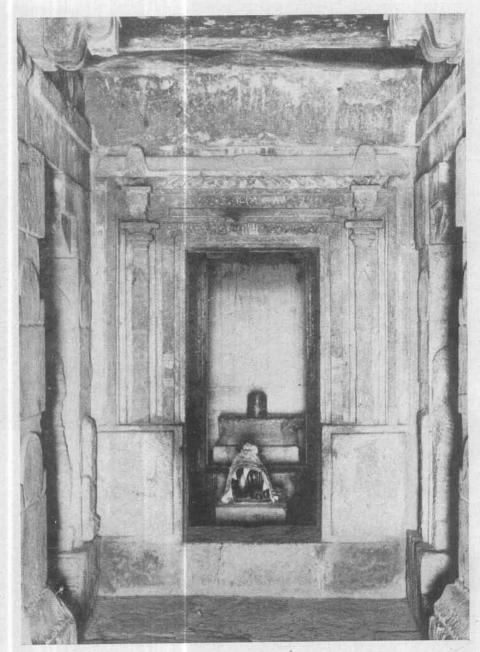








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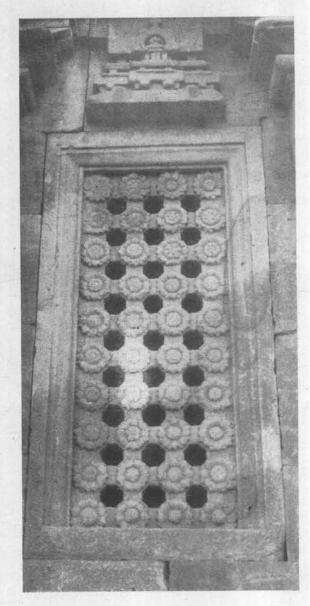




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18. JAINA ART AND ARCHITECTURE IN KERALA

H. SARKAR

Introduction

Kēraļa occupies a rather inconspicuous place in the history of Jainism in South India. But Jainism's impact was for certain felt by Kērala, and Jaina vestiges ascribable largely from the ninth to the eleventh centuries exist in different parts of the province. By and large, the Jaina religious movement seems to have streamed in from the neighbouring Tamil country some time in the eighth century. But this pertains to the middle phase of Jainism in South India. The earlier wave, evidenced by rock-shelters along the Coromondal coast, seemingly failed to reach Kerala. But this is not to say that the early Cera rulers, as evidenced especially in the Kongu country, which once was a part of the Cera country, were averse to this faith. In point of fact, one of the rock-shelters at Pugalur (near Karur in District Tiruccirapali) has on its brow, just below the dripline, two Cera inscriptions of about the second century A.D.1 These epigraphs tell us that the rock (kal) was cut (arupitta) for Cenkayapan, a Jaina ascetic, by the grandson of Ko-Atan Ceral Irumporai. Some of the inscriptions near the beds and pillow-lofts give names of their users, and one such bed (adițțānam) was meant for Cenkāyapan himself. That Pugalūr was an important Jaina centre (pāli) is evident from a large establishment there comprising four rock-shelters on the same hill, which accommodated about thirty monks who hailed, as the epigraphs tell, from nearby villages.

In the last phase, the main impetus came from the adjoining Tulunādu where this religion had an unprecedented growth from about the thirtcenth century onwards. All the chieftains there, excepting one or perhaps two, were followers of Jainism; it is only inevitable that northern Kērala should come under Jaina influence. There exists, even now, some Jaina settlements at places like Kalpetta and Manantody, in District Kozhikode.

Beginnings

The popularity of Jainism in Kēraļa proper synchronizes with the reemergence of the Cēras in the beginning of the ninth century, with Mahōdayapuram 216 H. Sarkar

(modern Tiruvāncikuļam, District Trichur) as their new capital. The Ay rulers of South Kēraļa, also, were favourably disposed toward this faith,. As the literary and inscriptional data indicate, the Tirukkunavāy temple. was a great centre of Jainism. An inscription found near the Jaina Basti at Talakkāvu, District Cannanore, perhaps speaks about the foundation of the Tirukkuṇavāy temple some time in the early part of the eighth century.² According to Krishnan the ruins of Godapuram near Alattivi, represent the place where the temple of Tirukkuņavāy was situated (see note 2 below). It appears that several Jaina temples sprang up between the ninth and the eleventh centuries on the model of this shrine, where, as the tradition goes on to say, Ilango Adigal the author of the famous Silappadikāram (ca. 5th cent.) had retired after his renunciation. It is noteworthy that the inscriptions from the Siva temple at Kinalur and the Tiruvamur temple at Calicut, both in District Kozhikode, indirectly refer to the presence of a Jaina temple at Tirukkunavāy. Undoubtedly, these were structural temples; but during this period also came the vogue of using rock-shelters as Jaina shrines. In the Tamil country these granite rock-shelters were only resorts; but in Kēraļa, such caverns were transformed into a sort of shrine for worship.

It is thus clear that the Jaina monuments in Kerala conform to two main types, namely, rock-shelters and structural temples. While the rock-shelters are still extant despite their conversion lately into Bhagavati shrines, the early structural temples are difficult to trace. For Jaina sculpture, too, the evidence may be said to be far from sufficient. Further, the carved reliefs associated with rock-shelters are better-preserved than the images in round, occurring as they sporadically do, and then mostly from Central Kerala.

Rock-shelters

It would be a misnomer if the natural caverns used by the Jainas of Kēraļa are called rock-shelters, as they are bereft of beds and other arrangements peculiar to a resort. And yet the term has gained currency so that it has been retained in these pages. In all cases, unlike their counterparts in the Tamil country, these are associated with bas-reliefs depicting Jinas and their attendant yakṣīs. The most impressive of such shelters is the one on the Tiruccāraṇattumalai, near Chitarāl, in District Kanyākumāri. It is located in the ancient Ay territory and is associated with the inscription of the Ay king Vikramāditya Varaguna (ca. 885-925). The inscription records a gift of some gold ornaments to the Bhaṭariyār of the Tiruccāraṇattumalai.

The natural cavern here is formed by an overhanging rock, with reliefs on one side: (cf. fig. 1). Apart from the Jina figures, there are a number of inscribed votive images carved by visitors hailing from far-off places. Of the reliefs, the most important are Pārsvanātha and Padmāvātīdēvī, both standing and

gracefully canopied by a multi-hooded cobra. Small seated figures each underneath a three-tiered parasol, may be of Mahāvīra or other Jinas. They are seated in the sattvaparyanka pose. The central niche contains a figure of Jina Mahāvīra with chatratrayī, caitya-tree and two attendants. Another beautifully executed figure, standing elegantly in tribhanga on a padmāsana, accompanied by attendant figures including two children and the lion mount is undoubtedly Ambikā. The prominent figures are accompanied by flying vidyādharas or worshippers. All the votive figures have below their seats short inscriptions in vatteluttu characters, mentioning the donor's name and place. These inscriptions also show that this Jaina establishment continued to exist till at least the middle of the thirteenth century, after which time it was converted into a Bhagavatī shrine.

There is a rock-shrine, also at Kallil, near Perumbāvūr, in District Ernakulam; in subsequent times; this too was transformed into a shrine for Bhagavatī.⁵ On the façade of this cavern is carved an unfinished seated figure of Jina Mahāvīra: (cf. fig. 2). Moreover, on the back wall of the cavern, now obscured by the walls of the Bhagavatī shrine, is carved the figure of Mahāvīra seated on a simhāsana in sattvaparyanka pose; behind him may be seen two attendant figures, one of which holds a fly-whisk. Here also a three-tiered umbrella is depicted over the head of the Jina.

Structural temples

Almost contemporaneous with the rock-shelters are the ruins of a few structural temples, the most important of which is the one at Gödapuram, near Alathur, District Pälghat, locally known as Säkkiyar Bhagavati temple. The site has yielded two Jaina images, now in the Trichur Museum. At present the site of Gödapuram perhaps ancient Torukkunavay is represented only by a few buried structures and some scattered architectural fragments. The area looks like a low mound, and there is every likelihood of structures coming to view if one excavates. In an exposed section there, one may notice traces of a granite structure, now buried, having an adhisthana components like upana, jagati, tripatta-kumuda, kantha with kampas and pattika; a few pieces of vitta-kumuda, evidently belonging to some other shrine, are also there. All the structures at this Jaina establishment, as their mouldings show, were originally square or rectangular on plan enshrining seated or standing Jina figures.

The image of Mahāvīra from the site (cf. fig. 3) is shown seated on a simhāsana in sattva-paryanka pose, with the customary three-tiered umbrella over his head; his lānchana has been depicted in the form of three front-facing lions in between the cross-bars on the pedestal. There is an attendant figure on either side of the throne-back, holding a fly-whisk in the right hand, and the left is in the kati-hasta. The image is considerably defaced.

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The figure of Pārsvanātha, recovered from the same site, is in the kāyāt-sarga pose, standing on a double-lotus pītha and having a three-hooded cobra over the head: (cf. fig. 4). Though the facial features are now defaced, it retains much of the original grace of its slim elongate form. The tail of the nāga coils around the pītha and then goes behind the thighs and back of the image. Stylistically, the image may be dated to the ninth century. This dating is somewhat corroborated by the discovery of a Tamil inscription in vatteluttu characters of about the tenth century. The undated epigraph also refers to the deity as Tirukkuṇavāyttēvar, reminiscent of Kuṇavāyir-kōṭṭam, where the author of Śilappadikāram is stated to have retired after renouncing his right to the Cēra throne. The date and the provenance of this Jaina record clearly establish that Jainism was in a flourishing state during the ascendancy of the second Cēra dynasty.

A Jaina temple dedicated to the eighth tirthankara Candraprabha is situated at Pālghāt but its date cannot be ascertained in view of the thorough renovation it underwent in recent times. In front of the present temple stands the base of an earlier shrine (cf. fig. 5) and like any Brāhmanical shrine in the far South, it too has a balipītha near the entrance. It is worth-noting that the granite adhisthāna of the deserted temple is of the Mañcaka type. A headless Jina figure stylistically ascribable to the ninth century can be seen in a photograph in the collection of the Archaeological Survey of India, and the image must have come from this site. The figure is shown seated in the vajraparyanka pose. Its modelling is more realistic than is generally met within the South; the narrow, round shoulders and the tender slimness of the body are reminiscent of some northern tradition: (fig. 6).

It is commonly believed that many Jaina shrines in the wake of Brāhmanical upsurge were converted into Hindu shrines. For instance, the Kūdalmānikkam temple at Iriñjālakuḍa, District Trichur, dedicated to Bharata, the brother of Śrī Rāma, was, as the tradition says, meant originally for Bharata, the son of the first Jina Rṣabha and brother of Bāhubalin. The inscription of Sthānu Ravi (ca. 884-885) from the same temple does not, however, say anything positive on this point. To say that it was a Jaina shrine prior to the ninth century is only a speculation. But the process of gradual transformation of a Jaina shrine into Hindu temple is surely in evidence at other sites: that it happened so in the establishments at Chitarāl and Kallil has been earlier stated. This process can be traced in the case of the Nāgarāja temple at Nagercoil, District Kanyākumārī, which has pillars and walls with many Jaina reliefs alongside the Brāhmanical figures. It appears that the temple continued to be a Jaina establishment till Kollam 687 (A.D. 1522) when it had received donations from the Travancore king Bhūtalavīra Udayamārttandavarman. Actually the reliefs

of Mahāvīra, Pāršvanātha and other Jinas may be stylistically placed to the sixteenth century. Yet the two huge $n\bar{a}ga$ figures, with five hoods, each sheltering a seated image there, may be dated to the tenth century when Jainism was a thriving creed in the $\bar{A}y$ territory.

. Now about north Kēraļa, the area contiguous to the Tulunādu. Some authorities consider the rock-shelter on the western slope of the Edakkal hill, near Sultan's Battery, Wynad District Kozhikode, as a Jaina resort. 10 Though associated with a few inscriptions,—the earliest of which date back to the sixth century,— and rock-carvings,11 the natural cavern here is devoid of any Jaina vestiges. Sultan's Battery (also known as Ganapati-vattam) has, however, the ruins of a big Jaina Basti, which may be dated to the fourteenth century. It is an example of a cloistered temple, built entirely of granite. In its axial arrangement, it consists of a square garbhagrha, ardhamandapa, closed mahamandapa and a detached portico, simulating the namaskara-mandapa of the Keralite tradition. Unlike the Kēraļa style temples, it has a lightly-sloping stone-roof, with two inconspicuous domical superstructures on top-the one above the garbhagrha and the other atop the mahāmandapa. In all probability, the original superstructure is completely lost. Originally, the temple seems to have been enclosed by a peristyle, in which columns having octagonal kattu and square sadurams have mostly been used. The columns of the mahāmandapa appear to be more developed, and their tapering shafts and decorations thereon are inspired by the Vijayanagara style. At present there is no image inside the sanctum but the lalāta-bimba on its doorway contains a seated Jina figure; an identical figure occurs also on the lintel of the ardhamandapa.

Several decades ago, a number of fragmentary Jaina images¹² were discovered near Sultan's Battery but it is not known whether they belonged to the temple described above. One such figure (fig. 7) is of a standing image of a tirthankara, with the usual three-tiered parasol over the head. Here the hair have been shown in the form of small ball-like curls. A makara-torana of the Karnātan type formed the back-drop: (ca. 12th century or later). Amongst the finds may be seen several fragments of a tablet with miniature Jina figures arranged in a row: needless to say, they form a part of a caturvimsatipatta. Most of the seated images, one of them having a lion in the centre of the pītha, are in the vajraparyanka posture.

A word may be said about the already-known Jaina site at Manjesvara, in Kasargode Taluk of District Cannanore. Images recovered from the place belong, historically speaking, to the Tulunadu tradition, and the Caturmukha Basti at Bangara-Manjesvara like the famous temple at Karakala, has four openings, each one showing a standing Jina figure. The site may be dated to the sixteenth century.

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Observations on Art-styles

It is indeed somewhat risky to make any generalisation about the Jaina art of Kēraļa on the basis of a somewhat scarce material we there confront. The rock-cut reliefs of Chitarāl compare well with those of Kaļugumalai, in District Tirunelveli, where a large number of votive images, accompanied by inscribed labels, can be seen. Figures of Ambikā, Pārivanātha and Padmāvatīdevī are the earliest reliefs at the place ascribable to the ninth century. They bear the stamp of the Pāṇḍyan plastic art despite the fact that this religious centre flourished in the ancient Āy country. The female figures here have been executed in a masterly way, combining both grace and rhythm. On the other hand, the tall image of Pārīvanātha, otherwise slender, suffers to a degree by heaviness of shoulders, a feature not uncommon in the Southern style. Most of the smaller seated images of the Jinas exhibit crudeness of form, and this is also the case with the Jina figure on the façade of the rock-shelter at Kallil: (fig. 8). The large seated image of Mahāvīra with attendants at Chittaral is however dignified and has radiance about his pleasant face.

Compared to the bas-reliefs, the images in round are in very bad state of preservation. But for the mutilated image from Sultan's Battery, all of them belong to the slender type. The one from Palghat, with some northern features, and the Parsvanatha from Godapuram, though now damaged, seem beautiful even in their very eroded state, reveal as they do an original high quality and sense of composition.

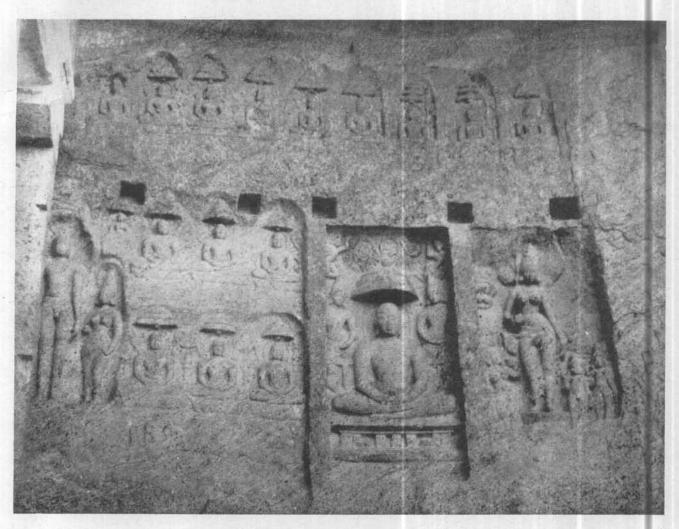
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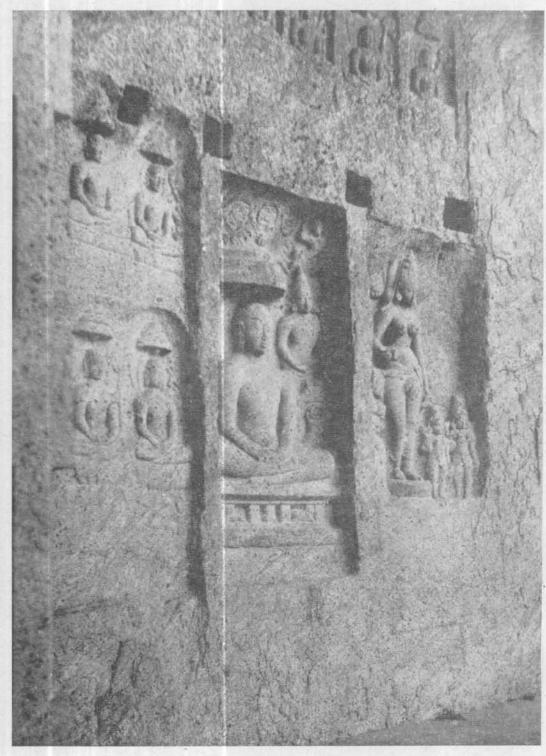
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ILLUSTRATIONS

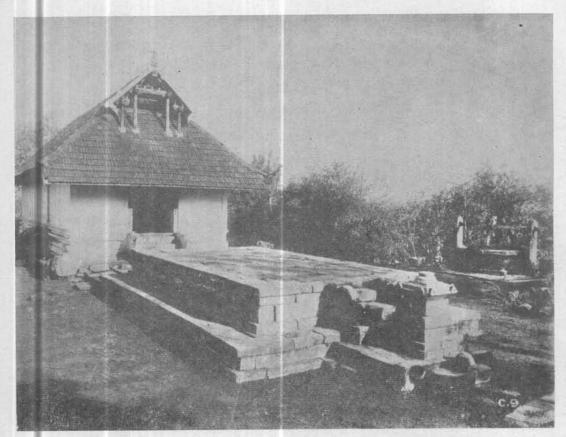
- 1. Jaina relief, rock-shelter, Tiruccaranattumalai, Chitaral: (ca. 9th century).
- 2. Same, different view.
- 3. Jina Mahāvīra, Godāpuram, ca. 9th century.
- 4. Jina Pārsvanātha, Godāpuram, ca. 9th century.
- 5. Candraprabha temple, Pālghāt, ca. 9th century.
- Headless Jina image from Candraprabha temple, Pālghāţ, ca 9th century.
- 7. Käyotsarga Jina near Sultan's Battery, Edakkal Hill, Wynad, Karnäta style, ca. 12th century or later.
- 8. Seated Jina figure, rock-shelter, Kallil: (Date uncertain).





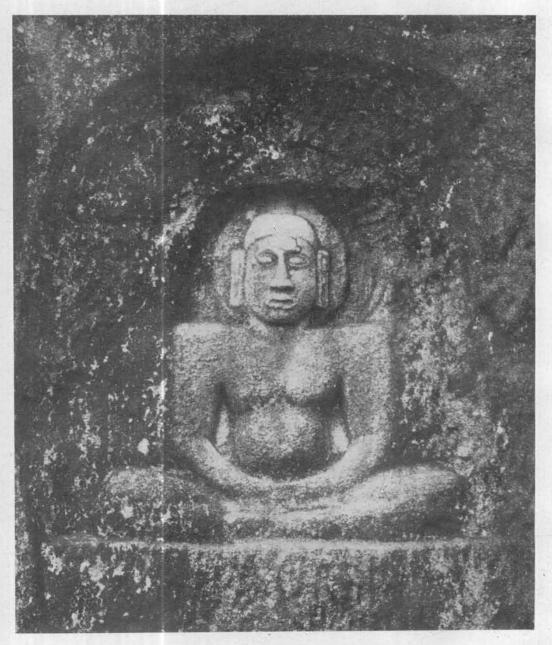












19. JAINA TEMPLES IN CENTRAL INDIA

MICHAEL W. MEISTER

Hundreds of Jaina temples once dotted Central India, dedicated primarily to the Digambara sect. The "Descriptive and Classified List of Archaeological Monuments in Madhya Bharat" alone lists remains from more than seventy sites. These range in age from the Jaina cave (no. 20) at Udaigiri, inscribed in 426 A.D. during the reign of Kumāragupta, to the Cauvisi temple at Chanderī, which, housing all the twenty-four Tīrthankaras in its twenty-four shrines, was built in A.D. 1836 by Hirde Sahai during the rule of Mardan Singh, Bundela Chief of Chanderī.

Most temples, however, have been ruined, rebuilt, and ruined again, leaving little besides stray images for the historian to study. Of those few Jaina temples of any antiquity which have been preserved intact the most important architecturally would be the Mālāde at Gyārāspur (Figs. 3, 19-20), discussed by Krishna Deva, and temples no. 12 and 15 preserved in the hill fort at Deogarh.²

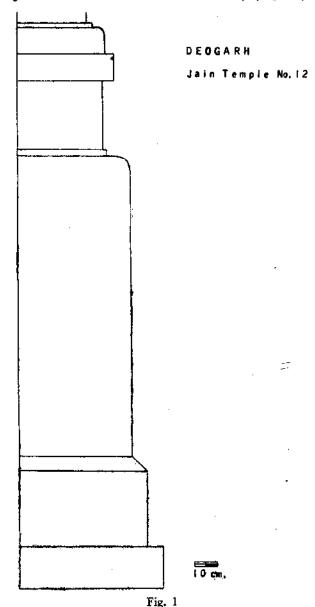
Temple no. 12 at Deogarh (Fig. 6) preserves a type of ambulatory (sān-dhāra) temple once common in Central India but now otherwise unknown. It is the earliest Digambara shrine preserved in the North, and seems roughly contemporary with the Mahāvīra temple at Osiān near Jodhpur, the oldest remaining Svetāmbara shrine. Its style is transitional between the "Gopādri" style prevalent in Central India in the eighth century, and the "Pratīhāra" style of the ninth.

Its companion shrine, temple no. 15, though considerably rebuilt (lacking its original superstructure completely) preserves a sarvatobhadra plan (Fig. 2, p. 229) unique among extant temples in India.

The original doorway to the inner shrine of temple no. 12 was replaced in S.V. 1051/994 A.D. by a highly ornate new door (Fig. 15) which provide an important dated landmark for sculptural development in Central India and an interesting example of Jaina iconography of the period.

Deogarh Temple No. 12

Temple no. 12 consists of a $m\bar{u}la-pr\bar{u}s\bar{u}da$ surrounded by a flat-roofed ambulatory enclosed by walls made up of pillars filled between by perforated grilles $(j\bar{u}li)$ (Fig. 7). On the north, east, and south, doors are set through this wall opposite the *bhadra* projections of the $m\bar{u}la-pr\bar{u}s\bar{u}da$, leading into the ambulatory.³ The main door on the west, originally perhaps no more elaborate than the three other doors piercing this ambulatory hall, is now replaced by later doorjambs inserted in the eleventh century (Fig. 13).



Vedībandha mouldings

Inside this ambulatory "hall", the mūla-prāsāda shows bhadra, pratiratha, and karna projection of the wall. On the west, short kapilī walls enclose the sanctum vestibule (antarāla). The later doorway dated 994 A.D. is set at the front of these kapilī walls. The ambulatory hall surrounds both the sanctum and the kapilī projection (see Bruhn's plan4).

The large open mandapa attached to the west of this temple (Fig. 6) is a later addition. The two corner pillars on NE and SE, however (Figs. 7 and 7a), are ancient, contemporary with the main sanctum and ambulatory, and may have been the front two pillars which originally formed a mukha-catuski fronting the west entrance to the ambulatory hall.⁵

In front of this later open mandapa is a separate catuski (pavillion of four pillars) (Fig. 1). The front two pillars probably once formed part of a torana-gateway, and seem contemporary with the west

doorway of the ambulatory hall, added in the eleventh century. The SE pillar, which mimics the older pillars of the main shrine but eliminates many important elements of those pillars, bears the well-known inscription dated V.S. 919/862 A.D. from the time of Mihira Bhoja. The inscription records the setting up of a votive pillar and refers to the pre-existence of the temple of Sri Sänti, thus giving a post quem but not ante quem date for the main structure. It is perhaps better to judge the gap between the main structure and this pillar by arriving at a date based on the main structure itself—in relation to other structures in Central India—rather than to attempt to judge how much anterior the main temple should be comapred to this simplified and possibly antiquarian stambha.

The two torana pillars of this catuski, which have been shortened to fit their present use, mix floral decoration with panels of Jinas, acaryas, attendants, musicians, and devotees in a most lively way. The base niches show both Jinas and Jaina Goddesses. The brackets of the present catuski must have come from the same torana, as do the cross-lintels (Fig. 5) with their fine sequence of attending figures. As a whole, this torana must have presented a very fine spectacle—resembling to a degree the toranas at Gyaraspur and Terahi.

The $m\bar{u}la-pr\bar{a}s\bar{a}da$ and ambulatory hall of the Santi temple stand on a broad rectangular platform ($ma\bar{n}ca$, perhaps—it seems hardly sufficient in height or function to be called a $jagat\bar{\imath}$) made up of kumbha, a narrow $kapot\bar{a}l\bar{\imath}$, $pattik\bar{a}$ —band of floral decoration, antarapatra—recess showing palmette pattern, and heavy $kapot\bar{a}l\bar{\imath}$ decorated with $candras\bar{a}l\bar{a}s$.

On the edge of this platform stand the walls of the ambulatory enclosure, made up of vase-and-foliage pillars alternating with slabs of zig-zag grille (Fig. 7). These grilles are faced in the center by simple niches crowned by tall udgama—pediments. Each ghata-pallara pillar stands on its own heavy base, between which are set slabs to support the grille structure above. Below the grille but above these slabs (parallel to the lower pot-and-foliage of the pillar shaft—Fig. 7) appear a khura moulding decorated with leaf-pattern, $r\bar{a}jasena$ showing small pillarets alternating with arched niche-patterns (enclosing diamonds), and a crowning $kapot\bar{a}l\bar{i}$. The $j\bar{a}li$ -slabs are decorated above by $ghant\bar{a}m\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ and are crowned by two rows of dentils and a $kapot\bar{a}l\bar{i}$. The leaf-brackets crowning each of the pillars which frame these screens cut through this upper $kapot\bar{a}l\bar{i}$ rather than supporting it.

Above this $kapot\bar{a}l\bar{i}$ appear large rafter ends decorated with floral patterns; a further $kapot\bar{a}l\bar{i}$, this time continuous across the breadth of the temple; a $vedik\bar{a}$ of simple roll-bracket pillarets, with sunk-niche pattern between; and a ribbed, straight-edged $ch\bar{a}dya$ (awning) with saw-tooth decoration on the edge. 10 J.S.-29

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The two kapotālī cornices with rafter-ends between form the varandikā (complex cornice) which marks the upper limit of the wall. The vedikā with crowning chādya—awning would seem to represent a form of clerestory-superstructure. Above this chadya, however, appears a broad antarapatra (recess) divided into three bands of half-lotus, palmette, and again half-lotus pattern. The upper half-lotus band is broken by the ends of the interior rafters, which support the ambulatory roof. Above these a second awning probably appeared, with coping stones as well as drainage outlets, but the original elements are replaced by recent restoration (Fig. 6). This broad antarapatra with beams and awning seems unrelated to the formula of the outer walls. It is an expedient used to adjust the scale of the outer walls to the scale of the inner sanctum. (The pillars of the outer walls are only the height of the basement mouldings (vedībandha) of the sanctum within.)

This hall is a remarkable structure, reflecting in a very detailed way the architecture of pillared pavillions which must have been common to domestic-palace architecture of the period. Only the Solah Khamba at Badoh otherwise gives us even a poor suggestion of the nature of such domestic structures. Through the tradition of small "mandapika" shrines found widely in Central India this architecture of pillared pavillions directly influenced the forms of the stone temple, but in none of those structures is the parent-form so elaborately reflected as here.¹¹

These $mandapik\bar{a}$ -like walls, however, are, of course, a façade. That part above the first ribbed $ch\bar{a}dya$ is only a filler to mask the interior structure. The beams which support the inner ambulatory roof are supported themselves by interior pillars set against the $mandapik\bar{a}$ exterior, 12 creating an inner space strangely disconnected from the garden-palace implications of the outer walls (Fig. 8).

This interior, though much better lit than in most sāndhāra temples, retains a considerable mystery partly by its plainness and partly by its gargantuan proportions. The inner walls of the prāsāda show no decoration at all. Their barrenness is relieved only by life-size images of the Jinas which lean against the high, primitive mouldings of the sanctum (Fig. 8). These mouldings (Fig. 1, p. 224) consist of a simple bhitta, a very high (1.65 meter) kumbha; a broad, undecorated antarapatra—recess; and a large kapotālī-moulding (itself as tall as a man's head). The face of the kapotālī is recessed from that of the kumbha, and the wall of the sanctum recessed from the plum-line of the antarapatra (an unusual stepped arrangement).

A shallow projection from the face of the $jangh\bar{a}$ supports the cross-beams of the ambulatory; and an up-turned padma-lip forms the transition between the wall and the broad slabs of the ceiling.

The superstructure above the sanctum does not immediately spring from the roof of the ambulatory hall (Fig. 9). Instead a basement block (bhitta) rests above the ambulatory ceiling-slabs. Then a small portion of plain $jangh\bar{a}$ -walling appears, decorated by an upper band of $ghant\bar{a}m\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ (pearl-chains and bells). A mandovara (complex cornice) consisting of $kapot\bar{a}l\bar{i}$, $n\bar{i}vrapattik\bar{a}$ (decorated rafter ends), and a second $kapot\bar{a}l\bar{i}$ -moulding crowns this wall.

The sikhara proper begins with $vedik\bar{a}$ of roll-bracket pillarets. From this kantha spring the $lat\bar{a}s$ of the broad $n\bar{a}gara$ tower. The middle and flanking $lat\bar{a}s$ of the tower are covered with a complex $j\bar{a}la$ -mesh pattern; the outer spines are divided into nine $bh\bar{u}mis$ by corner $\bar{a}malakas$. (The upper portion of the tower has been somewhat restored.)

A shallow sukanāsa projects from the west face of the tower; its crowning three-storeyed pyramid rests on two layers of bhūmikhandas. Two flanking niches and a door appear on the face of this nāsika; a khuracchādya—awning projects between these and the three udgama—pediments above. The form of this sukanāsa grows out of those found earlier at Amrol, Naresar, and Batesar and parallels in certain respects that found on the small Siva temple at Terahi.¹³ It has none of the dramatic impact of later Pratīhāra sukanāsas, however, (as on the Sun temple at Madkheda with its giant, stilted sun-window). Some attempt has been made to give added height and magnitude to this front projection of the sikhara but, by substituting a three-layered pyramid for the large single sun-window all dramatic potential has been lost.

Certain formal details of this tower can be used to determine a probable date for the temple. The recess between the outer spine of the sikhara (the venukosa) and the inner spines (latās) retains small paā jara—niche structures opposite the body of the bhūmi-khandas and small pillarets opposite the bhūmi-āmalakās. This "bālapaā jara" is a feature known widely in the seventh and eighth centuries in Central and Western India but which completely disappears in the ninth. The inner latās flanking the madhyā latā are not marked into bhūmis by āmalakas, however—a feature (known as double venukosa) which was common in the eighth century. The latest examples of double venukosa seem to come from the beginning of the ninth century; the last examples with "bālapaā jara" recess between inner and outer venukosa, however, come from the last quater of the eighth century rather than from the ninth.15

The jāla appearing on the sikhara, also, is of a type first introduced into Central India over the wall niches of the Batesvara Mahādeva temple (probably of the third quarter of the eighth century) but not used on its sikhara. Its use here, as also the introduction of half indusālikās filling in the empty spaces beside

each udgama pattern on the face of the bhumi-khandas, anticipates conventions common on Pratihara temples of the next century.

In many features this temple seems archaic and exceptional. In the form of its tower, however, in decorative designs, and in the style of its sculptures, it seems to act as a transition between the eighth century temples in the Gwalior region and the ninth century Pratihara shrines in Central India. A date in the last quarter of the eighth century would seem appropriate.

There is a similarity in the arrangement of this temple—with its $pr\bar{a}s\bar{a}da$ embedded as it were into a pillared hall—to seventh century temples at \bar{A} lampur, ¹⁷ At \bar{A} lampur, however, the hall is solid, not made of pillars and screens, the bhadra openings are porches rather than doorways, and the hall extends well beyond the $pr\bar{a}s\bar{a}da$ itself, rather than merely skirting it as at Deogarh. Still, $s\bar{a}ndh\bar{a}ra$ temples are rare in Central India, and no other temple can show, as can Deogarh, what form may have stood parallel in Central India to that early stage of development seen at \bar{A} lampur.

Deogarh Temple No. 15

The temple to the north of temple no. 12 is too ruined, and on the whole too roughly executed, to be of much architectural interest. Yet in plan (Fig. 2, p. 229) it gives us a further example of the considerable variety of forms which are lost to us. It consists in plan of a basic square with broad central projections which, on north, east, and south are partly divided into shallow outer niches and into slightly less shallow inner shrines facing the central mandapa. On the west the projection takes the form of a mukha-mandapa with four pillars, widely spaced in the center, and with reflecting wall pilasters. These pillars and pilasters, however, are only roughed out, left uncomplete, and do not relate in form to the rest of the structure. The doorway (Fig. 12) is certainly of the original period of construction, and gives an indication of the development of Digambara thinking of this period in its iconologic formlessness. It stands in sharp contrast to the late tenth century door added to the inner shrine of temple no. 12 (Fig. 15).

In the interior of this temple we are again struck by the importance of pillar-and-lintel architecture to Central India, and of the central ground to a pillared hall (Fig. 10). Along the walls appear simple nucaka (square) pillars decorated with lotus medallions, a narrow octagonal necking between. Ghata-lasuna members support heavy roll brackets which in turn support broad stone lintels decorated with acanthus pattern. The four central pillars show a more complicated construction: the lower square shaft is plain, its upper section carved with a bold vase-and-foliage motif, the pot resting on the head of a monstrous

one meter

kīrttimukha face (in one case on a lotus), pearl chains festooned between the leaf-drops of the ghata-pallava and the mouth of the kīrttimukha mask. Above this

DEOGARH Tample No. 15

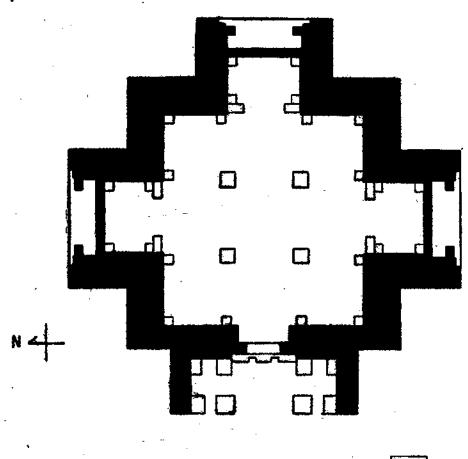


Fig. 2. Plan

appears either a narrow bharana-lip (chamfered with turn-overs) or a padma base supporting a reduced ghata—vase with sixteen dart-like leaves hanging down from its lip, giving an octagonal division to this round form. Above, double-leaf volutes with a central half-lotus (a chain of flower-buds binding the shaft above) support a short plain section of shaft, then ghata-bharana elements and heavy roll brackets as with the pillars along the walls (Fig. 10).

These central pillars relate very little to commonly found Central Indian conventions either before this period or even very often afterward. They do

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relate in many ways to the pillars found in the matha at Menal, near Kotah, dating probably about three-quarters of a century earlier, and in some ways show, though with less condensation and more clarity of parts, forms which are common in Maru-desa as well as in the territories of the Mauryas of Chittor.²⁰ They show some form-influence; they do not duplicate. But they are one further small fragment of evidence showing increased contact between Central and Western India late in the eighth centry.

The wall pillars with lotus medallions are conventional in Central India, certainly in the seventh and eighth centuries, and are a common form for interior pillars of mandapikā shrines (Kuraiya Bīr, Gyārāspur, etc.).

The doorways to the inner shrines, as to the outer niches, are extremely simple. A band of half-lotuses with pearl garlands appear over the inner doors. The Jina image in the eastern shrine (Fig. 11) is worthy of the praise it has received though its nose has been repaired; its parikara, as also that of the Santi image in temple no. 12 is, worthy of additional study.²¹

Bruhn has called this temple later than no. 12, I agree, but cautiously. Leaf-bracket types, which Bruhn uses, are not a fair guide. Both "earlier" and "later" types appear together, even on a single pillar from temple no. 12 (Fig. 13).²³ In most respects, I would say this temple continues eighth century formulas, but in line with that transitional phase marked by the main Deogarh temple (no. 12). If the Gangā-Yamunā figures of the doorway (Fig. 12) anticipate in some ways the more hefty conventions of later figures on the Gādarmal at Badoh, they still parallel the Yakṣi figures of temple no. 12. A date late in the last quarter of the eighth century or early in the ninth would seem acceptable.

The doorway of temple no. 15 (Fig. 12) shows an inner $patras \bar{a}kh\bar{a}$; a $puspa-m\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ which acts as body for the $n\bar{a}ga$ -devotees performing $anjal\bar{i}$ above Gangā and Yamunā; a $r\bar{u}pa-s\bar{a}kh\bar{a}$ with seated Jinas; and an outer foliate $b\bar{a}hya-s\bar{a}kh\bar{a}$. The $lal\bar{a}ta$ -bimba shows a seated Jina. The udambara shows lion-hunt, $k\bar{i}rttimukha$, kinnara-pair, and a central projecting block with foliate swirls facing forward and an open lotus on top. The total number of seated Jina figures shown in the $r\bar{u}pa-s\bar{a}kh\bar{a}$ and $uttar\bar{a}nga$ of this doorway is only seventeen, and no attempt is made to differentiate them.

The Later Doorways of Temple No. 12

The outer doorway on the west side of the ambulatory hall of temple no. 12 (Fig. 13, right) was inserted at a later period. An inscription on the left revel of this doorframe records the erection of the two jambs. Above this inscription is a separate inscription recording the date V. S. 1133/1076 A,D,²⁴

It is not clear that this date is the date of erection rather than a date later inscribed. On the whole, the organization of these Jambs, and the figures in the $r\bar{u}pa-s\bar{a}kh\bar{a}$, still are closely related to the inner doorframe which was erected in V.S. 1051/997 A. D. (Fig. 14). The inner ribbon of dot-and-diamond pattern, the nail-head-like $puspa-m\bar{a}l\bar{a}$, the pillar and niche forms of the $r\bar{u}pa-stambha$ (with karnaka moulding between the individual niche forms) all are similar. The $candras\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ pattern above each niche-form, however, has changed in the outer doorframe (Fig. 13), becoming less round and more pear-shaped, with the body of the $candras\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ substantially cut away, giving a lace-like effect. This same pattern appears on the two torana pillars now forming part of the catuski west of this temple (Fig. 4, left), and was apparently an eleventh century development.²⁵

The inner doorway (Fig. 15) was erected in A.D. 997 during the reign of "Ujaravața". The dated inscription refers to the temple as "Śri-Śantinātha-tīrtha".²⁶ Because of its firm date this doorway is important for the history of Central Indian sculpure; and in its iconographic organization it can perhaps add to the development of an iconology for Jaina art.

The doorway shows a stencil-like outer band or patra-sākhā; then $vy\bar{a}la-s\bar{a}kh\bar{a}$; a $r\bar{u}pa$ -stambha showing central offset (framed on either side by a spiky puspamālā); and finally a narrow interior ribbon of dot-and-diamond motif. The udambara (possibly from an earlier doorway) shows lion-hunt with elephants, two scenes of dance and musicians, and a central padma-block. The niches of the $r\bar{u}pa$ -stambha show mithuna couples in fiirtatious but not erotic poses. The upper members of the $r\bar{u}pa$ -stambha show developed lasuna-ghata-bharani elements, flattened and tightly fluted in a fashion appropriate for late in the tenth century.

The uttaranga-overdoor is composed in two registers. The upper register (Figs. 17-18) shows a four-armed image of Cakresvari to the left; a seated Tirthankara with two male chauri-bearers at the center; and four-armed Ambikā to the right. The space between these images is divided into two layers. The upper shows the sixteen auspicious dreams of the Digambaras²⁷: (to the left) Airāvata (the elephant of Indra), bull, lion, the Goddess Padma Sri, a pair of garlands, two discs representing the moon and sun, and a pair of fishes (Fig. 17); (to the right) a pair of vases with lotuses, two bands with lines showing water which represent the celestial lake and ocean, and three architectural pavilions representing lion-throne, celestial car or palace (devavimāna), and the palace of the snake-king (nāgendra-bhavana), then a heap of jewels, and finally a smokeless fire (Fig. 18). The level beneath these dream-symbols shows ten Jinas to either side. They alternately stand and sit, save the last pair to the right on either side who both stand.

The lower register of the overdoor (Figs. 17-18) shows four-armed Sarasvati to the left; in the center is a triad of Jinas, one seated and two standing; and to the right is four-armed Sarasvati playing Vina. The iconographic details of the four images of Goddesses appearing on this door are summarized in the chart below:

```
Cakresvarī (Vāhana: Garuda)
                                      l.u.—cakra (disc)
r.u.—gadā (club)
                                      1.1.—aksamālā (rosary)
r.l.-abhaya mudrā
Ambikā (Vāhana: lion)
                                      l.u.—child
r.u.—noose or blue lotus (?)
                                      1.1.—āmralumbi (mangoes)
r.l.—āmralumbi (mangoes)
Sarasvatī (to left)
                                       l.u.---(broken)
r.u.—padma (lotus)
                                       1.1.—kamandalu (pot)
r.l.-varada mudrā and
aksamālā (rosary)
Sarasvatī (to right)
r.u.-pustaka (book)
                                      l.u.—vīnā (upper end)
                                      1.1.-kamandalu (pot)
r.1.-vin\bar{a} (lower end)
```

The three Jinas on the lalāṭa-bimba possibly represent Adinātha, Śāntinātha, and Mahāvīra. The central seated Jina can certainly be identified as Śāntinātha because of the antelop appearing below him, in front of the cushion on which he sits. The large halo surrounding the head of the Jina to the left, made up of a heavy band, is known from other Ādinātha images of the same period, though not exclusively. The relative difference in size between the left and the right-hand Jina images also would suggest that the larger might be the first Jina, Ādinātha, and the smaller the last, or Mahāvīra. The club (or staff) which seems to rest on the cushion behind the right hand of the left-hand Jina I cannot explain.

Together with the Jina above and the twenty Jinas represented in the upper register of the overdoor, this triad completes a full complement of twenty-four Tirthankaras. It would seem apt for the upper Jina to be Pārsvanātha in order to complete four of the most frequently worshipped Tirthankaras, but no nāgahood or other emblem is present to confirm such an interpretation (for this, or for any other of the twenty-four Jinas).

The lower register between the lalāṭa-bimba and the two flanking Sarasvatī; devī-s shows images of the Navagrahas, or nine planets. To the left appear four

of the planets (Fig. 17), the first being $S\overline{u}rya$; a female attendant (holding lotus and $c\overline{a}mara$) stands to the left, a male attendant carriying danda (?) to the right. On the opposite side of the $lal\overline{a}ta$ -bimba (Fig. 18) the five remaining Grahas appear, the last two being the head of $R\overline{a}hu$ with the bust of Ketu above shaded by a $n\overline{a}ga$ -hood, his hands cupped in $a\overline{n}jal\overline{i}$ -pose. A male attendant stands to the left, a female attendant to the right. Beneath these figures, at the top of the doorframe proper, appears a band of $vidy\overline{a}dhara$ couples, each figure holding $c\overline{a}mara$ (?) rather than $m\overline{a}l\overline{a}$:

There is, of course, a medieval similarity between the sculpture of this doorway (Fig. 16) and figures from Khajuraho temples. Gangā, Yamunā, and attendant figures, compared to similar sculpture at Khajuraho, would seem to fall appropriately between the figures on the Gantai temple door (c. 975 A.D.) which they resemble in respect to costume, and figures from the Citragupta doorway (c. 1005-10 A.D.) which they do not yet match in terms of a shift from expressiveness to blank hardness.

In overall organization, however, and very much in terms of decorative detailing, this doorway much more closely aligns itself to Kacchapaghāta tradition (exemplified by temples west of Deogarh at Terahi and Kadwaha). The dotand-diamond pattern and spike-like $m\bar{a}l\bar{a}-s'\bar{a}kh\bar{a}$, the projected $r\bar{u}pa-stambha$, the double register over the door, all are paralleled on Kacchapaghāta doorways. The spiky $m\bar{a}l\bar{a}-s'\bar{a}kh\bar{a}$ and the dot-and-diamond inner band never appear on Khajuraho doorways. On the other hand, the Kacchapaghāta convention of very large single images spanning both registers to the sides and at the center of the overdoor has not been followed here.

It is not clear whether the Candellas of the Kacchapaghātas ruled in Deogarh during the eleventh century. The Candellas have perhaps some claim, since their inscriptions have been found as close as Dudahi, some miles SE of Deogarh²⁸; however, in the tenth century there were still strong connections between this region and the region surrounding Kadwaha, which still was under feudatories of the Imperial Pratīhāras,²⁹ and it is only in an inscription from the Rājghātī at Deogarh of the year V.S. 1154/1097 A.D. that we are told that Vatsarāja, minister of the Candella Kīrtivarman, seized the "entire area" (samastam apī mandalam) from an unspecified enemy and built the fort of Kīrtigiri.³⁰

Regardless of political history, the artistic remains at Deogarh from the late tenth and the eleventh centuries seem more strongly affiliated to Kacchapaghāta style than to the Candella style to the east.³¹ Deogarh marks, however, perhaps a regional boundary for that style. The interaction of regional styles is perhaps the throniest of art-historical problems facing the historian of Indian art, for J.S.-30

even as food and language change in India every twenty miles so also regional art styles interact and overlap. Such considerations have got to be made, however, before any clear chronology governing all of India can be established.

Art and Belief:

The image of Śāntinātha in temple no. 12 is flanked by similarly ancient images of Ambikā-mātā; and the outer face of the ambulatory walls bear images which represent an early attempt to show all twenty-four of the Jaina Yakṣīs. Texts of a relatively early period already had begun to record the proliferation of Yakṣa, Yakṣī, Mahāvidyā, Mātṛkā elaborations of the Jaina cosmography. In the Svetāmbara tradition, already by late in the eighth century, many of these additional divinities had found a place on the walls and in the superstructure of the Mahavīra temple at Osiān.³²

Such elaboration was first a response to a philosophic proliferation, of gods and godlings within Hinduism. Secondly, it was an artistic response to visual material used to advertise the Hindu faith. Yet in a system so egalitarian as the Jaina religion, where even the twenty-four Tirthankaras have no hierarchy save age and little to differentiate them save textual prescriptions, the practiced panoply of the Hindus fitted ill. Jainism worshipped no gods—the symbols of its daily practices, the Jinas, were Arhats only, holy men of the past who had achieved a purified perfection through discipline and right living.

Rites, images, offerings all gradually were adapted to Jainism, both from Hindu practice and from the magic underlay of popular belief, but at all times they subserved a system of ritual life much removed from the hierarchies of Hinduism.³³ Though the transformation of self lies near the root of all Indian religions, for Jainism it more constantly remained the whole fabric. The Prabandhacintāmani of Merutunga records a story of the Paramāra king Bhoja I calling together a convention of all faiths. After six months the various representatives came to the conclusion that "by meditation one obtains salvation, regardless of the religion to which one adheres." To the king the goddess Sarasvatī appeared and instructed him: "you must listen to the religion of the Buddhists, but you must practice that of the Jainas; you must meditate on the the Supreme Siva."³⁴

In mimicking forms of Hindu worship, then, Jainism took forms only, avoiding much of the essential spirit that lay behind the forms borrowed: save for that which could contribute to right intuition, right knowledge, and right conduct. Nothing which did not distract from those goals, however, necessarily needed to be excluded from sāmā yika or customary worhip. Thus, for example, the bone-crunching noise of Sacchikā-devī, the Goddess who ruled the hill at

Osian, became the noise of the Goddess crunching on sweet-meats after her conversion to Jainism.35

This tolerance (or indifference) to the borrowing of forms (rather than essences) from neighboring religions allowed such borrowing but provided no motive force to seek out such forms. Jainism, unlike Buddhism, never truly was transformed by Tantric beliefs.

In the artistic development at Deogarh which I have been recording we can see this process of casual assimilation partly at work. The Jaina temple at Osiān shows clearly that in the ambience of the highly ornate, iconographically elaborate, art of Maru-desa the Jainas had already begun to represent the growing pantheon found in their texts. At Deogarh, however, in a Central Indian ambience where even Hindu temples showed only a moderate (even slight) iconographic complexity the Yaksi figures of temple no. 12 were experimental, even advanced.

The doorframe to temple no. 15 (Fig. 12) in its simplicity hardly surpasses the simplicity of Hindu doorframes of the same period in Central India. Throughout the eighth century only rarely does any temple present a cohesive iconographic schema on its door. In Central India Hindu doorframes primarily showed an architectural organization, with stambha-sākhās rather than rūpa-stambhas and with an architectural rather than figural overdoor. Rather than having a lalāţa-bimba showing an adhinā yaka (or tutilary deity), Central Indian doorways of the seventh and eighth centuries normally showed a figure of Garuda holding nāga tails (which form the end of the puṣpa-mālā).36 Where one does find rūpa-sākhās, they normally show either bhūtas or, occasionally, mithuna couples.37

Thus at Deogarh there were no competitive reasons to produce a tightly organized schema for the doorway to temple no. 15. While lacking the spirit of the roughly contemporary doorway to the Durgā shrine at Mahua, which uses mithuna-pairs and mālādharas rather than Jina figures and places an image of Trailokya-Viṣnu riding on the Garuda above rather than the central Jina figure at Deogarh, the temple no. 15 doorframe (Fig. 12) shows no less of a development of the Central Indian door formula than does the Hindu example. Jainism gave no impetus to that development, but acquiesced in using its forms.

The A.D. 997 doorway, added to temple no. 12, in like manner represents not merely a greater cohesiveness in the arrangement of Jaina deities, but also a formal development cognate to that of Hindu doorways of the same region and period. As Hindu doorways began better to organize themselves to represent the Hindu pantheon—and the Kacchapaghāta doorways at Kadwaha well advertise their deities—so also the Jainas were called upon to find an order which, while

more dramatically presenting their pantheon, did no direct harm to the essentially unvarying, aniconic essence of their faith.

This the Deogarh temple no. 12 doorway exceptionally well does. It appeals to the magical and the universally Indian by representing dream-symbols, and by presenting the Navagrahas who ward off bad omens. It presents the essentially monotonous array of twenty-four Tirthankaras, but manages to suggest both variety and some degree of reverential hierarchy. It uses Jaina Goddesses to either side who, by definition, support the essential essence of the Jina rather than competing with it. in place of the polytheistic imagery on the Hindu doorframe where three divinities shuffle for central position. And finally, it effectively emphasizes the preeminence of the Agamas, for Sarasvati, who in two different forms is represented to either side of the doorway, is Goddess of the scriptures—Srutadevata—whose worship is the final stage of the sama yika worship of images. An inscription from Dubkund of V.S. 1145/1088 A.D. invokes four of the Tirthankaras (Rsabha, Śāntinātha, Candraprabha, and Jina-Mahāvīra), the sage Gotama, and Śrutadevatā "famous in the world under the name of Pankajavāsinī". The temple recorded was built for Vikramasimha, Kacchapaghāta ruler of Dubkund.38

Even the worship of the Srutadevatā, however, disturbed some Jainas, for from a text by Dharmasāgara of the sixteenth century "we learn of the Āgamikas, who originated about the end of the twelfth century and who repudiated the cult of the Śrutadevatā, a feminine embodiment of the Holy Word. They also rejected the worship of images of the Jinas in temples as glorification of lifeless matter." The Jaina "Tantras" record even a Jaina equivalent to the Causatha Yoginīs, 40 Yet certainly the danda-pronchanaka—the whisk broom—rather than the vajra best symbolizes Jaina faith and practice to this day.

Gyaraspur Malade Temple:

Of the large Jaina temple at Gyārāspur, dating in the last half of the ninth century, I have only a few comments to add to the analysis given of the temple by Krishna Deva.⁴¹ This large sāndhāra temple has a peculiar plan (Fig. 3, p. 237), with blind balconies on both north and south sides which, however, are not indicated by the interior plan. These projections also do not interact with the formation of the mandapa superstructure, which is a peculiarly formed phāmsanā set on a square plan. The small simhakamas which evidently faced the center of each side of this phāmsanā spring from between the two balcony projections, losing both in dimension and force by the lack of a central projection in the plan to support them.

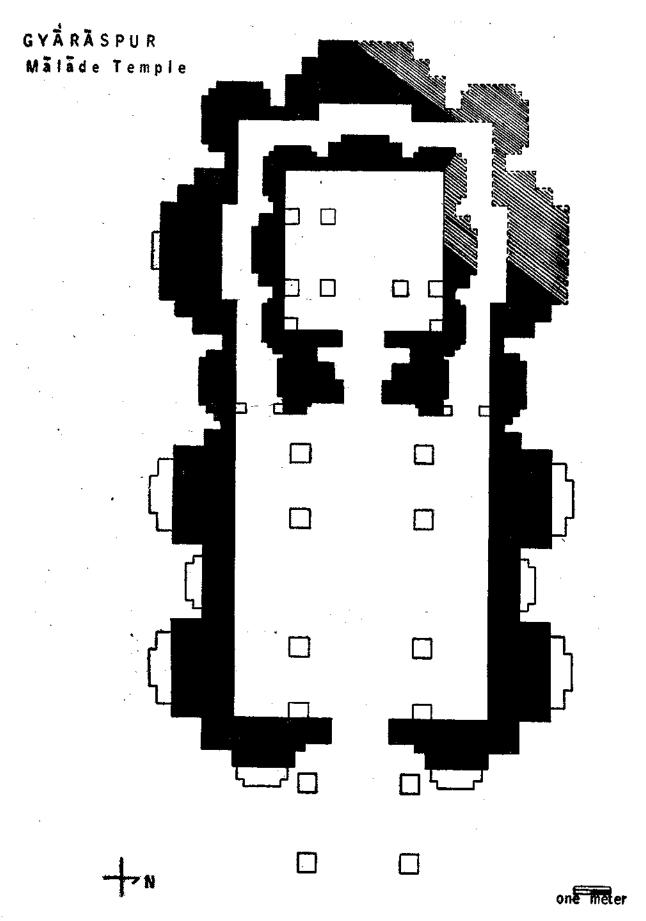


Fig. 3. Plan

The inner $pr\bar{a}s\bar{a}da$ shows a very broad garbhagrha with thin walls. The ambulatory is cramped. Both details seem to reflect an adjustment by the architects to a requirement for this temple: that it be built at a particular spot regardless of difficulties. Much of the temple stands on a gigantic masonry plinth built up the face of the rock from the bottom of the hill to the level of the original shelf.

Krishna Deva points out that part of the temple is "rock cut". In fact, the temple has been carefully fitted to an existing rock, its walls nestled against a natural crevice so that a particular spot could form the sanctum, the roof of the sanctum being that rock which sheltered the natural cell. Figure 20 shows how carefully the mouldings and blocks of the temple wall have been fitted so as not in any way to require cutting of the original stone. Figure 19 perhaps can suggest how thoroughly mated are the man-made temple and the natural rock.

The central spur pierces through both the outer wall and the wall of the sanctum, blocking totally the ambulatory but leaving the natural crevice to form the NW corner of the cella. Such a situation can only be explained by supposing this spot to have had great sanctity, either through some magical associations, or through its use by a particularly revered saint. If so, that siant has been well honered.

REFERENCES

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- Krishna Deva, "Mālādevī Temple of Gyāraspur", Shri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya Golden Jubiles Volume, Bombay, 1968, pp. 260-269.
 - Deogarh: A. Cunningham, Archaeological Survey Reports, 1874-75, pp. 100 ff.; 1976-77, p. 104. P. C. Mukherji, Report on the Antiquities in the District of Lalitpur, N.-W. Provinces, India (1899), Varanasi, 1972, pp. 15, 33-34, pls. 13-23, Klaus Bruhn, The Jina-Images of Deogarh, Leiden, 1969, passim. See Bruhn's Fig. 393 for a plan of temple no. 12.
- 3. Bruhn and others mistakenly refer to these doors as "centered" on the wall. They fall opposide the bhadra projection of the inner shrine, and thus are centered on east and west, but fall closer to the east than to the west on the north and south. The ambulatory hall is rectangular in plan, enclosing both the prāsāda and the kapili walls enclosing the antarāla projecting on the west.
- 4. Bruhn, op. cit., Fig. 393. See also my comments on his plan in note 5.
- 5. The four pillars restored by Bruhn which act as a mukha-mandapa fronting the west entrance to the ambulatory hall seem to me incorrect. Four pillars, with greater spacing between the central two, was a convention for early Gupta temples (Sanci, Tigowa) but no evidence suggests that this convention was continued in the Pratihara period. A praggriva

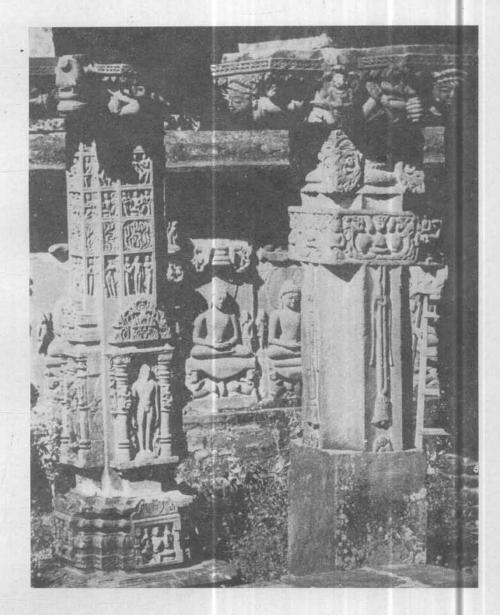
- with two forward pillars or catuski (as at Gyārāspur, Fig. 3) would be the commonly found convention in the eighth and ninth centuries. Bruhn may have taken his idea from the west entrance to temple no. 15, where, however, the enclosing walls make of this mukhamandapa a separate convention.
- For an overall view of the catuşki and its relation to the main temple see Bruhn's Fig. 2.
 Mukherji attempts to give a restored drawing of the torana: see his Fig. 155.
- 7. To the right in Fig. 5 is the Jaina Kubera.
- 8. The toranas at Terahi and Gyārāspur are illustrated in D. R. Patil, The Cultural Heritage of Madhya Bharat, Gwalior, 1953 (?), Figs. 9 and 13.
- 9. These niches house the often published images of Jaina Yaksis: H. D. Sankalia, "Jain Monuments from Deogarh", Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, 9 (1941), pp. 97ff. Bruhn, op. cit., pp. 98-112.
- 10. This saw-tooth decoration represents a fringe, as on a garden awning. It can be seen similarly represented on a number of reliefs from Borobudur.
- The Solah Khamba at Badoh is illustrated in M. B. Garde, Archaeology in Gwalior, Gwalior, 1934, pl. 21. See also Michael W. Meister, "Construction and Conception: Mandapikā Shrines of Central India", East and West, (in press).
- 12. These inner pillars are in two registers: the first the height of the outer jāli slabs (and of the sanctum vedibandha); the second, the height of the upper structure of the outer wall (and of the sanctum janghā)—a most peculiar arrangement, indicative perhaps of the architectural compromise being made.
- 13. These temples, unfortunately, are not yet properly published. See the listings in Patil, Descriptive and Classified List . . ., op. cit., and his references to publication in the Gwalior Archaeological Reports.
- 14. "Bālapan jara" is used in medieval texts to mean the latās flanking the madhyalatā. The origin of the name almost certainly lies in this flanking recess seen on so many seventh century nāgara towers (at Bhubanesvara, Ālampur, Mahua, and in the eighth century at Pattadkal, Āmrol, Naresar, Batesar, Osiāfi, etc.). For terminology refer to M. A. Dhaky, The Principle Forms of Indian Temple Superstructure, Varanasi, 1973.
- 15. Osiāfi Harihara tempie no. 2 (probably the last quarter of the eighth century) shows remnants of pañjara niches in the recess, but does not show double venukośa. The Sūrya-Viṣṇu temple at the same site (Bhandarkar's temple no. 6, dating probably early in the ninth century) shows double venukośa but no pañjara band. In Central India the Batesvara Mahādeva temple at Batesar (c. third quarter of the eighth century) shows bālapañjara recess as well as double venukośa. The Śiva temple at Terahi (c. early ninth century) shows double venukośa but no pañjara recess.
- 16. It is not possible here properly to discuss sculptural development.
- Odile Divakaran, "Les temples d'Alampur et de ses environs au temps des Cālukya de Bādāmi", Arts Asiatiques, XXIV (1971), pp. 51-101. See in particular the plans: Figs. 3, 17, 27.
- 18. The dimensions of the west projection differ from those of the projections on north, east, and south. See plan, Fig. 2.

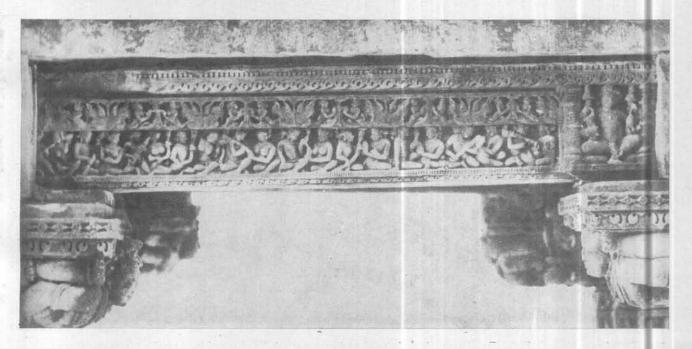
- 19. Bruhn, op. cit., Figs. 155, 140, 141.
- 20. Especially the upper condensed ghata abbreviations are not common in Central India.
- 21. Bruhn, op. cit., Figs. 7-10, 28, 31.
- 22. Bruhn, op. cit., p. 214, uses an "earlier" and "later" palmyra-capital formula as grounds to date temple no. 15 later than no. 12 (his Figs. 318-319)—yet both these formulas appear on the same pillar of temple no. 12 (our Fig. 13). Bruhn writes: "Needless to say that we use the palmyra criterion only because it seems that in the case of ornamental motifs the earlier form disappeared as soon as the new form came into vogue" yet continues, "(generally speaking we know very well that 'earlier' and 'later' pieces were produced simultaneously)". Bruhn dates temple no. 12 to C. V. S. 900/843 A.D.; temple no. 15 to c. V. S. 900-925/843-868 A.D. I feel these dates are too late.
- 23. This pillar (Fig. 13) again shows close proximity to Mahā-Mārū prototypes, as at Osiāfi, and is a typical of forms found in Central India.
- 24. Bruhn, op. cit., p. 48.
- 25. This type of candrasālā pattern appears in much the same form on the doorframe to the Murayat temple at Kadwaha, which Krishna Deva dates to c. 1075 A.D. (Temples of North India, Delhi, 1969, p. 55).
- 26. Bruhn, op. cit., p. 46.
- 27. U. P. Shah, Studies in Jaina Art, Banaras, 1955, pp. 105-108.
- 28. Indian Antiquary, XVIII, pp. 236-37; Bruhn, op. cit., p. 62.
- See the inscriptions of Undabhata from Siron Khurd (V.S. 964) and from Terahi (V. S. 960): Epigraphia Indica, I, pp. 162-179, and I.A., XVII, p. 201. Also Bruhn, loc. cit.
- 30. I.A., XVIII, p. 237ff.; XIX, p. 36, no. 61; Bruhn, op. cit., p. 63.
- 31. Krishna Deva, "Kacchapaghāta Temples", The Researcher, Jaipur (date unknown to me) and Temples of North India, op. cit., pp. 54-55. The doorway to the Gantai temple at Khajuraho is illustrated in E. Zannas, Khajuraho, The Hague, 1960, Pls. CXLVI-CXLVII.
- 32. Concerning literary sources see Bruhn, op. cit., p. 110, and for a full discussion see U. P. Shah, "Iconography of Cakresvari, the Yaksi of Reabhanatha", The Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, XX, 3 (March 1971), pp. 302-306. For the images on the Mahavira temple at Osian see M. A. Dhaky, "Some Early Jaina Temples in Western India", Shri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya Golden Jubiles Volume, Bombay, 1968, pp. 315-18.
- 33. Temple worship is, for the Jainas, primarily a matter for the laity. Monks were, and are, intended to wander, using the temple complexes only as resting places.
- Merutunga, Prabandha-cintāmani (trans. C. H. Tawney), Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1894-1901, quoted in Vibhuti Bhushan Mishra, Religious Beliefs and Practices of North India During the Early Medieval Period, Leiden, 1973, p. 147.
- A. F. Rudolf Höernle, "The Pattavall or List of Pontiffs of the Upakesa Gachchha",
 I.A., XIX (1890), p. 238.
- 36. The Siva temples at Mahua. Amrol, Naresar, Gwalior (Tell), Batesar, Indor show this feature. The Durgā temple at Mahua and the Siva temple at Terahi (both c. 800 A.D.) introduce an image of Vishu sitting on the central Garuda—a feature seen early in the

- eighth century at Menal (again on Saivite shrines). In the ninth century Pratihara temples in Central India do properly use the lalāţa-bimba to show the adhina yaka.
- 37. Bhūtas (gaṇas, pramathas): Naresar temples i and 5; Batesar, N sub-shrine. Mithunas: Teli temple (Gwalior), Indor, Amrol.
- 38. E.I., II, pp. 232-40, quoted in Mishra, op. cit., p. 128.
- 39. Walther Schubring, The Religion of the Jainas, Calcutta, 1966, p. 14.
- 40. B. C. Bhattacharya, The Jaina Iconography, Lahore, 1939, pp. 183-84.
- 41. Krishna Deva, "Mālādevī Temple...", loc. eit. The ground plan which I here publish is only a "measured sketch". I have not had the opportunity to check it against the site a second time to correct the small errors which can creep into such a drawing. I am not certain of the exact points in the north ambulatory where the intruding boulder interrupts the mouldings of the sanctum. In the west ambulatory the rock interrupts the kapotāli moulding as shown; it of course intersects the walls at a point somewhat earlier than it intersects the lower mouldings.

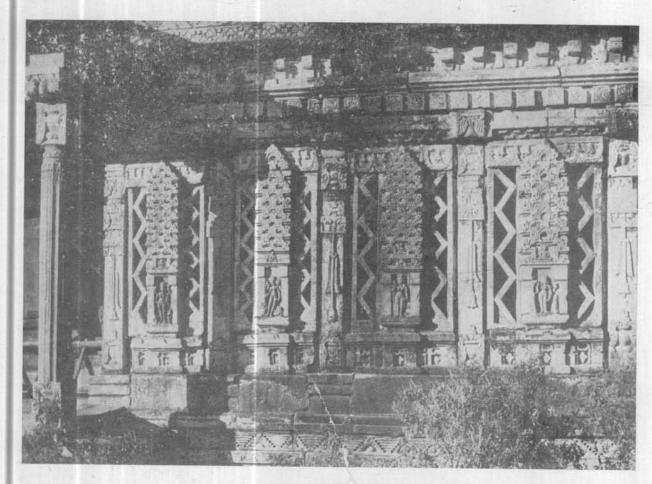
ILLUSTRATIONS

- 1. Deogarh, temple no. 12, wedibandha mouldings.
- 2. Deogarh, temple no. 15, plan.
- 3. Gyārāspur, Mālāde temple, plan.
- 4. Deogarh, catutki to west of temple no. 12, SW and SE pillars (SE pillar has inscription from the time of Mihira Bhoja).
- 5. Deogarh, east lintel of catuşki (Fig. 4).
- 6. Deogarh, temple no. 12, view from SW.
- 7. Deogarh, temple no. 12, SE pillar of open hall (to left) and section of south ambulatory wall.
- 7a. Deogarh, temple no. 12, detail of NE pillar of open mandapa.
- 8. Deogarh, temple no. 12, interior, south ambulatory.
- 9. Deogarh, temple no. 12, sikhara, view from S.
- 10. Deogarh, temple no. 15, interior, SW central pillar and view of SW corner.
- 11. Deogarh, temple no. 15, Jina image in east shrine.
- 12. Deogarh, temple no. 15, main doorway (on west).
- 13. Deogarh, temple no. 12, pillar and part of screen of ambulatory wall (to left); detail of added eleventh c. doorjamb (to right), west side of temple.
- 14. Deogarh, temple no. 12, detail of interior doorframe (Fig. 15).
- 15. Deogarh, temple no. 12, interior doorway (dated V.S. 1051/994 A.D.)
- 16. Yamunā (detail of Fig. 15).
- 17. Detail of Fig. 15, left side of overdoor.
- 18. Detail of Fig. 15, right side of overdoor.
- 19. Gyārāspur, Mālāde temple, view from W.
- Gyārāspur, Mālāde temple, NE corner of mūla-prāsāda as it meets the rock.
 PHOTOGRAPHS AND DRAWINGS ARE BY THE AUTHOR.





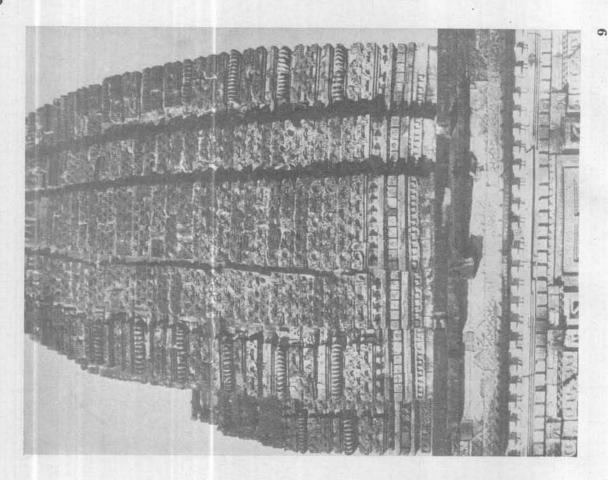


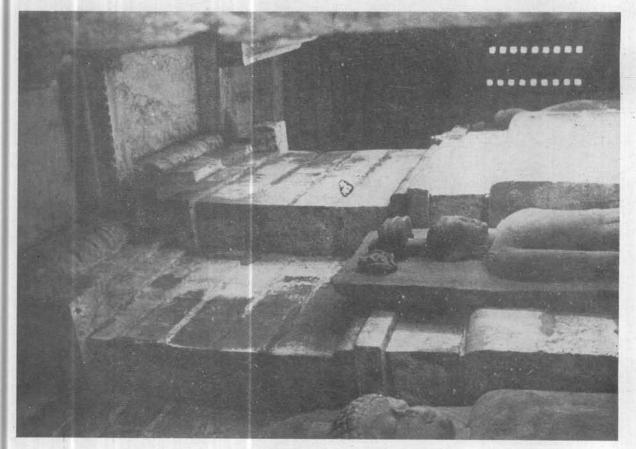


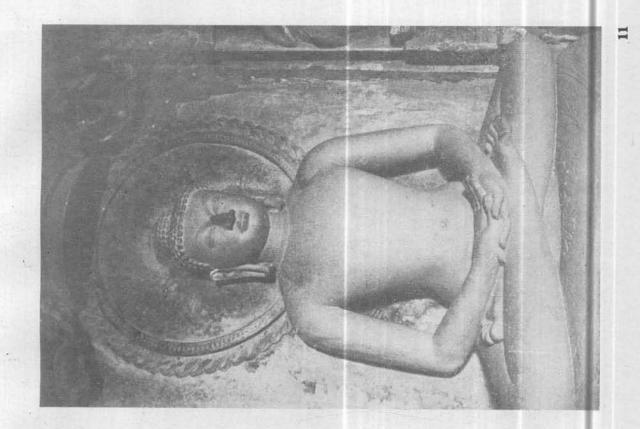


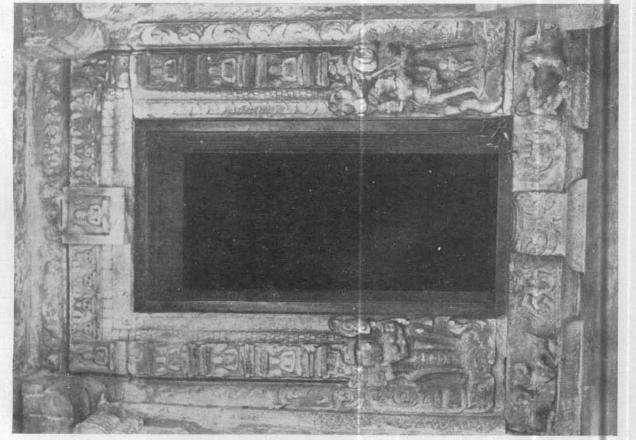


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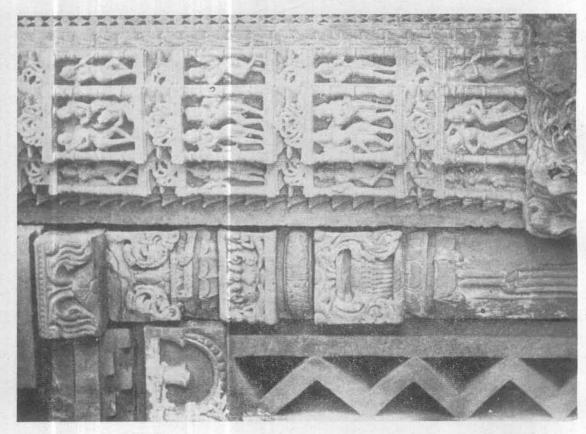


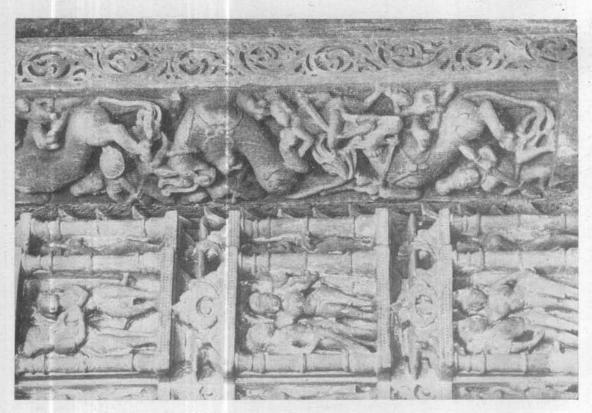


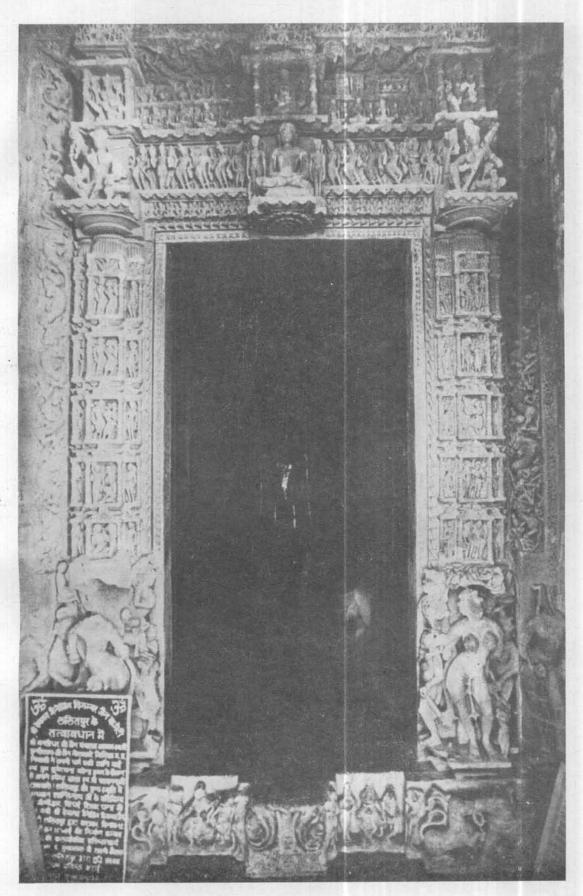




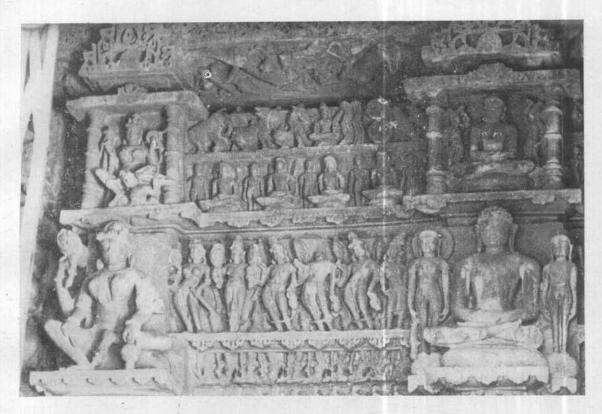


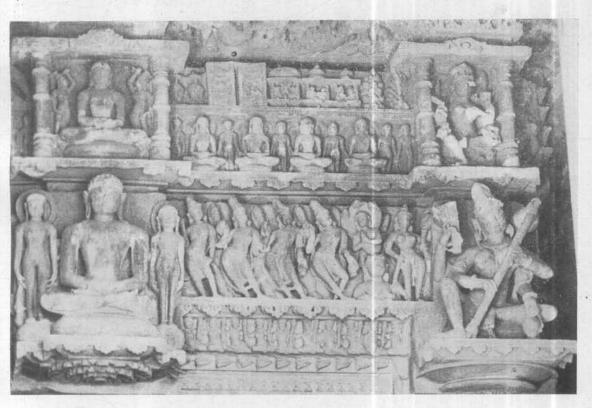


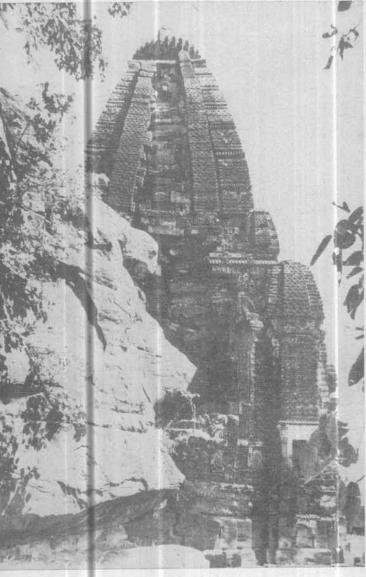














20. JAINA TEMPLE CALLED BHAND DEWAL AT ARANG

KRISHNA DEVA

This is a much damaged temple with a stellate sanctum of six bhadras carrying a five-storeyed (pancha-bhūma) Bhūmija sikhara of three horizontal rows.

The pītha mouldings rest on a khara-silā surmounted by a tall bhitta course decorated with scrolls and comprise gajapītha, asvapītha (a frieze of horsemen) and narapītha, surmounted by an ornate jād yakumbha, broad type of karnaka, and grāsapattī. The vedībandha, rising above the pītha, comprises the usual mouldings but these are heavily ornamented and capped by a mancikā which supports the janighā (Fig. 1). The kalasa moulding is adorned by niches harbouring figures of Jaina gods and goddesses. The janghā is lavishly carved and shows two rows of sculptures on each facet of the projections as well as in the recesses (Fig. 2). The projections display figures of gods, goddesses and apsarases, while the recesses show erotic couples, vyālas, apsarases and miscellaneous themes. The main faces of all the six bhadras carry niches containing seated Jaina divinities, Yakṣīs or Vidyādevīs in the lower niches and Yakṣas in the upper ones of the janghā. The janghā is separated from the sikhara by a heavy kūtacchādya.

The sikhara shows mainly latas above the six bhadras and kūta-stambhas above the stellate indentations of the karnas. While the lower part of each lata has a niche harbouring a seated Yaksi or Vidyadevi, its upper part displays two to three rows of friezes showing groups of Jaina figures.

The temple faces west and has preserved only the sanctum and the constricted antarāla in its front, with no traces at all of the mandapa and the entrance porch. The elevation of the sikhara is available right up to the finial, though its front (west) face with the sukanāsa and the sanctum doorway (except for its mandāraka) and much of its north-east and south-east faces are lost and restored in plain plaster. The damaged fabric of the sikhara even after restoration, was considered so unsafe that the conservators thought it prudent to bind it all around with two iron straps.

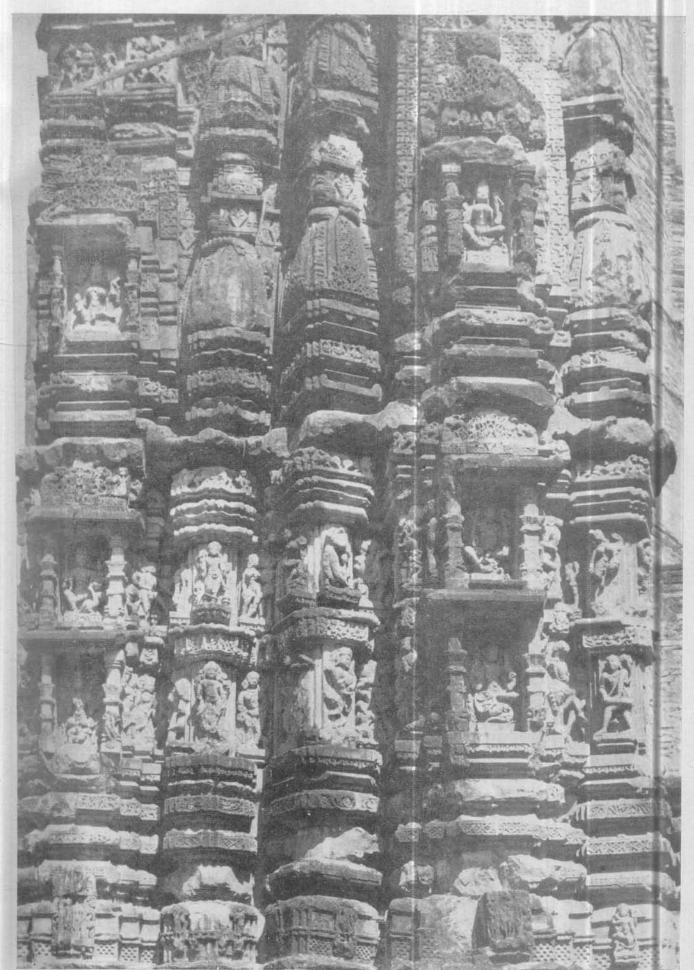
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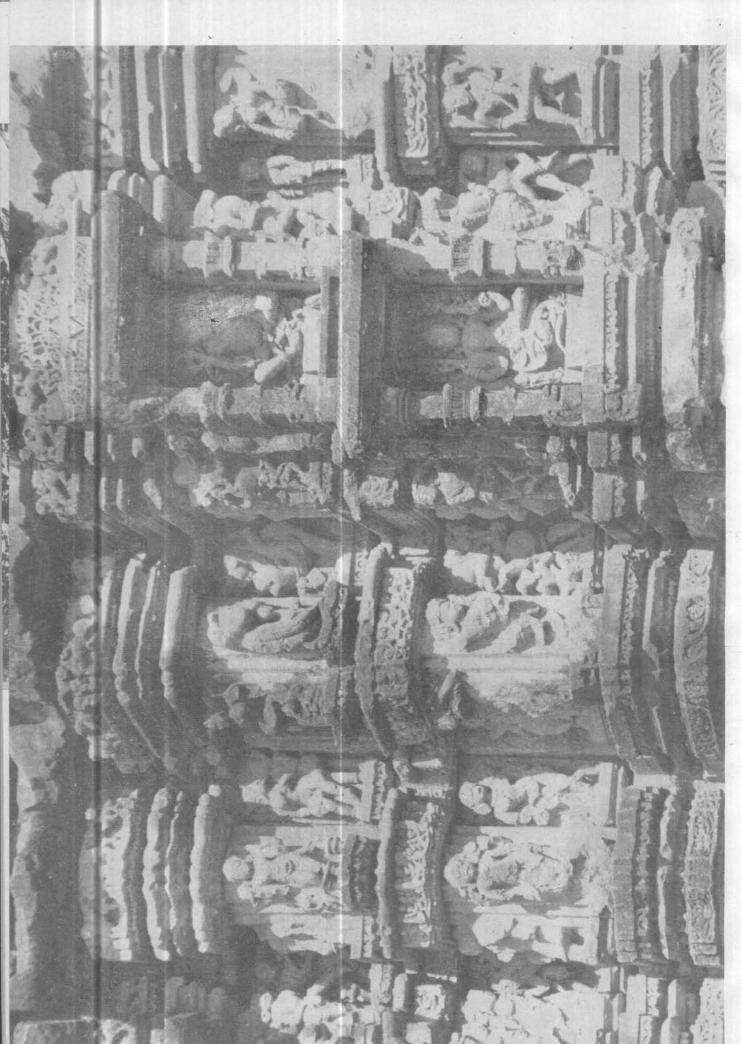
The sanctum to which one has to descend by a flight of tree steps enshrines standing nude *Jina-trayas* of polished black basalt, representing Santinatha, Kunthunatha and Aranatha recognized by their distinguishing lanchanas. Compared to the lively and finely modelled sculptures on the temple proper carved in the high Kalacuri style of the late eleventh century, the enshrined image of the Jinas are stiff with black faces, and are obviously later by a century or two.

Situated in District Raipur in the ancient tract of Mahākosala, this temple is one of the most easterly examples of a Bhūmija shrine and is remarkable for interpreting the Bhūmija mode in the regional Kalacūri style.

ILLSTRATIONS

- 1. Jaina temple, Bhānd Deul, Arang. Detail of north side.
- 2. Jaina temple, Arang. Detail of wall.





Paper No. 20

21. JAINA TEMPLE AT UN

KRISHNA DEVA

In the northern extremity of Un in District Nimer of Madhya Pradesh stands a notable Jaina temple of the locality called Chaubārā Derā II.

This is a Solanki style temple of the Kumārapāla Phase built in the heart of Mālavā. The temple stands on a natural eminence which has been utilised as jagatī. It faces north and consists of sanctum, antarāla, gūdhamaṇḍapa with lateral porches (pārsva-catuṣkīs), the trikamaṇḍapa and a mukha-catuṣkī (Fig. 1). The gūḍhamaṇḍapa has four doors, the two lateral ones opening each in a porch of which the eastern one has partly survived.

The pītha consists of a pair of ornate bhitta-s. The pītha comprises the mouldings of developed jād yakumbha, karnikā and grāsapattī over which rise gajapītha and narapītha. The narapītha supports the ornate vedībandha mouldings over which are seen the mancikā, janghā, udgama, bharani, kapota and kūta-chādya, typical of the Kumārapāla Phase of the Solankī style. The kumbha moulding of the vedībandha displays niches harbouring figures of Jiana Yaksīs and Vidyādevīs. The sikhara which rose above the kūta-chādya was again of the twelfth century Solankī style, but of this only some fallen remains have survived. The roofs over other compartments are missing.

The sanctum is patter-ratha (tri-anga) on plan and in elevation, the bhadra rathas having three facets and the remaining ones two. All facets of the janghā projections were adorned by a row of figures (Fig. 2). The central bhadra projection shows a conspicuous niche which once carried images of Jaina divinities, now missing. While the karana-rathas display images of Dikpālas, the remaining rathas show figures of Jaina divinities and apsarases, the latter exhibiting violently contorted poses, typical of the twelfth century Solankī style.

The temple is entered through three openings, of catuski-portals, the northern one being the mukha-mandapa or trika as earlier mentioned. The bye-porches are alike and were supported on four pillars, adorned on the upper octagonal

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section with decorative designs and supporting a kṣipta-vitāna ceiling of the nābhicchanda order.

The trika-mandapa has six pillars and six pillasters, of which the four central pillars resemble those of the side-portals. The remaining two pillars are also adorned by sculptured niches on the upper octagonal section, which characterise some of the ornate Solanki temples of Gujarat.

The gudha-mandapa is a fair-sized hall with eight pillars supporting a circular kṣipta-vitāna (ceiling) of the sabhā-mārga variety, terminating in a padmasilā. From the rūpa-kantha of the ceiling project 16 vidyādhara brackets.

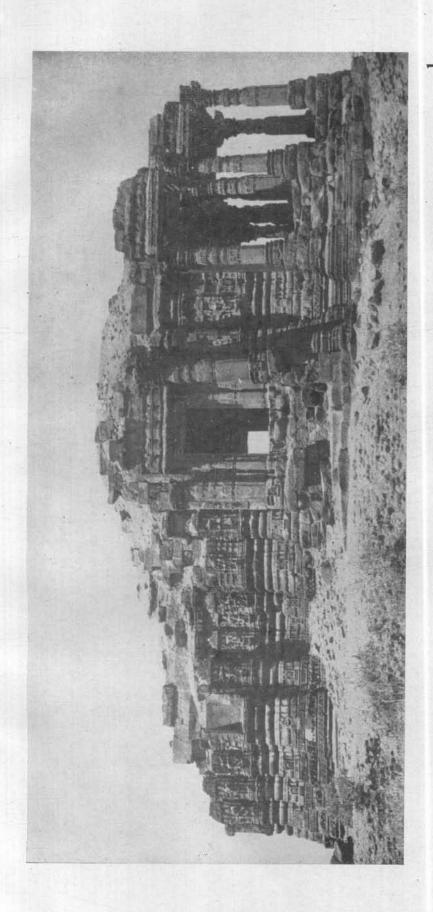
Each of the four-doorways of the gūdha-maṇdapa is of the pañca-sākha variety, decorated with the designs of patralatā, stambha-sākhā, diamond and rosettes and padmapatralatā. The architrave has niches containing five figures of Jaina Yakṣīs. The doorways of the sanctum repeats the design of that of the gūdha-maṇdapa. The sanctum is a cell measuring 8 ft. square with four plain octagonal pilasters supporting a plain corbelled ceiling. The pedestal alone has survived, while the enshrined image of Sāntinātha dated V.S. 1242 (A.D. 1185) which was its mūlanā yaka has been shifted to the Indore Museum. This very probably is the date of foundation, and in that case the period would be Bhīmadeva II, the Solankī monarch who succeeded Ajayapāla, Kumārapāla's nephew.

The other Jaina temple of Un called Gwalesvara is similar on plan to Chaubara Dera II, but is much restored, though its Nagara sikhara can still be viewed.

Stylistically both the Jaina temples at Un belong to the late twelfth century, combining features of the Paramāra and Solanki styles of art and architecture. The Paramāra inflexions are noticeable in minor details here and there such as in pillars, kumbha, etc.

ILLUSTRATIONS

- 1. Jaina temple, Caubārā Derā II, at Un. General View from East.
- 2. Jaina temple, Caubārā Derā II, at Un. Details of Maṇdoyara.





22. ŚĀNTINĀTHA TEMPLE, JHĀLRĀPĀŢAŅ

KRISHNA DEVA

This temple under reference (Fig. 1) is situated in the old town of Jhālrāpāṭan, faces east and consists of sanctum and antarāla which are the only original portions, preceded by a later reassembled gūdhamandapa and entrance porch. The sanctum is paāca-ratha on plan, and, in elevation, with a Nāgara-sikhara of excellent proportion and finish. The pīṭha moulding resting on a plain bhiṭṭa course consist of jād yakumbha decorated with ṭhakārikās, karnaka and grāsa-paṭṭī above which start the vedībandha mouldings consisting of khura, tall kumbha decorated with niches containing images of Jaina divinities or large diamonds with a madhyabandha of ratnapaṭṭī, kalasa and kapōta decorated with ṭhakārikās and gagārakas. The jaṅghā shows two rows of standing figuers separated by a grāsa-paṭṭī constituting the madhya-bandha. The upper row is smaller than the lower. The jaṅghā is surmounted by a square bharaṇī and a varaṇḍikā, comprising two kapōtas and two recesses decorated with perforated lattices and kuā jarākṣa design (Fig. 2).

The mulaman jari of the sikhara is of five rathas, the central ratha being flanked by upa-rathas. The sikhara is decorated with a mesh of caitya-gavākṣa, while the karnarathas show eleven bhūmi-āmalakās of compressed design (Fig. 3). The central ratha projects beyond the shoulder course which is surmounted by āmalaka, candrikā, smaller āmalaka and a series of later kalasas. There is a small urahṣṇṇga capping a sculptured rathikā at the base of the mūlaman jarī and a sṛṇga over each of the other four rathas. The sṛṇgas flanking the uraḥṣṇŋga are smaller than those at the karnas. All the sṛṇgas are uniformaly crowned by āmalaka. candrikā, kalasa and vī japūraka. The antarāla roof shows three sṛṇgas in a row which rise vertically over two rows of sculptured niches.

All projections and recesses of the janghā are enlivened with figure sculptures. The bhadra projections invariably display Jina figures in niches. All projections of the lower row of the janghā have images in niches and, except for the bhadra niches are canopied by a torana crowned by a kīrttimukha. These projections display images of Jaina gods and goddesses (Yakṣas, Yakṣīs and Vidyādevīs) on the

pratirathas and Dikpālas on the karņas, while the recesses on the lower row show vyālas. (cf. fig. 2). The upper row also shows figures of Jaina divinities and absarases on the projections, while the recesses show couples.

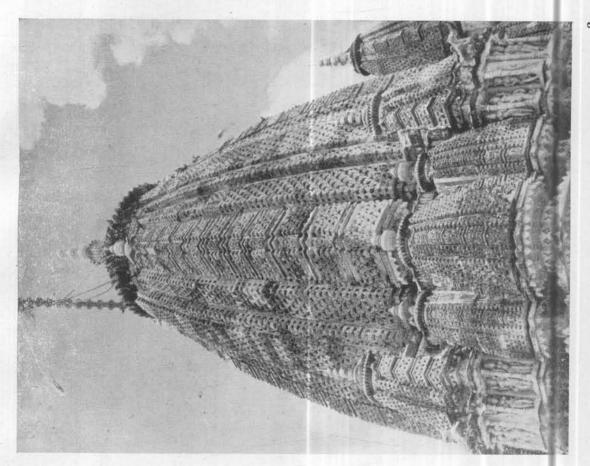
This temple displays bold mouldings and decorative carvings and figures and has classical aroma about it. It shares some of the typical decorative and architectural features of the Kacchapaghāta style like two rows of sculptures on the janghā and spiral decoration on the stambha-sākhā of the doorway. It is recorded to have been built by Sāha Pīpā in A.D. 1046 and its installation ceremony was performed by Bhāvadeva sūri.

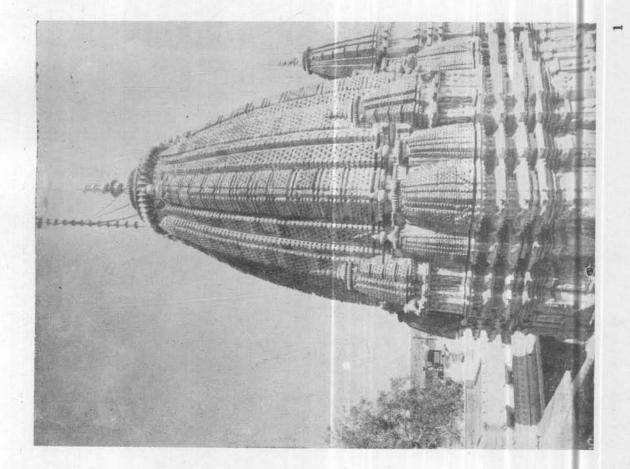
REFERENCE

1. Anekānta, XIII, p. 125.

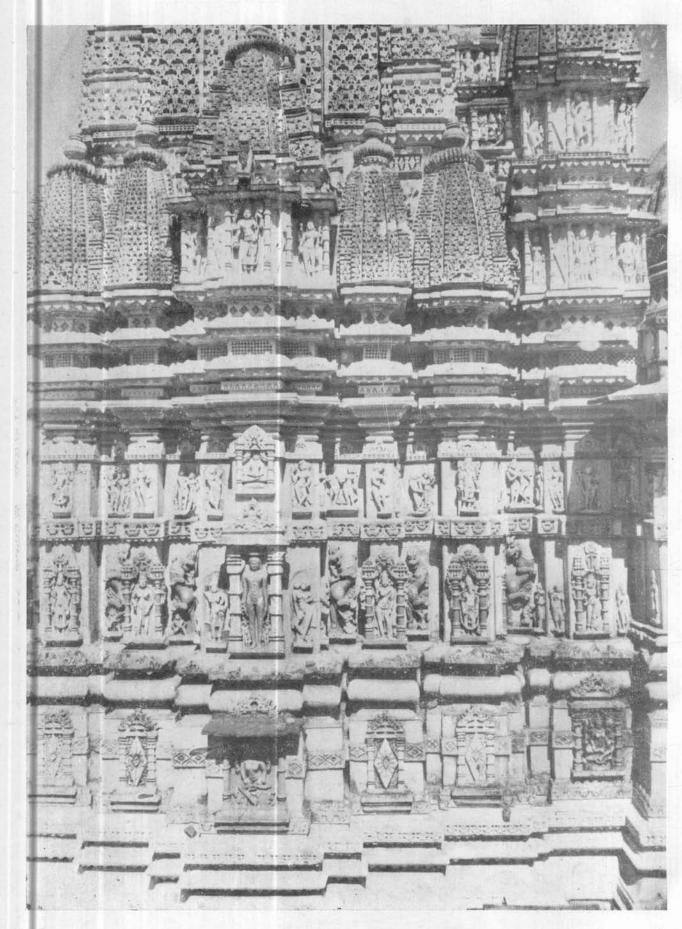
ILLUSTRATIONS

- 1. Santinatha temple, Jhalrapatan sikhara from south-west.
- 2. Santinatha temple, Jhalrapatan southfacade.
- 3. Santinatha temple, Jhalrapatan sikhara details.





3



23. MAHAVIRA TEMPLE, GHĀŅERĀV

KRISHNA DEVA

This temple dedicated to Jina Mahāvīra at Ghānerāv (in Rajasthan) faces north and comprises a sanctum with an ambulatory, a ghūdha-mandapa, a trika-mandapa and a porch (mukhacatuṣkī), with a flight of steps. (For Plan see p. 252.) In its front was built a ranga-mandapa surrounded by twentyfour devakulikās, the whole complex resting on a jagatī and enclosed by a high prākāra (enclosure-wall).

The sanctum has a very simple plan comprising of only two elements, namely bhadra and karna. The three bhadra-projections of its ambulatory, like the two transepts of the $g\bar{u}dha$ -mandapa are articulated by balconies covered by exquisitely decorated grilles which admit diffused light into the interior and provide a beautiful architectural foil with various planes of light and shade.

The elevation rising above the double bhitta course comprises bold pītha mouldings of jād yakumbha, kalasa and plain pattikā, supporting the usual vedībandha mouldings which are powerfully rendered, though left undecorated. A niche projects from the basement in the middle of each balconied bhadra, containing images of five Jaina divinities, namely, Padmāvatī, Cakresvarī, Brahma Yakṣa, Nirvānī and Gomukha Yakṣa, Shown in the pradakṣiṇā order from east to west.

The janghā displays on the karnas boldly carved figures of two-armed Dikpālas, standing in lively tribhanga in framed niches uplifted by bhāra-putrakas. The flanking recesses show powerfully rendered vyālas. supported on heavy gajamunda brackets and crowned by vibrant figures of gandharvas or apsarases in various poses. M.A. Dhaky who has studied this temple in great detail has also noted Brahma and Ananta, the ninth and tenth Dikpālas on the pilasters in the trika-mandapa, adjoining the karnas of the gūdha-mandapa.

The bhadra-balconies show in lieu of the janghā the mouldings of $r\bar{a}$ jasenaka, vedikā, āsanapaṭṭa, and kakṣāsana relieved by decorative carvings and elegant figures or groups in dramatic stances at the extremities.² The grilles are tastefully carved with rampant $v\bar{r}$ alas and carry elaborate swaying compositions of dance and

music under the festoons of a makara-torana, flanked by pilasters which are crowned by figures.

The $jangh\bar{a}$ carries a simple but bold $varandik\bar{a}$, above which the entire super-structure is a modern restoration.

The trika-mandapa has a lower floor lovel and its rājasenaka shows bold frieze of Vidyādevīs and gandharvas (Fig. 1) and a large figure of kumbha-puruṣa on the north and south sides. The six free-standing pillars and the four pilasters of the trika are stately and tastefully carved on the upper portions.³

The staircase of the mukha-catuski also bears a large panel on either side of the stairs displaying figures of Vidyadevis including Vajrankusa and Yaksas including Gomukha yaksa showing vara, padma and kalasa and Brahma yaksa, holding varadaksa, padma, chatra and kalasa.

The ceilings of the interior reveal an interesting variety. That of the mukha-catuṣkī is a lenticular kṣipta-vitāna of the Nābhicchanda order, seen on such earlier temples as Brahmāṇasvāmī temple at Varman, Kāmesvara temple at Auwa and Mālādevī temple at Gyāraspur. The Central ceiling of the trika is a samatala vitāna lavishly carved in compartments with a central medallion of daṇḍarāsa enclosed by a circular row of vyālas and miscellaneous figure groups including dancers and acrobats and decorative friezes on the borders. The ceilings of the left and right bays are again kṣipta vitāṇas of the nābhicchanda order. More imposing than these is the ceiling of the octagonal gūḍha-maṇḍapa which is an elaborate kṣipta vitāna of the sabhāmārga order with ten exquisitely carved concentric rings terminating in a padma-kesara, anticipating the padmasilā of the Solankī style. These rings include a rūpakaṇtha of dwarfs (vāmanakas) from which project eight elephant brackets carrying apsarases or nā yikas in enchanting poses in lieu of the Vidyādhara brackets.

The doorway of the ghūdha-mandapa is carved with patra-sākhā, rūpa-stambha flanked on either side by rūpa-sākhā which is decorated with vyālas and apsarases, padmapatra-sākhā and ratna-sākhā with nāgas below. The rūpa-stambhas and the crowning architrave display in niches twenty figures of Vidyādevīs/Yakṣīs of which Rohinī, Prajāapti, Vajraṣṛnkhalā, Vajrānkuṣā, Padmāvatī and Yaskṣī Nirvānī or Mahālakṣmī can be recognized on the left rūpa-stambha and Yakṣīs Mahālakṣmī, Mānasī, Acchuptā, Vairoṭyā, Vajrānkuṣa and Ambikā are identifiable on the right. The lalāṭa-bimba displays Pārsvanātha in dhyānāsana. The doorway is flanked on either side by a highly ornate khattaka showing bhāraputrakas below and elaborate udgamas above.

The doorway of the sanctum resembles that of the $g\bar{u}dha$ -mandapa and displays Vidyādevīs and Yaksīs riding their $v\bar{u}ha$ nas on the $r\bar{u}pa$ -stambhas, of whom Rohinī,

Nirvāņī, Vajrānkuṣā, Cakreśvarī, Mahāmānasī, Mānasī, Vairoṭyā, Prajñapti and Mahājyālā can be recognized.

Dhaky considers this temple to be a notable example of the Medapāṭa School of the Mahā-Gurjara style of architecture, assignable to the mid-tenth century on grounds of stylistic affinities with the Ambikā temple at Jagat and partly with the Laksmana temple at Khajuraho. This is supported by the reported presence once of an image pedestal here bearing an inscription dated A.D. 954. The date is further confirmed by the palaeography of the inscribed labels studied by R. C. Agrawala who in a communication gave details to Dhaky.

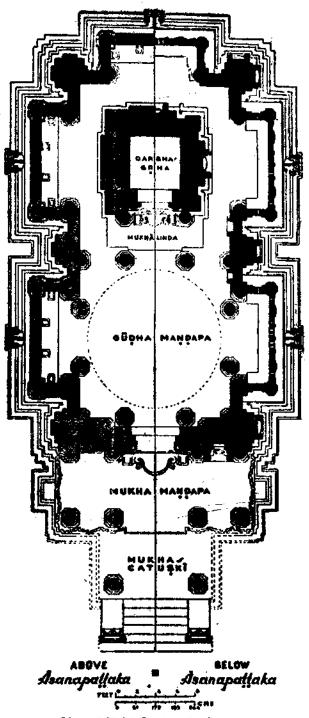
This is one of the earliest temples to show a full-fledged complement of the developed Jaina architecture complete with caturvinisati-jinālaya and prākāra and is remarkable as much for the boldness and simplicity of its plan and architectural design as for the vibrant quality of its sculptures combining an interesting variety of the iconography of the Jaina divinities.

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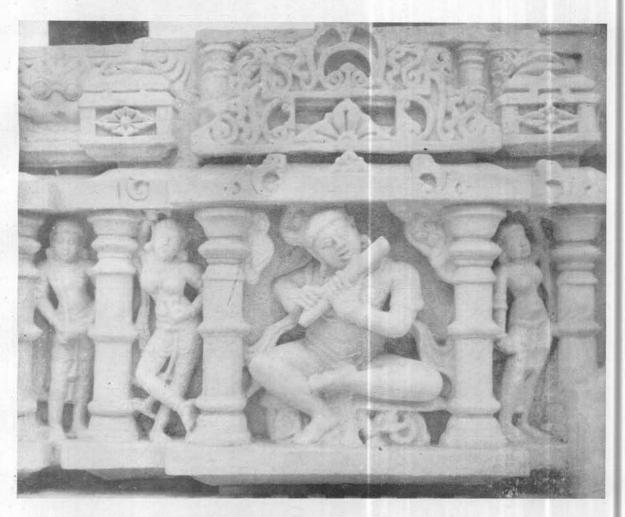
- Dhaky, M. A., Some Early Jaina Temples in Western India, Shri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Volume, (Bombay, 1968), I, pp. 290-347. Fig. 10, East face, Mahävira temple, Ghäneräv. Fig. 11, South face, Mahävira temple, Ghäneräv. Fig. 11A, South Side, Mülapräsäda, Mahävira temple, Ghäneräv.
- 2. Ibid, Fig. 10.
- 3. Ibid, Fig. 12, Mukhamandapa, Mahāvīra temple, Ghānerāv.
- 4. Ibid, Fig. 14, a Kṣipta-vitāna of Nābhicchanda order, Mahāvīra temple, Ghāṇerāv.
- 5. Ibid, Fig. 13, Samatala Vitāna, Mukhamandapa, Mahāvīra temple, Ghānerāv.
- 6. Ibid, Fig. 16, a Ksipta-vitāna of Sabhāmārga order, Mahāvīra temple, Ghāņerāv.
- 7. Ibid, Fig. 15, a Ksipta-vitāna order, Mahāvīra temple, Ghāņerāv.

ILLUSTRATION

1. Mahāvīra temple, Ghānerāv Sculptural decor.



Plan of Mahavira temple, Ghanerav



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24. MAHĀVĪRA TEMPLE, SEWĀDI

KRISHNA DEVA

This is one of the earliest Bhūmija style temples sited in the region of Marwar where this style is far from popular. It is a nirandhara-prasada and consists on plan of a panca-ratha sanctum, a gudhamandapa with latticed bhadras and a mukha-mandapa or Itrika approached by lateral steps. (For Plan see p. 255). Subsequently a ranga-mandapa and numerous devakulikas were added to the temple which is a living monument. The pitha of the main temple stands on a plain bhitta course and shows the mouldings of jad yakumbha decorated with thakarikas, karnaka and a plain pattika (Fig. 1). The vedībandha rising above the pītha shows the usual bold mauldings, all plain except for the kumbha which is carved with half lotuses alternating with half-diamonds. The jagnha is quite plain and is surmounted by a pattika, kapota, antarapatra and an improminent chadya. The bhadra projections of the jangha are bold and have sculptured niches with parikarma crowned by an elaborate double udgama of a triangular form. The sanctum is orthogonal and panca-ratha and carries a plastered brick sikhara comprising latās raised on the bhadras and six-storeyed (sad-bhūma) kūta-stambhas of three horizontal rows in each quadrant. Surprisingly enough there are no carvings of any sort on the kūţa-stambhas nor on the latās which are berest even of the caitya dormers, except for a bold surasenaka appearing at the base of each lata and a bolder sukanāsa, in the front. (Fig. 2). The plainness of the sikhara, though startling, is consistent with the general plainness of the entire elevation which shows few carvings and just select sculptures appearing only on the bhadra projections of the sanctum and the gudha-mandapa, the latter repeating them also on the principal face of each karna. The niches of the sanctum are now empty. Those of the gudhamandapa show on the south face Jivantasvami (Fig. 3), on the bhadra and Vidyadevi Vairotya and possibly Parsva-yaksa on the kamas, while the corresponding sculptures on the north face represent standing figure of Jina Mahavira, flanked by Yaksi Cakresvari and Brahma-Yaksa.

The doorway of the gudha-mandapa and the sanctum are of three sakhas each, comprising a patra-sakha, a rupa-stambha and a padmapatra-sakha, the rupa-stambha

in each case being decorated with elegant figures of Yaksis and Vidyadevis. The khattakas occurring on the flanks of the doorway of the gudhamandapa are masterpieces of decorative carving.

The ceilings of the gudhamandapa are flat and plain, while its roof is lost. The trika has eight free-standing pillars, octagonal below and polygonal and round above and decorated with hamsa-yugmas at the base but otherwise plain and resembling the pillars of the Ambika temple at Jagat.

This temple has the distinction of possessing some of the most graceful and lively figure sculptures, resembling in elegance and high quality those of the Sun temple at Modherā. On stylistic grounds this temple is slightly earlier in date to the Modherā temple and is assignable to circa A.D. 1000-25. It is indeed remarkable for grafting a Bhūmija sikhara of an exceptional design on a typical Rājasthānī temple of the early eleventh century. Its Bhūmija sikhara is unique since this is the only example on which the latās and the kūta-stambhas are completely bereft of carvings and further it is six-storyed in elevation, which though theoretically possible, is hitherto unrepresented by any known instance. The unfamiliarity of the Bhūmija mode in the Mārwar region and the complete concordance of the lineaments of the kūta-stambhas on plan and in elevation, however, leaves no doubt regarding its genuineness.

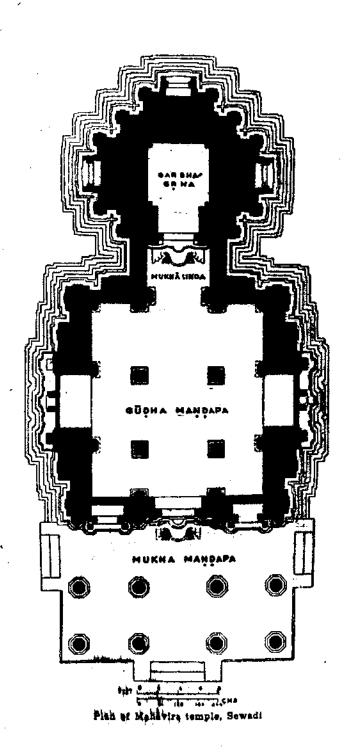
This temple which was first brought to light by D. R. Bhandarkar¹ has been studied scientifically and in detail by M.A. Dhaky² and the author is in full agreement with the critical assessment, dating and affiliation proposed by Dhaky for this interesting structure.

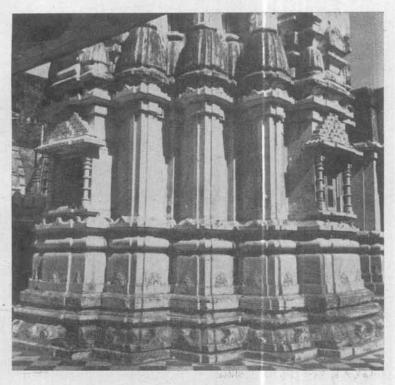
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- 1. Progress Report, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1908, p. 45.
- 2. Shri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Volume (Bombay, 1968), I, pp. 335-41.

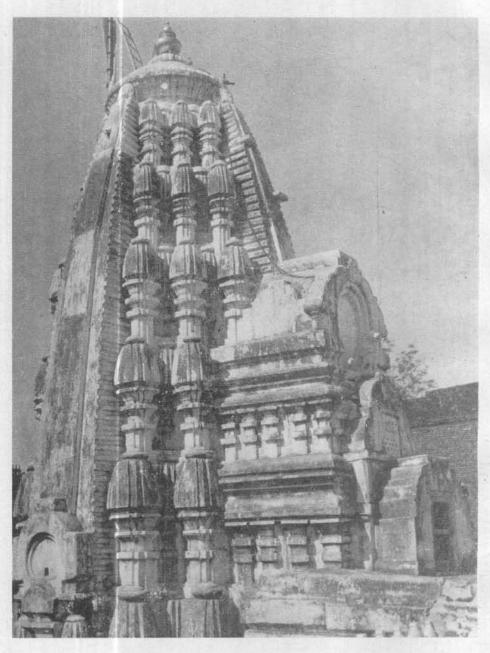
ILLUSTRATIONS

- 1. Mahāvīra temple, Sevādī sanctum facade c. 1000-1025 A.D.
- 2. Mahāvīra temple, Sevādī sikhara c. 1000-1025 A.D.
- Images of Mahāvira and Jivantasvāmi remeoved from the bhadrāvalokana of Gudhamandapa, Mahāvira temple, Sevādi c. first quarter of eleventh century A.D.





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25. JAINA ART AND ARCHITECTURE UNDER THE CANDELLA-S

KRISHNA DEVA

The Jaina group of temples at Khajurāho, which represents Jaina Candella architecture at its best, comprises three large and about half a dozen smaller old temples in varying stages of preservation, besides numerous new shrines built partly with old material and enshrining in most cases old images. The three larger old temples are now known as the Pārsvanātha, the Ghantāi and the Ādinātha. There is also a fourth complex of miscellaneous shrines of early and very late date, that of Sāntinātha.

PĀRŚVANĀTHA TEMPLE

Of all the local Jaina temples, the Pārsvanātha is the best preserved and indeed one of the finest temples in Khajurāho: (Fig. 1). It is distinguished by a few individual features of plan and design and is remarkable in several respects. Although it is a sāndhāra-prāsāda, the transepts with the balconied windows which are necessary concommitants of the local sāndhāra temples are conspicuous here by absence. The temple is oblong on plan with an exial projection on each of the two shorter sides. The projection on the east constitutes the entrance porch (mukhamandapa), while that on the west consists of a shrine attached to the back of the sanctum which indeed is a novel feature. Eliky Zannas¹ considers the western projection to be a later addition, but there are good reasons to believe that it was an original feature, although its superstructure above the vedibandha including much of the sculptural decor of its janghā is a later restoration.

The temple is entered through a small but elaborately carved mukha-catuṣkī and internally consists of a manḍapa, antarāla and garbhāgṇaha, the whole enclosed within a rectangular hall. The wall of the hall is relieved internally by pilasters and externally by sculptural bands besides latticed windows which admit diffused light into the interior. These latticed windows are too inobtrusive to disturb the sculptural scheme of the external ornamentation. The façades are indented by a series of shallow ratha-s (projections), punctuated by narrow salilāntara-s (recesses): (Fig. 2). These projections and recesses carry three elegant bands of sculptures

on the janghā: (Fig. 3). Those on the lower row are the larger and show figures of gods, goddesses and apsarases on the projections and vyāla-s in the recesses. The figures on the two upper rows gradually diminish in size, those on the middle row displaying divine couples and those on the top row mainly vidyādharacouples on the projections as well as in the recesses. Despite these projections and recesses relieved by three sculptural bands of exquisite finish and grace, the temple façade below the level of the sikhara produces the monotonous effect of a solid massive wall and one misses here the effective architectural reliefs and shadows provided by the balconied windows and the deep indentations of the outer elevation, which form such characteristic features of the evolved Khajurāho style, witnessed in case of the larger Brahmanical buildings there.

The temple stands on a four feet high jagati, the original mouldings and extent of which are now lost. The vedibandha rests over a pair of bhitta courses and is divisible into two series, the lower one comprising the mouldings of jād yakumbha, karnikā, pattikā, antarapatra and kapotikā and the upper one comprising the usual mouldings crowned by a vasanta-pattikā. The janghā shows three diminishing rows of sculptures, each separated by a pair of bandhana-mouldings and is crowned by varandikā and tilaka-s, one on each ratha projection. The central bhadra projections facing the sanctum and the mandapa (the latter bhadra-s are not aligned centrally) carry four rows of niches or latticed windows. The sanctum is roofed by a towering sapta-ratha Nāgara sikhara clustered by two rows of urah-singa-s and three rows of minor singa-s including karna-singa-s. The present roofs of the antarāla, mandapa and the mukhamandapa are largely restored but there is no doubt that they were of the normal Khajurāho type.

The temple is entered, as earlier mentioned, through a modest sized (but highly ornate) mukhamandapa of one catiski (i.e. mukhacatiski). Its architraves display unusual decorative and sculptural exhuberance which include sālabhan jikā—struts and figures of apsaras-es and divine attendants. It has the most elaborately carved ceiling (kṣipta-vitāna of the Nābhicchanda order) at Khajurāho with its gorgeous pendant terminating in a pair of intertwined figures of flying vidyā-dhara-s, carved in the round. Access to the hall is provided through a saptasākhā doorway of the mandapa, decorated with diamonds-and-rosettes, gana-s, vyāla-s, mithuna-s and scrolls, besides figures of Gangā and Yamunā with attendants on the jambs. Its lintel shows, besides the Navagraha-s, ten-armed Yaksī Cakrēsvarī seated on Garuḍa as the lalāta-bimba and a four-armed seated Sarasvatī each in its two terminal niches. Cakrēsvarī carries varada, sword, mace, discus and bell in the right hands and discus, shield, bow, goad and conch-shell in the left hands. The Sarasvatī-figures carry sacrificial spoon, book and water-vessel in three out of the four hands; the one on the right has goose as mount. On each flank

of the doorway is carved a four-armed Jaina pratitara wearing kirita-mukuta and holding book and a mace in the two surviving hands.

The rectangular hall has solid walls reinforced by sixteen pilasters. The free floor-space between the pilasters is utilised for harbouring ten Jina images placed on elaborate pedestals kept along walls, which constitutes another distinguishing feature of the temple. For the rest its interior is treated like other local temples. The mandapa has the four usual central pillars carrying four sālabhanjikā—struts and a square framework of architrave, which supports a square ceiling turned into a circular ksipta-vitana of the Nabhicchanda order. The sanctum has a pañcasakha doorway decorated with scrolls, gana-s, and mithuna-s, besides figures of Ganga and Yamuna with attendants on the jambs. The doorway has two architraves, the lower one depicting, besides the Navagraha-s, a seated Jina as lalata-bimba and a standing Jina each in the terminal niches, while the upper architrave has five seated Jina-s in niches in addition to six standing ones. On each flank of the doorway is represented a four-armed Jaina pratihara wearing kirīta-mukuta, the right one carrying mace and lotus in the two surviving hands, and the left one carrying disc, conch-shell, lotus and mace. A pair of Vidyadevi-s is also carved on the mandaraka.

The sanctum enshrines a modern image of Pārsvanātha made of black marble which was set up in 1860 on the old elegant pedestal made of the same material as the rest of the temple, namely buff sandstone of which also the temple and its sculptures are made. The pedestal is intact with its parikara and prabhāvali and indicates that the original image was a caturvims ati-patta with Adinātha as the mūlanā yaka, as is clear from the bull lānchana carved at the appropriate place.

The back shrine of this temple, constituting its western projection, faces west and continues externally the same vedibandha mouldings and the sculptural scheme of the janghā with this difference that the upper two registers have a reduced height. Of this shrine only the sanctum is preserved which was entered through a paneasākhā doorway, decorated with scrolls, gana-s and mithuna-s, besides figures of Gangā and Yamunā with attendants on the jambs. Its lintel displays, besides the Navagrahas, three niches each harbouring a seated four-armed image of Sarasvatī. The central and the left figures carry varada, lotus-stalk, book and water-vessel, while the right figure holds lotus-stalk and book in the upper pair of hands and a vīnā in the lower pair. Out of the two flanking four-armed Jaina pratihāra-s, the right one has lost the head and the hands, while the left one carries book and gadā in the two surviving left hands and wears kirīta-mukuta.

The outer bhadra niches contained images of Jinas or more frequently Jaina goddesses (Yakṣī-s or Vidyādēvī-s) in the two principal rows of the jaṅghā, a

dance frieze in the third row and miniature figures of four-armed seated Kubera or Yaksa Sarvanubhuti in the top row. The two principal bhadra-niches on the south face of the mandapa show each an image of four-armed goddess standing in elegant tribhanga surrounded by the usual complement of attendants, devotees and flying vidyadhara-s and displaying four standing Jina-s, one in each corner of the stela. The goddess in the lower niche has only right hands intact holding varada and lotus-stalk, with her animal mount mutilated, while that in the upper niche carries varada, lotus-stalk and kamandalu in the three surviving hands. The corresponding niches on the north face show four-armed standing goddesses, the lower one carrying lotus-bud in the two upper hands and conch in the surviving third hand, while the upper one represents a three-headed goddess with all the four hands with their attributes broken. The two principal bhadra-niches on the outer south face of the sanctum contain latticed windows but the niche projecting from the kalasa-moulding of the vedibandha below displays six-armed Sarasvatī seated in lalitāsana, carrying vīņā in one pair of hands and varada, blue lotus, book and kamandalu in the other two pairs. In the corresponding niche of the vedibandha on the north face occurs a four-armed image of goddess seated in lalitāsana, carrying a lotus-stalk each in the two surviving upper hands.

It is doubtful whether the fine standing image of Candraprabha and that of a seated Jina appearing in the two southern bhadra-niches on the shrine at the back are original. Quite a few images adorning the sukanāsa, including an elegant figure of Yakṣī Ambikā were obviously planted. A beautiful original image of this Yakṣī, however, appears at the base of the south face of the mandapa-sikhara not far from an erotic couple of which theme only two other examples are available on this temple. In the minute niches along the base of the sikhara there indeed are a few friezes depicting teacher discoursing to disciples and a narrative-panel representing Hanumāna visiting Sītā in the Asoka grove.

In the interior among the pedestals kept along the walls almost half the number are empty and the remaining ones harbour, besides the usual images of Jina-s, figure of a four-armed standing Yakṣī with a lion mount and a fine image representing the parents of Jina.

GHANTAI TEMPLE

This temple is situated in the southern extremity of the Khajurāho village, about two furlongs north-west of the Jaina group of temples. In fact the path-way to the Jaina group bifurcates from this temple. The entire area round this temple and the main Jaina group represents a contiguous series of cultural mounds full of ancient remains of structures, mostly in bricks.

The temple is locally called "Ghantāi" on account of the chain-and-bell (ghanta) motifs so prominently carved on its tall conspicuous pillars which are among the finest pillars of midieval India, known for their stately form, restrained ornamentation and classical dignity. The temple faces the east and is the fragmentary shell of a structure which essentially is of the same design as the Parsvanatha temple, but grander in conception and nearly twice as large in dimensions. All that has survived is the mukhamandapa and the gudhamandapa, each resting on four pillars and supporting a flat though ornate ceiling. Its gūdhamandapa, like that of the Parsvanatha temple, is entered through an elaborate doorway and was originally enclosed by a solid wall of which only a few supporting pilasters of the mukhamandapa and the gudhamandapa survive; these pilasters are severely plain, except for a simple design of conventional pot-andfoliage. Together with the enclosing walls, the two most important constituents of the temple plan, namely the antarala and the garbhagtha are also conspicuous by their absence. Further, the missing roof of the surviving building is now replaced by a flat roof, leaving the structure as a curious but a very attractive fragment of architecture.

The similarity of plan and design between this and the Pārsvanātha indicates that the two temples cannot be far removed in date. Of the two temples the Ghantāi appears slightly more evolved and consequently little later. This is also attested by the more conventional and later art of its carvings and surviving figure sculptures, and corroborated also by the advanced palaeography of the two short graffiti engraved in this building. While the graffito reading Svasti sri Sadhu Palhah is a late pilgrim's record engraved in the Nāgarī script of circa twelfth century, the other graffito reading Nemicandrah is datable to the end of the tenth century, a date to which this building is assignable also on grounds of sculptural and architectural style.

From the find near this temple of an inscribed Buddha image (the only Buddhist image found in Khajurāho, now exhibited in the local museum), Cunningham originally regarded this as a Buddhist shrine, but later on discarded this view in favour of a Jaina attribution which has since then been unanimously accepted. Like all other local Jaina temples, the Ghantāi was also the foundation of the Digambara sect. This is proved by the sixteen auspicious symbols (as against fourteen of the Svetāmbara tradition) represented on the doorway-architrave as well as by the numerous nude Jina images excavated by Cunningham in and around this temple.² The images included fragmentary sculpture of Adinātha bearing an inscription dated V.E. 1142 (A.D. 1085) which is now in the Khajurāho Museum. This image, incidentally, confirms the testimony of the Nāgarī graffito indicating the continuity of worship in this temple.

The jagati

The temple apparently has no jagati. But, as all the Khajurāho temples are invariably reared up on a jagati (platform), its jagati is either hidden under debris or is lost.

The pitha

The pīṭha mouldings, visible above the ground, consist of two plain bhiṭṭa courses surmounted by jāḍ yakumbha decorated with ṭhakārī-s, karṇikā, antarapatra decorated with niches containing diamonds flanked by pilasters similar to those found at the Pārsvanātha temple, and paṭṭikā, decorated with stencilled heart shaped flowers. The top of the paṭṭikā marks the plinth level.

The mukhamandapa

The mukhamandapa stands on a catuski of four pillars. The pillars' stand on an ornate base and an upapitha. The upapitha is octagonal and decorated with rosettes, stencilled scrolls, and lotus petals. The base shows the mouldings of khura, kumbha decorated with thakārī-s, kalasa, plain antarapatra and kapotapālī decorated with thakārī-s. The shaft is octagonal below, sixteen-sided in the middle and circular above. The sixteen-sided section is surmounted by an octagonal madhya-bandha decorated with interlocking loops of garlands issuing from the mouths of kīrttimukha-s, the loops enclosing vidyādhara-s represented in anjali or carrying garlands or musical instruments. The upper band of the madhya-bandha is decorated with lumā-s in relief. From this madhya-bandha issues a lamp-stand projection, decorated with a kumāra-figure on the soffit. Plain projections for lamp-stand also issue from the base of each of the four pillars.

The circular section of the shaft carries four madhya-bandha-s of which the lowest is circular and most elaborate and is decorated with larger loops or garlands, and long chain and bell flanked by garlands and streamers and often alternating with lotus-stalks suspended from the mouths of kirttimukha-s. The garland-loops enclose vidyādhara-s, ascetics, mithuna-s and vyāla-s. The second bandha is octagonal and shows smaller loops of garlands issuing from the kīrttimukha-s, with a pair of vyāla-s with riders on in each loop. The third bandha is circular and decorated with either rosettes or cut triangles and shows four projecting kumāra-brackets of a small size for the reception of ornamental apsaras—struts. The fourth or top bandha consists of two octagonal pattikā-s, the lower decorated with garland loops enclosing half-lotus flowers and the upper decorated with circular rosettes. The shaft is surmounted by a circular capital consisting of a ribbed āmalaka and padma. The capital carries kumāra-brackets with adoring nāga-s in between. All the kumāra-s are pierced with sockets in their

bellies for the reception of apsaras-brackets. The brackets carry a lintel with three offsets of which the lower two are decorated with lotus-scrolls and kirttimukha-s while the top offset is left plain. The lintel carries a frieze of processional scenes representing mostly devotees, musicians and dancers, sometimes accompanied by elephants. On the north and south sides, a Jina figure occurs in the middle of the frieze. Above the frieze rests an ornate square ceiling divided into ornamental rectangular panels. The panels are framed like a door-leaf with vertical and horizontal battens, the joints being decorated with lotus flowers in relief. The outer row of panels show dancers and musicians flanked by couples, while the inner row of panels is decorated with stencilled scrolls. In the centre of the ceiling a space of 3 ft. square has been decorated with three kola (coffered cusp) courses, the two outer courses showing three kola-s on each side, the inner-most corner being nearly completely mutilated.

Vastibule between mukhamandapa and gudhamandapa

The mukhamandapa leads into the gudhamandapa which must have been enclosed on three sides by walls. This mandapa, however, differs from the corresponding one of the Parsvanatha temple in showing a transverse row of three catuski-s in its front. The ceilings of these catuski-s, now quite plain, may have been decorated originally. The central catuski, which is larger than the side ones, is formed by the western pillars of the mukhamandapa and two pilasters flanking the gudhamandapadoorway, which show at the base two-armed dvarapala-s, is represented an animal which looks like a lion. The pilasters are square in section with three angles in each corner but quite plain except for a conventional pot-and-foliage carved in the lower and upper portions of the shaft. They stand on an upapitha with a simple decoration of lotus petals but whether the upapītha is original or otherwise, is not certain. Their bases, however, are original and consist of the mouldings of khura, kumbha and kapotika. The shafts carry a plain short ucchalaka section surmounted by a plain capital showing karnika and padma. The capital supports brackets of plain sharp-curved profile with a volute at the top. The brackets carry a lintel decorated with stencilled scrolls and grāsapattikā. The lintel supports a plain cornice surmounted by a register of cut triangles. As this lintel is decorated only in the section coming between the pilasters leaving the ends (made of different stones) plain, the side catuski-s may have been covered up by walls. This is also attested by the absolutely plain pilasters at the ends, which are made of a freshlooking sandstone of pale yellow shade. They stand on bases and carry ucchālaka section, capital and brackets which are identical in design with those of the pilasters carrying dvārapāla figures.

The pilasters behind the doorway are made of granite, but they rest on sandstone bases. In one case, however, the upapītha is also of granite. As the

design of the two granite pilasters is slightly different, it is likely that these may not originally belong to this temple.

Doorway of gudhamandapa

The doorway is of seven sakhā-s. The first sākhā is decorated with rosettes, the second and sixth with vyāla-s, the third and the fifth with gana-s dancing or playing on musical instruments and the fourth,—which is treated as the stambha-sakha, carries a capital consisting of karnika and padma. The seventh sakha forming the bevelled surround of the doorway is decorated with wavy scrolls and is flanked by a vertical frieze showing gana-s, dancing or playing on musical instruments. The first three sakha-s are carried up, the fourth or the stambha-sakha supports a lintel showing centrally an image of eight-armed Cakresvari seated on Garuda. She carries fruit, arrow, cakra, cakra, cakra, cakra, bow and sankha, bow and sankha. The niches on the proper right and left ends show seated Jina figures. The intervening space on the lintel shows seated representations of the Nine Planets on the proper right and eight similar images of two-armed horse-headed seated gods carrying abhaya and water-vessel on the proper left who appear to be Asta-vasu-s. The upper frieze of the lintel shows the sixteen auspicious symbols seen in the dream by Jina's mother at the time of conception. The symbols are placed on lotus leaves and consists of: (1) Airāvata-elephant, (2) bull, (3) rampant lion, (4) Śrī-dēvī, (5) garland enclosing a kīrttimukha, (6) the full moon with hare shown in the middle, (7) the rising sun representing the sun-god in the middle, (8) a pair of fish, (9) a pair of jars, (10) ladder combined with a tank showing a tortoise (Padma-sarovara), (11) agitated sea, (12) a lion-throne, (13) vimana, (14) Naga couple seated in a pavilion (Nagendra-bhavana), (15) heaps of jewels, and (16) seated Agni with flames issuing from his shoulders. Above the seventh sakhā occurs a band of flying vidyādhara-couples flanking a seated Jina figure represented. in the middle. The three tilaka-niches of the lintels are surmounted by udgama-s or pediments of caitya-arches addorsed to triratha pyramidal phamsana showing seven pidhā-s, candrikā and āmalaka. The base of the doorway shows the usual river goddesses, Gangā being on the proper right and Yamunā on the left flanked by a female cauri-bearer on the outer side only. On each door-jamb proper is represented a dvārapāla carrying lotus flower and gadā. A dvārapāla carrying gadā and wearing kirita mukuta occurs also below the surround of the doorway. The doorsill shows lotus-scrolls in the middle projection, flanked on each side by a two-armed figure of Sarasvati. The flanking recesses show six-water-divinities, each seated on kari-makara and carrying water-jar. Below the river-goddesses occur gaja-vyāla motifs while below the outer dvārapāla-s are depicted scenes of dance and music.

The central ceiling of the gudhamandapa is carried on a catuski of four pillars which are similar to those of the mukhamandapa with this difference that these

rest on a plain upapitha. They carry a plain lintel with three identically ornamented offsets surmounted by three other courses, the first decorated with intersecting loops, the second embellished with cut triangles and the third left plain. Above the third rests a flat ceiling decorated with lotus flower in the middle, enclosed in a square compartment and framed by three borders, the first and the third decorated with scrolls and the middle one with rosettes. While the inner side of the eastern lintel is quite plain, the outer side is decorated with designs of (1) stencilled scrolls, (2) flying vidyādhara-couples flanking a seated Tīrthankara in the middle, (3) band of stencilled heart-shaped flowers, (4) diamonds fringed by perforated squares and (5) cornice of lotus petals with gagāraka issuing from them.

The pillars of gūdhamandapa show each three brackets for keeping lamps. The top brackets are projecting diagonally, carved with lotus petals below, the middle ones with kumāra figures, while the bottom ones resemble a plain padma moulding. The middle and bottom rows of brackets are repeated also on the four pillars of the mukhamandapa but in the place of the top bracket we have four smaller kumāra-brackets on each pillar.

ADINATH TEMPLE

The temple, dedicated to Jina Adinatha, is a nirandhara-prasada, of which only the garbhagtha and the kapili have survived with their roofs: (Fig. 7). In the elegance of sculptural style as well as in general plan and design, it bears rather close kinship to the brahmanical Vamana temple, though it is more elegant in overall proportions and shape.

The temple proper is caturanga (sapta-ratha) on plan and has the customary pītha, the vēdibandha (where the kumbha carries niched diamonds as facial decoration) and three registers of janghā as in most temples of Khajurāho. The deep bhādra-niches on the wall harbour Yakṣī and Vidyādēvī figures. There is a varandikā with prahāra above, which supports the soaring elegantly curved tall Latina sikhara with excellently wrought jāla. While the āmalasāraka is original, the kalasa seems a replacement of the later period.

The impressive sukanāsa (Fig. 8) over the kapilī harbours Yakşa and Yakṣī or Vidyādēvī figures in the rathikā-s. Stylistically, the temple possibly is not far removed from the famous Kandariyā Mahādeva temple and thus may have been built sometime in the third quarter of the eleventh century.

SANTINATHA TEMPLE

This temple is situated at a small distance to the south-west of the Pārsva-nātha temple. The main sanctuary of Sāntinātha bearing the Jina's lofty image J.S.-34

dated to A.D. 1029 is architecturally of no consequence; but the two minor shrines in the north-west and facing south in this complex seem early and have nicely carved doorframes, pillars and ceilings. In this temple-complex is the famous sculpture showing the parents of Jina: (Fig. 9).

There are some Jaina sculptures in the Site Museum at Khajuraho. The door-lintel (Fig. 10) bearing figures of Ambika, Cakresvari and Padmavati with Navagraha-s in between is noteworthy.

SCULPTURAL ART

The sculptures on the Jaina temples at Khajuraho are divisible into five broad categories. The first category comprises cult-images which are carved normally in the round or in high relief. These are formal and generally stand in sama-bhanga and have a large prabhavali and a back-slab decorated with figures of attendant gods and goddesses. As these are images fashioned in strict conformity with the canonical formulae and prescriptions of proportions, laksana-s and lanchana-s, they reveal a thin aesthatic vision.

The second category of sculptures comprises vidyādēvī-s, sāsana-devatā-s (Yakṣa-s and Yakṣī-s) and āvaraṇa-devatā-s, besides other gods and goddesses. These occur in the niches or are figured against the walls of the temple and are executed either in the round or in high medium relief. These figures of gods and goddesses, which include those of the Dikpāla-s, are less formal and hence freer. These usually stand in a lively tri-bhanga or are seated in lalitāsana and are distinguishable from the human figures only by their peculiar head-dress (jaṭā-, kirīṭa-or karanda-mukuṭa), or by their mounts or special attributes, held usually in more than two hands. In most cases the gods wear the same dress and ornaments as human figures do, and are to be distinguished from the latter by a sign of diamond on the chest (it is the name as the Kaustubha-maṇi on the chest of Viṣṇu and the Śrīvatsa-lānchana on the chest of Jina figures) and by a long mālā, resembling the Vaijayantīmālā of Viṣṇu, which constitute the cognizances of gods at Khajurāho.

The third category consists of the apsaras-es or surasundari-s, who account for the finest and the most numerous sculptures executed either in the round or in high or medium relief, on the janghā and in the minor niches of the façades and on the pillar or ceiling-brackets or the recesses between pilasters in the interior. The surasundari-s are invariably represented as beautiful youthful nymphs, attired in the choicest gems and garments and full of winsome grace and charm. As heavenly dancers (apsaras-es) they are represented with hands in an jali or in some other mudrā, or as carrying the lotus-flower, mirror, water-jar,

raiments, ornaments, etc., as offering for the deities. But more often the surasundari-s are portrayed to express common human moods, emotions and activities and are often difficult to distinguish from the conventional $n\bar{a}yik\bar{a}$ -s. Such are the apsaras-es shown as disrobing, yawning, scratching the back, touching the breasts, rinsing water from the wet plaits of hair, removing thorn, fondling a baby, playing with pets like parrots and monkeys, writing a letter, playing on a flute or $win\bar{a}$, painting designs on the wall or bedecking themselves in various ways by painting the feet, applying collyrium, etc.

The fourth category consists of secular sculptures, which comprise miscellaneous themes including domestic scenes, teacher and disciples, dancers and musicians and erotic couples or groups. The last have yielded some of the finest sculptural composition, vibrating with a rare sensitiveness and warmth of human emotion.

The fifth or the last category consists of sculptures of animals including the $vy\bar{a}la$, which is a heraldic and fabulous beast, primarily represented as a rampant horned lion with an armed human rider on the back and a warrior counterplayer attacking it from behind. Numerous varieties of this basic type are known, particularly from the \bar{A} dinātha temple with heads of elephant, man, parrot, boar, etc. The $vy\bar{a}la$ is normally figured in the recesses of the $jangh\bar{a}$ but also appears on the $sukan\bar{a}sik\bar{a}$ and in the interior. Like the apsaras, this is a most typical and popular sculptural theme of Khajurāho and is invested with a deep symbolism.

The Jaina sculptural art of Khajurāho draws amply on the classical tradition but is essentially medieval. Situated as it is in the heart of central India, Khajurāho was open to the artistic influences from the east and the west, its art is a happy combination of the sensuousness of the east with the nervous angular modelling of the Western idiom. Though this art cannot compare with the classical Gupta art in terms of sublimity or depth of feeling, its aesthetic appeal is amazing. One is struck by the immensity and throbbing warmth of the sculptures which are completely liberated from their well-surface and stand out almost fully in the round as enchanting lyrics of modelled beauty.

The modelling generally lacks the flow which characterises the sculptures of the Gupta age. The plastic volume is usually ample but stereotyped, indicating a thinning down of the plastic vision. The plasticity of the fully-rounded and modelled form is replaced by sharp edges and pointed angles with a stress on horizontals, verticals and diagonals. Nevertheless, this art excels all other contemporary schools of art in the vivid portrayals of human moods and fancies which are often expressed through the medium of gestures and flexions with a subtle but purposive sensuous provocation. Coquettish languor and frankly erotic

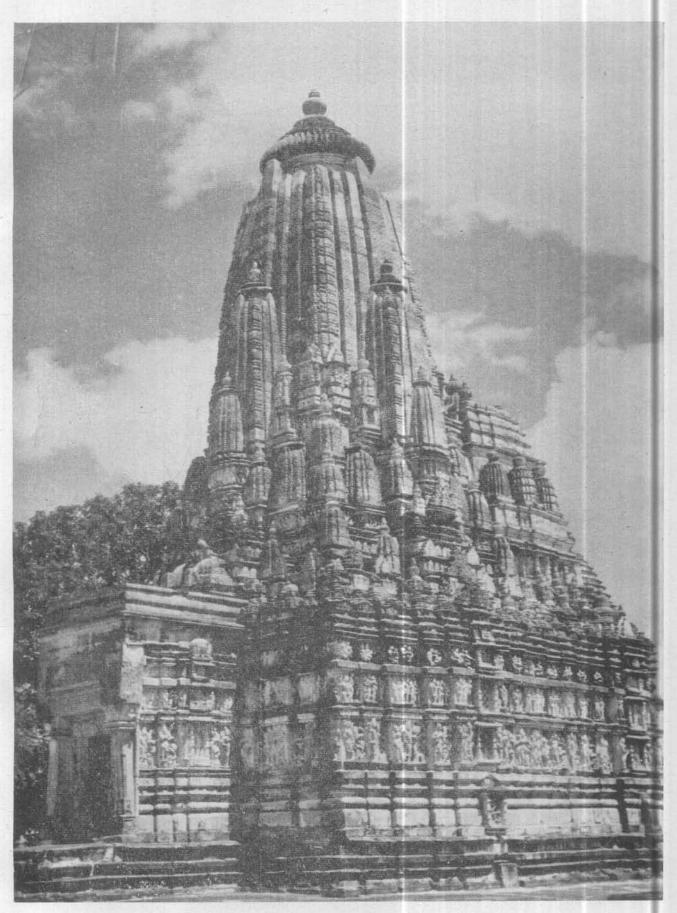
suggestion form the key-notes which distinguish this art from the other medieval schools of art.

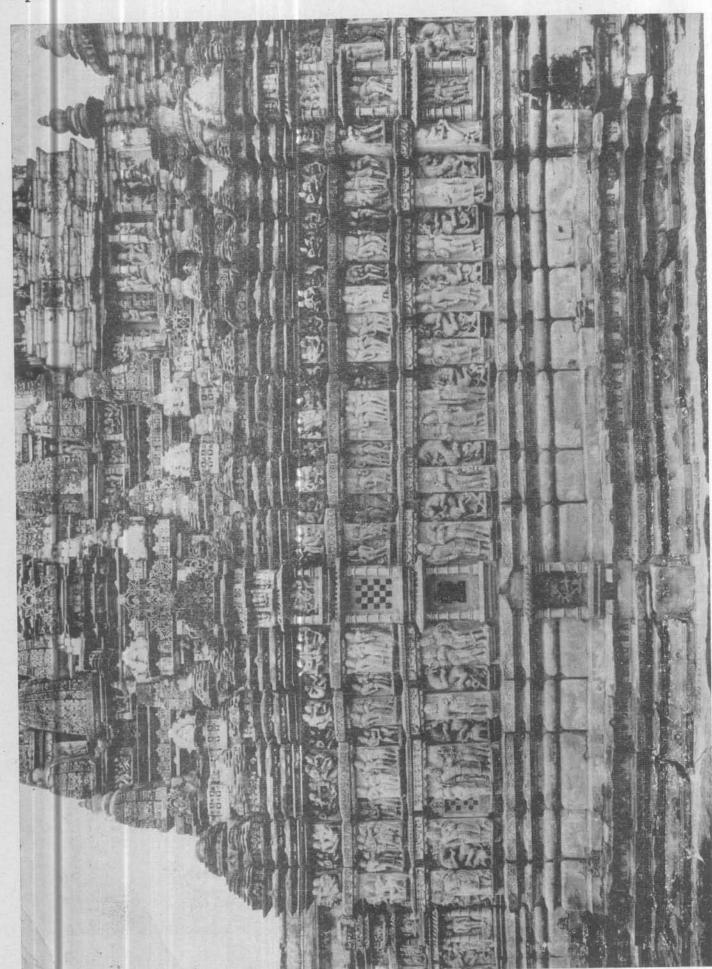
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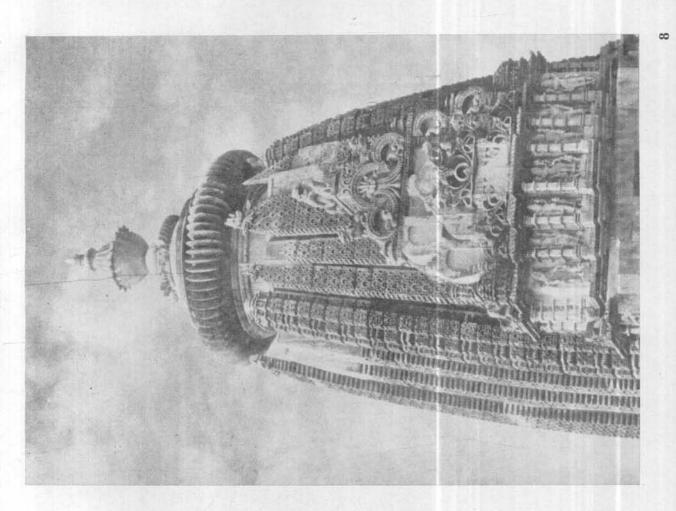
- I. E. Zannas, Khajuraho, The Hague 1960, p. 151.
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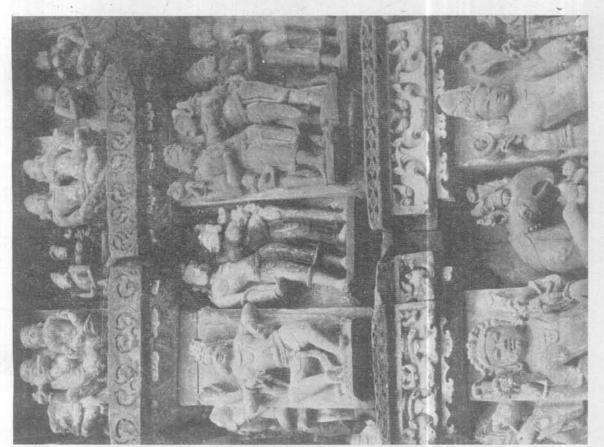
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- 10. Door-lintel of a Jaina temple, Site Museum, Khajurāho.





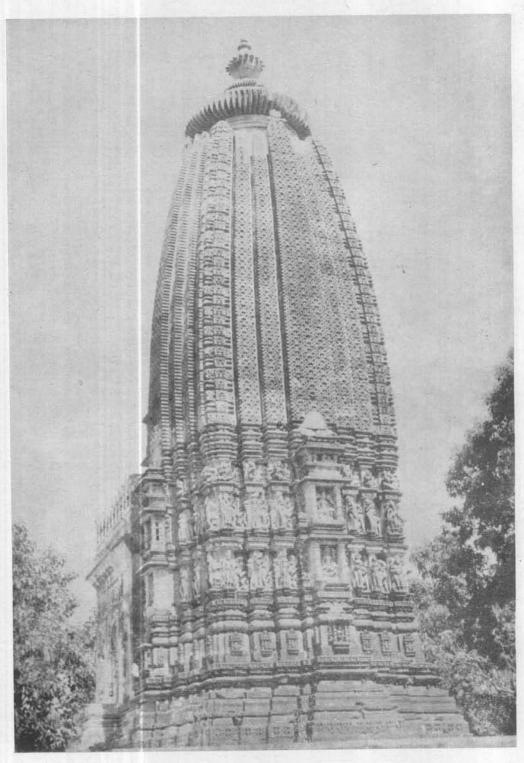




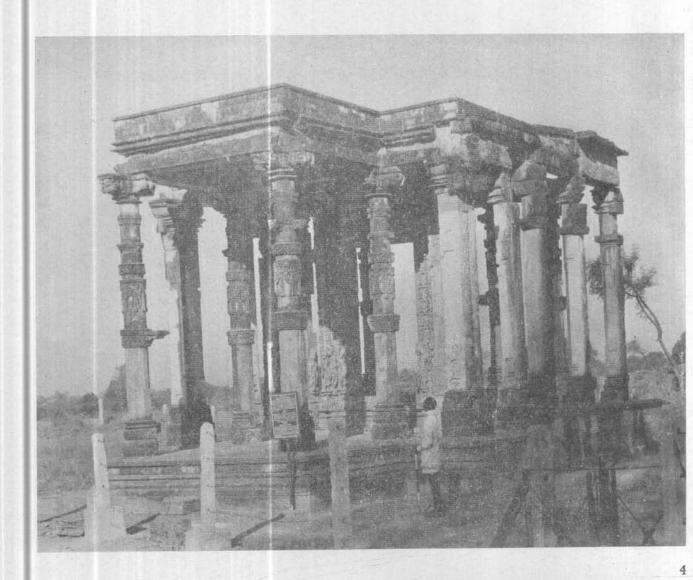
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26. JAINA BRONZES-A BRIEF SURVEY

UMAKANT PREMANAND SHAH

Images of Tirthankaras were made of stones, metals, wood, clay, precious gems, jewels or semi-precious stones. The Ācāra-Dinakara, a Śvetāmbara text of fourteenth century, provides instructions regarding selection of any of these materials. One can prepare images of gold, silver or copper, but never of $k\bar{a}msya$ (bronze), lead or tin. Brass is often used in casting images, though as a general rule mixtures of metals are discouraged. It is also enjoined that images of iron, stone, wood, clay, ivory or cow-dung or paintings should not be worshipped in private houses by persons desirous of welfare.

Vasunandi, in his Śrāvakācara (c. 12th century A.D.), says that images of Jinas and others (siddhas, ācāryas, and others) should be made according to iconographic formulas (padimā-lakkhana-vihi), the materials used being gems, gold, jewels, silver, brass, pearls, stones etc. Vasubindu, in his Pratisthā-pāṭha, adds crystals, and says that the wise praise images accompanied by a big lotus-seat, the lotus being shown as rising high.

The Ācāra-Dinakara, while distinguishing the images to be worshipped at home from those to be installed in temples says that images made of iron, stone, wood, clay, ivory, or cow-dung and those which are painted should not be installed in worship in a home, nor those whose limbs are mutilated or bent etc. Images made of metals or stucco or plaster deserve to be repaired but wooden and stone sculptures need not be repaired for worship. However images more than one hundred years old or those installed and consecrated by the best of men, must be continued in worship even though mutilated. They should be preserved in temples but are not to be worshipped at home.⁶

Speaking about sthā panā or installation of a symbol for a guru during his absence, the Jaina canonical text Anuyogadvāra-sūtra says that it may be made of wood (kaṭṭhakamma), stucco-work (pottha-kamma), painting (cittakamma), plaster (leppakamma), flower-work or knitting (gaṇṭhima), or prepared by wrapped cloth (vedhima) or stuffed cast (purima), repousse or beaten (samghāima) metal work.

Haribhadra sūri, commenting on it, has explained purima as bharima, that is, an object like a brass image cast with core inside (purimam bharimam, sagharbha-rītikādibhṛtapratimāvat). Purimabharima thus refers to the casting of images by the lost-wax process. Haribhadra specifies that they contained some core (sa-garbha).

The Nā yādhammakahāo, a Jaina canonical Anga text, refers to the picture gallery of a banker of Rājagrha. It is said to have been decorated with woodwork (kaṭṭhakamma), stuccoes (potthakamma), and plaster-work (leppa), decorations of flowers and wreathes (gaṇṭhima), stuffed, hollow, and solid cast dolls (purima bharima), images of wrapped cloth (veṣṭima) and beaten and repousse work.9

The same text further refers to a life-size golden image of Princess Malli who later became a Tirthankara. The image was hollow, and was stuffed with food which was allowed to decay. The foul smell emanating from a figure beautiful to look at was used by Malli to bring home to the kings fighting for her hand the temporary nature of bodily and worldly pleasures.

Nāyādhammakahāo is not later than the fifth century A.D. when the Jaina Agama texts were (edited and) written at Valabhi. Since most of these texts follow the Valabhi and Mathura councils of the early fourth century A.D., the evidence is particularly noteworthy.

The Jaina Brhat-kalpa-bhās ya refers to a mechanical image (janta-padimā) of a human being which could walk and open and shut its eyes, It is further said that in the Yavana country such images were turned out in large numbers. Some of these may have been of wood with some metallic contrivances inside but others may have been of metal. The Āvas yaka-cūrni of Jinadāsa (seventh century A.D.) gives an account of King Pradyota of Ujjain who used a mechanical elephant (jantamayahatthi) for capturing King Udayana of Kausāmbi. It is not certain whether this refers to a metal-elephant. 12

The cire perdue or the lost-wax process is both ancient and famous. The Mānasāra devotes a whole chapter (ch. kviii) to this process called madhūcchiṣṭavidhānam.¹³ Ruth Reeves who recently made an on the spot study of this technique still adopted in various parts of India has clearly shown that there can be no duplicate of any bronze cast by the cire perdue process.¹⁴ Mānasollāsa or Abhilaṣitārtha-Cintāmaṇi¹⁵ (c. 1135 A.D.) describes this process, which is also referred to by the Kāraṇāgama and the Suprabhedāgama quoted by Gopinath Rao.¹⁶ The Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāna also refers to both solid and hollow cast metal images.¹⁷

Sankarācārya in his Brahma-sūtra Bhās ya (I.i.12) gives the parable of molten copper poured into a mould. A verse from Vismu-Samhitā, also quoted by Gopinath Rao, states: If an image is to be made of metal, it must be made

in wax, and then coated with earth. Gold and other metals are purified (properly tested) and melted under requisite temperature by experts and then cast (into the mould) and a complete solid image is thus obtained by capable workmen.¹⁸

Almost all the Jaina bronzes known so far are cast by the cire perdue or lost wax process. Some of the back plates might have been hammered and later attached to the part of the bronze cast by the above process. Sometimes the different parts are cast separately and then joined. The bronzes are in some cases solid cast but in most early cases have a core inside of earth etc., burnt and turned black during heating, which imparts heaviness to the bronze. These images can be classed as hollow-cast and in some instances the core is raked out. In the Akota and Vasantagadh hoards, as in other Jaina metal images from Western India, the inner core is almost invariably allowed to remain and not raked out since it provided a sort of reinforcement for the delicate parts in the case of an accidental fall.

Marshall has given a short clear account of the cire perdue process:19

"In this process a model of the object is first made in clay or plaster, in such a way that it can be broken up without difficulty after firing. The model is then coated up with wax of a thickness of the metal to be cast, and in this wax the artist gives finishing touches to his work. The whole is next covered with several 'slips' of clay, water and finely pounded pottery followed by a more solid coating of clay and broken pottery, after which metal rods are thrust through the mass at various points to hold the core in position, and vent-holes and tubes for carrying off wax are provided. The whole is then placed in a furnace, and when the wax has melted, and run out, molten metal is poured in to take its place. Subsequently, when the mass has cooled, the outer mould is removed and the inner core raked out, leaving a replica of wax in bronze. Any minor defects are made good with the help of the chisel or file or by inlaying small pieces of metal."

The following remarks of Ruth Reeves are noteworthy:—

"Although in ancient India both cire perdue solid and hollow casting techniques were employed virtually in all the metal casting centres, today the solid casting method is preponderantly practised in the South. The figure to be cast in metal is first carefully modelled in a wax preparation and after moulding, a wax drain hole-cum-pouring channel (sometimes called a runner) is prepared at the base of the image. Eventually, the mould is heated, the wax image is siphoned off through the drain hole and through the same orifice the molten metal is finally poured to replace the wax. The wax model is called the replica because after it is covered with a thin coating of clay, the inner wall of this preliminrya

mould will take the exact impression of the outer contours of the wax image. Three other layers of clay are plastered over the first coating and when dry, this composite mould is heated over a belows-draughted, ground furnace, causing both the wax runner and the wax replica to melt and drain off on the ground. In short, the wax is lost and it is from this craft sequence that the lost-wax (cire perdue) process of metal casting derives its name. The metal is separately heated in a crucible and when molten, is poured into the hollow drain hole, filling the void caused by the melting away of the replica. When cool, the mould is broken open, the pouring channel cut off and the casting blemishes chiselled away.

The hollow casting method is now largely practised in Central and Eastern India. A simplified and slightly smaller version of the envisaged metal form is first modelled in clay and, when dry, is wrapped with 1/16th of an inch thick hand-rolled or press-ejected wax wires, as they are called, placed one against the other until the clay core is completely sheathed by them. This ribbed wax surface is often smoothened to a plain surface so that over it may be superimposed more wax wires to embellish and delineate the configuration. A runner or pouring channel is sometimes made by affixing a bomboo split to the replica after the first layer of the clay mould is pasted over the wax form. The split is then removed before its holding clay has had time to set. The second clay coating is fitted over the runner with a clay funnel containing a clay crucible for the scrap metal. This, when sealed with a clay cap, is placed, funnel side down, in a ground furnace and heated until the metal melts. The mould is then removed and turned right side up in order to allow the heat-liquefied metal first to displace the wax of the runner and then flow down to burn out and fill the 1/16th of an inch cubic space left between the clay core and the mould as a result ofthe loss of the replica",20

The following remarks of Ruth Reeves are especially noteworthy:-

"In no other metal craft production processes are the forces which contribute so prodigally to the stimulation of the design-inventive faculties more clearly revealed than in the cire perdue casting materials and techniques employed in the six foundries this book describes. In the first place, in both the solid casting and hollow casting techniques the plasticity latent in the organic properties of the beeswax, or wax substitute, with which the replicas are either modelled or wrapped, allows the Indian metal artisan to create any three-dimensional form and surface modelling his imagination and skills can conceive of and execute. Secondly, the technical limitations of the cire perdue casting method, which compet the metalsmith to model a new wax replica each time a metal object is to be produced, result in establishing that continuum of creative tension and visual

excitement so important for the artisan to experience. This, when coupled with the exaltation caused by the religious significance of the objects and his hereditary virtuousity in craft skills, inevitably makes for the creation of meaningful metal art.

Ever since the Chōļa period and, indeed, long before that the south Indian metal artisans' planning and execution of their icons have been based on prescribed canonical rules governing not only casting techniques but the image's proportions, stance, appurtenances and symbolic meaning as well. However, despite these formulae, no two images produced under these conditions have ever been found to be alike.* "It is the craftsman's exaltation through self-identification with the deity and the extension of this to each phase of the icon's technical production that supply him with that spontaneity without which no work of art is ever fully achieved".21

Perhaps the earliest of all known Jaina metal images of the historical period is the rare statuette of standing Pārsvanātha²² (height, 9 inches) preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (Fig. 1 front). It is hollow cast, by cire perdue process with a light black core inside. Pārsvanātha stands in the kāyotsarga posture, with a canopy of five-hooded cobra. The back shows the body of the cobra running down the entire body of the Jina, in a zig-zag way. The cobra's head was possibly attached as a separate piece while its remaining body, cast along with the Jina, is reminiscent of the applique technique. The same impression is gathered about the eye-brows of the Jina. The right hand of the Jina as also a part of the cobra's hoods are mutilated.

The most striking feature of the statuette is the modelling of the features of the face, oblong, and broad at the temples, narrowing towards the chin, with small but prominent thick lips, a long nose and elongated big eyes, which remind one of the physiognomy of the bronze statuette of a female dancer from Mohen-jo Daro²³ and of the group of early Mother-goddess terracottas from several sites in North India (Mathura, Hathras, etc.)²⁴ showing similar physiognomy. The representation of the face is archaic, not met with in any stone sculpture of the Tirthankara and except one bronze from South India, discussed below, this primitive type is not known in any other Jaina bronze.

Like the Mohen-jo Daro bronze (dancer) and the well-known terracotta male figurine (with legs lost) and some other figurines from the same site, our figure shows long typical slim limbs, especially the hands and feet.²⁵

The torso is equally interesting. It does not show the broad, heavy and rather stiff shoulders of the Kuṣāṇa age, and its modelling with the slightly protruding abdomen, recalls to mind the abdomen of the polished Mauryan Jaina torso from Lohanipur near Patna.²⁶
J.S.-35

It is thus quite certain that this metal image of Pārsvanātha in all respects confirms to the early archaic stylistic traditions of the mother-goddess cult and the yakşa-cult and even earlier still the tradition of proto-historic chalcolithic Mohen-jo Daro figurines. Unlike all known Jaina bronzes of its size this bronze is very light in weight suggesting a typical composition of the core and even the metal alloy which however has good deal of copper in it as suggested by its copper-like colour. The lower limit for this bronze is circa first century B.C. It probably dates from a period which may be a little later than the I ohanipur polished torso of a Tīrthankara image, now in the Patna Museum.

Unfortunately the find-spot of this image is not known, but very likely it hails from Northern or Western India.

In view of the above bronze, a unique bronze of a standing Pārśvanātha in the Puddukottai Museum, Tamil Nadu (Fig. 3), deserves special attention of students of South Indian art. It is well-known that Jainism had entered this part of Tamil Nadu at a fairly early age as shown by the various small inscriptions of rock-beds at Sittannavasal and other sites, and ranging from c. 2nd or 3rd century B.C. to c. 3rd century A.D. This bronze was found during the course of some digging operations for foundations of Maharaja's college at Puddukkottai.

The limbs again are slim, the look archaic and primitive, the face, though smaller, is yet reminiscent of early terracotta figurines. Only those very much conversant with folk art and bronzes of the South and with early terracottas from the Tamil Nadu can throw further light on the bronze. That it is not a modern bronze is certain since it was found from an area from which many early Jaina sculptures and architectural pieces were obtained during digging²⁷. But how old is this bronze? If it is an important-piece from North carried by some early Jaina monk travelling in the South it would seem that it is a fairly old piece dating from about the first century A.D. or roundabout. But if it is of local manufacture than it is difficult to assign an age to it. However, for reasons given below, it seems to me that it is an early South Indian bronze, dating from c. fourth century A.D. Chemical analysis and spectroscopy might perhaps help us in the study of both the figures discussed above.

Some terracotta figurines from Nilgiris, now in the British Museum, exhibited and published by Stella Kramrisch and assigned to c. 1st century A.D. bear stylistic correspondence with this bronze which would suggest a date, c. 1st century A.D.

In the South we have the evidence of the bronze figure, of Chalcolithic Period, from Adicchanallur now in the Madras Museum, 28 which shows

a face, the tradition of which has survived in the terracotta lid from Nilgiris published by Stella Kramrisch,²⁹ and in other terracotta figures excavated at Kancipuram and Kaverīpaṭṭinam. Especially noteworthy for comparison with our bronze is the male figure with head, torso and part of legs, of pre-Pallava period and assignable to a period, earlier than c. fourth century A.D., on stratigraphical evidence, obtained in excavations at Kancipuram.³⁰ We can also compare with our bronze, a terracotta head excavated from Kaverīpaṭṭinam and assignable to c. fourth century A.D.³¹ With these evidences this Pudducottai Jaina bronze (Fig. 2A) may tentatively be assigned to c. fourth century A.D. In Jaina temples, which continue to be in worship for several centuries, a number of bronzes of different periods and styles, and with a wide range in age of several centuries, are even now available, and this is also demonstrated by the finds obtained in the Akota hoard. It is therefore not unlikely that an early bronze was buried alongwith a few later ones at Puddukottai.

In this paper it is intended to refer to only a few specimens to show how varied and important is the contribution of the Jainas to the metal work in Indian art. A volume illustrating a large number of different specimens from all over India, under preparation, is expected to be published in near future. We shall here especially refer to a number of less known Jaina bronzes from Museums abroad and from South India, especially the bronzes of the Lingsur and Mediconda hoards from Andhra Pradesh.

Of the early Jaina metal images, the Chausa hoard, preserved in the Patna Museum, is perhaps the most important hoard discovered so far and though later in age than the Prince of Wales Museum Pārsvanātha, still contains some of the earliest known Jaina bronzes. Of these, Fig. 2 again of a standing Pārsvanātha (no. 6531, Patna Museum, height about 10 inches), much corroded and mutilated below the knees, has several interesting features. The eyes are small and roundish, cars long with long pierced ear-lobes, face, broad above. longish and narrowing a little towards chin and looking a little boyish or young, limbs still slim, with the shoulders somewhat broader than the Prince of Wales Museum Pārsvanātha, torso still reminiscent of the above Pārsvanātha especially in the treatment of the abdomen-these are all features which do suggest an early age. The general look of the face is nearer to that of some B.C. terracottas from Mauryan sites of Patna and Kumrahar, and though a bit oval, the eyes are especially closely related to the above mentioned terracottas. On a conservative estimate this bronze may be assigned to the beginning of the first century A.D., for want of better evidence for a later date.

Not all the Jaina bronzes of this hoard are assignable to the Kuṣāṇa period and at least two sitting figures seem to be post-Gupta.³² But excepting one or

two, the remaining figures of standing Tirthankaras belong roughly to the Kuṣāṇa period. Of these Fig. 6 of standing Rṣabhanātha perhaps has some Hellenic or Gandhara influence. Fig. 5 of a standing Jina reminds one of Mathura idiom and dates from c. third century A.D.

A tree and a wheel, both of metal, illustrated in Figs. 3 and 4 are interesting. It is difficult to say whether the tree had a separate Jina figure placed below it in front of its trunk, and hence we cannot say with certainty that this is an evidence of Jaina Tree-worship in metal. But the Wheel certainly represents a Dharmacakra and the two females at its lower rim show that it dates from c. first century A.D. The tree belongs to the same age.

Unfortunately there is no evidence of Jaina bronzes of the Gupta period, of fifth century, discovered as yet, except a beautiful single figure of standing Rṣabhanātha, about 30 ins. in height, badly mutilated, obtained from the Akota hoard, and assignable to the last quarter of the fifth century. It is an exquisitely modelled figure with a screne pleasing countenance, with eyes half shut in meditation. The eyes are inlaid with silver and the full and red lower lip gilded with copper. This is the earliest known Jina image with a dhoti,³³ the folds on the legs are forked and of an early tradition. Comparable in beauty to the Sultanganj bronze Buddha, this Ādinātha has superior modelling of the legs which in the case of the Sultanganj bronze are slimmer and weaker following the eastern idiom.

The inscribed Jivantasvāmī from Akota dates from c. 550-600 A.D.³⁴ as also the beautiful Ambikā, from the same hoard, wearing an astamangala-mālā, and an elaborate crown on a big heavy head.³⁵ The beautiful uninscribed standing Jivantasvāmī, from Akota, wearing a high cap-or crown with artistically carved lotus-motifs (suggesting embroidery work), is one of the most beautiful examples of metal work of c. sixth century A.D.³⁶ Though badly mutilated like the Akota Adinātha just discussed, the face as well as the chest are in the best classical traditions. A small but beautiful head of another Jaina bronze, with the lower part missing, also dates from sixth century.³⁷ Of the seventh century we have in the Akota hoard a few figures of Tīrthankaras both standing and sitting,³⁸ and a beautiful two-armed Sarasvatī, showing the lotus with a long stalk in her right hand raised at the elbow and carrying a book in the left one. The clever balance achieved on two sides with the long stalk of the lotus and the ends of the dupattā (scarf) produces a pleasing uniform effect.³⁹

The Vasantagardh hoard, discussed earlier (by U. P. Shah) in Lalit Kala no. 1, has two interesting big standing Jinas cast in Samvat 744=687 A.D., by the great artist Sivanaga who is likened to the Pitamaha (Creator Brahma)

creating the Visvarūpa-s. 40 On comparison with the style of these two Tīrthankara figures, especially the modelling of the faces, etc., one can safely assign the small standing two-armed Sarasvatī from this hoard (published earlier by U. P. Shah in Lalit Kala, nos. 1-2, pl. XV, Fig. 15) to the same period, or at best to the very end of the seventh century. The elaborate three peaked crown, the silver-studed eyes, the halo with beaded border, the double-zone, the fine texture of her embroidered lower garment, all help in assigning this Sarasvatī to the end of the seventh centruy. Earlier in age is the seated Adinātha in this hoard with the Dharmacakra in the centre of the pedestal and seated bull cognizance on each side of the latter nearer the ends of the pedestal (Fig. 9). The representations of the cognizance on two sides of the Dharmacakra is of an early tradition first seen on an early fifth century inscribed stone image of Neminātha at Rajgir. This bronze of Adinātha may be assigned to the latter half of the sixth century A.D. 41

This as well as the two following elaborately cast Tri-Tirthika metal images of Parsyanatha in the Vasantagadh hoard were formerly assigned by this writer to the eighth century (in Lalit Kala No. 1). But when I first saw them the back of these Tri-Tīrthīs were fixed with cement to a wall. Now that these are removed from the wall the inscriptions at the back are disclosed and one of them bears a date 756 Samvat=699 or 700 A.D. (Fig. 11), while the other is dated in V.S. 726=669 A.D. (Fig. 12). These images are definite milestones in studying Western Indian art. They are superb examples of metal work under Jaina patronage and the artists have evolved a fascinating yet balanced composition of several figures including one centrally seated Jina (Milana yaka), two standing Tirthankaras, two standing Vidyadevis, and a seated Yaksa and a seated Yaksini on a wide pedestal on top of which again are heads of eight planets and a beautiful simhāsana with silver-studed cushion etc. This composition became a norm and was adopted in a number of Jaina metal images of which one beautiful specimen, originally installed in Bhrgukaccha (Bharuca, Broach), in Saka 910=988 A.D., once preserved in Kadi, has ultimately reached the Los Angeles Museum in U.S.A. This bronze installed by Pārśvillagaņi at Broach is one of the finest examples of metal work of Gujarat in the tenth century A.D.⁴²

The two dated Vasantagadh bronzes are further important in as much as some of the sculptures on Osia temples are closely allied in style with the figures on these bronzes. These bronzes should, therefore, serve as our guide in the dating of Osian temples.

D. R. Bhandarkar discovered about five Jaina bronzes from the site of ancient Valabhi along with a hoard of coins of Kumāragupta I. On the evidence of traces of a few letters on pedestals of two or three of them, he assigned

these bronzes to c. sixth century A.D. M. G. Dikshit and H. G. Shastri read a date on one of them⁴³, (Valabhi) Samvat 200(+)20(+)-, i.e. a date between 538 and 548 A.D., and this supported Bhandarkar's dating. All the five bronzes are of standing Tirthankaras with dhoti according to Svetāmbara traditions. Out of these one is illustrated here in Fig. 8. It shows a small rather stunted male torso and body with a proportionately bigger and heavier head, and a dhoti worn as a lower garment.

A small bronze (height 7.5 in.) of Pārsvanātha seated in padmāsana, dhyāna mudrā (Fig. 7) is preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. In style, the bronze bears affinities with a seated Jina from Vasantagaḍh (Lalit Kala, nos. 1-2, Bronze Hoard from Vasantagaḍh, Fig. 6) and the standing Buddha from Valabhī in the collections of Mahendrasimhji Thakore (Journal of The Oriental Institute, Baroda, Vol. XVI no. 1). The Pārsvanātha bronze dates from c. late sixth or early seventh century. The folds of the snake at the back are so arrnaged that they serve as the back resting of the Jina.

Of the mediaeval period we have a large variety in style and composition of Jaina bronzes from Rajasthan and Gujarat. A few interesting specimens from the collections of the National Museum are discussed by this writer in the Journal of the Oriental Institute Vol. xxiv. nos. 1-2 (Special no.).

Several examples of various artistic and folk-like Digambara and Svetambara varieties are available in large numbers from most of the well-known old Jaina shrines and sites in Western India and the Madhya Pradesh.

Deccan and further south innovated some varieties of Jaina bronzes. In one of the most popular type, the Camaradhara-yakṣas spring from behind the horizontal beam of the back-seat, as in sculptures from Deccan, Karnataka and other parts of South India. This practice was very popular in the age of the Rāṣtrakūtas (Fig. 60) and Gangas (cf. Fig. 61) and even the Colas (cf. Fig. 56) and we have a number of Jaina bronzes from Rajnakin Khinkhini in the Nagpur Museum some of which are very fine specimens of Jaina art of the eighth to tenth centuries. They are not repeated here since some good specimens are already published by V. P. Rode in the Journal of Indian Museums Vol. IX.

A metal Caturvins ati-pata (covisi) showing standing Reabhanatha in the centre (as mulana yaka) and twenty-three miniature figures of sitting Tirthankaras on two sides and above Reabhanatha, preserved in the British Museum (Fig. 65) may be compared with the Jaina bronzes in the Nagpur Museum (referred to above) published by Rode. The rather buldging eyeballs of the attendant Yaksa on the right of the pedestal, remind us of a type of Jaina bronzes preserved in different collections, one typical example of this style being the Jaina bronze

from Buddhapāda (Andrha Pradesh) preserved in the British Museum and illustrated here as Fig. 62. The covisi of Rṣabhanātha (Fig. 65) somewhat differs from typical Rāṣṭrakūṭa Bronzes and could be allied to the style Eastern Calukyan territory in Andhra Pradesh. While the Buddhapāda Bronze (Fig. 62) is earlier and dates from c. eighth century A.D., this covisi may be assigned to c. tenth century A.D.

Fig. 63, again from the British Museum, offers certain comparison with Nagpur Museum bronzes, especially as an iconographic type with a Jina sitting on top, above a tree and below him two bigger figures of a standing male and a female. On the pedestal are eight small standing figures which may or may not be of eight planets. They are perhaps small children, since the male and female in such stone and metal sculptures remind us of the Buddhist Jambhala and Hariti group. Similar figures are also seen in front of the pedestal, just below the Yaksa and Ambikā in Fig. 64 (also from the British Museum). Fig. 64 represents an image of Pārsvanātha sitting on top of the high pedestal. The bronze dates from about the eighth century and possibly hails from Malwa or some adjacent part of modern Madhya Pradesh. Fig. 63 is an interesting specimen especially for its ornamental arch enclosing the whole group above the pedestal. The dress and ornaments of the standing pair suggest an age not later than the tenth century A.D. The provenance is uncertain and may perhaps be a border territory of Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra.

No Jaina bronze or stone sculpture from the South has so far been published which can be assigned to period before the sixth century A.D. A few Jaina sculptures in the Jaina Caves at Badami and Aihole can be assigned to the late sixth century. Of the seventh and later centuries we have many examples of rock cut reliefs and stone sculptures from various parts of South India.

One bronze at least, of a Tirthankara sitting on a pedestal or throne, the lower part of which is broken and lost, discovered in Bapatla hoard, Andhra Pradesh, published earlier in Lalit Kala No. 10, by Ramesan, and assigned by him to about the eleventh-twelfth centuries A.D., seems to be an early specimen of the late sixth or at best early seventh century A.D. (Fig. 19). The festoons hanging on the partly preserved pedestal are of an early tradition. The Jina figure seems to have been of late Visnukundin influence and origin.

A standing Pārsvanātha from this hoard (Fig. 18) seems to date also from c. 6th or 7th century. Fig. 17 representing a standing Tīrthankara with triple-umbrella above (Ramesan's Fig. 1) may perhaps date from c. 8th century A.D. or earlier. Figures 4,5,6 of Ramesan should be assigned to a period around 8th—9th centuries,⁴⁴ his Fig. 7 of a standing couple to c. 9th century and the

beautiful standing Ambikā to the tenth century (Ramesan's Fig. 8). The beautiful standing female identified as a chauri-bearer (Ramesan's Fig. 9) perhaps represents a female donor carrying a long money-bag (the nakulikā or noli). This image is a beautiful example of bronze art assignable to c. eighth century A.D. and looks like a portrait sculpture. It is a figure cast in the round. The standing Ambikā noted above is also a fine specimen of Jaina art with mixed Galukyan and Rāstrakūta influences.

A beautiful small bronze of Ambikā, from a shrine in Moodabidri, is a specimen of Calukayan art of c. tenth century from Karnataka, illustrated in Fig. 37. A pañca-Tīrthika bronze of Ādinātha, in the collections of the Brooklyn Museum, U.S.A., illustrated in Fig. 39, is a c. ninth century specimen, probably Rāṣṭrakūṭa, continuing perhaps, some Andhra traditions. The inscribed standing Saraswatī in the British Museum (Fig. 40), probably hails from Karnataka and is more Calukyan than Ganga in style. It should be assigned to c. ninth-tenth century A.D. The bronze showing a male and female stading, with a Jina on top, belonging to a group of unidentified images, some of which seem to be Parents of Tīrthankara, illustrated in Fig. 41, hails from Rajnakin Khinkhini, Akola district, and is now in the Nagpur Museum. It is a beautiful typical example of mixed Calukyan and Rāṣṭrakūṭa influences and dates from c. tenth century A.D.; with this may be compared a similar group, illustrated in Fig. 42, hailing perhaps from Andhra-Karnataka border region, and perserved in the British Museum.

From Singanikuppam, North Arcot district, Tamil Nadu, was discovered, some years back, a beautiful bronze of Mahāvīra standing in the kāyotsarga posture on a double lotus placed on a square pītha; the two broken projections-near the upper part of the pītha possibly held the two lotuses with figures of sāsana-devatās of the Jina who is identified as Mahāvīra on account of two lions carved in front of the pedestal. This bronze (size 2.9½ × 9*), now in the Madras Muscum, is one of finest examples of Jaina Bronzes of Cola art of about 1100 A.D., the period of Kulottunga (Fig. 54).45 The right forearm and palm are mutilated.

Another beautiful specimen of late Cola art of about 12th-13th century (size 9.5×2.5 inches, Mu. no. 392/57), in the Madras Museum, also hails from Singanikuppam. In absence of any symbol the Jina cannot be identified. On two sides of the pedestal are two projections supported by lion-brackets. Perhaps there were figures of attendant yakşa and yakşa, or of flywhisk bearers on them. A third alternative would be an oblong halo or shrine in which this image was enclosed. This bronze again is a beautiful well preserved specimen of late twelfth or early thirteenth century. (Fig. 55). The modelling of the torso and legs is weaker than in the preceeding figure.

With this may be compared a standing figure of Adi-Jina (inscribed) hailing from Tindivaram, Tamil Nadu, now in Madras Museum (Fig. 48A). It is a beautiful specimen of Cola art of c. twelfth century A.D.

From Singanikuppam in the South Arcot district, a beautiful and fairly wellpreserved group of Yaksī Ambikā standing with her son near her right leg and an attendant miniature female devotee near the left leg, has been recovered and exhibited in the Madras Museum (Fig. 57). All the three figures stand on a rectangular pitha. Ambikā, standing on a double-lotus placed in the centre of the pedestal, has her left hand placed on the head of the beautiful female devotee carrying a flower-wreath, while her right hand raised at the elbow, possibly carried a lotus or a mango-bunch now lost. The miniature figure of a seated Jina, in front of Ambika's karanda-mukuta, as well as the playful lively figure of the son leave no doubt that this group represents the Jina yaksi Ambikā. Ambikā wears a lower garment of beautiful flower and creeper patterns, besides various ornaments all neatly chiselled and finely wrought. The modelling, dress and ornaments are typical of the Chola art of late twelfth or early thirteenth century46 and show that in the Chola period several excellent specimens of art must have been produced under Jaina patronage, in Tamil Nadu.

Fig. 56 illustrates an early Jaina bronze from Śivagangā, Ramnathapuram district, now preserved in the Madras Museum. The Jina, resting against a thick cushion placed against a back-rest supported by a beam with makara heads on rampant lions, looks young and energetic. From behind the back-rest spring three-fourths figures of Cāmara-dharas standing in a little over-emphasised tri-bhanga, though looking alive and graceful. Very fine specimens of art, these figures of the Cāmaradharas lend grandeur and charm to the whole composition of this group. The two uprights supported by lions springing from the pedestal possibly supported a big ornamental torana enclosing this group. The cāmaradhara on the right is now stolen from the Museum. This metal sculpture is perhaps a copper alloy as suggested by its beautiful copper-red appearance. The Jina sits in the ardha-prayankāsana on a high dvimekhalā-pītha. The bronze betrays Karnataka influence and may be assigned to about the end of the tenth century A.D.⁴⁷

Two bronzes from Tamil Nadu are especially noteworthy. The first represents Tirthankara Mahavira sitting on a big rectangular pedestal (Fig. 10), preserved in the Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, U.S.A. (lent by Drs. Arthur M., Raymond and Mortimer Sackler to whom I am obliged for the permission to publish). This is perhaps the earliest known inscribed Jaina bronze from Tamil Nadu so far discovered. On grounds of palaeography Dr. R. Nagaswamy assigns this bronze to the end of the Pallava rule, c. ninth century A.D. The J.S.-36

figure of the Jina, with broad chest and beautifully rounded shoulders, is in the round. The face is slightly oval, and with full cheeks, straight long nose and long arms. The rendering of the eyes and eye-brows and the face is nearer the Pallava idiom than the Chola. The whole body is stout and strongly built. The waist is slimmer and the modelling of the torso is of classical type with vital energy concentrated in the expanded and somewhat prominent chest region.

Fig. 34 represents a Tirthankara standing in the kayotsarga posture, only the upper circular plate fixed to the now lost pedestal is preserved. The face was slightly retouched later. It is a beautifully modelled figure of a nude standing Jina (h. 33 cms.) brought from Manargudi, about 40 miles from Thanjavur in Tamil Nadu and now preserved in the small museum of the Samantabhadra Vidyalaya, Delhi. The bronze is cast in the round and belongs to the early Chola period, c. late tenth or early eleventh century A.D.

An inscribed bronze preserved in a shrine in Sravana Belgola, but possibly brought from some other place in Karnataka, was published by the late Dr. Sheshadri. Fig. 59 illustrates this finely wrought bronze of a Tirthankara standing in $k\bar{a}$ yotsarga posture on a double-lotus placed on a two-tiered $(dvimekhal\bar{a})$ -pittha. It is a beautiful specimen of Ganga art of tenth century.

There is a tritirthika bronze in the Museé Guimet which is preserved there for a very long time and which in style and composition reminds one of several bronzes from Karaātaka and the area ruled by the Rāṣtrakūtas. But there is a difference in the top portion, especially above the back seat and the bronze, even though it may be called a tritirthika bronze for the sake of convenience, has, on the right end, above the Yakṣa figure, a standing Pārsvanātha, where-as on the left end above the figure of Āmbikā there is a standing figure of Bāhubali and not of a Tīrthankara. The central figure is of an unidentified Jina, probably Mahāvīra seating in the ardha-paryanka posture. From behind the back-seat with a horizontal bar having makara ends spring the two Cāmaradharas on two sides. Above the bhāmandala (halo) are the triple-umbrella, two heavenly garland-bearers, two cymbals and two hands beating the dundubhi (drum) above which under the horse-shoe shaped top arch is the vyālamukha. The bronze probably dates from circa 9th century A.D. and could have come from the Coorg region (Fig. 61).

Two big Jaina bronzes, inscribed on the back, and assignable to tenth or eleventh century, preserved in the Jaina Matha at Śravana Belgola, can be compared with Fig. 59 discussed above. These bronzes were photographed long ago by the Department of Archaeology of the native state of Mysore, in a group along with three bronzes in front, as illustrated in Fig. 60. The one in front in

the middle of the group is earlier and dates from circa eighth-ninth century. The type corresponds with some more Rāṣṭrakūṭa bronzes, one such of a later age from Karanja was published some time back by Douglass Barrett. The Tirthankara sits on a lotus placed on a lion-throne. The throne shows two lions at ends and one in the centre and is placed on a pīṭha, at the base of which, in the centre, is a miniature figure of the bull which is the cognizance of Rṣabhanātha. The Jina can therefore be identified as Rṣabhanātha and not Mahāvīra, inspite of the third lion in the centre of the lion throne. The pair of yakṣa and yakṣī (Ambikā) is of the early type of Śāsanadevatās common to all Tīrthankaras and not the later Gomukha yakṣa and Cakreśvarī yakṣī of Ādinātha. The image in front on the right end of the illustration is imported from Western India and is dated in V. 1576 (1520 A.D.) according to the inscription on its back. The image on the corresponding left front is a very late bronze of V.S. 1952 (1951?)=1895 A.D.

The two bigger bronzes, in the back row are exquisite specimens of Ganga art of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The one on the right side of the group shows a Jina sitting in ardha-paryankāsana on a lion-throne with three lions. The one in front might have been intended as the cognizance of the Jina who in that case may be Mahāvīra. The throne is placed on a big pītha. There is an oblong bhāmandala (halo) behind the head of the Jina.

The big bronze on the left has a bigger pedestal looking like the basement mouldings of a Jaina shrine. The lion-throne is omitted and the Jina sits on a lotus placed on top of this big $p\bar{\imath}tha$. Both the bronzes seem to date from the eleventh century. Inscriptions on their backs give no dates.

It is obvious that there was very great activity in casting and installing Jaina images in metal during the rules of the Rastrakutas and the Gangas and a proper search in Jaina shrines in Karnataka may bring to light many more Jaina bronzes of Rastrakuta and Ganga art.

A comparison with these inscribed and datable bronzes of Ganga art and the Rästrakūta bronze in this group as well as those in the Nagpur Museum (from Rajnakin Khinkhini) will show that the Banglore Museum bronze published here as Fig. 30 is decidedly earlier and of a different style.

A beautiful early bronze, of a Tirthankara standing on a double-lotus placed on a square pedestal, preserved in the Brooklyn Museum, U.S.A., illustrated here in Fig. 25, can be safely assigned to c. seventh century A.D. It is a very well preserved specimen of art, hailing either from Maharashtra or Karnāṭaka. The difference in style between this figure and Fig. 30 will be obvious. Fig. 58 from Banglore Museum is later than Fig. 25 but earlier than the inscribed tenth century bronze in Fig. 59.

Very few bronzes from Andhra Pradesh are published, except a few well-known early bronzes from Amravati and Buddhapāda. Fortunately the State Museum at Hyderabad (A.P.) has three hoards of Jaina bronzes of which only the Bapatla hoard referred to above is recently published. Of the remaining two hoards, the hoard from Lingsoor in the Raichur district is bigger and more interesting as it shows varieties of styles and ethnic types and suggests that the place must have continued as a Jaina centre for a fairly long period. The other hoard contains only ten or eleven bronzes and comes from Mediconda in the Mehboobnagar district.

Jainism must have entered Andhra at a very early period, both from Kalinga and from the Satvahana capital of Pratisthanapura. Samprati the grandson of Asoka is reported to have provided fecilities for alms etc. to Jaina monks going further south from Pratisthanapura. Atleast one of the Satavahana rulers is reported to have respected Kalakacarya (c. first century B.C.).

No very early Jaina sculptures or bronzes from Andhra Pradesh are known but a few bronzes of the above mentioned hoards offer comparison with the Buddhapāda Buddhist bronzes in the British Museum (Figs. 14A, 14B, and three heads illsutrated here in Fig. 13). Since all these bronzes, of Digambara Jaina tradition, are mainly of standing nude Tirthankaras without attendant deities etc., we can draw conclusions only on the basis of the modelling of the face and body of the Tirthankara. Fig. 15, of standing Tirthankara (Museum no. 8722, height about 24 cms.) from Lingsoor hoard offers close correspondence with the face of standing Buddha from Buddhapāda illustrated in Fig. 14A. The modelling of the torso and legs of the Jina is also graceful and well proportioned. In the rendering of the ears with long ear-lobes, the Jina figure corresponds with the Buddha image. Perhaps this Jina figure dates from c. 6th-7th century A.D. All the datings of the bronzes of the Lingsoor hoard are tentative. They should be cleaned first.

More young and beautiful in appearance and perhaps a little earlier than the Jina in Fig. 15 is the Tirthankara standing in kāyotsarga posture (Fig. 16) from the same hoard, Office of the Department of Archaeology A.P. (no. 8730, height 25 cms.). The face is more rounded than in Fig. 15 and the rendering of the eyes and nose and lips are typically classical. Confirming to the standards laid down by Varāhamihira for a Jina-image, this figure has a prasanna-mudrā (a pleasing countenance), is young and beautiful in appearance and has long arms reaching the knees. The torso and legs are well-proportioned and the shoulders gracefully rounded. The image dates from the early sixth century A.D.

Assignable to the seventh century we have in the Mediconda hoard (Hyderabad Museum, no. P. 6633) a headless figure of a Jina standing on a

pedestal, illustrated in Fig. 23 (front) and Fig. 24 (back). An uncleaned pedestal, with inscription running probably on three sides, on both the upper and lower rims, is obtained in the Lingsoor hoard (Fig. 20). The letters seem to belong to the sixth-seventh century. A Jina figure in standing attitude with modelling of the torso and legs very near to that of Figs. 14 and Fig. 15, but the face perhaps slightly later, obtained in the Lingsoor hoard (no. 8719, Department of Archaeology, A.P., Hyderabad) can be assigned to the seventh century. The right lower leg, near the foot, is partly mutilated (Fig. 21).

Fig. 26 from the Mediconda hoard is another interesting example of a Jina image looking very young and almost boyish like Fig. 16 discussed above. But this Mediconda Jina has a little heavier and squarish face and shoulders more broad and heavier. The image seems to be a very early specimen of Cola art, perhaps not later than c. 800 A.D. The Mediconda bronzes also have to be cleaned.

Assignable to the eighth century, we have a variety of Jina images which proves that by this age Jainism had become more popular and had a stronger foot-hold in the South. Fig. 27 illustrates a big-sized figure (height 53 cms.) of a standing Tirthankara from the Lingsoor hoard (no. 8723, Department of Archaeology, A.P.) and perhaps shows Ganga influence in the rendering of small lips and face. The image is assignable to c. eighth century A.D. Of the same age, but with a heavier head, thicker eyebrows, and with broad nose and lips, is another bronze (No. 8725, Lingsoor hoard, Department of Archaeology, A.P) with the lower parts of both legs and the right forearm mutilated. This bronze exhibits early Calukyan influence (Fig. 28).

Yet another variety, looking more beautiful than the one just described, is illustrated in Fig. 29 from the Lingsoor hoard (height 23 cms.) It has again a head heavier and bigger in proportion to the body, has broad slightly stiff shoulders, but the modelling of the face and the body was beautiful though because of the right leg broken at the knee it does not look so beautiful in the illustration. The bronze may belong to the latter part of the seventh or the early eighth century A.D.

It would be interesting to compare Fig. 28 and Fig. 29 with a beautiful image (not cleaned) from Banglore Museum illustrated in Fig. 30. The legs from above the knees are lost, so also the left forearm. But the Jina figure is well-proportioned and stately in appearance with a beautiful well-developed big head and a healthy face, with smiling lips and a broad nose. The eyes were silver in-laid, the silver in the right eye is still preserved. Perhaps this is a typical specimen of Western Calukyan art of the sixth century. The findspot is not

known to me. On the right side of the chest is a typical mark, such marks are known on some of the Jaina images from South India. South Indian old Jaina images hardly (or perhaps never?) show the srī-vatsa mark in the centre of the chest, instead we occassionally find such a mark whose shape is different from that of the srī-vatsa obtained in Northern India. The torso and legs show beautiful modelling.

Fig. 32 illustrates a Tirthankara sitting in ardhaparyankāsana, dhyāna-mudrā on a big cushion placed on a pedestal. The lower part of the pedestal is lost. The Jina sits against a back-rest with a horizontal rod supported by two vertical pillars. The two ends of the horijontal beam show makara motifs, while behind the head of the Jina is a halo with a double boarder of beads. The figure looks rather crude in appearance since it has been largely retouched, especially the lines of the eyes and eyebrows were retouched perhaps when this bronze from the Mediconda hoard was in worship. The motifs of the halo, the back-rest etc. suggest that the bronze was originally cast in c. 8th century A.D.

A beautiful figure of a standing Jina, unfortunately with the lower parts of both the legs lost hails from the Mediconda hoard. The Jina is standing in the kāyotsarga pose (Fig. 33). Perhaps the eyes were inlaid with silver as suggested by the hollows in the pupils. Well proportioned, the figure has a broad chest and shoulder region, the torso and legs are well modelled. The face shows a prominent nose, somewhat thicker and slightly extended lower lip, big long eyes, plump and healthy cheeks, long ear-lobes. The image seems to date from c. eighth century A.D. and shows W. Calukyan influence.

In the Banglore Museum there is another standing Jina (Fig. 58) which deserves notice. It seems to be earlier than the inscribed Ganga bronze of tenth century illustrated in Fig. 59 and discussed below. It may be tentatively assigned to c. ninth century A.D.

A standing Tirthankara from the Mediconda hoard, illustrated in Fig. 48, is somewhat mutilated at the left knee and the right arm and shoulder, but the face is well preserved and beautiful. Perhaps of the Telugu-Cola age and style, the bronze may date from the ninth or the early tenth century A.D.

Fig. 52 shows the front and Fig. 52A the side view of an image of a standing Jina with the left forearm lost and the left leg mutilated below the knee. The projection at the back of the head (Fig. 52A) shows that the image was fixed into a back plate or a halo. Part of the patination removed from the chest and abdomen regions discloses the original good modelling. The image perhaps dates from c, tenth century A.D. and belongs to the Lingsoor hoard.

Fig. 51 illustrates a well-preserved bronze with a pedestal showing traces of an inscription. The bronze is from the Mediconda hoard in the Hyderabad Museum. The whole figure shows slim hands and feet and even the small squarish face makes it a rather slim figure. The eyes are big with pointed ends, somewhat fish like, the nose prominent, the lips narrow with the lower lip thicker and extended. It is difficult to decide the age of this bronze which looks like dating from circa twelfth or thirteenth century. But the traces of a few letters visible on the pedestal, would suggest an earlier date. However one must wait till the pedestal is cleaned and the inscription made visible.

Fig. 50 shows a Jina standing on a lotus whose lower part is lost. Hailing from the Mediconda hoard the image shows a strongly built robust body with broad shoulders. The face shows elongated eyes, a prominent long nose, a thicker lower lip. The image dates from c. eleventh-twelfth century A.D.

The Jina standing on a double-lotus, illustrated in Fig. 49, shows long legs and an oblong face. The torso-is smaller in proportion to the legs. The Jina shows a strong stout and tall figure with broad and heavy shoulders. The modelling shows that this figure is obviously a well preserved work of Kakatiya art dating from c. twelfth century A.D. The image belongs to the Mediconda hoard.

Fig. 53 from Lingsoor hoard (no. 8721) shows a standing Jina (height 23 cms.) with a big head broad above near the temples and forehead and narrowing towards the chin. The broad smiling lips, prominent nose and long eyes are noteworthy. The torso and legs are of almost equal proportions. The face and modelling show that this is a typical specimen of late Cola art of about the twelfth century A.D.

The standing Jina from Lingsoor hoard illustrated in Fig. 44A may be assigned to c. thirteenth century and shows Cola influence but the Jina in Fig. 44B, from the same hoard, and perhaps also of the thirteenth century seems to be a work of late Calukyan art. It is perhaps somewhat earlier in age than Fig. 44A.

The Jina illustrated in Fig. 45, hailing from Mediconda shows more pronounced Calukyan influence and dates from c. twlefth century A.D. Fig. 47 of a Jina from the Mediconda hoard is equally interesting. The face is squarish and the head fairly big, the eyes wide and prominent. The features of the face (Fig. 47A) as also the expression are well defined but the modelling of the body has deteriorated. The image perhaps dates from c. twelfth-thirteenth century A.D.

Further deterioration is visible in the modelling of the figure 46 from Lingsoor hoard which perhaps belongs to the fourteenth century A.D.

An exquisitely cast and well-preserved tri-tirthika Jaina bronze of Svetambara tradition is preserved in the collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Fig. 69). In the centre sits the Mūlanā yaka-Jina in padmāsana dhyānamudra. The rendering of the hair on the head is of an unusual but beautiful pattern and the beautiful squarish face with silver in-laid eyes shows a pleasing countenance (prasanna mudrā). On each side stands a Jina in the kāyotsarga posture. On a lower level, standing on the wide rectangular pedestal are the two attendant Camaradhara-yaksas of beautiful workmanship. Above the heads of the three Tirthankaras, on the edges of the back-slab are flying heavenly garland-bearers and a wavy creeper-like pattern giving the whole composition an artistic pleasing appearance. Above the head of the Mūlanāyaka Jina is the triple-umbrella above which is a miniature figure with folded hands. On the right end of the pedestal is the two armed Sarvanubhuti yaksa and on the corresponding left a two-armed Ambikā-yakşi. The Jina in the centre sits on a thick cushion placed on a simhāsana; near the two ends of the lion-thone, on the pedestal, are kneeling male and female devotees of fine modelling.

On the pedestal, in the centre is the dharma-cakra flanked by a deer on each side, and four heads of the planets on each side. This is one of the most beautiful bronzes, possibly of Western Indian origin, and dating from c. 1000 A.D.

In the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, is preserved a beautiful metal scuplture with an inscription on the back showing that it represents the sixteenth Tīrthankara Sāntinātha and was installed in V.S. 1224/1167 A.D. (Fig. 70). The lion-throne and the pedestal are missing. It is perhaps the best preserved and an exquisitely fine specimen of art of metal casting in Western India, in the twelfth century. A figure of standing Ajitanatha dated in the latter half of the eleventh century was published long ago by N. C. Mehta in the Jaina Sahitya Samsodhaka but it is not so elaborately conceived with parikara. A twelfth century big bronze of a Samavasaraņa discovered at Cambay about a decade back was published by U. P. Shah in the Lalit Kala No. 13 pp. 31 ff. pl. XI, Fig. 1, pl. XII Fig. 2, which gives us further insight into the highly developed art of metal work in the Solanki period. However, of all the published brass or bronze images of the Solanki age, this image of Santinatha in the Victoria and Albert Museum is superior in fine workmanship and in the beautiful rendering of the expression on the faces of the Tirthankara and his attendant fly-whisk bearers.

There are several beautiful bronzes available in Western and Central India, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Andhra. Also from Bengal a few

विम्बं सणिमधं चन्द्रसूर्यकान्तमणीमयम् ।

उत्थितांबुजमहासनाद्वितं जैनविम्बर्मिह शस्यते युथै: 🕕

beautiful bronzes are known. One Ambikā from Nalgora, of tenth century, is illustrated in Fig. 37. For comparisons two beautiful bronzes of Ambikā from Karnataka, now in the Cleveland Museum and the Los Angeles Museum of Art, are illustrated in figures 67 and 68, and a recently acquired Ambikā probably from Maharashtra or N. Karnataka in Fig. 71. Plain standing figures of Tirthankaras do not give us a satisfactory picture of the great contribution of the Jainas to metal-work.

Figures of secondary deities like Ambikā, Padmāvatī, Vidyādevīs, Laksmī, Sarasvatī, Ksetrapāla, etc. available in Jaina shrines give a fuller view of Metal art of different regions in different periods of history.

The Jainas have been worshipping several symbols in metal and stone. Two bronzes of Samavasarana of Solanki age have been published earlier by U. P. Shah. Here a big metal Śrutaskandha-Yantra and a rare type of Samavasarana on the halo of a Jina are published in figures 73 and 74, hailing from Jaina shrines in Karanja and Śravana Belgola respectively. It may also be noted that like some lotuses in metal, the buds of which open while unscrewing from below obtained in Hindu and Buddhist worship of medieval period, lotuses of metal, with a Tīrthankara in centre, and small figures of Jinas on inside surfaces of petals, are also obtained in some Jaina shrines. A specimen of this type, dated in Samvat 1685/1628 A.D., from Ajitanātba shrine in Sirohi is illustrated here in figure 72. Yantras of Siddha-cakra and Navadevatā have been published by U. P. Shah in Studues in Jaina Art.

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5. cf. Akota Bronzes, pl. 27b and pl. 40 showing a lotus scat with a long stalk. also c.f.—

सौनर्ण राजतं नापि पैत्तलं कांस्थलं तथा ।। प्रायास्यं मौनितकं चैन नैद्यूपीदेसुरस्नलं । चित्रलं नगनिचन्दनजं ।।

-Jina-Yajha-kalpa, quoted in Jaina Siddhanta Bhaskara, Vol. II, p. 12

6. थातुळेष्यमधं सर्व व्यक्तं संस्कारमहैति ॥ ५ काष्ठपाथाणनिष्यन्तं संस्काराई पुनर्ते हि । थच वर्षेशतातीतं यच स्थापितमुत्तमेः ॥ ६ ॥ तद्व्यक्तमपि पूज्यं स्थाद् विभ्नं तन्तिष्कलं न हि । तच वार्षे परं चेरेथे गेहे पूज्यं न पण्डितैः ॥ ७ ॥

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- Marshall, op. cit., pl. xciv, figs. 9, 11; pl. xcv, figs. 26-7; Mackay, Further Excavations from Mohen-jo-Daro, Vol. II, pl. LXXII, figs. 8-10; pl. LXXIV, figs. 6, 10, 11; pl. LXXV, figs. 1, 21.
- 26. Shah, U. P., Studies in Jaina Art, fig. 2.
- 27. When this bronze was first published by T. S. Sundaram, in Jaina Bronzes from Pudukottai, Lalit Kala, nos. 1-2, p. 79, fig. 3, Karl Khandalawala, the Editor, consulted me about the age of this bronze. I had with me for a long time (from the Old Pudukkottai State) a

- photo of it but was unable to decide about the age of the bronze. As yet I have not examined the bronze personally.
- 28. Srinivasan, P. R., Bronzes of South India, (Madras, 1963), fig. 1
- 29. Kramrisch, Stella,
- 30. Indian Archaeology, A Review—1962-63, pl. xxxviii, fig. B and p. 12; also, R. Subhramanyam and Raman, K. V., Terracotta figurines and other objects from Kanchi Excavations, Journal of Indian History, Vol. 45, part 2 (August 1957), pp. 501-508, pl. 1, fig. 8
- 31. Indian Archaeology, A Review-1962-63, pl. XLI, fig. A.
- 32. Prasad, H. K., Jain Bronzes in the Patna Museum, Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Volume, Part I (Bombay, 1968), pp. 282-283, P. M. Nos. 6553, 6554, 6556, 6551, 6552, 6555 all assigned to Gupta age. Also see, Ibid., pp. 275-287 and fig. 1 for detail of Dharmacakra, Fig. 2 for detail of Asoka tree, Fig. 3 for Adinātha and Fig. 4 for detail of Pārsvanātha.

Also, Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities (Patna, 1965) p. 107 and pp. 116-117. pls. XVIII-XXI; nos. 6554 and 6552 on pl. XIX seem to be post-Gupta.

- 33. Shah, U. P., Akota Bronzes (Bombay, 1959), p. 21, pl. 8a, 8b; p. 26
- 34. Ibid., pl. 12a, pp. 27-28.
- 35. Ibid., pl. 14, pp. 30-31.
- 36. Ibid., pls. 9a, 9b, pp. 26-27.
- 37. Ibid., pls. 16a, 16b, p. 33.
- 38. Ibid., pp. 33-44, pl. 17b, 20, 22, 24, 25, 26a, 27a, 29b, 28, 30a, 30b, 31a, 31b, 32a, 32c, etc.
- 39. Ibid., pl. 33, pp. 43-44.
- 40. Lalit-Kalā, nos. 1-2, pl. IX, Figs. 1-2 and p. 56. र्त.—संबद् ७४४. साक्षास्त्रितामहेतेव विश्वस्पविधादिना ।
 - शिल्पना शिवनागैन कुतमेतिकनद्रवम् ॥
- 41. Shah, U. P., Bronze Hoard from Vasantagedh, Lalit Kala, nos. 1-2, pp. 55ff., pl. XII, Fig. 7. Here the image is assigned to c. 700-725 A.D. but now I am convinced that both from style as well as from the treatment of cognizance at the base that this bronze cannot be later than the sixth century A.D.
- 42. Akota Bronzes, Fig. 56a; Lalit Kala, nos. 1-2, op. cit., Figs. 10, 10A and p. 64.
- Bhandarkar, D. R., Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Annual Report for 1914-15,
 p. 30; Dikshit, M. G., Historic and Economic Studies,
 p. 63; Shastri, H. G., Maitrakakālina Gujarat,
 Vol. II (In Gujarati),
 p. 671.
- 44. Ramesan.
- 45. Published by P. R. Srinivasan, in *Bronzes of South India* (Madras Museum, 1963), pl. CLXIV, Fig. 266; he assigns this to c. 1400 A.D. which is a very late date for this bronze.
- 46. Srinivasan, P. R., op. cit., pl. CLIV, fig. 247.
- 47. Srinivasan, P. R., *Ibid.*, p. CLXI, fig. 259, assigns it to about 1200 A.D. The back-rest is of an earlier tradition, so also the rendering of the face of the Jina. The treatment of

figures of attendants, and their dress, also prove that this is a specimen of late tenth or at the most early eleventh century A.D.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

- Pārsvanātha in Kāyotsarga posture. Findspot unknown. Mark the absence of Śri-Vatsa mark on the chest. There is no Śri-Vatsa on the highly polished torso from Lohanipur, nor on fig. 2 below from Chausa. c. Second Century B.C. Copyright, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- Standing Pāršvanātha, bronze, Chausa hoard, now in Patna Museum. c. Second or First Century B.C. Copyright, Patna Museum.
- 2a. Standing Jina Pārsvanātha Puddukkotai. Copyright and Courtesy, Puddukkotai Museum. Age. c. fourth cent. A.D.
- 3. Dharmacakra, bronze, from Chausa, now in Patna Museum. c. Second Century A.D. Copyright, Patna Museum.
- 4. Caitya-Vrkşa, bronze, from Chausa, now in Patna Museum. c. Second Century A.D. Copyright, Patna Museum.
- Standing Tirthankara, bronze, from Chausa, in Patna Museum. Age, early Kuṣāṇa. Copyright, Patna Museum.
- 6. Adinātha standing in Kāyotsarga posture, bronze. Note style of hair on head and the halo. Probably influenced by Gandhara. Age, Kuṣāṇa period. From Chausa hoard, now in Patna Museum. Copyright, Patna Museum, Patna (Bihar).
- 7. Pārsvanātha sitting in padmāsana with coils of snake at back. Hoods of cobra broken and lost. Eyes were once studded with silver. Style Western Indian. Findspot unknown. Later unfinished attempt at incising Śri-Vatsa on chest. Age, c. Sixth Century A.D. Copyright, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
- 8. Tirthankara standing on a pedestal, bronze from Valā (Valabhi), Saurashtra, Prince of Wales Museum. Age, Sixth Century A.D. Copyright, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 9. Adinātha in padmāsana on a lotus placed on pedestal. Sitting under a Caitya-tree symbolised by a small branch hanging from centre of horse-shoe shaped halo. Note hair-style. Eyes silver-studded. Back-seat with makara-ends. Brass. From Vasantagadh hoard, now in Jaina temple, Pindwada, Rajasthan. Age, c. late sixth century A.D. Photo: Copyright U. P. Shah.
- 10. Inscribed metal image of a Jina in dhyāna-mudrā, ardha-padmāsana, Identified as Mahāvīra on account of lion figure in centre of pedestal. Age, late eighth or early ninth century A.D. Style, late Pallava. Probably from region above Trichinopoly, Tamil Nadu. Copyright and Courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N.Y. U.S.A. Lent by Drs. Arthur M., Raymond and Mortimer Sackler. I am thankful to them for permission to publish it.
- Tri-Tirthika brass image of Pārsvanātha, Vasantagadh hoard, now in Jaina shrine, Pindawada. Inscribed, in Samvat 756=699-700 A.D. Photo Copyright, Jagan V. Mehta, Ahmedabad. Style, Western Indian, Gurjara-Pratihara. Silver inlaid. Ref. Lalit Kala, nos. 1-2.

- Tri-Tirthika brass image with Pārsva in the centre. Inscribed Samvat 726=669-670 A.D.
 From Vasantagadh hoard in Pindwada. Photo Copyright, Jagan V. Mehta.
- 13. Two heads and one head with part of chest. Found at Buddhapāda, near Bezwada, Andhra Pradesa. Age c. Sixth Century. Copyright and Courtesy, the British Museum.
- 14A Standing Buddha from Buddhapada, near Bezwada, Andhra Pradesh. Late Fifth or Early Sixth Century A.D. Copyright and Courtesy of the British Museum, London.
- 14B Standing Buddha from Buddhapāda, Andhra Pradesh. Late Sixth Century A.D. Copyright and Courtesy of the British Museum, London.
- Standing Tirthankara, Brass or Bronze. With patination. Lingsoor Hoard, Raichur District, Andhra Pradesh. No. 8722, Department of Archaeology, A. P. State. Height, 24 cm. Photo: Copyright, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, Age: c. Sixth Century A.D.
- 16. Tirthankara standing kāyotsarga posture. Brass or Bronze, no. 8730, Lingsoor hoard, Department of Archaeology A.P. State, Hyderabad. Height, 25 cm. Age, c. early sixth century A.D. Photo Copyright and Courtesy, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 17. Jina standing under triple umbrella. Bapatla hoard, no P. 5309, Hyderabad Museum, Height, 27 cm. Age, c. Late Seventh or Early Eighth century A.D. Photo Copyright and Courtesy of Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 18. Pārsvanātha in kāyotsarga posture, brass or bronze. Bapatla hoard, no. P. 5317, Hyderabad Muscum. Height 18 cms. Age, c. Early Seventh Century A.D. Copyright and Courtesy, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 19. Jina sitting in ardha-paryankāsana, brass or bronze, Bapatla hoard, no. P. 5308, Hyderabad Museum. Height 9 cms. Copyright and Courtesy of Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, Age, c. Seventh Century A.D.
- 20. Inscribed pedestal of a Tirthankara image, brass or bronze. Lingsoor hoard, Department of Archaeology, A. P. State, Hyderabad. Age, c. Sixth-Seventh Century A.D. Photo: U. P. Shah by the kind permission of the Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad State.
- 21. Standing Tirthankara, brass or bronze, Lingsoor Hoard, no. 8719, Department of Archaeology, A.P. State, Hyderabad. Age, c. Eighth Century A.D. Photo Copyright Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 22. Standing Tirthankara with Śri-Vatsa mark on chest. No usntsa. Lingsoor hoard, brass or bronze. No. 8718, Department of Archaeology, A.P. State, Hyderabad. Age, c. Twelfth Century A.D. Copyright and Courtesy, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 23. Headless Jina standing on a pedestal. Rust patination not cleaned. Brass or bronze. Mediconda hoard, Mehboobnagar district, A.P. State, Hyderabad. No. 6633, Hyderabad Museum. Photo U. P. Shah with kind permission of Director of Archaeology, A.P. State, Age, c. Seventh Century A.D.
- 24. Fig. 24 back of above. Photo as above.
- 25. Tirthankara standing on a double-lotus placed on a pedestal, brass or bronze. No. 1335.
 61, The Clevelend Museum of Art, Anonymous loan. Age C. Eighth Gentury A.D. Probably from Karnataka. Photo Copyright and kind courtesy of The Clevelend Museum of Art, Clevelend, U.S.A.

- 26. Standing Tirthankara, brass or bronze, Lingsoor hoard, Department of Archaeology, A.P. State, Hyderabad, Age, early Chola, c. Eighth-Ninth Century A.D. Photo: U. P. Shah by the kind permission of the Director of Archaeology, A.P. State, Hyderabad.
- 27. Big sized standing Tirthankara, brass or bronze, Lingsoor hoard, No. 8723, Department of Archaeology, A.P. State, Hyderabad. Height 53 cms. Age, c. Eighth Century A.D. Ganga Influence. Photo Copyright Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 28. Standing Tirthankara with big head, brass or bronze, Lingsoor hoard, no. 8725, Department of Archaeology, A.P. State. Age. c. Eighth century A.D. Early Chalukyan influence. Photo Copyright Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 29. Standing Tirthankara with broad shoulders and big head, No. P. 5318, Department of Archaeology, A.P. State. Height 23 cms. Early Chalukyan influence. Age, c. Eighth century A.D. or a little earlier. Photo Copyright Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 30. Standing Tirthankara with legs mutilated above knees. Eyes silver inlaid. Rust patination, not cleaned. Findspot not known to us, probably from Karnataka, now in Bangalore Museum, Photo, kind loan of Sheth Kasturbhai Lalbhai. Chalukyan. Age, c. Sixth Century A.D.
- 31. Tirthankara sitting on a big cushion placed on pedestal, brass or bronze. Halo behind head, Face and Eyes retouched later, Age, c. Eighth Century A.D. Mediconda hoard, Hyderabad Museum. Photo U. P. Shah with the kind permission of Director of Archaeology, A.P. State, Hyderabad.
- 32. Standing Tirthankara with legs mutilated, bronze, Mediconda hoard, No. 6631, Hyderabad Museum. Age, c. Eighth century A.D., or earlier. Photo: U. P. Shah with the kind permission of Director of Archaeology, A.P. State, Hyderabad.
- 33. Tri-Tīrthika image of Mahāvīra, bronze or brass, with inscription in Canerese on back. Collection of Shri Bijoy Singh Nahar, Calcutta. Age, c. Ninth or Tenth Century A.D. Photo: Dr. Ernest Bender with kind permission of Shri Nahar.
- 34. Standing Tirthankara from Mannargudi, Taunjavur district, Tamil Nadu. Brass or Bronze, collection of Samantabhadra Vidyālaya, Delhi. Face and Eyes retouched. Early Chola. Age C. Tenth-Eleventh Century A.D. Photo: Copyright U. P. Shah. Photo with kind permission of Samantabhadra Vidyālaya, Delhi.
- 35. Tirthankara in dhyana mudra, ardha-paryankasana, brass or bronze, probably from Sravana Belgola. No. L. 69.24.263. From the Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection, photo Copyright and courtesy of Los Angeles County Museum of Art, U.S.A., Age, C. Ninth Century A.D.
- 36. Standing Jivantasvami, brass or bronze, from a Jaina temple in Jodhpur. Age, c. Eighth century A.D. Photo Copyright, U. P. Shah.
- 36A Inscription on back of fig. II above:—
 ॐ देवधर्मीयं स्वक्तंतिवेसित देवदोण्यां द्रोणशावके न सं ७५६ आव(ण)× शुदि ६ जीयरपुत्रेण ।।
- 36B Inscription on back of fig. 33 Nahar's collection.
- 36C. Inscription on back of fig. 11 from Vasantagadh.
 - 🗱 देवधर्मीयं पक्षत्रावक जीयटपुत्रेण कारितोयं 🗙 🗙 🔀 सं ७२६ स्रावण वदि ६ (१)

- 37. Ambikā, bronze, Jaina temple, Moodabidri, Karnataka. Age, c. Tenth century A.D. Chalukyan. Photo Copyright U. P. Shah
- 38. Ambikā from Nalgora, Sunderbans, W. Bengal, now in National Museum, New Delhi. Brass or bronze. Age, G. Tenth Gentury A.D. Copyright and Courtesy, National Museum, New Delhi.
- 39. Pañca-Tirthika bronze of Ādinātha (in centre). Bronze. Copyright and Courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, U.S.A. Probably Rāstrakūta Age, C. Ninth century A.D.
- Inscribed standing Sarasvati, bronze. Probably from Karūātaka. Style Chalukyan. Age,
 C. Ninth-Tenth Century A.D. Copyright and Courtesy, British Museum, London.
- 41. Detail of a bronze figure of a male and a female standing with a Jina on top under an arch. From Rajnakin Khinkhini, Akola district, now in Nagpur Museum, Age, c. Tenth century A.D. or earlier. Mixed Chalukyan and Rāṣṭrakūṭa influence. Identification of the group uncertain. Photo copyright Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 42. Male and a female standing, bronze, probably from Andhra-Karnataka border region.

 Upper part of bronze lost. Group same as fig. 41. Age, c. Ninth Tenth Century A.D.

 Copyright and courtesy of British Museum, London.
- 43. Standing Tirthankara, bronze, probably from Tamil Nadu. Early Chola, c. Early Twelfth Gentury A.D. Photo Copyright and Courtesy, British Museum, London.
- 44A Standing Tirthankara, brass or bronze. Lingsoor hoard, No. 8717 Department of Archaeology, A.P. State, Height, 26 cms. Age, c. Thirteenth Century A.D. Copyright, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 44B Standing Jina, brass or bronze. Lingsoor hoard, no. 8720, height 25.5 cm. Department of Archaeology. Andhra Pradesh State. Age, c. Thirteenth Century A.D.
- 45. Standing Jina with left arm mutilated, brass or bronze, pedestal lost. Mediconda hoard, Hyderabad Museum. Photo U. P. Shah with the kind permission of Director of Archaeology, A.P. State, Age. c. Twelfth Century A.D.
- Tirthankara in standing posture, brass or bronze, Lingsoor hoard, height 29.5 cms. Age,
 Thirteenth Fourteenth Century A.D. Photo U. P. Shah with kind permission of Director of Archaeology, A.P. State, Hyderabad.
- 47. Standing Tirthankra from Mediconda hoard, bronze. Age c. Twelfth-Thirteenth century
 A.D.
- 47A Note typical ethnic type, detail of fig. 47 photographs U. P. Shah with the kind permission of Director of Archaeology, A.P. State. Bronze now in the Hyderabad Museum, Hyderabad.
- 48. Beautiful standing Tirthankara, bronze, Mediconda hoard, Hyderabad Museum. Telugu-Chola. Age, c. Ninth-Tenth Century A.D. Photo: U. P. Shah. Courtesy, Director of Archaeology, A. P. State.
- 48A. Inscribed standing image of Adi Jina from Tindivaram, Tamil Nadu. Beautiful specimen of Cola art of Twelfth Century A.D., now in Madras Museum, Bronze. Photo U. P. Shah with kind permission of Director, Madras Museum.
- 49. Jina standing in käyotsarga posture. Note stout body. A fine example of Kakatiya bronze, age, c. Twelfth Century A.D. Medicoda hoard, Hyderabad Museum. Photo: U. P. Shah.

- 50. Jina in standing posture, bronze, Mediconda hoard. Note clongated eyes, prominent thick lower lip Treatment of limbs different from fig. 49 above. c. Twelfth century A.D. Photo: U. P. Shah.
- 51. Jina standing on a pedestal, bronze, Mediconda hoard. Hyderabad Museum. Head proportionately small on a siim elongated body. Age, c. Thirteenth Century A.D.
- 52. Standing Tirthankara with left leg broken from the knee. Note the thick rust-patination. Bronze, Lingsoor hoard, Department of Archaeology, A.P. State. Age, c. Tenth century A.D. Photo: U. P. Shah.
- 52A. Side view of 52 above.
- 53. Jina standing, bronze, Lingsoor hoard, No. 8721. Height 23 cms. Note heavier head on a somewhat stunted body. Late Cola. Age, c. Twelfth century A.D. Photo Copyright Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 54. Mahāvīra standing on a double-lotus place on a pītha. Bronze, from Singanikuppam, Tamil Nadu, now in Madras Museum (no. 389/57). Size, 2'.9½ × 9". Photo U. P. Shah with kind permission of Director, Madras Museum. Cola, Age, c. 1100 A.D.
- 55. Jina standing on a double-lotus placed on a pedestal. Bronze, size $9\frac{1}{2}" \times 2\frac{1}{2}"$. From Singanikkuppam, South, Arcot District, Tamil Nadu, now in Madras Government Museum (no. 392/57). Cola, c. Twelfth-Thirteenth Century A.D. Photo: U. P. Shah.
- 56. Tirthańkara sitting in ardha-paryańkāsana on a rectangular pItha. Back seat with makara ends. From behind the seat are shown two beautiful standing cāmaradharas in graceful tribhaṅga. The bronze is noteworthy for excellent workmanship and the very fine devotional expression on the faces of the fly-whisk bearers. From Śivagaṅga in Ramnathpuram district, now in Madras Museum. Copper alloy, Cola with Karnataka influence. Age. c. End of Tenth Century A.D. Photo Copyright Madras Museum.
- 57. Ambikā standing with a child to her right, and a female attend to her left. From Singanikuppam is S. Arcot district, bronze now in Madras Museum. Very fine example of Cola art of Late Twelfth or Early Thirteenth Century A.D. Photo Copyright Madras Museum.
- 58. Standing Tirthankara with right hand mutilated. Rust patination, not cleaned. Bronze. Bangalore Museum. Findspot not known to us, but probably Karnataka. c. Ninth century A.D. Photo kindiy lent by Sheth Kasturbhai Lalbhai.
- 59. Inscribed bronze or brass, from Śravana Belgola. Size $6\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ inscription Ganga period. c. Tenth Century A.D. Photo Copyright, Department of Archaeology, Mysore State. Kind Courtesy of late Dr. Sheshadri.
- 60. Group of bronzes from Jaina Matha, Śravana Belogola. Two bigger ones at the back are inscribed, c. Tenth-Eleventh Century A. D. Ganga. The central bronze in front is a beautiful Rāṣṭrakūṭa bronze of c. Eighth-Ninth Century A.D. and represents Ādinātha whose full cognizance is at the lowermost end of the piṭha. cf. Bronze from Nahar's collection. The small bronze on front right and hails from Western India. Photo Copyright, Department of Archaeology.

- 61. Seated Tirthankara, with a standing Pārsva on the right end and a standing Bāhubali on the left one. Probably from Goorg region, now in Musee Guimet, Paris, France. Copyright and kind courtesy of the Musee Guimet.
- 62. Bronze from Buddhapāda, Andhra State, now in British Museum, London. Brass or Bronze. Note big eyebols of figures. Figure of attendant Yakṣiṇī lost. Age, c. eighth century A.D. Copyright and Courtesy of the British Museum, London.
- 63. Parents of a Jina (?) with eight dwarfish figures (planets?) on pedestal and a Tirthankara on top above the Caitya-tree symbolically represented. Bronze, in the British Museum London. Age, c. ninth-tenth century A.D. of. fig. 41 above. Copyright and Courtesy of the British Museum, London.
- 64. Parsvanātha on a two-tiered pedestal with a male and a female sitting and eight standing dwarfs in front of pedestal. Age, c. Eighth-Ninth Century A.D. Copyright and Courtesy of the British Museum, London.
- 65. Caturvimsati-Patta of a Jina with yakşa and yakşı. Note small round buldging eyes. Probably Andhra-Karnātaka, age, c. Tenth Century A.D. Copyright and Courtesy of British Museum, London.
- 66. Standing Tirthankara with left forearm mutilated, bronze, findspot unknown, now in British Museum, London, Perhaps Andhra-Kamāṭaka, c. Eleventh Century, A.D.
- 67. Ambikā standing under a mango-tree with Neminātha on top, enclosed by a trefoil-shaped ornamental arch. One son riding on lion to right of Ambikā, the second on corresponding left is depicted realistically. A beautiful specimen, probably Rāṣṭrakūṭa, c. Tenth Century A.D., hailing probably from N. Karūāṭaka, border region of Maharashtra, Chedi region etc., perhaps from the region around Kulpaka. Copyright and Courtesy of Clevelend Museum of Art: lent by George P. Bickford.
- 68. Ambikā, Compare the type with fig. 67. Karnātaka probably region around Mysore. Age, c. Tenth Century A.D. Copyright and Courtesy of Los Angles County Museum of Art, U.S.A. from Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck collection.
- 69. Tri-Tirthika bronze with yakşa and yakşī at lower end of pedestal. Age, c. 1000 A.D. One of the best specimens of Jaina bronzes from Western India. Not inscribed. Copyright and Courtesy of Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
- 70. Inscribed image of Śāntinātha from Western India, dated Samvat 1224=1167 A.D. Full parikara, but pedestal and yakṣa, yakṣī mutilated and lost. Solankī art. Copyright and Courtesy of Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
- 71. Brass image of standing Ambikā, composition of figures in this image being after the manner of figures of Ambikā from Kamāṭaka and Maharashtra, dating from c. ninth-tenth century A.D., as in figures 67 and 68. More ornamental than 67-68. Probably hailing from Maharashtra or N. Kamāṭaka. Age, c. Ninth or Tenth Century A.D. Copyright and Courtesy of National Museum, New Delhi.
- 72. Metal lotus figures of Jinas on petals and in the centre, Jina in Samavasaraņa. Dated Samvat 1685=1628 A.D., from Ajitanātha temple, Sirohi. Photo Copyright and Courtesy of Directorate of Public Relations, Rajasthan State, Jaipur.

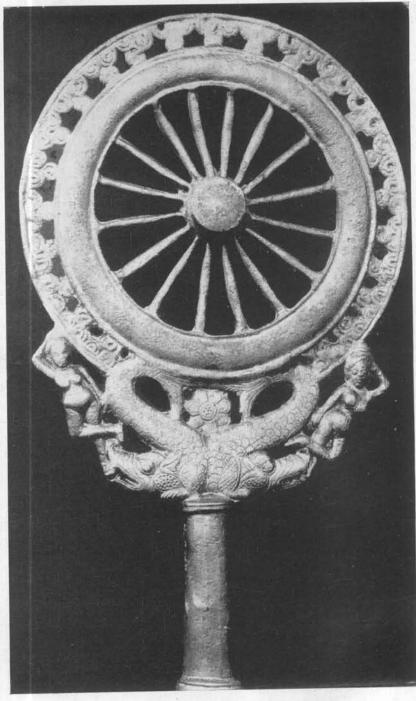
- 73. Śrutaskandha-yantra, popular in Digambara Jaina temples, the five seated figures are supposed to represent the Pañca-Paramesthins, while the standing figure at bottom (not distinct) is probably the śruta-devatā. Practice of representing the Goddess of Learning, Śruta-devatā (Sarasvatī) on such Yantras is known. The various branches emanating from the central stem and all other spaces are inscribed noting the names of Jaina-canons and the extent (in Ganthas or Padas) of each work. From Kāṣṭhāsamgha Mandir, Karanja. Size: height, 21.5 in., base 11 in. Photo Courtesy of Mrs. Sarayu Doshi and the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 74. A Tirthankara in Samvasarana, the Samavasarana being depicted artistically on the halo behind. c. Eighteenth Century A.D. From a Jaina shrine, Śravana Belgola. Photo Copyright U. P. Shah

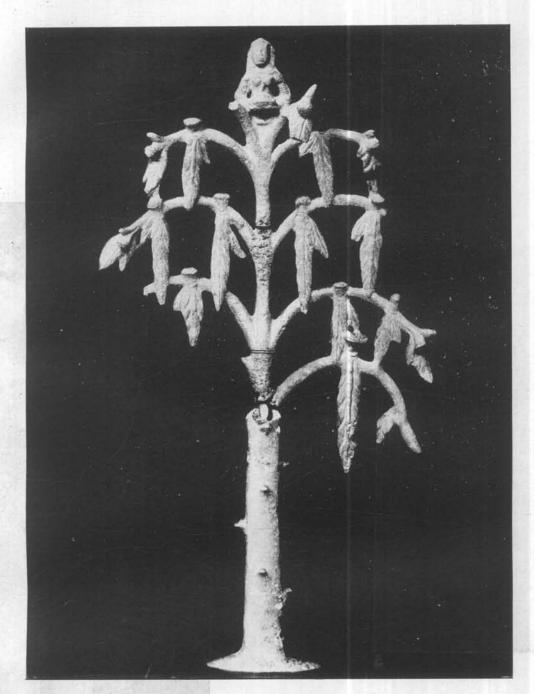




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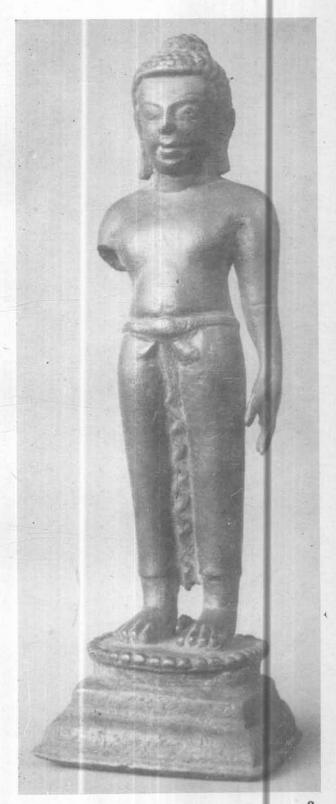




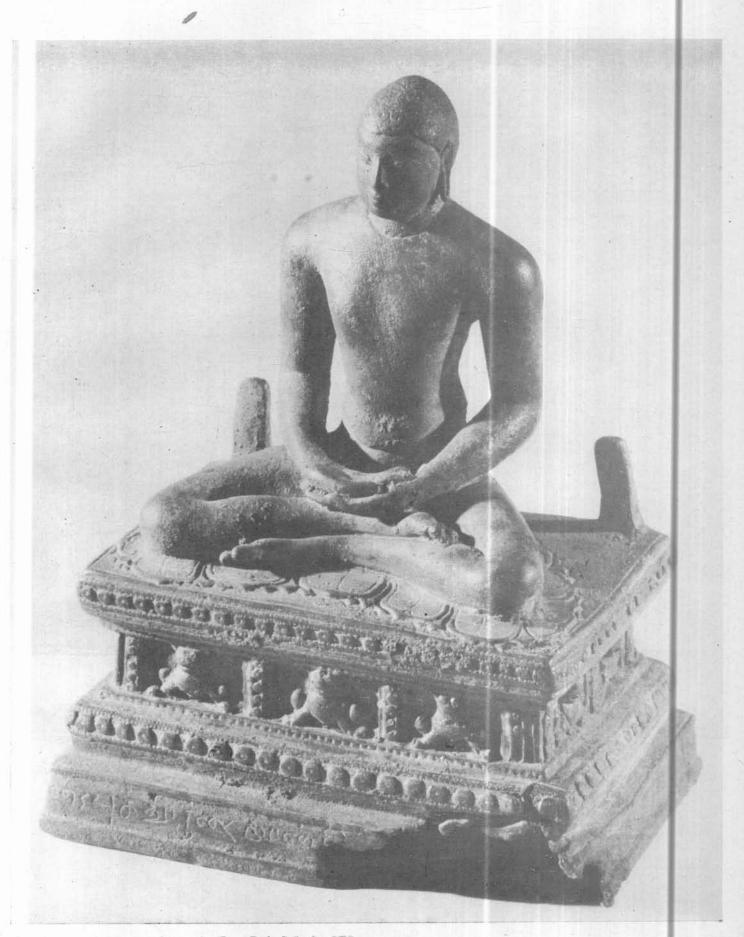








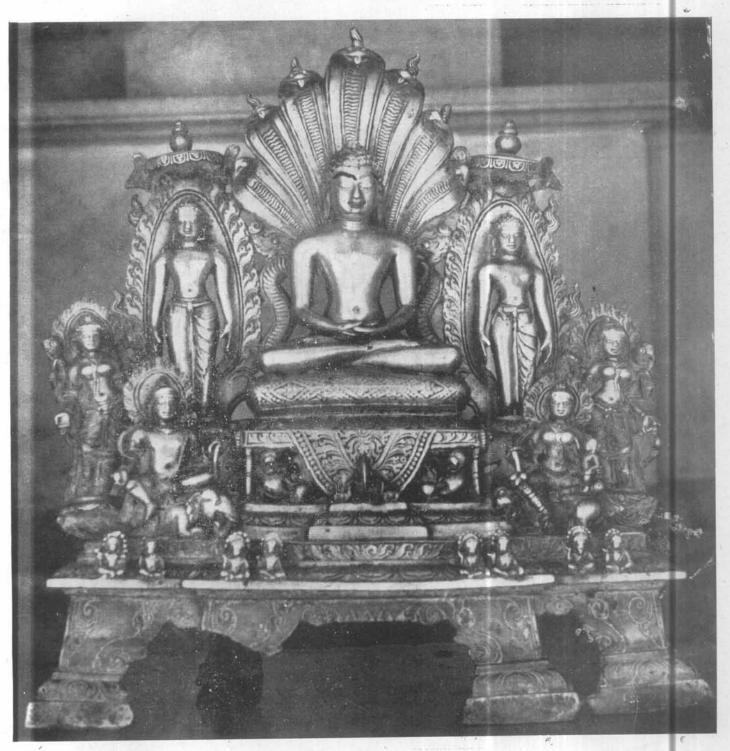






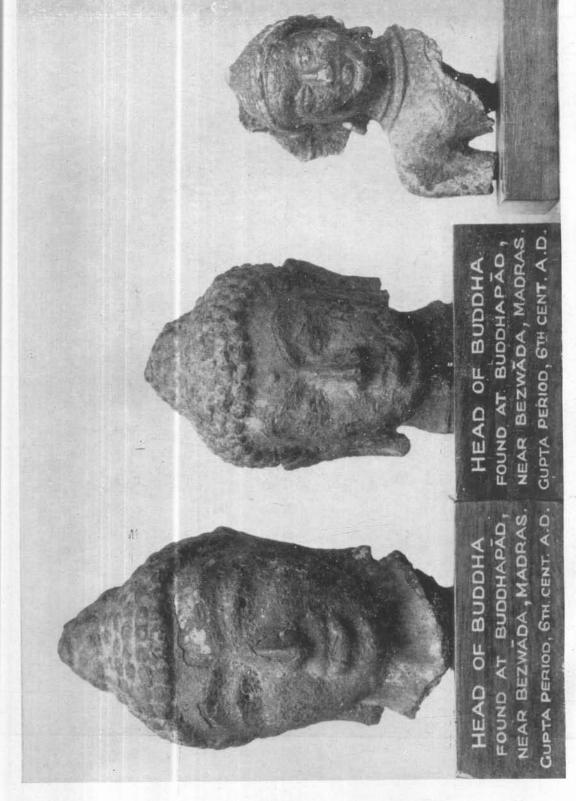








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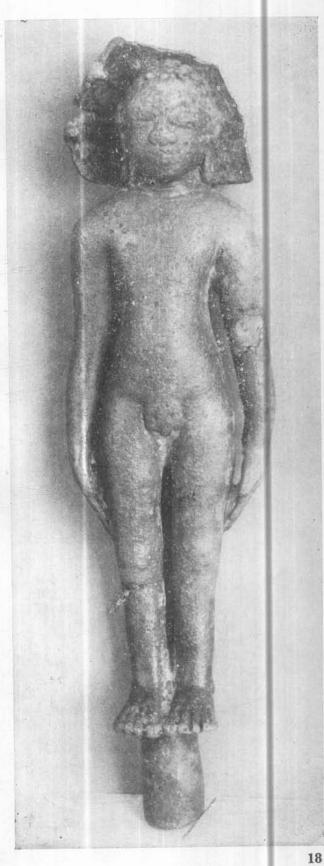


14B





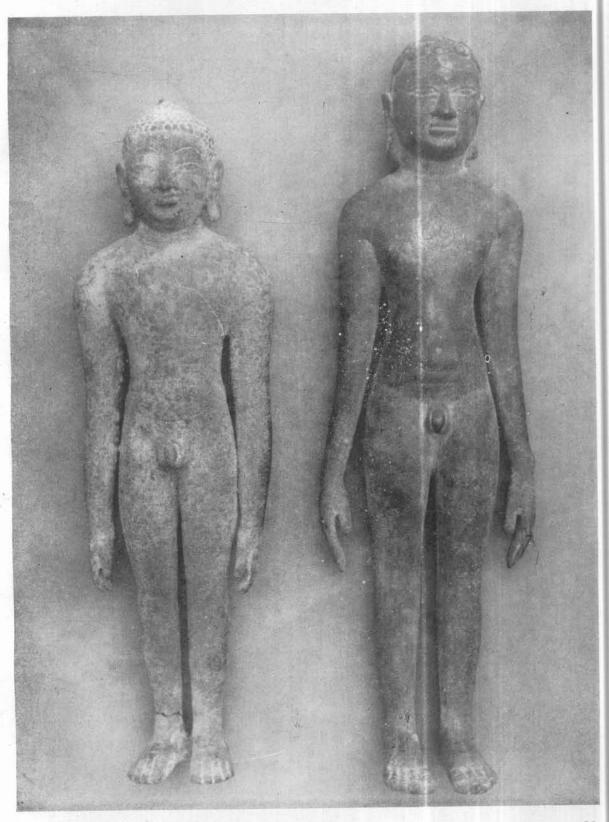


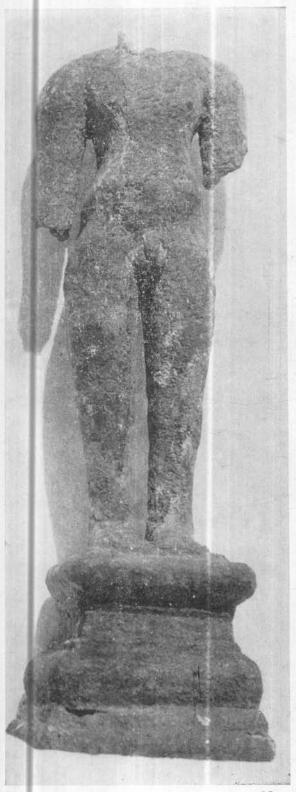


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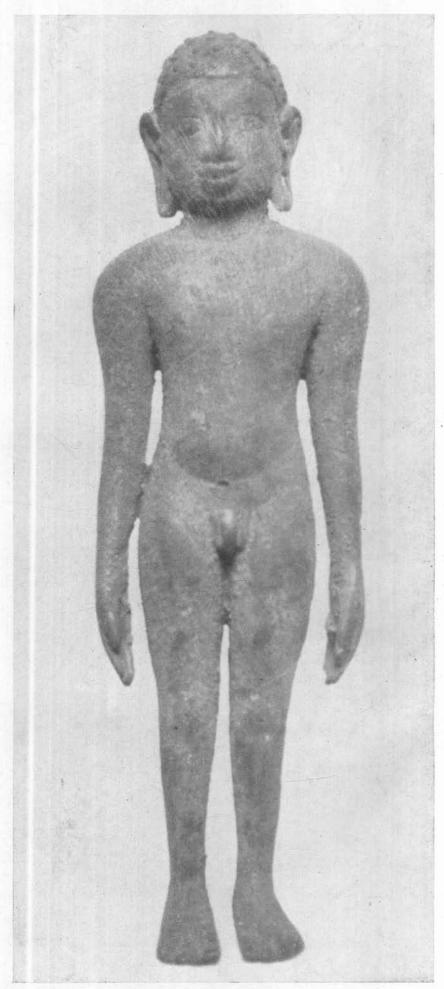


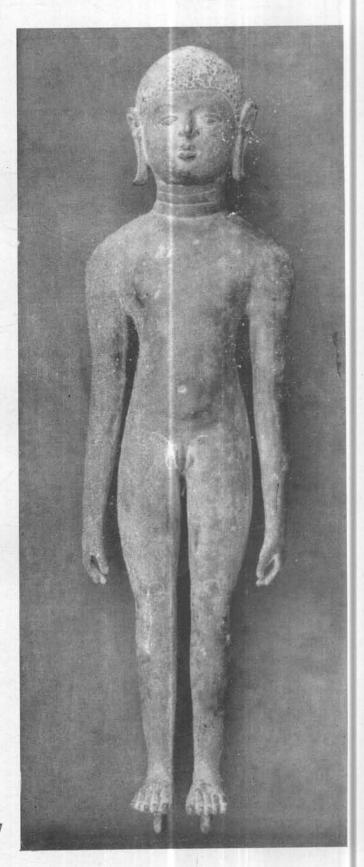






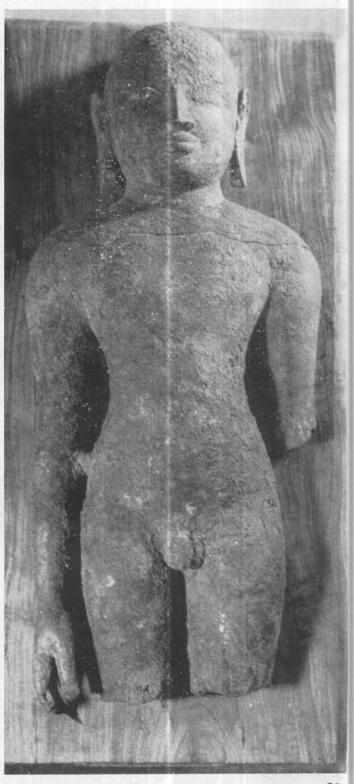




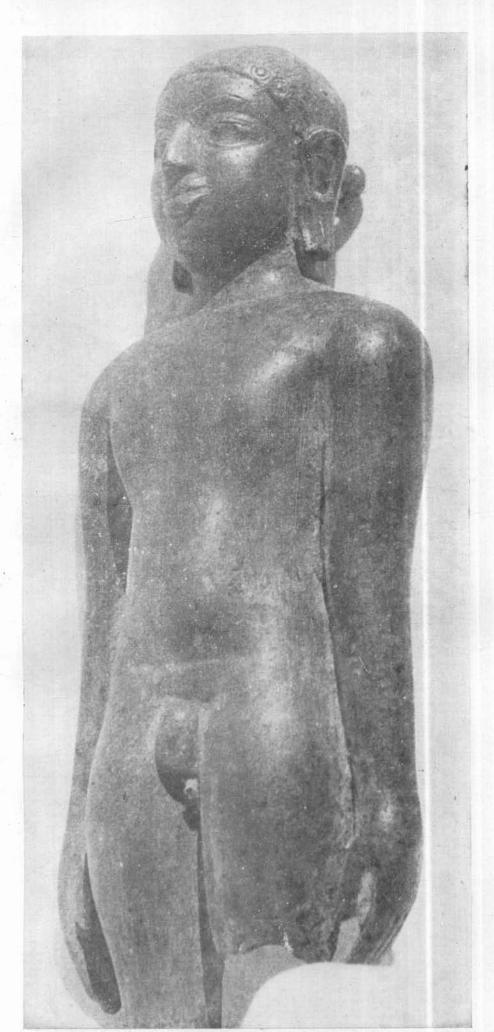




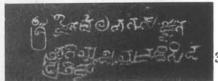


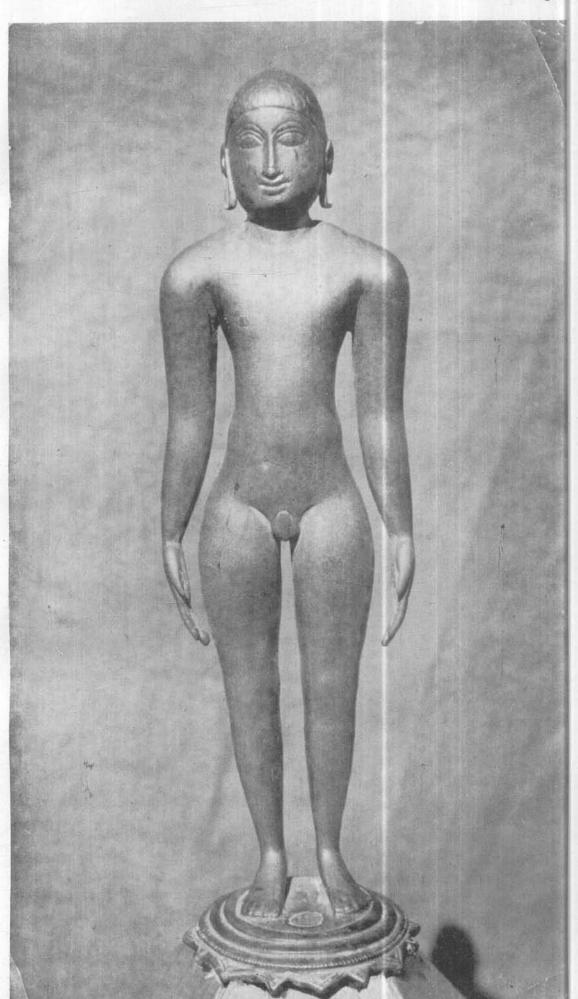


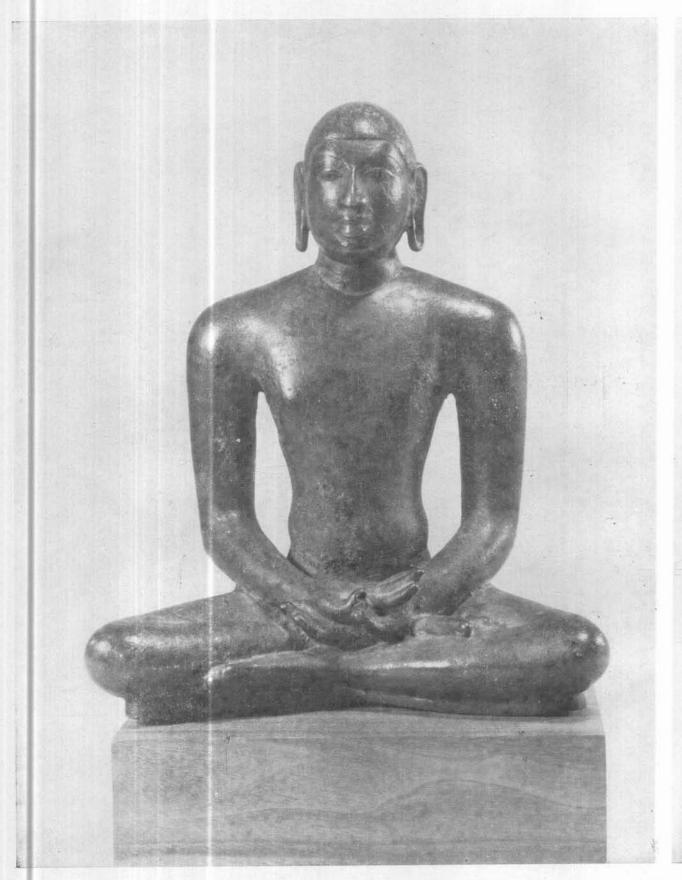


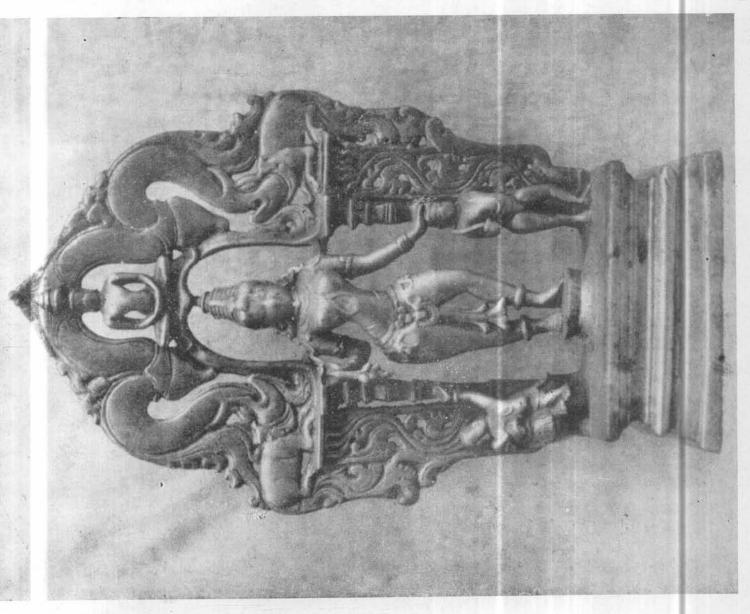


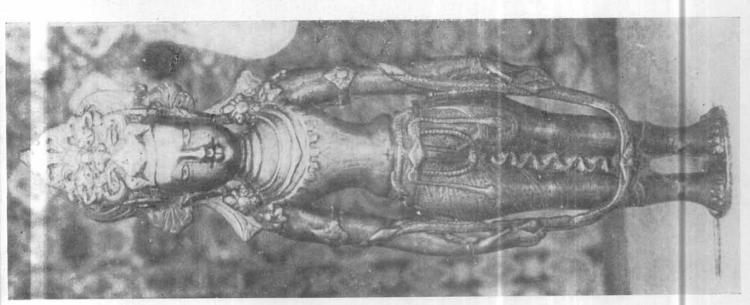


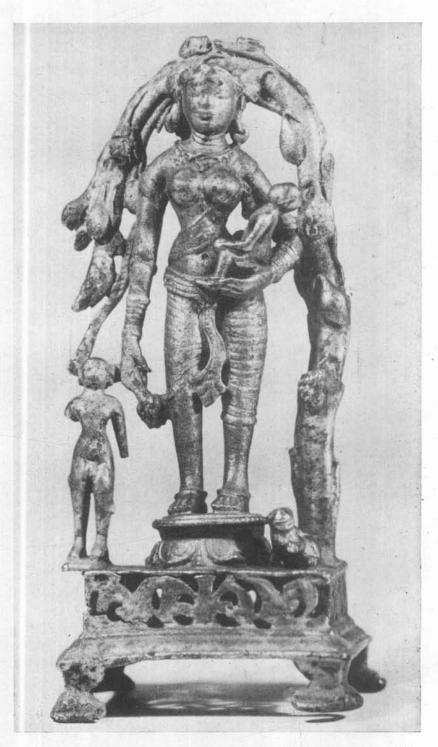










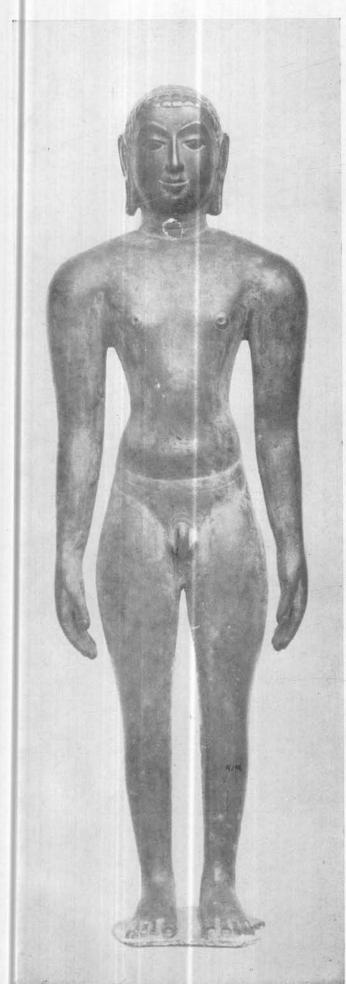










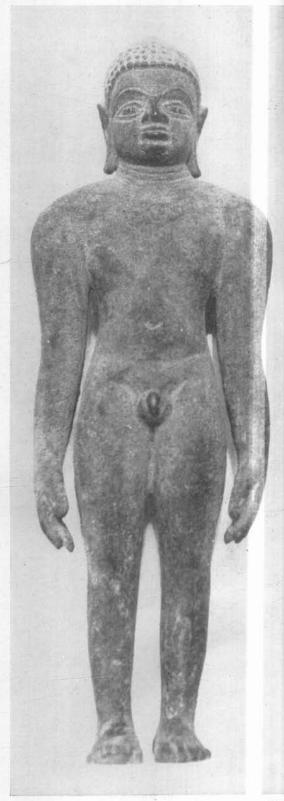




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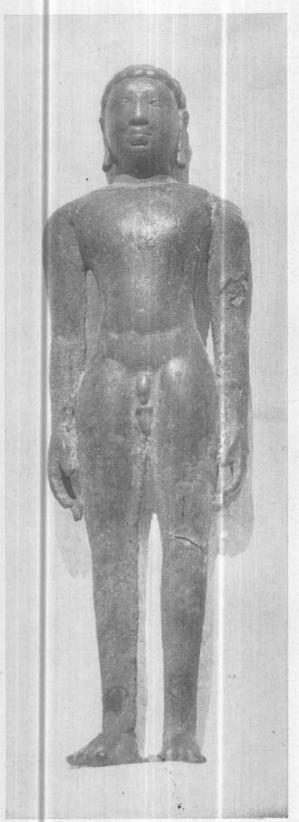


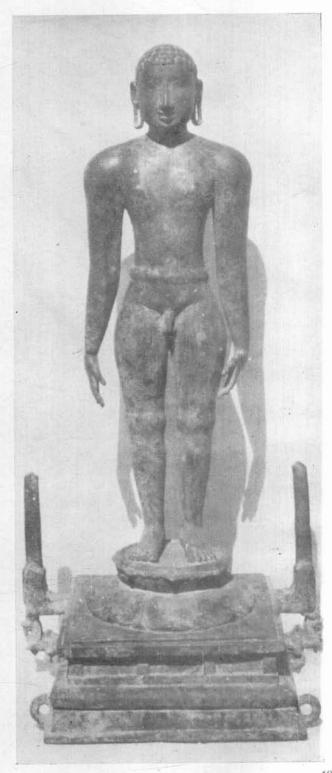






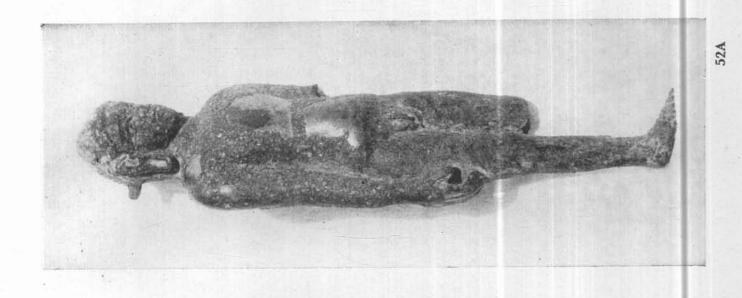
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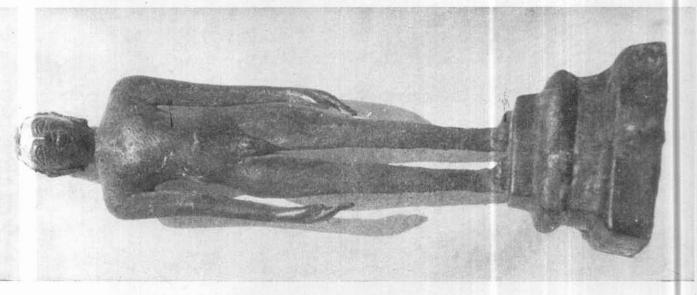


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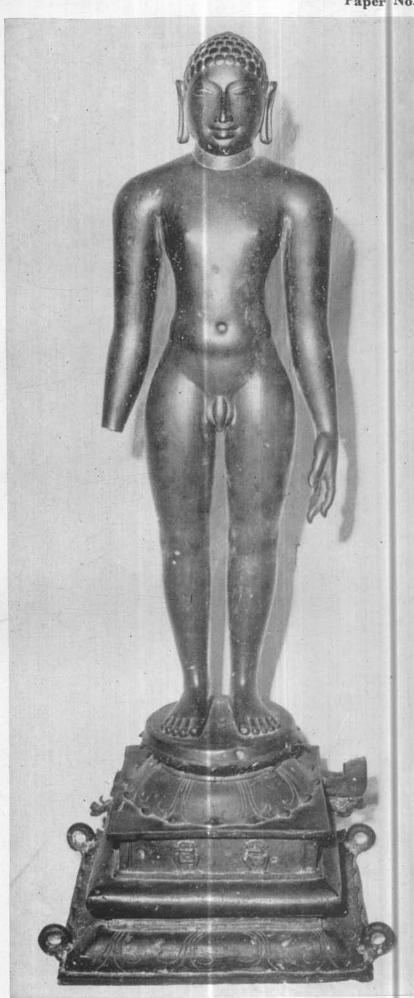










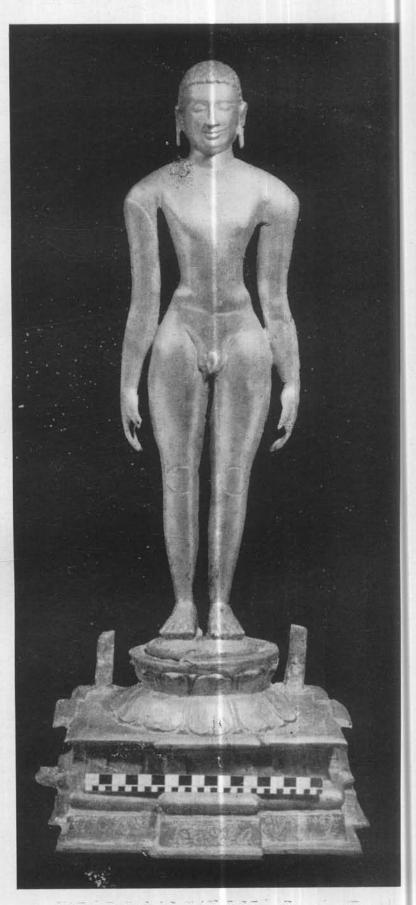


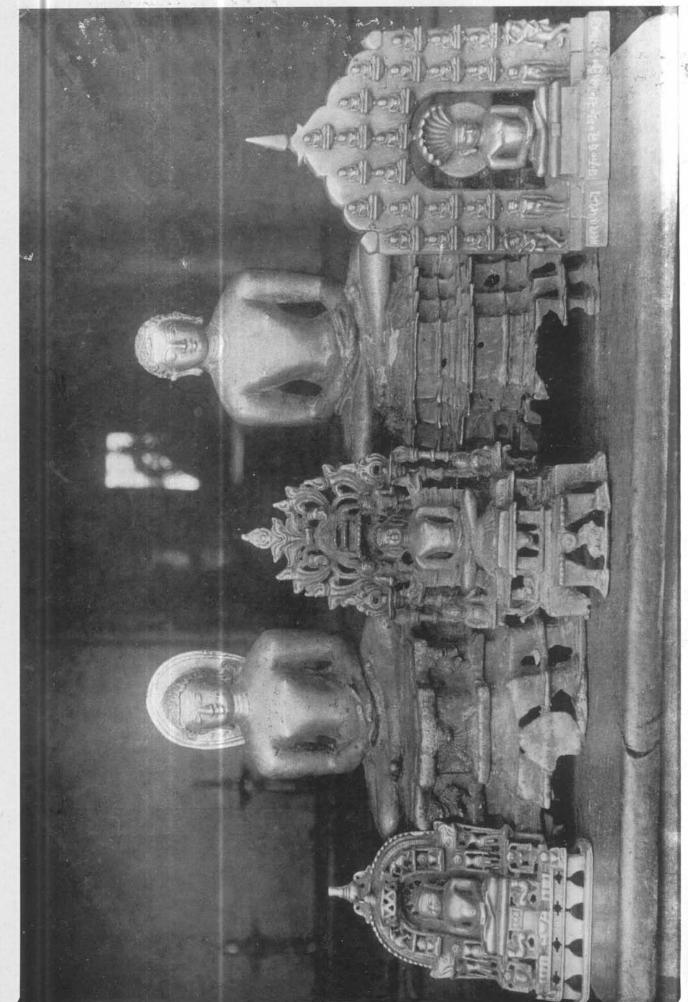








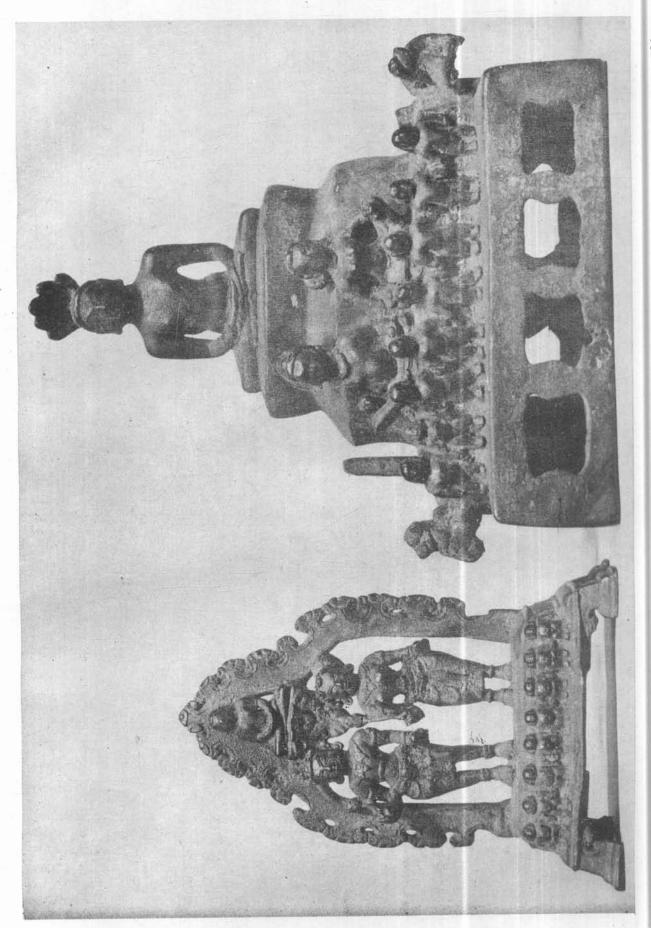


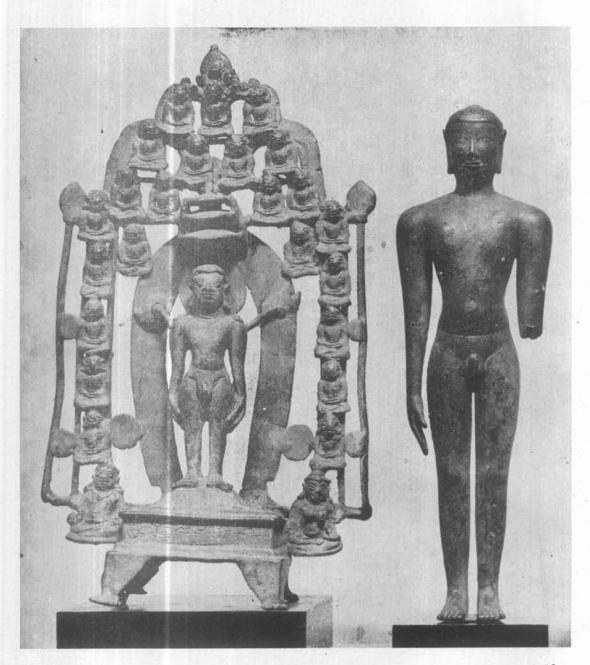








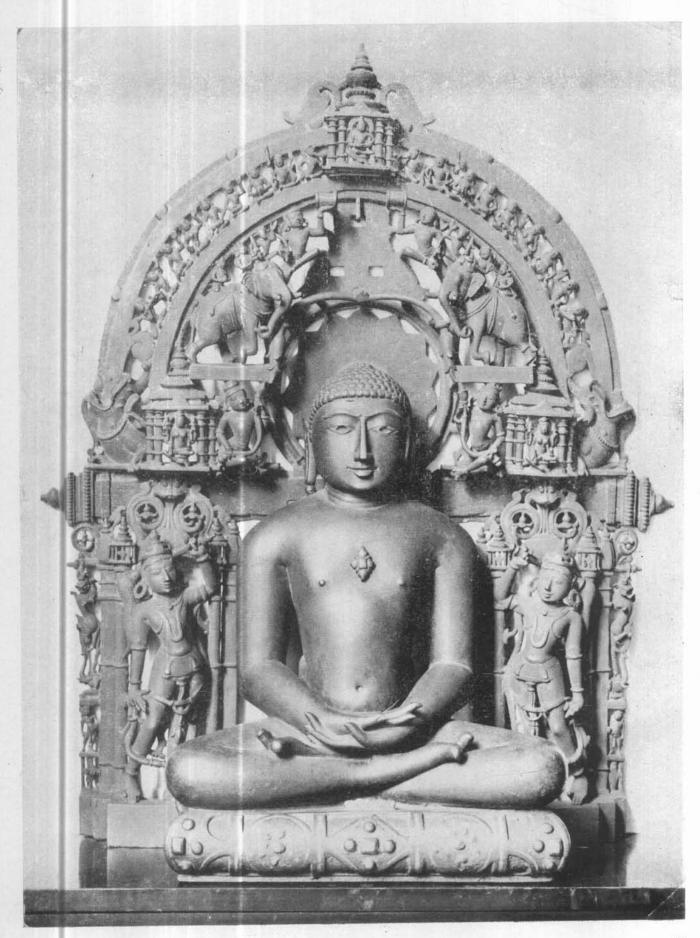




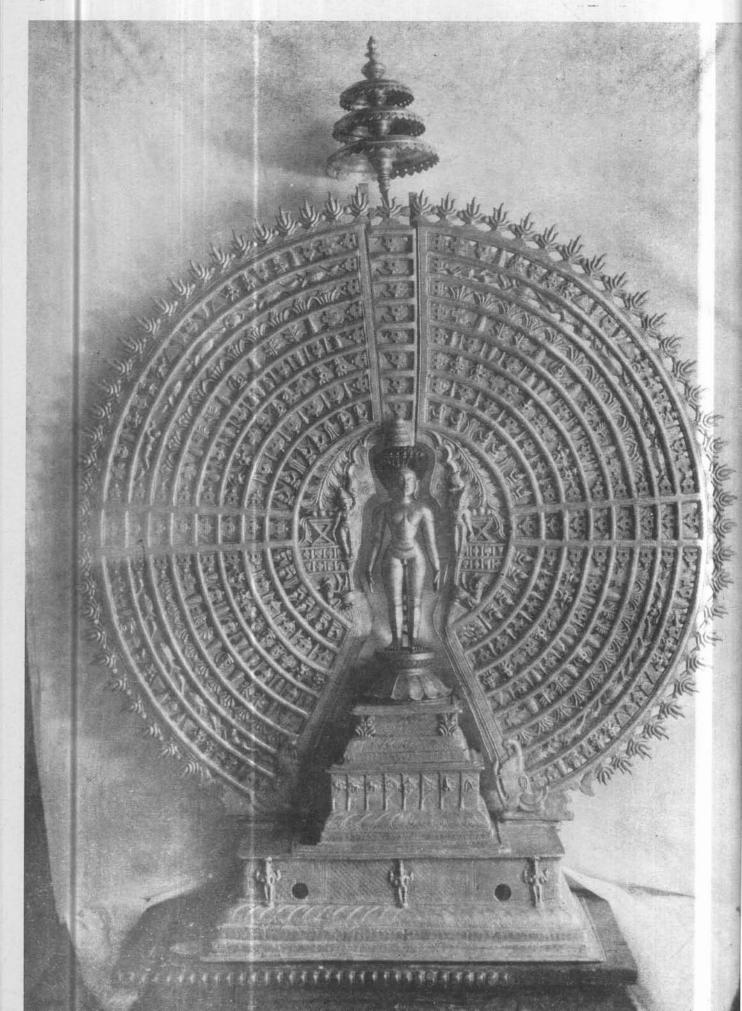


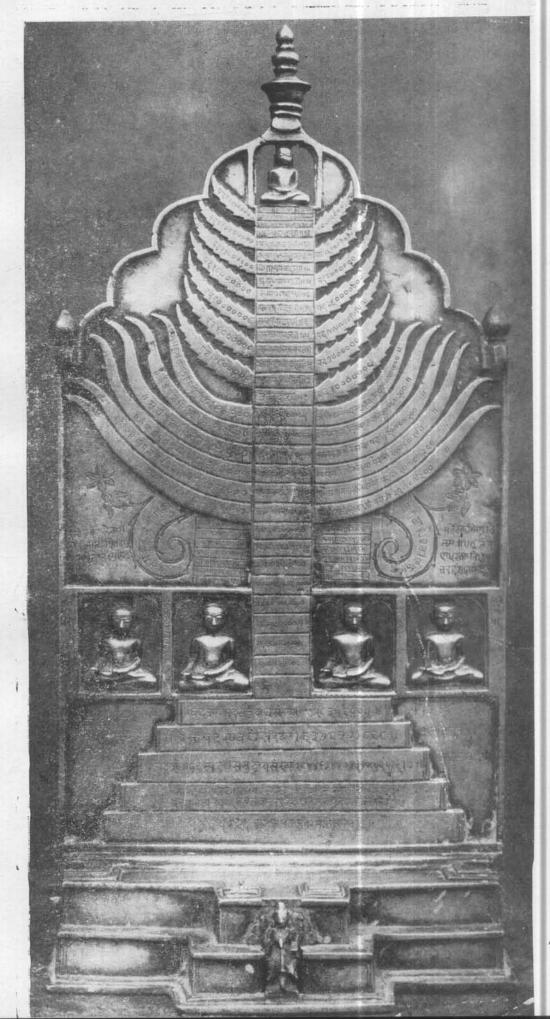














27. THE JAINA TEMPLES OF KUMBHARIA

HARIHAR SINGH

Kumbhāriā called Ārāsaņa in medieval times, is today one of the better known sites of the Jainas. It is situated about fourteen miles south-east of Abu Road and nearly a mile from Ambājī in the Banaskantha district of Gujarat State. The antiquity of Arāsaņa as a Jaina site does not go beyond the medieval period. Dandanāyaka Vimala of Dilwārā was the first Jaina builder associated with Ārāsaņa. From the time of Bhīma deva I onward Ārāsaņa always formed a part of the Solankī empire, and with the erection of Jaina temples it became a holy site for the Jainas who visited it and installed images in the temples there. The Jaina temples there are still under worship.

D. R. Bhandarkar was the first scholar who published a brief account of these temples. Muni Jinavijaya published a list of inscriptions in the temples there. Then the temples were studied by Stella Kramrisch³ and S. K. Saraswati. The next scholar to work upon these temples is M. A. Dhaky who not only dealt with some details but also established their chronology. Brief notices of these temples were taken by Krishna Deva, Jodh Singh Mehta, Mr. K. B. Dave⁸ and K. F. Sompura. An exclusive work on Kumbhāriā temples and their inscriptions was written in Gujarātī by Muni Visālavijaya. Dhaky, subsequently with J. M. Nanavati discussed with illustrations the important ceilings in the Jaina temples there. But all these accounts do not describe the arcitecture in much detail, nor do they dwell on the iconographic material at any length, hence the present paper is written with the view to supplement what has already been said.

According to the late Brāhmanical legends Minister Vimala obtained much wealth by the grace of goddess Ambikā and constructed here 360 temples to Pārsvanātha. There seems absolutely no evidence supporting this legend, and there were and still are only five Jaina temples here, dedicated now to Mahāvīra, Sāntinātha, Pārsvanātha, Nēminātha and Sambhavanātha. The present dedications seem to be arbitrary, for a Tīrthamālā composed by Meha in 1442 A.D. attributes the dedication to Ādinātha, Sāntinātha, Nēminātha, Pārsvanātha and

Mahāvīra.¹³ There is no doubt about the number of Shrines, but in the dedication list the name of Sambhavanātha is replaced by that of Adinātha. It appears that the cult images in all of these shrines were replaced during the revival of worship in the early seventeenth century A.D.

For the determination of the original dedications we have to rely on the inscriptions found in the temples themselves, besides certain characteristics and iconographical data in some cases. According to these there seems no doubt regarding the dedication of the temples of Neminatha, Parsvanatha and Mahavira. But, as we shall later on see, the present temple of Santinatha appears to be originally built to Adinatha. This is apparently indicated by two inscriptions found in the temple, which refer to the shrine as of Adinatha. This is also corroborated by the incongraphic testimony. A ceiling lintel in the trika in front of the gūdhamandapa door contains an image of Cakrēśvarī (the yakṣī of Adinatha), who is depicted facing the sanctuary. In addition to this, there are two large images of Cakrēśvarī and Gomukha (the attendant yakṣa of Adinatha) in one of the side bays of the rangamandapa. Unfortunately the Sambhavanatha temple does not bear any inscription. However it appears that originally it was dedicated to Santinatha.

All built wholly of white marble and facing the north, the five Jaina temples are still standing in a good state of preservation. There have been some repairs, replacements and additions in some cases, but on the whole they still possess much of the older work. All the five temples are nirandhāra-prāsāda-s; they belong to the Śvetāmbara sect.

Mahavīra temple

Chronologically the earliest of these temples is the one dedicated to Mahāvīra (Fig. I.) It stands on a lofty jagatī which is composed of hewn blocks of masonry. The temple consists of a mūlaprāsāda, a gūdhamaṇdapa, having entrances on the front and on sides, a trika a raṅgamaṇdapa surrounded by eight dēvakulikā-s on either side and three niches instead of devakulikā-s on each side of its front, and a balānaka. The temple is entered through a porch from the front, but also from the lateral sides. The front door is approached from the ground by a double flight of steps and opens in the balānaka, while the lateral entrances, coaxially arranged with the gūdhamaṇdapa doors, are reached by a single flight of steps. The passage between the side entrances and the gūdhamandapa doors is roofed by a pillared corridor. The back walls of the niches and devakulikā-s upto their termination at the lateral entrances serve as an outer enclosing wall for the temple, while the remaining part of the jagatī is surrounded by a prākāra (wall proper), ensuring thus complete seclusion.

The mulaprasada (Fig. 2) is built on a tri-anga plan, comprising bhadra, pratiratha and karna, the last one being broken into three planes. Between the anga-s are set up salilantara-s. The karna and the pratiratha are not equilateral, but the latter is treated like a slender pilaster. Its elevation shows pitha, mandovara and sikhara The pitha is rather simple comprising as it is of a bhitta, jādyakumbha, karnikā and pattikā. The mandovara is divided into three sections, namely vedibandha, jangha and varandika. The vedibandha is also simple consisting of a khura, kumbha decorated with half diamonds, kalasa, antarapatra and kapota embellished with caitya-gavākṣa pattern. The jaṅghā, divided into two halves by a kirttimukha-band and also surmounted by a similar band, is plain but for the projecting scupltured niches, now vacant, on the bhadra-s. The varandika shows a narrow pattikā, a karnikā, a cyma recta, a kapota and a ribbed eave-cornice. The sikhara, separated from the mandovara by a recessed fillet, shows a tri-anga mulamanjari marked by seven bhumi-amalaka-s, an urahmanjari on each of the four faces, two singa-s over each karna and one singa over each pratiratha. The anga-s of the sikhara terminates at their apex in a skandha and are crowned above it by a griva, an āmalasāraka, a candrikā, an āmlasārikā, a kalasa and a vijapūraka. Between the singa-s are seen gajamunda-s. At the base of the sikhara on each cardinal point is a rathika containing a padmasana Jina image flanked on each side by a kayotsaraga Jina figure. The figures are preserved only in the western and the southern rathikā-s. The sikhara-s faces are covered with a jāla of caitya-gavākṣa-s. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar is of the opinion that the walls of the shrine are all modern.²⁰ But this is not ture, because the mouldings and their decorative elements are all indicative of the evleventh century temples of Gujarat.

The gudhamandapa, articulated at the frontal karna of the $m\overline{u}lapr\overline{a}s\overline{a}da$, is also tri-anga on plan and shares its $p\overline{i}tha$ and mandovara with the $m\overline{u}lapr\overline{a}s\overline{a}da$. It is roofed by a beautiful samvarana roof studded with seven rows of glutted $k\overline{u}ta$ -s. At its top is the $m\overline{u}laghant\overline{a}$ with a partly preserved kalasa.

The roofs of the rangamandapa, balanaka and devakulika-s are simple and now plastered up.

Compared to the exterior, the interior of this as well as other Jaina temples is much more ornamented. The balānaka, which is partly projecting out from the enclosing wall, is a square pillared mandapa enclosed by a wall made up of perforated stone grilles. It is roofed by a simple plain dome. Bliandarkar opines that it is quite a modern work²¹, but it is well integrated with the rest of the building and the grilles too are old, and thus the original part of the temple. At present it contains a stone slab depicting the Aśvāvabodha-and-samalikāvihāratīrtha. The panel originally belongs to the Neminātha temple and is dated to S. 1338/1282 A.D.²² Half portion of this stall is now found fixed on the south

wall of the mulaprasada of the Neminatha temple. (A similar panel may be seen in the Lunavasahi at Abu.23)

The devakulikā-s, including the niches, are confronted by a colonnaded corridor with a single row of pillars. Each pair of pillars nad pilasters forms a square catușki in front of each devakulika. The pillars are octagonal and plain. The pilasters are outwardly five-faceted and match with the pillars. Each catuski has a plain lantern ceiling comprising three tiers. In front of the door of each devakulikā is an ardhacandra. Their door is of the single sakhā variety, decorated with alternate diamonds and beads. At the lower part of the sakha stands a female figure carrying a water jar. The udumbara shows a square mandaraka containing an inverted crescent with foliage at both ends in the centre and a lotus medallion on its either side. (This was the convention rather of the Maha-gurjara tradition). A padmāsana Jina figure as lalātabimba. Two devakulikā-s on the east side, however, have a doorframe of the dvi-sākhā type, consisting of a patrasākhā, carved with floral scrolls and a sakha having usual carvings of diamonds and beads; its udumbara shows diamonds on the mandaraka and the two sides; and the female pitcher-bearer on the lower part of the jamb is accompanied on the outer side by a male standing with folded hands. The devakulikas are dedicated to Tirthankaras, . the images of whom have in most cases disappeared. Some of the pithikas on which the images are installed have inscriptions with the date later than the temple. This indicates that the enshrined images were subsequently installed therein. The devakulikas are crowned towards the rangamandapa by corrugated awning. The devakulikā-s, the niches and the balānaka are built on a common platform, the floor of which has almost the same level as the pitha of the mulaprasada and its two adjoining mandapa-s. The exterior wall of each devakulika is five-faceted and carries almost similar mouldings as we find on the mulaprasada.

By descending three steps applied all around the corridor platform, we reach the floor of the rangamandapa which is laid out directly on the jagatificor. It consists of ten beautifully carved pillars arranged in a square central nave and side aisles. Six of these pillars along with two pillars of the trika form an octagon and support a shallow but splendid domical ceiling on an octagonal frame of architraves. Eight of these pillars are of the octagonal type and two of the square type. The square pillars, with corners chamfered into three facets, have a moulded pedestal support. Their base has khura, kumbha with niched goddesses in lalitāsana on the four faces, kalasa, antarapatra and minor kapota. The shaft is square at the base showing framed figures of two or four-armed dancers, musicians and pratihāra-s. This is followed by an octagonal section having eight figures of female dancers, a sixteen-sided section and finally a round section clasped by a band of chain-and-bell device and a band of kīrtti-mukha-s emitting chains that are secured by a band of diamonds and beads,

The capital has a round bharani of an arris and a cyma recta and a five-armed double roll bracket. The octagonal pillars (Fig. 3) are similar to the square ones, but the kumbha of the base is carved with half diamonds and the shaft is octagonal at the bottom, sixteen-sided in the middle and round at the top, the last section alone showing the carvings that include in addition to those seen on the square pillars, a band of gandharva-s. Moreover, the corner pillars are crowned by four-armed brackets. The architraves have two fascial, the lower showing lotus scrolls that issue from the mouth of a kirttimukha carved in the centre, and the upper the carved diamonds. In the centre of their underside is carved a lotus medallion with two rows of incurved petals. Between the central pair of pillars on each side was originally thrown a torana-arch of the cusp-tilaka variety, which is still intact in one instance (Fig. 3).

The domical ceiling of the rangamandapa (Fig. 4) is of the sabhāmandāraka order and is introduced from each pillar of the octagon by a square bracket bearing on its face a sculpture of goddess in lalitasana. It is composed of eight diminishing concentric rings and culminates in a padmasila. The bottom ring of the dome is decorated with kirttimukha-s. The next is a kanadardarika. Then follow a rupakantha containing niched goddesses in lalitasana and a Gajalaksmi at each cardinal point, a gajatālu, a mono-kola with kīrttimukha-s on the vajrasriga-s and vidyādhara-s on the gagāraka-s, and three consecutive courses of seven-fold köla. Projecting from the $r\bar{u}$ pakantha are sixteen bracket figures, fourteen of which are occupied by four-armed vidyādhara-s and two by Naigamesin. The padmasila, rendered on the principle of harmonial regression, is composed of four oversailing courses of twenty, twelve, eight and quatre-foil kola with intervening reverse-gajatālus in between, and at its termination is a padmake's ara elasped by two rows of petals. At each corner of the ceiling is carved in high relief a bold kīrttimukha. The side aisles have each seven rectangular bays supported by the rangamandapa and the trika pillars on the one end and squat pilasters placed right above the devakulika pillars on the other. The space between the squat pilasters of the devakulika-s is filled with horizontal slabs decorated with a band of diamonds and a band of saw-edge pattern. The architraves are plain, except for a kīrttimukha in the centre of the lower fascia and a lotus medallion in low relief on the underside. The bays contain samatala vitana-s skilfully relieved with narratives, gods and goddesses, and figures in boxes. The narratives pertain to pancakalvanaka scene, the bhavantara-s of Tirthankara-s parents of twenty-four past, present and future Tirthankara-s, Ācāryā-s with disciples, ācārya-s giving religious discourses in front of the caturvidhasangha, etc. The carver of these narratives has also recorded legends below each scene. The nave of the rangamandapa towards the front is connected with balanaka by three bays possessing uncarved ceilings,

The trika consists of four catuski-s, three extending east-west across the axial line and one in the centre projecting into the rangamandapa. It is reached from

the rangamandapa by a flight of five steps accommodated in the central projecting bay. Below the stair is an ardhacandra. The pitha of the trika is moulded showing two bhittas, a jādyakumbha, a karņikā, an antrarapatra, a short kapota and a grāsapattī. The pitha of the central catuski, however, is treated like a balustrade which comprises a bhitta, rajasenaka decorated with diamond-and-double volute pattern, vedika and asanapatta carved with kirttimukh-s and rooflets. The vedika is divided into upright posts alternating with countersunk slabs. The posts are decorated with kirttimukha-s, lotus, twine pattern and ghatapallava, while the slabs show scrolls and wish fulfilling creepers. Each balustrade also has two projecting niches containing four-armed images of goddesses in lalitāsana; of these Ambikā and Sarasvatī could be identified. Its eight pillars, six octagonal and two square, are very similar to those of the rangamandapa, but the pedestal is absent here, and the shaft of the square pillars shows four-armed standing goddesses (mostly vidyadevi-s) on the square, eight four-armed goddesses in lalitasana on the octagonal and sixteen two-armed goddesses in lalitasana on the sixteen-sided section. The architraves depict diamonds, lotus scrolls, creepers, circular plaques in volutes, lotus scrolls with geese and friezes including fourteen auspicious objects and subjects dreamt by Jina's mother during conception, dancers, musicians, mālādhara-s, etc. The five-faceted two pilasters flanking the door of the gudhamandapa are very ornamental. Their base and capital are similar to those of the octagonal pillars, but the shaft shows a female musician at below and three successive male dancers above on the central facet, and bakulamālā and a strip of lotus petals on the two side facets. But the most noticeable feature of the trika are its ceilings, some of which are the handsomest in all India. The ceiling just near the gudhamandapa door is a kṣipta one belonging to nābhicchanda order (Fig. 5) The one built over the stairway is a ksiptotksipta ceiling of the padmanabha variety. The ceilings on either side of the last one, forming a part of the rangamandapa, are of alike nature, each an instance of the utksipta ceiling of the mandaraka class. The remaining two ceilings are also similar to each other and belong to the nabhicchanda order.25 (Fig. 6) Some of these ceilings are comparable with those found in the Vimalavasahi and Lunavasahi, Abu.

The trika also contains two khattaka-s, one each built against the wall of the gūdhamandapa and flanking on either side of its entrance. Each khattaka, now vacant but for the parikara, has a three-faceted moulded pedestal and is surmounted by a two-course udgama pediment. In front of the khattaka is a beautiful torana-arch of the scalloped type interposed between the pillars.

The northern door of the $g\bar{u}dhamandapa$ is ornate. It belongs to the panca- $s\bar{a}kh\bar{a}$ variety and has an ardhacandra in its front. The udumbara has a round
projecting mand \bar{u} raka represented with stemmed lotus in the centre, a projecting $k\bar{u}$ rttimukha on each side of it, and a sculptured niche on either extremity. The

niche shelters Sarvanubhūti on proper right and Ambika on proper left. The jambs pertain to patrasākhā, rūpasākhā, rūpastambha; rūpasākhā and bāhyasākhā. The last of these is decorated with a band of creepers and a band of diamonds and beads. The rupastambha shows images of three goddesses in lalitasana with female attendants appearing in the rūpasakha, and is surmounted on the uttaranga proper by a round capital with drooping foliage. The lower part of the jambs is occupied by a goddess standing in tri-bhanga posture and accompanied on each side by a female camara-dhara. The goddess on proper right is Acchupta, while that on proper left is Vairotya. The uttaranga continues the decoration of the patrasākhā, but in addition it shows a strip of mālādhara-s and a panel of sculptured niches. The side niches are occupied by gooddesses, in lalitasana, while the central one shows a figure of Jina's mother sitting in padmasana with the child Tirthankara on lap. To her right is standing Naigamesin with the child Tirthankara, and to her left is a gana. On the lalata is depicted a fourarmed male divinity standing in pratyālidha posture and carrying vajra and ankuša in the upper two hands, and varadamudrā and fruit in the lower ones.

The interior of the gūdhāmaṇdapa is square on plan, having its wall reinforced by eight pilasters. The pilasters are so arranged as to form an octagon and support a domical ceiling of the sabhāmārga type on an octagonal frame of architraves. Except for the dome the interior is plain. The dome is composed of seven circular courses. The first is a karṇadardarikā. The second is decorated with kīrittimukha-s and sustains eight brackets of vidyādhara-s. The third is a cyma recta carved with lotus petals. The fourth and the fifth are gajatālu. The sixth is an eight-foil kōla and the seventh a quatrefoil kōla scooped out with a circular one. On each side of south wall is a large saparikara image of a kāyotsarga Jina, Sāntinātha being on proper right and Ajitanātha on proper left, both inscribed in S. 1118/1062 A.D.²⁶

The door of the garbhagraha (Fig. 7) is of the tri-sākhā type, comprising patrasākhā, plain stambhasākhā and bāhyasākhā decorated with lotus petals. At the lower part of the jambs is a kāyotsarga Jina stanked on each side by a semale carrying a pitcher or having her hand raised in adoration. The udumbara is like that seen in the northern door of the gūdhamandapa, but the niche on either extremity shows rosettes. The uttaranga has a padmāsana Jina on the lalāta as well as on either end, and the space between them is filled with a row of mālādhara-s and six niches containing images in lalitāsana of Sarasvatī, Cakrēsvarī, Vajrānkusī, Vairotyā (?), Ambikā and Vajrasrnkhalā. Inside the garbhagraha is a padmāsana image of Tīrthankara Mahāvīra consecrated in S. 1675/1618 A.D.²⁷

In the courtyard near the eastern opening is a small chapel with samvaranā roof. It accommodates a solid masonry representing the samavasarana.

J.S.-39

The inscription on the pedestal of the cult image is dated to S. 1118/1061 A.D.²⁸, so also is the date of the two standing Jina-s in the gudhamandapa. The architecture of the temple agrees with this date.

Santinatha temple

The Mahāvīra temple is closely followed by the temple of Sāntinātha which is a complete Caturvinsati Jinālaya. The plan and the general arrangement of this temple are similar to the Mahāvīra temple, but the balānaka is absent here and the niches on the front of the rangamandapa are eight in number and are screened by a double arcade of pillars. The eastern entrance of the temple has been closed and its porch removed now; the normal entry to the temple is to be found either from the west or north. Though smaller in size, it shows some advancement on the former temple.

The walls of the mulaprāsāda have suffered from restoration and the niches on the janghā containing images of padmāsana Jinas are all modern. It is also built on a tri-anga plan, but the salilāntara-s are conspicuous by their absence. Its pītha and mandovora are similar to those of the Mahāvīra temple, but the kīrttimukha-band is replaced by a plain paṭṭikā, and the varandikā consists of two kapōta-s and a ribbed eave-cornice. The sikhara is (Fig. 8) is accentuated as it is marked by seven bhūmi-āmalaka-s. The rathikā-s at the base of the sikhara contain images of goddesses in lalitāsana of which Ambikā and Cakrēvarī are identifiable, and show tavanga-s in the incipient form on their two sides. The gūdhamandapa is built on a dvi-anga plan, cosisting of bhadra and karna, and its samvarnā is poor in workmanship.

The rangamandapa consists of only eight pillars disposed along the three sides of the nave, while its fourth (rear) side is shared by the trika. The pillars (Fig. 9) are equally ornamented, but the pedestal is absent here, and in order to raise the dome they are provided with ucchālaka-s. A torana-arch of the cusp-tilaka variety is also preserved here. The domical ceiling (Fig. 10) here also is composed of eight courses carved, from bottom to top, with rūpakantha, karnadardarikā, diamond-band, gajatālu, mono-kola, again mono-kola, four-fold kola, once again four-fold kola. The Padmasila is made of only three courses of kolas and its long padmakisara is elapsed by a band of dancers and musicians and terminated in a mukuli. Each of the sixteen projecting brackets is occupied by a vidyādhara and surmounted by a square block carved with a goddess in lalitasana. The dome has projections on the two sides, the intrados of which is delicately relieved with elegant winding creepers. The side aisles of the rangamandapa continue the narrative scenes (Fig. 11) and figures in boxes, but their execution is inferior to those of the Mahavira temple. In one ceiling of the side aisles in the east wing is also depicted a set of sixteen four-armed vidyadevi-s in lalitasana. This

is the earliest representation of the complete set of vidyadevi-s encountered in the Jaina temples of Gujarat.

The single- $s\bar{a}kh\bar{a}$ door of the $d\bar{c}vakulik\bar{a}$ -s at times is decorated with scrolls. The female pitcher-bearer on the lower part of the jamb is flanked on the outer side by a male figure standing with folded hands. We also find such a representation of the male figure in the $dvi-s\bar{a}kh\bar{a}$ dooframe of the Mah $\bar{a}v\bar{i}$ ra temple. In some $devakulik\bar{a}$ -s the enshrined images have disappeared.

The trika rectangular on plan, is divided into six catuski-s and is equally ornate with regard to the treatment of its pitha, pillars, pillars, pillars, and ceilings. The whole of the front of the pitha is treated like a balustrade (Fig. 12) The two niches of the balustrade, flanking on each side of the stairway, shelter Sarvanubhūti and Acchupta on the one side, and Yaksa Brahmasanti and an unidentified goddess on the other. All the four pillars of the front row are ornate and belong to the square type. The two five-faceted pilasters are lavishly carved. Their base and capital are like those of the square pillars, but the shaft shows images of goddesses, namely Acchuptā, Mahākālī, Vajrānkuśī and Mahāmānasī on proper right, and Vairotya, Vajrasrnkhalā, Kālī and Prajñaptī on proper left. The slots left in the centre of the architraves placed across the front row of pillars were originally intended for torana-arches. The two central catuski-s contain each an utksipta vitana of the true mandaraka type, for the kola-s are made pointed (Fig. 13). The remaining four ceilings belong to the nabhimandaraka order. The ceilings show some decorative motifs such as a band of geese, a row of incipient tavanga-s and a strip of ardhapadma pattern, which appear for the first time in this temple and become popular representations in the later temples. An important feature of these temples is the depiction of kinnar-rugma-s, two elephants lustrating a lotus plant, goddesses and $dikp\bar{a}la$ -s at the corners. As regards the two khattaka-s, they have a five-faceted noulded pedestal and are crowned by a bell-roof.

The northern door of the $g\bar{u}dhamandapa$ is of the $dvis\bar{a}kh\bar{a}$ variety. There is nothing new in the udumbara. The jambs consist of a $patras\bar{a}kh\bar{a}$ decorated with lotus scrolls and a $s\bar{a}kh\bar{a}$ ornamented with creepers. At the lower part of the jambs stands a female carrying a water jar. The uttaranga continues the decorative strips of the jambs, but above them shows astamangala (eight auspicious Jaina symbols), which rather are a rare depiction on the door of the Jaina temples of Gujarat. A padmasana Jina is depicted as the lalatabimba. The dome of the $g\bar{u}dhamandapa$ is composed of six courses, the first four being cyma recta incised with lotus petals, and the last three the eight-foil, the quatrefoil and the circular $k\bar{o}la$ respectively.

The single sakha door of the garbhagtha shows incisions of creepers and is flanked by a strip carved with lotus petals and a band of diamonds and beads.

At the lower end of the jamb stands the river goddess Gangā on proper right and Yamunā on proper left, both carrying a water jar. The udumbara has a square mandāraka with stemmed lotus in an inverted crescent in the centre, a female bearing water pot and a kīrttimukha on its two sides, and two females with one of their hands held in adoration on either end. On the lalāta is represented a padmāsana Jina image. Inside the garbhagraha is installed a padmāsana image of Sāntinātha seated on a pedestal which bears an inscription dated S. 1314.29 and attributing it to the temple of Mahāvīra. It appears that originally this pedestal belonged to one of the devakulikā-s of the Mahāvīra temple and was brought here by mistake during repairs.292 In the south-east corner of the courtyard is a small chapel sheltering a caturmukha Aṣṭāpada, with an inscription of S. 1266/1210 A.D.30

The temple is generally assigned to 1082 A.D., a date found in most of the inscriptions hailing from this temple. Five of such inscriptions are engraved even on the cornices of the \$d\bar{e}vakulik\bar{a}\$-s\$. But the temple also possesses three inscriptions the date of which is earlier than 1082 A.D. One is dated S. 1087/1031 A.D.³¹ and the other two are dated S. 1110/1054 A.D.³² These are the earliest inscriptions at Kumbh\bar{a}\$\bar{a}\$\bar{a}\$ and are indicative of the existence of a Jaina temple there. Dhaky has reasonably suggested that the present temple was built on an extensive scale by removing the old one built to Rsabhadeva by Vimala. He also recognises the older remains in the garbhagtha doorway.³³

Parsvanatha temple

Next in sequence comes the temple of Pārsvanātha which is slightly larger than the temples of Mahāvīra and Sāntināth. On plan it closely follows the Mahāvīra temple, but in place of a balānaka it has a nālamandapa built over a stairway that leads from the ground through a porch and opens in the rangamandapa. Besides, it has nine devakulikā-s on either side; the six niches on the front are converted into devakulikā-s. and the lateral entrance is to be found only on the west side. Bhandarkar has suggested that a doorway also existed on the east side³⁴, but now no trace of it is found there.

Of the tri-anga mūlaprāsāda and the dvi-anga gūdhamandapa only the pītha and the mandovara seem to be original, but they too have suffered from restorations. The arrangement of buttresses and mouldings of these compartments are similar to those of the Sāntinātha temple, but the varandikā here consists of only one kapāta and a ribbed eave-cornice. The nālamandapa is enclosed by a balustrade which consists of a rā jasenaka, a vedikā, an āsanapatta and a kakṣāsana. The rā jasenaka and the vedikā are similar to those seen in the balustraded pītha of the trika of the earlier shrines, with some minor differences in the decoration of the vedikā The āsanapatta is decorated with diamonds. The kakṣāsana is divided into three

horizontal belts, the lower showing flamboyant design, the middle the lion, kinnara-couple, mithuna-couple, mālādhara, musician, peacock, monkey, kīrttimukha, elephant goose, etc., in roundels between segmented pilasters, and the upper the floral scrolls. As for the interior of the nālamandapa, it is built on a floor higher than the corridor and has a plain domical ceiling supported on an octagonal frame of architraves over the pillars. Each corner of the dome is filled with two elephants lustrating a lotus rhizome. The nālamandapa being opened sufficient light and air pass to the interior of the rangamandapa.

As against those seen in the earlier shrines, the devakulika-s in this temple are ornamented. The pillars are, no doubt, of the octagonal type, but their shaft is topped by a band of kirttimukha-s with chains suspending from their mouth. The architraves are divided into two horizontal belts, the lower showing lotus scrolls, and the upper the diamonds. The udumbara of the doorframe shows a round projecting mandaraka carved with stemmed lotus in the centre, a projecting kirttimukha on its each side, and a niche containing a goddess in lalitāsana on either extremity. The lower part of the single- $s\bar{a}kh\bar{a}$ door is occupied by a pratihāra flanked on each side by a female cāmaradhara; a female carrying a water vessel also stands towards the opening. On lalata is represented a four-armed lalitasana goddess. The ceilings of the corridors, particularly those in the west wing, are elaborately carved, and they belong to the nābhicchanda, mandāraka and sabhāmandāraka varieties, but their execution is crude. In some of these ceilings is found an ornament consisting of lotus petal-and-bud. This pattern is noticed for the first time in this temple and becomes a popular device of the later temples of Gujarat. In contrast to the corrugated awning . crowning the devakulika-s of the earlier shrines, the devakulika-s here are surmounted towards the rangamandapa by a ribbed awning. The central devakulikā in both the east and west wings is highly ornamented and appears to be later in date. This is evidently known from an inscription of S. 1315/1259 A.D. engraved on the door-lintel of the eastern devakulika.35 The enshrined images in the devakulika-s have mostly disappeared.

The rangamandapa is spacious and well proportioned. The pillars (Figs. 14a, b) are like those of the Santinatha temple, but here they have a pedestal support. Besides, the corners of the square pillars are chamfered into five facets, and their shaft shows four-armed Yakṣa (?) and pratihāra on the square, eight goddesses in lalitāsana on the octagonal and sixteen goddesses in lalitāsana on the sixteen sided section. The two fascia of the architraves across the nave pillars show only a kīrttimukha in the centre of the lower belt and diamonds in the upper one. The domical ceiling (Fig. 15) is composed of nine courses showing, from bottom to top, kīrttimukha-s, karnadardarikā, diamond-band, gajatālu, rūpaṭattikā, again gajatālu and three successive four-fold kōlas, and the deficieny resembling

in shallowness in the previous capable instances is eliminated here by the introduction of two $gajat\bar{a}lu$ -s. The $r\bar{u}papattik\bar{u}$ shows representations of Jina's mother lying on a cot with the baby Tirthankara; On her either side are standing $sr\bar{a}vaka$ -s and $sr\bar{a}vik\bar{a}$ -s The lowermost $k\bar{o}la$ course has remains of sixteen mortices which were originally intended for receiving tenons of the bracket figures emerging from the sixteen $Vidy\bar{a}dhara$ -brackets. The $padmasil\bar{a}$ consists of four courses of $k\bar{o}la$ -s, the first one being a sixteen-foil two-fold $k\bar{o}la$, the second an eight-foil mono- $k\bar{o}la$, and the third and the fourth a quatrefoil $k\bar{o}la$. Between the middle pair of pillars were originally thrown usual torana-arches, which are still preserved near the trika. The side aisles in either wing are uncarved, and instead of a samatala ceiling there is a plain domical ceiling in the bay towards the north end.

Divided into catuskis, as we find in the Mahavira temple, the trika shows ususal ornamentations on the pitha, pillars, pilasters and acrchitraves, but the older ceilings are now replaced by plain marble slabs The two khattaka-s are like those seen in the Santinatha temple, with this difference that they are crowned by a multiple torana-arch pediment having a goddess in lalitasana in the centre.

The northern door of the gūdhamandapa is similar to that of the Mahāvīra temple but its overdoor depicts objects of fourteen dreams seen by Jina's mother, and the lalātabimba has a gooddess (Padmāvatī?) in lalitāsana holding vajra and ghantikā in the upper two hands and a pitcher in the lower ones. The sabhāmārga ceiling of the gūdhamandapa consists of eight courses. The bottom course is a karnadardarikā; the next is decorated with diamonds and sustains seven (originally eight) projecting brackets of vidyādhara-s; and then come three successive courses of gajatālu-s, an eight-foil mono-kōla, with nāga-s on the gagāraka-s a quatrefoil kōla and finally a circular kōla. Placed against the southern wall there are two large saparikara images of Tīrthankara Śāntinātha and Ajitanātha, standing in kā yotsarga-mudrā. Poth are inscribed in S. 1176/1119 A.D.

The garbhagiha doorway is of the dvi-sakha variety, consisting of a patrasakha and a sakha decorated with alternate diamonds and beads. The udumbara shows a round projecting mandaraka with stemmed lotus in the centre, a projecting kirttimukha on each side of it, and diamonds on extremities. On the lalata is shown a padmasana Jina. Inside the garbhagiha is a padmasana image of parsvanatha with an inscription dated to S. 1675/1619 A.D.36

As to the date of the temple it stands midway between the temples of Santinatha and Mahavira on the one hand and the Neminatha on the other. Fortunately the temple yields some inscriptions the earliest of which are dated 1105 A.D.³⁷ The temple, however, may be anterior by a few years to this date.³⁸

Neminatha temple

After the Pārsvanātha temple was built the temple of Nēminātha which is the largest and the most elaborate temple at Kumbhāriā. The general arrangement of its plan is similar to that of the Pārsvanātha, comprising a mūlaprāsāda, a gūdhamandapa, a trika, a rangamandapa with ten devakulikā-s on the front and eight devakulikā-s on each side, and a nālamandapa. The ingress to the temple is obtained only from the north.

The tri-anga mulaprasada (Fig. 16) pertaining to bhadra, pratiratha and karna has konikā-s in the salilantara-s between the latter two buttresses, which do not extend in the pitha. The bhadra is broken into seven planes, while the karna and the pratiratha are broken into five planes that are reduced to three above pitha. The frontal karna and patiratha are transmuted in a buffer wall which separates the gudhamandapa from the mulaprasada. Its pitha shows a jad yakumbha, karnika, antarapatra, pattikā, grāsapattī, gajathara and narathara, the bhitta mouldings seem to be embeded in the courtyard during subsequent flooring. Among the various representations in the narathara is also found a mithuna scene which is a rare depiction in the Jaina temples a Kumbharia and elsewhere in Gujarat. An instance of mithuna-couple has already been noticed in the parsvanatha temple. The vedibandha consists of a khura, a kumbha inset with sculptured niches containing images in lalitāsana of Yaksi-s, Vidyādevis, Sarasvati, Laksmi and in one instance Vinayaka, an antarapatra decorated with diamonds and a kapota bearing udgama pattern. The jangha, supported by a mancika with lumbika-s underneath, carries four-armed standing figures of dikpāla-s on the karnaratha-s and Vidyādevi-s and Yaksi-s on the pratiratha-s. Framed between two segmented pillaretes and canopied by an udgama pediment each figure, standing in an elegant tribhanga, is carved almost in the round. Beginning from the east and running clock-wise, the janghā figures depict Kubera, Isāna, Vairotyā, Acchuptā, Mānavī, Mahā jvālā, Indra, Agni, Vajrankusi, Vajrasrnkhala, Cakresvari, Rohini, Yama, Nirrti, Kali, Mahākāli, Naradattā, Gāndhārī (?), Varuņa and Yāyu.

In the salilantara-s of the jaighā are represented charming figures of apsarā-s who in some instances are shown striping her lower garment. The jaighā on each bhadra shows an emptied sculptured niche. The southern niche is surmounted by—Asvāvabodha panel, originally forming a part of Samalikāvihāratīrth, now preserved with Mahāvīra temple. The udgama terminates at its apex in a deep fillet decorated with kīrttimukha-s, and is followed in its turn by a round bharanī clasped by drooping foliage. The varandikā consists of an usual kapōta and a ribbed eave-cornice. Pierced into the khura on the north is a fine makara-pranāla. The sikhara and the whole of the gūdhamandapa are modern erections.

In the arrangement of devakulikā-s we notice some new features. The platform on which they rest also runs at the back half of the court. After an ascent of three steps is reached the corridor platform and from there by two short steps to the doorways. Such an arrangement of the staircase is not found elsewhere in Jaina temples of Gujarat. The devakulika-s on the north are screened by a single range of columns, while those on the east and west sides are confronted by a double range of columns. But for the two larger devakulikā-s, which have a floor lower than the other devakulikā-s, all the devakulikā-s have no partition walls. Incidentally I must mention here that some of the devakulika-s in the Luqavasahi at Abu also do not have partition walls. The pillars and architraves correspond to those of the Parsvanatha temple, but in the ornamentation of the pilasters and the doors we find some advancement. The shaft of the pilasters is heavily loaded with ornaments comprising, from below, flamboyant in semi-circles, ghatapallava, scrolls, half blown lotus, ardhapadma, a band of diamonds and beads, and a band of kirttimukha-s sprewing beaded chains. The doors are of the dvi-sakha type, consisting of patrasakha decorated with floral scrolls and a sakha carved with creepers. The lower part of the sakha-s is occupied by a standing goddess with female attendants on both sides; a female bearing a pitcher also stands towards the opening. The udumbara has a round projecting mandaraka with stemmed lotus in the centre, a projecting kirttimukha on each side of it, and a sculptured niche on either end sheltering Sarvanubhūti on proper right and Ambika on proper left. The uttaranga continues the decorative strips of the sakhā-s but, they are interrupted in the centre by the lalatabimba showing a padmasana Jina. The door of the two larger devakulikā-s consists of four sākhā-s decorated with floral scrolls, lotus scrolls, creepers and lotus scrolls respectively. In each of these devakulikā-s is installed a colossal saparikara image of a Tīrthankara sitting in dhyanamudra; the image in the eastern devakulika-s is of Adinatha dated V. S. 1675/1618 A.D., while that in the western one is of Parsvanatha, which also appears to be a very later image. All the other devakulika-s are blank now, and the pedestal runs without break from devakulika to devakulika. The corridors have uncarved samatala ceilings. The eave-cornice in the interior is conspicuous by its absence.

Like the Pārsvanātha temple, the nāla-mandapa (Fig. 17) here also is enclosed by a balutrade, but as against the former the interior space in the present temple is divided into seven bays, four having uncarved samatala ceilings and three the plain domical ceilings. The balustrade is similar to that of the Pārsvanātha temple, but the āsanapatta here is decorated with kīrttimukha-s, and the mithuna scenes are conspicuous by their absence on the kaksāsana. Its four pillar near the rangamandapa are of square type, with corners cut off into five facets. Of these two central pillars are ornate and correspond to the ornate square

pillars seen in the *trika* of the earlier shrines, but the chiselling here is poor. The two other square pillars are plain and have similarity with the *devakulikā* pillars, but the region below the sixteen-sided rection is square, surmounted by a band of $caityagav\bar{a}ksa$ -s. There is a $t\bar{o}rana$ -arch of the usual kind, thrown between the $kaks\bar{a}sana$ pillars towards the north end.

The rangamandapa is a two-storeyed structure consisting of twenty pillars (Fig. 18). Eight of these pillars are disposed in the nave in the same manner as we find in the Santinatha temple, and six are placed in each of the side aisles. The upper storey is indicated by a kaksāsana element placed along the architraves over the pillars of the nave and carried as far as the gudhamandapa door on the one end and the $n\bar{a}$ lamandapa on the other. The space between the dome and the kaksāsana being opened, the interior of the rangamandapa becomes highly ventilated. The eight pillars of the nave are similar to the square pillars seen in the rangamandapa of the Parsvanatha temple, with this difference that the Yaksa-s (?) and the Pratihara-s on the square part of the shaft are represented six-armed. Besides, these are massive, and their chiselling is poor. Six of the aisle pillars flanking the nave are similar to the square plain pillars of the nālamandapa, and six other pillars flanking the trika are similar to the devakulikā pillars, except that all these are massive and have a pedestal support. The architraves show the usual decorations, namely a band of lotus scrolls and a band of diamonds on the side face and a lotus medallion on the underside, but the diamond-band on those forming the nave is replaced by a frieze containing goddesses in *lalitāsana*. There is nothing new in the kaksāsana. The domical ceiling (Fig. 19), consisting of nine courses, is very similar to that of the Parsvanatha temple, but here the bottom course is decorated with ardhapadma motif; the diamond-band is replaced by a rupakantha displaying similar representations as we notice in that of the Mahāvīra temple; the rūpapattikā shows pancakalyānaka scene, eight auspicious symbols, etc.; two of the sixteen vidyādhara-brackets are occupied by Naigamesin; and the padmasita is rendered on the principle of co-radial regression, a device also noticed in the $L\bar{u}$ navasah \tilde{i} at Abu. Now, the domical ceiling has been painted. Fortunately one bay of the side aisles has a carved samatala ceiling showing an oval-shaped lotus with bands of scrolls and diamonds on two sides.

Divided into ten catuski-s the trika is reached from the rangamandapa by three stairways. Similar arrangement of stairways may be seen in the Vimalavasahi and Lūnavasahi at Abu. The pitha is plain. The pillars, (Fig. 20) eight in number, are similar to the square ornate pillars of the nalamandapa. Two of these pillars bear inscriptions (one dated S. 1310/A.D. 1253,39 and the other dated S. 1344 A.D. 128740) saying that these were erected in such and such date. Here is an evidence of the old work being replaced by the new exactly J.S.40

like it. The five-faceted four pilasters are similar to those seen in the trika of the Santinatha temple. Of the ten ceilings, four are made by cutting the corners and are plain, but for a full-blown lotus in the central slab, while the remaining six ceilings belong to the nabhimandaraka and sabhamandaraka order and are ornamental. Compared to the trika ceilings of the Mahavira and the Santinatha temples, these are inferior. The two khattaka-s having a five-faceted moulded pedestal and crowned by a three-course udgama pediment, are emptied. The trika also contains a nandiśvaradvipa slab on proper right and a modern small shrine of Ambika on proper left. The mukhamandapa is now enclosed on the east by a screen wall.

The $g\bar{u}dhamandapa$ contains some objects of iconographic importance. There is a panel with the representations of one hundred seventy Jinas. The panel is an inscribed one with the date of S. 1310/1253 A.D.⁴¹. Besides, there are two colossal saparikara images of $k\bar{a}$ yotsarga Pārsvanātha and Supārsvanātha, both dated to S.1214/1158 A.D.⁴²

Inside the garbhagtha on a high pedestal, is installed a colossal seated image of Nēminātha as the cult Tīrthankara. The image is a late one as is proved by an inscription of S.1675/1619 A.D. engraved upon the cushion of the image.⁴³ Near the garbhagtha are also to be seen two images of kāyotsarga Ādinātha dated to S.1314/1257 A.D.⁴⁴

As regards the date of this temple the Prabandha-s tell us that the shrine was built by pasila and the mandapa called the megha-nada-mandapa by Hansibai and its consecration was performed by Devasūri in S.1193/1136 A.D.45 This is also corroborated by the Pattavali-s which inform us that the image of Neminatha at Arasana was consecrated by Devasūri.46 The literary evidence is, however, contradicted by the epigraphical testimony, as two images in the temple are dated to S. 1191/1135 A.D.47 So the temple was built in or before 1135. A.D. but not before 1127 A.D., the date of the Rajavihara at Patana, for it was after seeing the Rajavihara that Pasila built the shrine of Neminatha at Ārasana.48

Sambhavanatha temple

This is the latest and smallest Jaina temple at Kumbhāriā. On plan it consists of a $m\bar{u}lapr\bar{a}s\bar{a}da$, a $g\bar{u}dhamandapa$ with lateral enterance porches and a rangamandapa, the whole being surrounded by a $pr\bar{a}k\bar{a}ra$ having projections against the porches of the $g\bar{u}dhamandapa$ (Fig. 21) The $devakulik\bar{a}$ -s are absent here. The temple is entered only from the north.

On plan the mulaprasada is similar to that of the Neminatha temple, but here each anga is broken into three planes and the konika-s are conspicuous by their

absence. Its pitha and vedibandha are similar to those of the Mahavira and the Neminatha temples respectively, but the kumbha on the pratiratha-s shows half diamonds incised with flamboyant pattern. The jangha having a mancika support is plain but for the vacant sculptured niches on the bhadra-s. The varandikā shows a narrow fillet, an usual mancika, a kapota and lastly a ribbed eavecornice. The sikhara is in good proportion with delicately rendered jala. Rising from the prāhāra the sikhara reveals a tri-anga mūlaman jarī marked by seven bhumi-amalaka-s, two urah-man jari-s on each facade, two sringa-s over each pratiratha, a sringa and a tilaka over each karnaratha, and a pratyanga flanking on either side of the upper urahman jari. The anga-s terminate at the apex in a skandha which is carved with diamonds, but the bhadra offsets extend beyond the skandha and are crowned by an āmalasāraka clasped by a band of diamonds and beads, a candrikā, an amalasarika, a kalasa and a vijapuraka. The singa-s crowning the karna-and pratiratha-s are plain, probably they are later. The rathika-s flanked by ornate tavanga-s contain images of standing goddesses. The goddess in the east rathikā is Vajrānkušī, while those in the south and the west are Cakresvarī and Sarasvatī respectively. On the northern façade of the sikhara is found a sukanāsā lodged over the kapili (buffer wall). It consists of a blind balconied window with a phāmsanā roof crowned by a fluted ghanta, kalasa and vijapuraka. The phamsana also supports a lion which springs from the urah-man jari.

Built on a dvi-anga plan the gudhamandapa has similar pitha and mandovara as we find in the mulaprāsāda. The pillars, pilasters, architraves and doorways of the lateral entrance porches are similar to those of the devakulika-s of the Neminatha temple, with this difference that the outer sakha of the door is quite plain. The ceiling is a domical one. It begins with a square course decorated with ardhapadma motif. Next follows an octagonal course carved with geese and then come four circular courses, the first three being cyma recta incised with lotus petals and the central one being flat relieved with a full opened lotus having two corollas of petals. The northern door (Fig. 22) of the gudhamandapa and the two pilasters flanking it are very ornate. The door belongs to the dvi-sakha variety, comprising a patrasākhā and a stambhasākhā, the latter having its corners cut off and carrying similar decorative designs as we find on the porch pilasters. The lower part of the sakha-s is occupied by a pratihara accompanied by female attendants and camaradhara-s. The udumbara has a round projecting mandaraka decorated with stemmed lotus in the centre, a projecting kīrttimukha on each side of it, and a sculptured niche on either extremity, sheltering Sarvanubhuti on proper right and Ambika on proper left. The uttaranga continues the decorative design of the patrasakha and has a padmasana Jina on the lalata, but it is badly damaged. The overdoor shows a row of nine miniature sikhara-s.

The ranagamandapa is a square open mandapa resting on a pitha which is continued from the mulaprasada. It is approached from the north by a flight of four steps cut across the pitha mouldings. It is roofed by a dome supported by ten octagonal pillars disposed along its three sides. The dome is plain, except that the bottom course is decorated with ardhapadma device and the top most with an opened lotus having two rows of petals.

The interior of the gūdhamandapa is like the other temples, but it is severely plain here. Its wall, however, contains twelve niches, all of which are blank now. Two of these niches appear to be dedicated to Pārsvanātha as is indicated by the remains of a seven-hooded cobra canopy.

The buffer wall also contains two niches, in one of which is a couple of $\dot{s}r\bar{a}vaka$ and $\dot{s}r\bar{a}vik\bar{a}$ standing with folded hands. Probably these were the builder of this temple.

Inside the garbhagraha is a modern seated image of Tirthankara Sambliavanatha.

Unfortunately the temple does not yield any inscription. However it reveals certain features such as the projections against the porches of the gudhamandapa, the miniature sikhara-s on the overdoor and the diaper work on the door jambs, which establish its contemporaneity with the Lūņavasahī at Mt. Abu built in 1231 A.D., for the latter also shows these traits. The minute lattice work on the sikhara is also indicative of this period.⁴⁹

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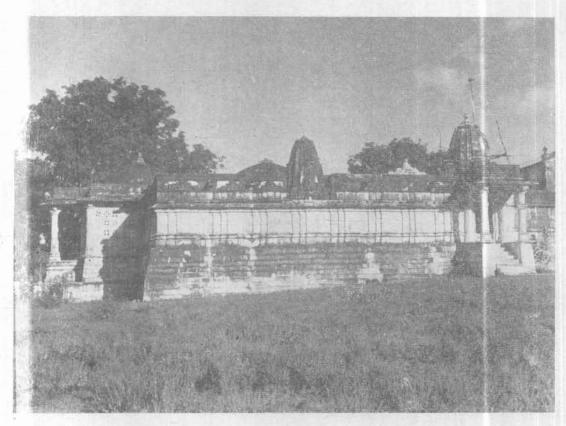
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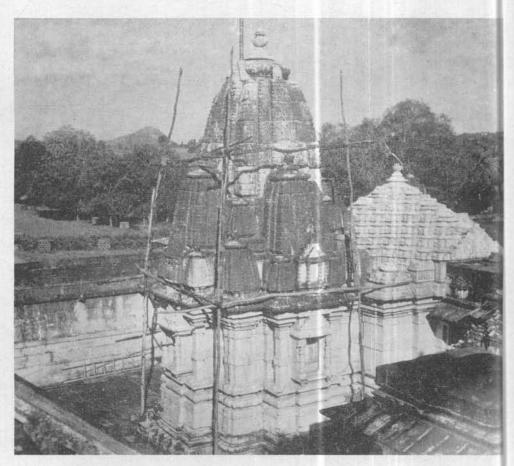
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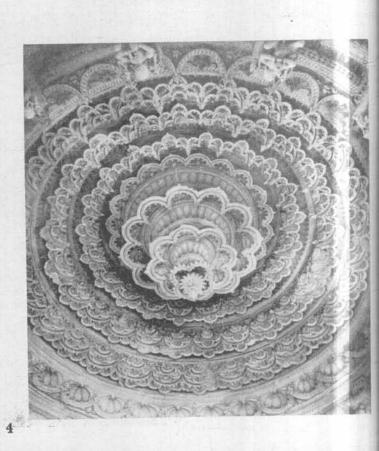
ILLUSTRATIONS

1.	Kumbhāri	ā Mahāv <u>t</u> ra	Temple	View from West
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3.	,,	**	,,	Rangamandapa, Octagonal pillars.
4.	,,	,,	,,	Rangamandapa, domical ceiling.
5.	,,	>3	,,	Trika, ceilings.
6.	,,	,,	,,	Trika, ceilings.
7.	"	,,	,,	Garbhagrha, door.
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9.	,,	,,	,,,	Rangamandapa, pillars.
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11.	>>	>>	,,	Rangamandapa, samatala ceiling in the side bay.
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16.	,,	Neminātha	Temple	Mūlaprāsada. View from south-east.
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20.	,,	,,	,,	Trika, pillars.
21.	,,	Samhbavanātha	Temple	View from south-east.
22.	"	**	"	Gūḍhamaṇḍapa, northern door.

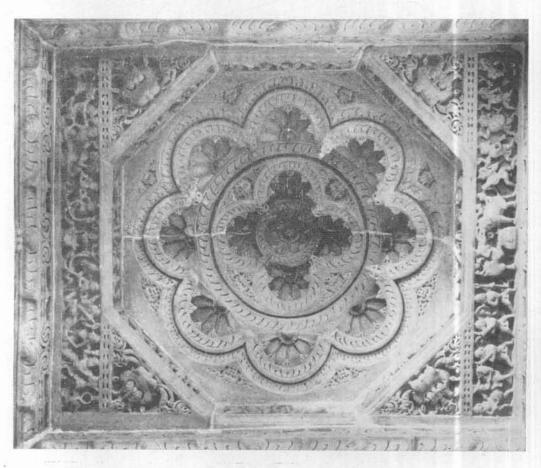




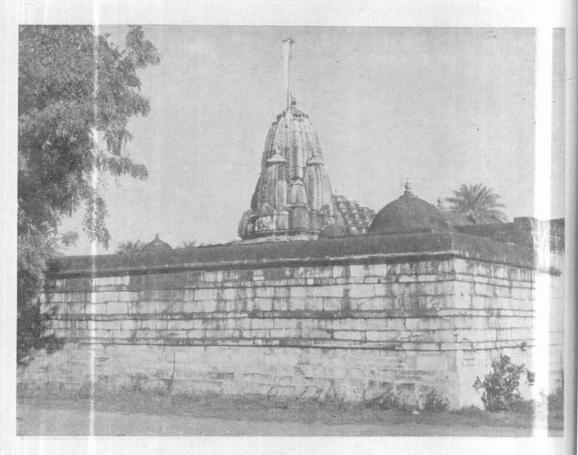




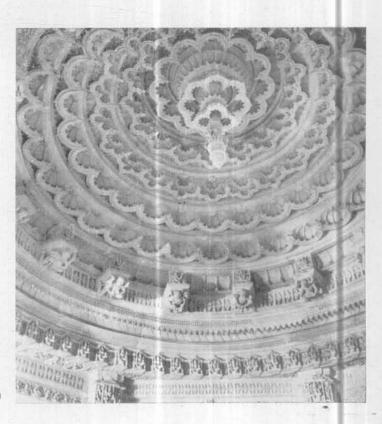


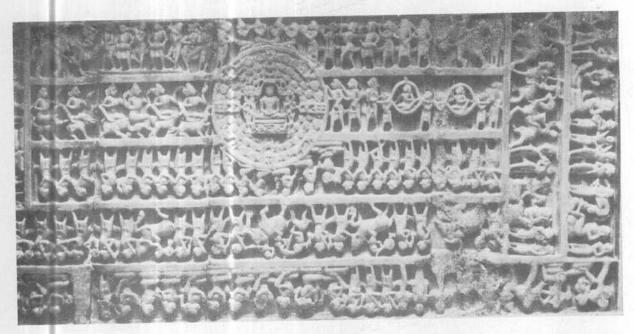


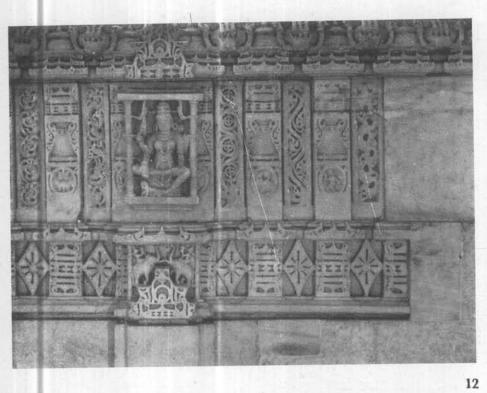








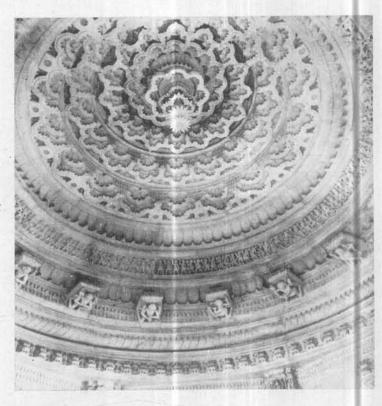




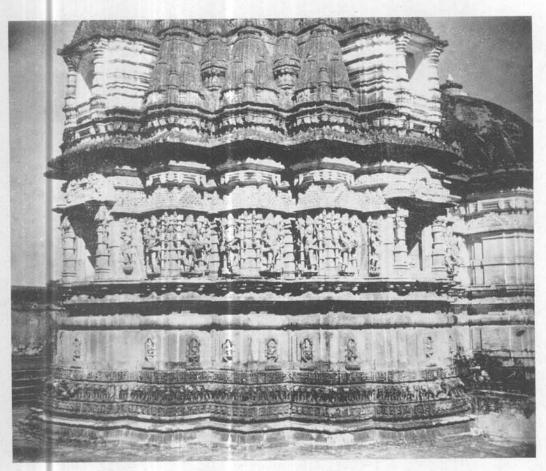


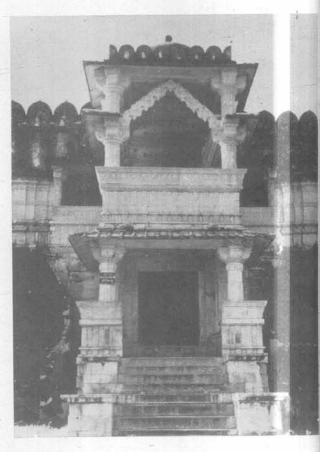


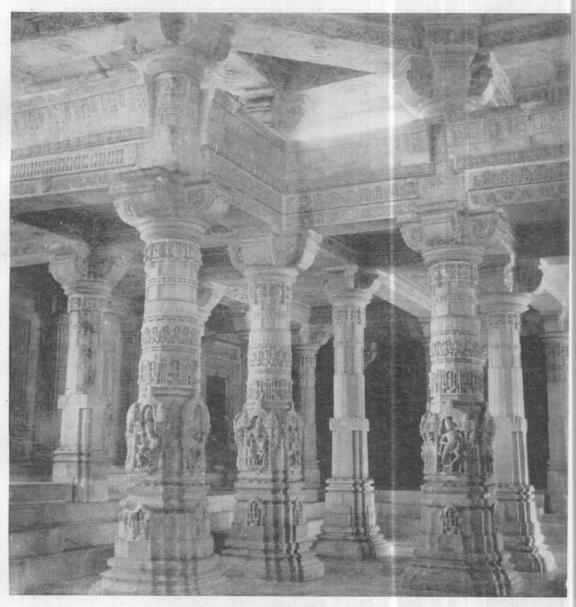
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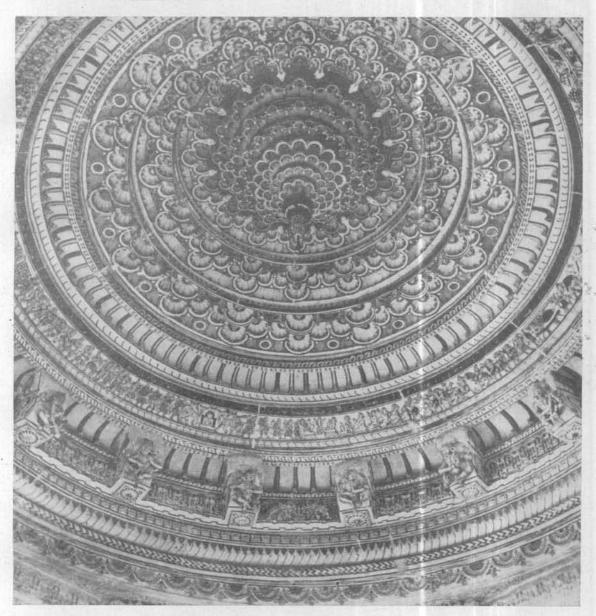






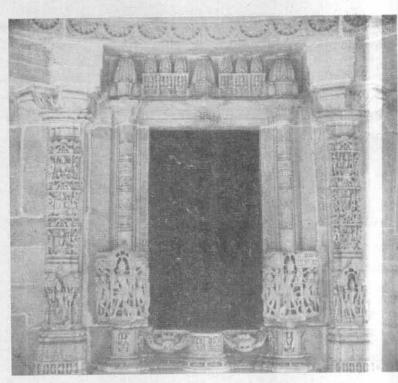






Paper No. 27





28. THE WESTERN INDIAN JAINA TEMPLE

M. A. DHAKY

INTRODUCTION

The Western Indian or Māru-Gurjara Jaina temple spells the perfect expression of the Jinaite sacred architecture. It is the final embodiment and fulfilment of what the Jaina creed was for centuries seeking for an ideal place of worship. Jainism, all the same, did not create a separate architecture: It rather drew from and always depended on the very vital source, Hindu architecture. Though its constituent elements came from the Brahmanical vāstu art, (and we must not forget that both Buddhism and Jainism were parts and products of the Hindu civilization), it is largely in the organization and manipulation, just as in the application, and, we may add, in the further and fuller development of some of these elements that the Jaina sacred building remains distinguished from its Brahmanical counterpart. Only from this standpoint can Jainism be said to have developed its characteristic system of building and hence its peculiar theistic architecture. This phenomenon took place at the beginning of the Middle Ages in Western India.

In earlier times, the Jaina places of worship, from the small evidence we have, tended to be closer to and possibly not very different from the Buddhist shrihes (and perhaps \overline{A} jivika), for marked differentiation in terms of sectarian styles had yet not started. Some similarity between them was due also to one other factor; they all belonged to the Sramanic division of ancient Indian religious orders. Buddhism, as later events showed, progressively declined and eventually disappeared from India, while \overline{A} jīvika activity, even when it lingered on for some centuries, was rather unimportant, why, insignificant we may say. But Jainism survived and some of the buildings it sponsored are now reckoned among the precious treasures of Indian art. They, to be still more precise, belong to our world-heritage.

These medieval Jaina temples broadly followed the regional and periodstyles of the Brahmanical sacred buildings. The Jaina temples in the various

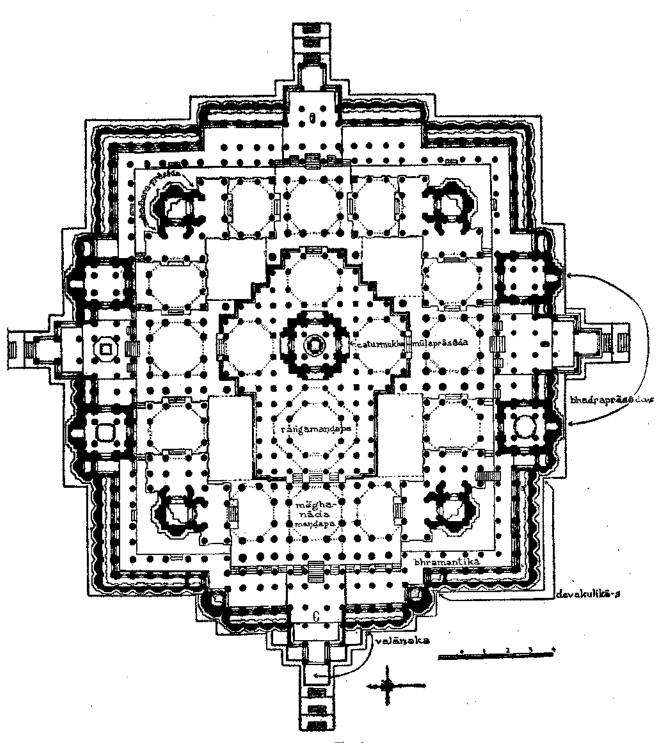
kingdoms and princedoms of Madhya-Pradesh, Rājasthān, Gujarāt, Karņāṭaka and Tamilnādu were built in the local period-style of each province: And yet, in each regional style, they tend to differ from the contemporaneous Brahmanical buildings, in what may at first seem an "inexplicable way". Those built in the Western sector of India particularly demonstrate that subtle "differing way" more markedly because there were in that large territory all the time and means just as conditions for crystallizing and clearly expressing what the underlying ideals motivating the Jinaite architecture were. It is, again, and partly as a result of, the aforenoted causes that in Western India the Jaina temple attained to its most perfect form, a form which also was complete in details and evolved to its farthest limits, so much so that later Jaina buildings could introduce no major change in the basic formal conception of layout and organization.

The theistic requirements of Jainism were of course somewhat different from those of the Brahmanical religions; and although the Jaina temple rituals were in a physical sense parallel to those of the Brahmanical sects, the inner attitude toward image worship, rituals and the ultimate conception of deity for the Jaina religion were very different.1 An emphasis on severe austerity, rather extreme ethics, and somewhat less on faith in the efficacy of rituals in the earlier phase of the religion of Jina, had led to a greater stress on the severity of monastic discipline and stern chastity of personal character and conduct of the followers. This, in turn, and in terms of physical environment, needed ideal cleanliness, tidiness, seclusion and at the same time total transparency of atmosphere in a place of worship. It required a building which must answer to and express all that was consistent with the fundamentals of Jaina belief; it must, at the same time, include without discomfort what Jainism was impelled to creatively develop in response to the changing climes and hence external expressions inside the overall religious ambience of India as the time advanced. Its power to adjust and adapt to conditions ensured its survival just as it satisfied the demands of its medieval followers for temple interiors that are large, but also elaborate and rich in carving, and, none the less, ethereal in feeling. The demand of course arose, we may repeat, out of a spasmodic response to the changing spirit and fashions of the time as is apparent in contemporaneous Brahmanical buildings as well. And since demands such as these can be met with only when the means are available, besides the intensity of motive, the wealth and power of the Jaina-s provided everything that was materially needed in initiating and sustaining an architecture which was neither too simple nor inexpensive. The Jaina religion had, by early medieval times, become the creed of the effluent merchantile communities, particularly so in Western India. Their opulence, reinforced by and working in conjunction with the powerful voice of their members in the affairs of the State, made it possible for the Jaina tradesmen-castes and the Jaina Fraternity to build not only countless religious

buildings in the capital cities and district as well as county towns, but also costly buildings done in fully decorated styles needing, even in those days when arts and crafts were not bifurcated and an artisan and an artist were one and the same person, big sums of money. There was, moreover, the powerful total organization of the Jaina Church—the caturvidha-sangha-divided into, and also united together by, the many gaccha-s or sub-orders of monks and mendicants who were the vital part and the sustaining force of the infra-structure. The Jaina laity, having their allegiance to these different gaccha-s, was also strong, widely spread and influential in the medieval societies; it supplied the energy needed for the continual sustinence of the Sangha-organisation as a whole. There was, of course, no central papal or pontifical authority in the Jaina Sangha; but its strength was felt and manifest through the cohesive power of the leading mini-s (monks and friars) of the many gaccha-s who watched over, kept clean and fed the spiritual arteries of the Brotherhood. And in their task they were adequately supported by the munificence emanating from the temporal power and wealth controlled by the Jaina amatya-s (ministers), mantri-s (counsellors) and dandanā yaka-s (governors), further assisted by the powerful srēsthī-s (merchantprincess) and the pedestrian but pious sravaka-s and sravika-s or lay men and women-followers of the creed. The Western Indian royalties were favourably disposed to Jainism and held Jaina holymen in high esteem, just as they evinced respect toward the Jaina holy shrines and Jinadeva, Lord Jina. Some among them lent support by generous donations to the Jaina foundations; some went as far as building shrines sacred to Arhat-s.

The impact of Jainism and the influence of its followers in Western India had begun to be felt more decidedly from the seventh century, coinciding as it did with the period of commentaries on the Jaina sacred agama-scriptures; and we then hear about the setting up of the newer Jaina foundations at several places, and also encounter references to the Jaina holy places—tirtha-s—that were flourishing at that time in Western India, particularly those in the Gūrjaradesa territory lying west and north-west of Abu and parts of Saurästra and Lāta or Southern Gujarāt. But it is in the medieval epoch, particularly between the eleventh and the thirteenth century, that Jainism reached the zenith of its power and importance: It is in those very favourable and fruitful times that the largest ever number of Jaina sacred buildings were built.

The term "Jaina temple" in the Western Indian context at once reminds us of the famous temples at Dilwārā (Delavāḍā) and Kumbhāriā (anc. Ārāsana) which today represent, in effect, only the smallest remainder of over three hundred temples founded in the medieval times, to the service of the Jina-s. Since the vast majority of the relatively earlier buildings of the medieval period suffered spoliation during repeated Muslim invasions and occupation, and their J.S.-41



Test Fig. 1

material perloined for building the many mosques of the occupation periods, our judgement of the nature of the Western Indian Jaina temple is based solely on the surviving buildings. And yet, as some evidence is there to show, those buildings that have vanished could not have been different, excepting in matter of detail, from those that are extant. We are further aided in our task by the temples founded as late as the fifteenth century, but which still follow, despite certain decorative changes including innovations, the old, basic Jaina pattern of planning. Our deductions based on all such buildings, early as also relatively late in date, may then be regarded for all practical purpose as valid.

What is then a typical Western Indian Jaina building and what do we notice in its layout and elevation which is distinctively and peculiarly Jaina: How it came to be so, and how the vāstusāstra-s—those medieval Sanskrit codes and manuals of architecture—and, together with them, the inscriptions and other contemporaneous literature—responded to and took notice of a Jaina holy building: And finally that vital point, the "aesthetic" that governed the Jaina temple. These are matters with which the present paper wishes to deal with and enlarge upon. The answers will for some points be repeated due to overlappings, and complicated by cross-references; but they can still be obtained by a study of the archaeological, artistic, and, inevitably, the epigraphical, and literary sources. It is these answers which reveal the ideation as well as the consummation of a Western Indian Jaina temple in its entirety of existence and form.

A fully developed Western Indian Jaina temple has certain ever-present features,-where each individual feature seems to reflect, even assert and ultimately prove its indispensibility,—that contribute conjointly toward the realisation in visual form, of the conception of an ideal temple for the Jina: (cf. text Fig. 1). There is, first, a jagati which is a vast oblong platform, with a stairway centrally in front, leading up to its floor. On the jagati's floor, at some determined distance away from the stairway along the central axis, lies the focus of the whole sacred complex, the mulaprasada or 'main temple' containing the garbha or garbhagtha (the sanctuary proper) enshrining the mulanayaka or principal image of the particular Jina to whom the temple is dedicated. To the mulaprasada is attached the gudhamandapa, which is a closed hall, i.e. hall with walls. It axially opens into a mukhamandapa i.e. trika or pillared vestibule with no walls. This in turn is articulated to a rangamandapa or natyamandapa, colonnaded hall without walls. The rangamandapa, together with the mukhamandapa in the rear, is surrounded and thus enclosed by a bhramantika or pattasalika (cloistered corridor) formed by the linkage of the porches of the conjoined clusters, 'entourage', of devakulikā-s or subsidiary shrines, in the first instance 24 in number, enshrining images of the 24 Jinas.2

The bhramanti breaks off at the point of ingress into the rangamandapa, and, at the ingress point, just above the jagati's stairway or at latter's end, comes the balanaka or entry-hall or some other form of portal. The devakulikā-surround is frequently extended further beyond on the sides and is completed at the rear end of the jagati in order to have in all 52 devakulikā-s whence the complex is known as 'Bāvanna-Jinālaya'.

The Bāvanna-Jinālaya (or Bāvan-Jinālaya as is called in Gujarātī) is the most complete and a very satisfactory form of a Jaina temple, though the catur-mukha or four-faced temple with its auxiliary structures, all planned on a large and lavish scale, can seem more imposing and apparently far more complex; which is mainly due to the multiplicity of symmetrically disposed identical halls in four directions, and the corresponding conjoining corridors in the interior.

The exterior of the Jaina temple complex can be made attractive by the contrast of the sikhara-spires of the devakulikā-s in chain and some phāmsanā (stepped pyramidal) or samvaranā (bell-roof) or cupola roofs cropping up here and there, the high sikhara of the madhya-prāsāda (central or main shrine) dominating and balancing the elevational configuration just as the skyline.

The exterior of a full-fledged Jinālaya-complex can be picturesque, although it is the interior which is the chief glory of a Jaina temple. It is, in the main, for the splendours of the interior that the Jaina shrines of Western India are more famous. As one enters through the jagatī-stairway passage (which is in some cases covered up above by the balānaka-hall), and steps in the rangamandapa, the interior which fills the view is something second to none in the context of Indian religious edifices of all times, early or late. It is a spectacle not only of rare and noble grandeur in building art; it is almost celestial in dimensions of feeling.

The feeling that the interior evokes, though largely rooted in and stemming from the organization of the ancillary structures, disposition of solid-masses and spaces, and broken up carved surfaces of the pillars and ceilings, is also due to the material of which the building is made. While sandstone is adequate, it is the arasa—marble from the special quarries of Kumbhāriā (Ārāsan=ākara)³—which seems eminently suitable as a material for the Jaina interior manipulation and decorative effects. The marble of Ārāsana ages to a beautiful deep amber-yellow of an antique ivory, and, what is more, is suffused with delicate rainbow hues,⁴ sometimes taking stronger tinges of butter-cup, pink, mauve and green. The Ārāsana marble has the opaqueness as well as an imperceptible translucency, just as it has strength and pliability needed for the sparkling, intricate, gossamer-like polished carving. The chromatic effects and the glossy ornamented

planes corporately work in the creation of ennobled and spiritualized fantasy. The filtered but not too subdued light, together sometimes with pools of direct sunlight focussed on spots left free between the corridors and the hall without walls, fill the spaces and creep and delicately spread, in gradation, over the glistening oily-looking ornamented surfaces, revealing the carvings and at the same time the native colouration of the material in its vivid and varied tones and shades. It is the play and participation of light, now real, now ethereal, which unravels the marble pillared interior at its most capriceous perfectness.

Physical and formal aspects apart, it is the living atmosphere in the Jaina temple which lends it an ethos which is very distinctively Jaina. The perfume of saffron and of jasmine flowers and the aroma of dasānga dhūpa—incense with ten fragrant ingredients beginning with sandalwood—pervades the air, blending unseen with the noble scent of ghee (ghṛta) from the lamps burning in the main sanctuary. The reverberating sound of the bell and the gong, mixed with the echoing chants in Prākṛta and Saṃskṛta and psalms in olden Gujarātī uttered by the Jaina worshippers (men clad in yellow dhōtī and creamy upper garment and women in subdued coloured sārī-s covering the head) with occasional sprinkling of Jaina monks and nuns, now circumambulating, now moving toward the main shrine and kneeling and rising before the contemplative image of Jina, conjure up an environ at once sacred and spiritual. Without this vivid and humanized, sanctified and sublimated atmosphere, the Jaina temple would lose its meaningfulness, rather, its very soul and go vacuous even when its interior could be startlingly otherworldly on its own account and in an abstract way.

THE JAINA TEMPLE PLANS

The varieties of plans of the Māru-Gurjara Jaina temple are few and reflect the building's historical order of development in which each succeeding type seems flowing from and apparently is an enlarged and extended statement of the preceding. The simplest plan consists of a mūlaprāsāda (shrine proper) attached to which is a gūdhamandapa or closed hall. The closed hall may have only one opening in front, proferred through a mukhacatuṣkikā (colonnaded portal); or it may have two lateral additional openings with pārsvacatuṣkikā-s (bye-porches) as well, as at the Samiddhesvara temple at Chittor, which originally was a Jaina foundation of Kumārapāla's time, built possibly soon after 1150. In either case, sometimes the mukhacatuṣkī is replaced by a mukhamandapa, also called trika (porch or vestibule). The Mahāvīra temple at Osiān (Mahā-Māru style. ca. late 8th cent.), the Mahāvīra temple at Ghānerāv (ca. 954), the temple to the same Jina at Sewādī (ca. 1020), the Jaina temple at Sejakapur in Saurāṣṭra (now gone) of the period of about the second quarter of the twelfth century, the temple of Rṣabha at Miyānī near Porbandar in Saurāṣṭra, and the

Jaina temple in Kanthakot in Kutch—the latter two datable to the close of the thirteenth century—had a mukhamandapa or trika in the front but no lateral openings; while the temple of Neminātha rebuilt by Dandanāyaka Sajjana on Mt. Girnār in 1129, the great temple of Adinātha on Satruñjaya Hill (rebuilt by minister Vāgbhaṭṭa, son of minister Udayana, in 1157),9 and the great temple of Ajitanātha at Tārangā built by Emperor Kumārapāla in 1166, represent the second variety.* The last-noted three temples are large and of the sāndhāra class and thus having a perambulation path around the inner sanctum.¹⁰

Next in point of development come those examples which possess an entourage of devakuli-s or subsidiary shrines, 24 (corresponding to 24 Tirthankara-s) to begin with. They are grouped in front of the shrine complex along the edge of the jagati and thus leaving some distance from the trika, and starting parallel to the trika both sides, meeting finally at the entrance to form a quadrangle open at the back-end. The earliest known example, as has been discussed elsewhere, is the Mahāvīra temple at Varamāṇa (anc. Brahmāṇa) stylistically dated to ca. late ninth century. The devakulikā-s there have today disappeared but the traces of their fore-plinth remain, alongwith some pillars and pilasters of the original corridor rebuilt in the late fourteenth century.

The four Jaina temples at Kumbharia, namely the Mahavira (ca. 1062), the Santinatha (anc. temple of Rsabha, ca. 1080), the Parsvanatha (ca. 1100), and the Neminātha (ca. 1135) afford examples of the 24-Jinālaya-s. The extensions of devakulika-chains by the side of the gudhamandapa and the main shrine, carried further to fill the back-edge of the jagati behind the main shrine, made a full rectangle of the devakulika-surround about the main complex. Generally speaking, the extended surround conforms to figure 52, but it can be still larger, say, 72 as in case of the Bhulavani temple on Mt. Satrunjaya (ca. 1320). 12 The Neminatha temple on Mt. Girnar had 72 devakuli-s with pillared side portals coaxial with the doors of the gudhamandapa and a storied balanaka in front, the whole surround not articulated with the main temple complex. (A fifteenth century caitya-paripati avers that the devakulikā-s were added by Prime Minister Vastupāla and that must be a century after Sajjana's building). The temple at Sarotrā (ca. early 13th century: now reported destroyed by villagers), and the Lūņa-vasahī temple at Dilwārā (1231) may be cited as the representative examples of 52-Jinālaya.13

The vacant area between the devakuli-s, the entrance-porch and the trika is usually occupied by the rangamandapa or what is also sometimes called netyamandapa. The Kumbhāriā and the Dilwārā temples afford some of the best examples of rangamandapa.

In a 24-Jinālaya type, the point where the devakulikā-s stop, prākāra (wall) is provided in order to ensure a total fencing around the sanctuary. Sometimes, in such cases, lateral porches with flights of steps are attached to the jagatī. These open through the prākāra and are coaxial with the bhadra-s of the gūdhamandapa, as in the case of the Pārsvanātha temple at Kumbhāriā. Hut in 52-Jinālaya type the lateral porches are generally omitted in order not to interrupt the chain of devakulī-s running all over the jagatī-border.

The main entrance is almost invariably coaxial with the principal shrine, leaving out at that point one or more devakuli-s (in calculation and hence in actuality) to make room. It may just be a mukhacatuṣkī (four-pillared porch) as in the case of Sāntinātha temple at Kumbhāriā, the Vimala and the Tejapāla temples at Dilwārā, or the Sarotrā temple: or it may have a mukhamandapa (porch-hall) as in case of the Mahāvīra temple at Kumbhāriā. But, where the passage (nāli) is through the jagatī, a mandapa called balānaka or nāli-mandapa covers it above. The Pārivanātha temple and the Neminātha temple at Kumbhāriā (dated to ca. 1100 and ca. 1135 respectively) are the most notable early examples, though the earliest is of course at the Osiān temple of Mahāvīra. Balānaka was, in fact, earlier in coming, even before the devakulikā-s came; and the rangamandapa in between found its place in the Jaina temple scheme still later as we shall further see in the observations to follow.

The very large temples could have the devakulikā-surround but no ranga-mandapa to fill in, because the latter's size would perhaps be too large to be manageable. As instances we may cite the Ādinātha temple at Satruñjaya (width about 49 ft.) and the Neminātha temple on Mt. Girnār (width 44 ft.), both of which are sāndhāra temples as earlier said, each with trika, and devakulikā-s but possessing no rangamandapa. Even the devakulikā-s are omitted in case of the very largest temples, as may be inferred from the instance of the great temple of Ajitanātha at Tārangā (width 74 ft.).

The most comfortable size for a mūlaprāsāda in a 24-Jinālaya or 52-Jinālaya complex lies between 13 ft. and 35 ft., the two extremes exemplified by the Bhūlavanī temple on Mt. Śatruńjaya and the Neminātha temple at Kumbhāriā. It is between these two measures that the interior can be arranged in a satisfactory way.

Besides these configurations there are others based on the caturmukha or four-fold principle of planning. In such temples the central four-door garbhagtha is connected directly with the rangamandapa on the cardinal points, omitting, as a result, the gūdhamandapa and the trika. In the larger and most developed caturmukha temples, storied hall, Meghanāda-mandapa, is also added on all four sides.

The jagatī supports as many as 84 devakulī-s to surround and thus enclose and conceal the inner construction. The Dharaṇa-vihāra at Rāṇakapur (consecrated 1440) is the most important surviving example. There are others, such as the caturmukha Pārsvanātha temple at Dilwārā (1459), the temple of Rṣabha at Acalagarh (1510), and the Jayamallaji's temple on Mr. Satruñjaya (1630), which are without the sub-shrines and also have no Meghanāda halls. We shall dwell more on the caturmukha in the next section along with the other varieties of plans.

THE JAINA TEMPLE AND THE VASTUSASTRA-S

When the medieval epoch was at its highest high, the Māru-Gurjara style of architecture was already past its meridian and the decline in terms of figural and floral decorative art had set in; the architecture had almost fully evolved, and there was at that moment nothing more to add or discover it seemed. The Jaina temple, too, had reached its first and the major finale and the formulations of its norms and forms had been settled to an almost unshakable fixity. So much so that the renaissance which had timidly started in the early fourteenth century at Śātrufijaya¹⁵ and which was fully expressed in the next century in the Medapāṭa country under the aegis of Mahārāṇā Kumbhakarṇa, could only add a few new interpretations in a small way and some fresh ornamental enrichments (partly under the influence of Islamic art and partly borrowings from the prevailing fashions in wooden architecture), but no major alteration came in the tenets of the structural organization of the basic Jaina temple plan, it may once more be observed.

The Vāstusāstra of Visvakarmā (ca. late 11th century) is the earliest among the available manuals on Māru-Gurjara architecture to take cognizance of a Jaina temple.† It narrates in detail the constructive aspect of Jina's temple in a special chapter called Jinēndra-mandira-lakṣan-ādhikāra. We will first notice the text, preceded by the translation:

"[And Visvakarmā said:]

"And now I shall tell about the temple (sacred to) Jinesvara. To the sanctuary-house (prasada) add a hall (mandapa, presumably the gudha or closed type), and then the vestibule (trika) and yet another hall (mandapa, presumably the ranga or theatrical type). Construct the entry-hall (balanaka) in front with its projection measured 20 parts (dvi-sunya). In the centre (i.e. in the cella), install (the image of) Jinesvara Rsabha. Make beautiful sub-shrines (devakulika-s), in size one third or one fourth of the width (of the prasada proper). (They should be) seven each on either side and also—[presumably ten]—in front, containing (images of) Siddha-s (liberated Jina-s). And [also] make the corridor (patta-salika) with three stairs (sopana-traya)."

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Athātaḥ param sampravakṣ yāmi mandiram ca Jinēsvaram/
prāsādē mandapam kāryam trikam c-aiva tu mandapam//
Agrē balāṇakam kāryam dvi-sūnyam c-aiva nirgamam/
madhyē Jinēsvaram dēvam Rṣabham ca Jinēsvaram/
(dhāsā? vāsa?) dīrghēṇa kartavyā devakulikā manoramā//
tri-bhāgēṇa tu kartavyā pādēṇ-aikēṇa kārayēt//
vāmē ca dakṣinē c-aiva sapta sapta viņirdiset/
sammukhā c-aiva kartavyā Siddhā ca Jinēsvarā/
Agrē paṭṭasālikā kāryā sopāṇa-trayam eva ca//
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-Vāstusāstra, Jinesvaramandira-laksanādhikāra, 1"-5'

The description pertains to a Caturvimsati-Jinālaya with all its major accessory structures.

The second work in order which talks about the Jaina temple is the $V\bar{a}stuvidy\bar{a}$ of Visvakarmā (ca. early 12th century).: The said work discusses the jagatī for Jina and along with it the plan of the Jinālaya i.c. Jaina temple:

"And Visvakarmā said:

"I spoke about the Buddhist monastery (vihāra): and listen now [O Jaya]¹⁶ about Jina's sacred building (Jinālaya). Beginning with Rṣabha upto (?) Ariṣṭanēmi, set up the 24 gods [Jina-s] one after another in sequence. Make the auspicious temple-platform (jagatī) ornamented with yakṣa-spirits and the leaders of the gaṇa-assemblage, and, in addition, with divinities (daivata-s) along with an assortment of figures. To the temple proper (prāsāda), add a hall (manḍapa), followed by the vestibule (trika). In front of the whole [complex], make the entry-hall (balāṇaka), two or three storied (high). Set up ten subsidiary shrines (devakulikā-s) on the right and left side (of the entry-hall) and seven each laterally off the vestibule: [One can also] make 52 shrines in order of perambulation. Place Samavasaraṇa in front of the Jina, is

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Vihāram evam ēva ca sīņu c-ānyam Jinālayam/
(Ristanēmo-ya-yatah kītvā Rṣabham ca niyojayēt?)//
Caturvimsati dēvānām ekamekam pratisthayet/
Yakṣai-r Gaṇadharai-r divyaih daivatai-s-ca viseṣataḥ//
nānā-rūpaka-samyuktām jagatīm kārayēt subhām/
prāsādē maṇḍapam kuryāt trikam ca tad-anantaram//
Agrē balānakam kāryam dvi-bhūmam ca triṇi-s-tathā/
dasa-dēvakulīh sthāpyā vāma-dakṣiṇataḥ sthitāḥ//
Trika-sya pārsvayō-s-caiva sapta-sapta niyōjayēt/
dvi-pancāsat-tathā kāryā pradakṣina-kramēna tu//
Jina-sy-āgrē pradātavyam Samavasaraṇam tathā/
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-Vāstuvidyā, Jagatīlaksanādhyā ya,' 73-78'

The description here, too, is relating to a Caturvimsati-Jinālaya with a tentative hint to a Bāvanna-Jinālaya form also.

The Aparā jitaprīchā of Bhuvanadēva (ca. third quarter of the 12th century)¹⁷ describes eight varieties of the jagatī-s meant for the Jina, wherein, while treating the premier variety Śrīkarpī, the author takes opportunity to dwell on latter's surface plan, giving thereby the layout of a Jaina temple in its overall form: "Viśvakarmā said:

"Let the width (of the jagati Śrikarni) be by 24 parts and length inclusive of entrance (mukhā yata) be 40 parts. Omit two parts at the angles (karna-s) in front as well as along both the sides. Next, according to the straight cord (rjusutra), let the sanctum (prāsāda) be of 12 parts, the sukanāsa—antefix of one part, and [closed] hall (mandapa) wide by [twice the] six parts. The bhadra projection [of the hall] be one part each on the left and right. And let there be a catuskika (pillared porch) 2 parts square. Let there be three segments (ksana-s) forming what is called trika (vestibule) and [add to the middle segment], the fourth catuskikā. The length as well as the width of the vestibule (trika) will be eight units. And then [must come] the hall (mandapa) of very superior quality called 'dancing hall' (ntyamandapa). Then will follow the catuski of the two parts and the corridor (pattasalika) also of two parts. Let the subsidiary shrines (sala-s) be of 2 parts, eight in front of the Lord, and seven on either side, making the total of 22 Jinālaya-s. And finally two [Jinālaya-s] on either side in the trika, making the total 24. [And finally] Let the entry-hall (balanaka) be 4 parts square, Such is [the jagati] Śrikamikā in the context of the mansion of Jinendra, which always brings peace and instils happiness (when located) inside the city."

Viávakarm-ővāca

Caturvimsati vistārē catvārimsan-mukh-āyatē] —
dvau-dvau bhāgān tyajēt-karnē purato-'gr-obhaya-s-tathā||
aparam ca rjusūtrēna prāsāda-s-tu kal-āmsakaḥ|
sukanāso bhaved bhāgo manḍapa [dvi]ṣaṭ vistṛtam||
Bhadram tu bhāga-niṣkāsam ubhayō-r-vāma-dakṣayōḥ|
tasy-āgrē catuṣkikā ca dvi-bhāg-āyāma-vistarē||
tri-kṣanē trika-mākhyātam catur-bhi-s-tu catuṣkikā|
āyāma-s-c-āṣṭa-bhāgaḥ syāt pṛthutvam c-aiva c-āṣṭataḥ||
aṣṭ-āmsai-r-uttamam khyātam maṇḍapam nṛtyakam viduḥ|
dvi-bhāgā kṣaṇa-catuṣkī dvi-bhāgā paṭṭasālikā||
kuryā-c-chālām dvi-bhāgām vā hy-aṣṭau ca dēva-sammukhā|
sapta-sapt-obhayē pakṣe dvā-vimsati-r-Jinālayaḥ||
Trik-obhayau dvau proktau sankhyayā caturvimsaṭiḥ|
caturbhiḥ pṛthu-niṣkāsō-'grē syāt-tu balāṇakam||

Śrī-dā sānti-karā nityam pura-madhyē sukhāvahā/ Jinēndra-sya bhavana-sthā sa-vai Śrīkarnik-ābhidhā//

-Aparā jitaprechā 1-8"

The description in the Aparā jitaprechā seems a little more elaborate, dwelling as it does on the relative proportions of the main and the ancillary structures in the 'Caturvimiati-Jinālaya'. Also, unlike the two previous works, it makes eight—instead of ten—Jinālaya-s in front of the cult-shrine, and introduces two in the vestibule (converting the niches into devakulikā-s) and takes these into calculation, and in this way does it complete the figure '24' needed for a Caturvimiati-Jinālaya.

One other early work to speak at some length about the Jaina sacred building is $\dot{S}r\bar{\imath}d\bar{z}vy\bar{a}dhik\bar{a}ra$,* of about the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, which had a full chapter entitled $\bar{\jmath}in\bar{z}ndra-pr\bar{a}s\bar{a}da-laksana$, but at present is available in very mutilated condition. After introductory verses, it gives an elaborate description of a Jaina temple having an ambulatory passage (sabhrama pr\bar{a}s\bar{a}da) having a sanctum (garbhagtha or madhyakostha) containing the sanctuary (garbha), the perambulation path (bhramantika) and the outer wall (bhitti). The text seems to give relative proportions of these parts and then the wall-elevation and other details. Next it dwells on the closed hall:

"[And Bhairava said to Devi:]

"Make the closed hall $(g\bar{u}dhamandapa)$ [in such a way] as to conjoin it with the sanctum $(garbhagth-\bar{a}srayam)$ and of the same size as the latter or one fourth or one fifth (larger or smaller?) then the width of the temple $(pr\bar{a}s\bar{a}da)$ proper:"

Garbhagth-asrayam karyam tat-tulyam gudhamandapam/catur-asta-pancam-ams-oktah prasadah pthu-manatah//

The text then talks about the width of the halldoor. It next gives the description of the jagati or platform proper, but the details are not quite intelligible. It seems to mention the central doorway-entry of the jagati:

Jagatyām dvā(ram)[ca] kuryāt [tat] jagatī-sumadhyatah/

It also mentions about the angle-shrines (karnā yatana-s) but is silent, in that context, on the nityamandapa, the balānaka and the surround of the devakulī-s. It seems that the author had in mind a sort of pancā yatana (quinquax) temple for Jina, the kind of which has no parallel in the existing Jaina examples.

Among the post-Solanki works, the earliest to take cognizance of a Jaina temple plan is perhaps Siri-vatthus ara-payarana (Srī Vāstus ara-prakarana) of

Thakkura Pheru, 18 a Prākrta work dated S.1372/A.D. 1326. The work thus enjoins, briefly though, on the component parts of a Jaina temple: "Before the sanctuary-house ($p\bar{a}s\bar{a}ya-kamala$) will be the closed hall ($g\bar{u}dha-k-khya-mandava$ i.e. $g\bar{u}dha-\bar{a}khya-mandapa$) and next to it the vestibule (chakka i.e. cha-caukī or satcatuṣkikā). Then will be the dancing hall (rangamandava i.e. rangamandapa) and next there will be the entry-hall (balāṇa-mandava i.e. balānaka-mandapa) with tōraṇa."

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Pāsā ya-kamala-agge gūdha kakkhya-mandavam tu chakkam/
pūna rangamandavam taha torana-sa balänamandavayam//
—Vatthusāra-payarana, 3.49.
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Writing some time around the middle of the fifteenth century and depending on earlier vāstu manuals, Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana takes a brief notice of the Jaina temple, giving, however, essential constituent details of the building:19

"Let there be Samosarana (Samavasarana) before the Jina (who is in the sanctuary); and the closed hall (gūdhamaṇḍapa) before the suka (i.e. sukanāsa-ante-fix); And before the closed hall, there will be catuṣkī-s etc., and before the latter, the dancing hall (ntyamaṇḍapa). In all the four directions, around the Jina's (main) temple and inclusive of it, will be 72, 52 or 24 (sub-srines). On either side of the transversal of the hall (garbhasūtra) make Aṣṭāpada, trisālā* or balāṇaka."

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Jin-agrē Samosaran-agrē suk-agrē gūdhamaṇḍapaḥ|
gūdha-sy-agrē catuṣk-ādyā-s-tad-agrē nṛṭyamaṇḍapaḥ||
dvi-saptatyā dvi-bāṇai-r-vā caturvimsatitō 'pi vā|
Jinālayē catur-dikṣu sahitam Jina-mandiram||
Maṇḍapād garbhasūtrēṇa vāma-dakṣiṇay-ōr-disoḥ|
Aṣtāpadam prakartavyam triṣālā vā balānakam||
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-Prāsādamandana, 2.22-24

Outside the vāstusāstra-s, there are two important notices relating to the Jaina temple complex giving details of its accessory parts. The Saptaksetrī-rāsu (S. 1327/A.D. 1271), a work in Gūrjara-bhāṣā (old Gujarātī) graphically describes a Jaina temple:²⁰

"At the first place (kṣētra) may be made a beautiful (cangū) house for Jina (Jinaha bhuvana) whose praise is sung by the four-fold Fraternity (cauviha sanghu i.e. caturvidha-sangha). Make the main shrine (mūlagabharaū i.e. mūla-garbhagtha), the closed hall (gūdhamandapu) with the vestibule (chaku-caukī sahiū i.e. sat-catuskikā sahitam) and in front of it the hall for theatrical purposes (rangamandapu) as has been said in the 'book (pustaki kahiū), [that is to say, as described in the vāstuṣāstra-s]. There, at a distance (from the last noted

structure), construct an entry-hall ($bal\bar{a}manu$ i.e. $bal\bar{a}naka$). The sanctuary (Jinabhavana) must come on view as one emerges out of the stairway passage ($n\bar{a}l\bar{i}$). And there should be lofty $t\bar{o}rana$ -s with densely packed (decorated) pillars (thambha thoru $gh\bar{a}ntu$). And beautiful and charming figures ($r\bar{u}pi$) must be inserted (in the pillars?). On either side and around (the main temple complex) must be made very handsome sub-shrines ($dehar\bar{i}$) and inside them may be installed the images of Jina-s in proportion to the size (of the sub-shrines). And then let the temple be completed by placing . . . pitcher-finial (kalasa), flag-staff (danda) with bells ($ghamai\bar{n}$) and finally the banner (dhaja i.e. $dhvaj\bar{a}$). A good soul builds such a temple ($pr\bar{a}s\bar{a}du$)."

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Pahilau kṣētra su Jiṇaha bhuvaṇa karāvau caṅgū|
jī chē mahimā karaī sahu srī-cauviha-saṅghū|
Mūlagabhārau-gūdhamaṇḍapu-chacaukī-sahiū||
agaī kījaī raṅgamaṇḍapu jo pustaki kahiu||
Tahi ātarai balāmaṇu kījaī āgherau|
jima jiṇabhavaṇah nāli-māhī dīsaī nīkerau||
uttaṅga-tōraṇu thambha-thoru ghānṭu ati nīkau|
kadī yai nānā-vīdhi rūpi sāru cāru taha nīsalu jaḍiu||
bihu pakṣa pharatī deharī kījai ati ruḍī|
thavī jaī mūrti Jinaha taṇī māhi tevaḍa tevaḍī||
Kaṇaya-kalasa-daṇḍa ghāṇtī dhaja pūrī ya kījayaï|
cho ha pakaṭa prāsādu bhalau jīva nīpaï jaï||
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→Saptaksetrarāsu, 20-22

There is next the Sabhāstngāra, a compilation dwelling on civil life and cultural equipment.²¹ Its date could be the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the next century. It gives a graphic description of a Jaina temple, the relevant portion may be cited with translation in English foregoing the text:

"For obtaining prestige in this world, a temple $(p\bar{a}s\bar{a}du-pr\bar{a}s\bar{a}da)$: implied to be sacred to Jina) which is the cause of great merit, be built. Let the sanctuary $(gabh\bar{a}ra\bar{u}, i.e.\ garbh\bar{a}g\bar{a}ra)$ be 81 inches (angula-s) and (where) the architect $(s\bar{u}tradh\bar{a}ra)$ has left no (mauli-defficiency?) with regard to the shape $(gh\bar{a}ta)$, making as he did the junction-wall (kauli) with its crowning part (kauli-vati): And then a lofty closed hall $(\bar{a}kh\bar{a}-mandapa)$ which is always unbroken $(abhangu\ i.e.\ not\ interrupted$ with openings excepting the entrance on front). And makes he a shapely vestibule $(navacaukiu\ i.e.\ nava-catuskik\bar{a})$ to seem as though constructed by the Creator of the Universe Himself! (As a result), how much one must admire it (would indeed be hard to say!) And (before the latter i.e. vestibule) is done a colourful theatrical hall (rangamandapa).

"Along the jagati-border ($p\bar{a}khali\ jagat\bar{\imath}$) would on all sides be the 24 Jina-s according to details (i.e. 24 Jina-s of present, past, and future implied): make 72 images with 72 subsidiary shrines ($dehur\bar{\imath}$ bahuttar $\bar{\imath}$) in the same member as are the 72 arts ($kal\bar{a}$ -bahuttar $\bar{\imath}$): (These are to be adorned by) golden jar-pinnacles ($kalas\bar{\imath}$) and golden staffs with the fluttering flags ($dhvaj\bar{a}$).

"The spire (sikharu) of (the main shrine implied) is (like Himācala and Śribharu?) seeming as though a peak of the Mt. Mēru and above it would be a new resplendent golden jar-finial (with) metallic bell (loha-ghantān tu), Lakṣmī (with elephants? Lakṣmī gajān tu) and the banner of dharma (dharma-dvajān tu). On all sides would be the sub-shrines (koṭarī) done . . . and (they all) seeming as though touching the sky, white-washed with lime as they are.

"In this way is done the Jina-vihāra, with varied beautiful shapes and mouldings (of the structures involved), all done with great care; and inside (the sanctuary) the image of Vītarāga (i.e. Jina) beautified with the encompassing frame (parigara i.e. parikara) and installed with the triple umbrella (chatra-traya), and the eight auspicious symbols (ātha māngalika i.e. asta-mangala-s), also, set up there. The merited people worship therein. Thus is the description of the (Jina's) temple: (prāsāda-varṇanam)."

Levā hindië jagi jasavadu, tau mandavië pasadu/ punya naü bharaü, ekasi angula gabharaü Sūtradhāri ghātanaī vīsaī nathī kīdhī maulī, kaulī-vati sahita kaulī, ati-hi pracandu akha-mandapa pracandu kisu eka navacaukiu, jane sestikarta apanahi kiu/ sughata panaë ketalau-eka vakhanau agali gudhamandapa mandanaun/ aharnisi abhangu, rangamandapa nau rangu/ cihun cauvisī-nī vigati, pakhali jagatī/ murtivanti kala bahuttari, deinsi dehuri bahuttari/ suvarn ya-danda-kalasi alankari, dhvaja parahari Himācala Šrībharu suligau sikharu/ jāne Mēru-parvata srūgu-ehavaŭ upari svarnyamaya kalasa naŭ raŭguļ Loha-ghantan tu, Laksmi ganjan tul dharma-dhvajān tu ciha pakhera kotarī, kosise karī ākāsi adi, sudhā kari dhavali tu/ vividha ghați kari saru-caru, evam vidha Jina-viharu sakala panai karī mahā-sphūrti, māħhi māndi vitarāga-nī mūrtī parigara karī sobhā yamāna, chatra-traya karī naī virā jamāna/ atha-mangalika mandana-iin, pun yavanta pu ja karain chain || prasada-varnanam//36//

Now to the caturmukha temple. The caturmukha or fourfaced temple presupposes a caumukha or sarvatobhadrikā image of Jina. The Jaina-s were perhaps the first to conceive the idea of a four-fold image, sometime in the early centuries of the christian Era. The origin of such an image is rooted in the conception of Samavasarana and the atisaya-s or the "splendour phenomena" which are believed to be spontaneously coming into play when a Tirthankara formally preaches after attaining omniscience. To these twin concepts the later Jaina agama-s (composed sometime between the first and the fourth century A.D.) allude in clearer terms. But when did the four-door shrines for a quadruple Jina began to be built is exactly what we want to know in the present context. The earliest among the existing caumukha i.e. caturmukha temples is the famous Dharanavihara, or, as termed in the foundation inscription, the Trailokyadīpaka prāsāda, which, however is of a date as late as 1440. The available literary evidence for the four-fold shrines is still earlier, though it does not take us beyond the twelfth century. We shall presently examine this evidence as can be traced from the compositions of the post-Solanki and Solanki periods. We may, at this juncture, notice first the testimony of Poet Meha, who gives the account of the founding of the Dharanavihāra of which he scemingly was an eye witness. As the poet goes on to say, the builder Dharana saha summoned fifty salāta-s (architect-masons) and their views on the design for the temple were invited: The poet at this point comments that the temple conceived was to "follow the model of the Caumukha temple at Sidhapur (i.e. Siddhapura) which is very admired (by people); and the architect Depā (at that moment) said: 'I will design it on a large scale, in accordance with (the injunctions of) the sastra (i.e. vastusastra-s)'."*

Sidhapur caumukha karian vakhana, mandau deula motai mandani; Depa kahai hun sasatra pramani, mandi-su deula motai mandani;

--- Ranigapura-caturmukha-prasada-stavana, 10"-11'

Not much information is available on the pre-conquest Jaina buildings of Siddhapura. Hēmacandra, however, credits Emperor Jayasimha Siddharāja, in his famed Dvyāsrayakāvya (ca. 2nd quarter of the 12th century), to have built temples to Jina Mahāvīra and Suvidhinātha in Siddhapura. Since Siddhapura's caturmukha temple was sought as a model for the Rāṇakapur fane, it must have been a large, ornate and impressive building; it is likely that that was the "Rājavihāra" (king's temple) implied in the Rāṇakapur reference.²² The existence of the Rājavihāra of Siddhapura in the fifteenth century, and that it was a caturmukha building is clearly hinted in the beautiful psalm in Sanskrit composed by Munisundara Sūri who was a disciple of Sōmasundara Sūri who consecrated the

Dharanavihara. Munisundra Suri thus happened to be the contemporary of Poet Meha. Thus prays the Suri in his psalm addressed to Jina Mahavira of Siddhapura:

"Glory be of the son of the Jaata (Jaatr: Mahāvīra). I praise the Jina who graces the Rājavihāra which is (a building) so appropriate (to Him). I behold this four-door caitya with (its) ample hall (mandapa), which is the best in India (Bhāratottama), conceived as it is like the Nandīsvara²³ and Mt. Kundala at the end of the earthly universe. For ending the misery due to the four classes of births (gati-s),²⁴ I worship you, Lord, who is (present there in the temple) in a quadruple form (caturmukham). Thus does Munisundara, motivated by devotion, praise the Jina, the Lord Vīra! the ornament of the famed city of Siddhapura!"

Jaya srī mandirē Siddhapurē srī-jāātanandanam|
catūrū pam Jinam Rājavihār-ālamkṣtim stuvē|
Idam caturdvāra-visāla-mandapam|
nirīkṣya caityam tava Bhārat-ottamam|
Imāni Nandīsvara-Kundal-ādigānya-'pīkṣitānyeva vibhāvayet budhah|
Catur-gati-klesa-vināsahetavē
Caturmukham tvām bhagavan prabhum bhaje|
Evam Siddhapura-prasiddha-Nagar-ālankāra Vīraprabho|
Bhakty-odayān-Munisundara-stava-gaṇam stutvā svasaktyā Jinam|
—Śrī-Rājavihāra-maṇdana-Śrī-Vardhamāna-stotra, 9. 1, 20, 21, 25.

The said temple was built under the supervision of the Jaina minister Aliga and was consecrated by Vādi Deva Sūri in 1142 as stated by Sõmapra-bhācārya in his famous work Kumārapāla-pratibodha (S. 1241/A. D. 1185).

Probably there also was a caturmukha Jaina temple in Śrī-Pattana or Anhilavāda Pāṭan, capital of Gujarāt, in the twelfth century as attested to by a statement of Prabhācandrācārya in the Prabhāvakacaritra (S.1334/A.D. 1278) which pictures Hēmacandra as delivering a sermon in the selfsame temple.† Now, incidentally, there is also evidence for one other Rājavihāra founded by Siddharāja in the capital, constructed under the supervision of Minister Āśuka, and consecrated by Vādi Dēva Sūri in 1127, as stated elsewhere in the Prabhāvakacaritra. Earlier than the last-noted work by about thirty years, Bālacandra in his Vasantavilāsa (composed between 1240 and 1248), refers to the Rājavihāra (of Pāṭan).25 Later prabhandha-s speak about one Pāṣil of Ārāṣaṇa who, inspired by the selfsame Rājavihāra, built the famous temple of Neminātha at Ārāṣaṇa.26 Sōmaprabhācārya describes the Rājavihāra of Pāṭaṇ as Mēru-cul-ōpama i.e. the one that can be compared to the peak of Mt. Mēru. It is likely that this Rājavihāra, too, was a caumukha temple and may be the same one in which Hēmacandra delivered his sermons at some occasions in Pāṭaṇ.

Among the vāstusāstra-s, only the Vṛkṣārṇava, an important mid-fifteenth century work, refers to the various kinds of caturmukha Jaina (as well as, Saiva) temples, and at considerable length to be sure. It also notices the Trailokya-dīpaka-prāsāda, which was the type opted for the famous Caturmukha temple at Rāṇakpur.²⁷ This one is the only surviving four-faced building built on a grandiose scale, and is today seen in perfect condition we may add. It gives some idea of what the Rājavihāra at Siddhapura (and perhaps that at Pāṭaṇ) could have been. We shall dwell on the aspects of caumukha temples in the next section.

THE CONSTITUENT PARTS OF THE JAINA TEMPLE

The vastu manuals as well as the literary works betray familiarity with and clearly mention all the component parts of a Jaina sacred building, as we noticed in the foregone pages. Each part is subordinate, immediately or ultimately, to the inner-most sanctuary and each contributes towards the wholeness of the building; to the realization of its solemn grandeur and to its architectural aesthetics just as to the sacred air which pervades both inside and outside the temple. But besides giving information on the formal organization, neither the vastus astra-s nor do the inscriptions hint to anything further. They say nothing on the historical development, nor to the aesthetics or philosophy of the building. These are revealed by the building, to us today, as perhaps was to the ancients who did sense if not, perhaps, comprehended.*

To each part we shall now give a separate cosideration, citing wherever available the notices taken by ancients, and try to understand and evaluate its function and access its individual contribution. Aggregationally, the chief constituent parts are: (1) the jagati (platform); (2) the nāli (channel-way; underway passage); (3) the mulaprasada (main shrine); (4) the gudhamandapa (closed hall); (5) the trika, sat-catuski, navacatuski or mukhamandapa (vestibules of sort); (6) the khattaka-s or khataka-s (deep niches) or devakulika-khattaka-s (shrine-formed niche); (7) the rangamandapa or netyamandapa (dancing hall); (8) the Meghanadamandapa (storied hall); (9) the Indramandapa: Akhandalamandapa: Sakramandapa (open hall with Indra figures); (10) the pattasalika (lobby) or bhramantika (colonnaded corridor ambulatory); (11) the devakulikā-s, devagthikā-s or-sala-s (sub-shrines); (12) the bhadraprāsāda-s (shrines at the transepts); (13) the mahādhara-s (two-door shrines); (14) the pratoli or simhadvara (main gate); (15) the balanaka (overhanging entry-hall); (16) the mukhacatuski (porch); (17) the mukhamandapa (pillared portal); (18) the hastisala (elephant court) (19) the vitana-s (ceilings), and (20) the torana-s (ornamental arches).

These are the parts (some of which are optional and some present in special cases) which get arranged according to their architectural logic in the total J.S.-43

plan; with them the evolutionary pattern of a medieval Jaina temple broadly coincides; with them also the structure's functional aspects coordinate. Together they create the "body-aesthetic" of the temple; and when they reached the end of the evolutionary chain, they started unravelling the luminous transcendence of the building of a kind which the ethically oriented philosophy of the Jina envisages and idealizes. To these now we shall turn in order.

(1) The Jagatī

The jagati is a platform over which the temple stands. In the Brahmanical context it is available from at least the Gupta period and the Jaina sacred buildings in the medieval period extensively use it. While its function is to protect the building, it is also meant to lift the building up and add dignity and stature to its dimensions. In Jaina temple, the jagati was found serviceable to one other purpose also. At its edge it supported the rows of devakuli-shrines which in linkage worked as an ornamental moulded walling that surrounded and thus enclosed the main sanctuary, shielding the latter as well as the interior of the halls from outside view. At what date this special use of the jagatī was discovered by the architects who designed Jaina temples is now not easy to find out, though small hints can be made on the basis of somewhat slender evidence we have and to which we shall turn in the course of discussion. But the main point in the present context is this: the shifting of emphasis in the elevation on the devakulikachains as also on the spacious and gorgeous interior made it unessential just as uneconomic to treat the jagati-elevation in an ornamental way, as opposed to what was done in case of Brahmanical buildings where the moulded and ornamented jagati perfectly matched with the sanctuary in elevational appearance. In short, the exterior became relatively unimportant as compared to the interior in a complex Jaina temple. Consequently, even when the jagati for a Jaina building is fairly vast, and often tall, its elevation is rather simply treated, with much fewer mouldings and with decoration scanty or none at all.

The earliest extant example of a Jaina jagatī is at Osiātī. There, in the Mahāvīra temple, it is almost three times as long as, and about twice as broad as the main shrine complex. In front of the main shrine complex, over the stairway, it supports a long pillared hall—balānaka—and there also are two lateral entrance-porches, one to the east and the second possibly to the west on the corresponding point, now obscured by a modern gate. Now the question is, what the purpose was of having such a big jagatī for the temple. Had the architects in mind to provide a surround of devakulikā-s at the jagatī-edge? That does not seem the case, because, on the back side there is a corridor meant to be used as a waiting place for the pilgrims and in the front side is the extensive balānaka, earlier mentioned. If this situation is any good evidence, then we may

conclude that jagati's proper use was discovered at a somewhat later date, and, along with it, it was found useful to make it somewhat featureless elevationally. In point of fact, even the Osiān Jaina jagati is rather simple and austere compared to those of the contemporaneous Brahmanical temples there, which shows the beginnings or is at least the first indicator of a trend in the direction of economical application of ornament and shapes for a jagatī.†

The 24, 52 and still more Jinālaya type of temples, with very few exceptions²⁸, possess jagatī. The jagatī is thus a primary and an indispensable feature of a Jaina sacred building. Its absence is detrimental to the total appearance of the building, particularly to those buildings which possess the entourage of devakulikā-s in linkage.

(2) The nali

The $n\bar{a}l\bar{i}$ is a jagati-stairway which gets converted into a stairway-channel or underground stairway when a balānaka-hall is superimposed over it. The $n\bar{a}l\bar{i}$'s function is psychological besides physical in the sense that not even the slightest glimpse of the interior is permitted from outside because of its (sub-structural) location, and, it dramatically leads to and suddenly ushers in the splendours of the interior. The mystified and awe-struck pilgrim all of a sudden finds himself wrapped by and submerged into an unexpected just as unearthly, heavenly air, and only slowly gets in tune with the inner blissful atmosphere after landing in the first hall through the half lighted $n\bar{a}l\bar{i}$ -steps.

The earliest example of $n\bar{a}l\bar{i}$ is at the Mahāvira temple at Osiāfi, but it only leads to the open space over the jagati-floor, in front of the trika. There may once have been many more examples between this and the next now available, namely the Pārsvanātha temple at Kumbhāriā (ca. 1100), the latter has its $n\bar{a}l\bar{i}$ graced by an open pillared portico in its frontage, supporting the balānaka above. The fifteenth century temples at Idar and Nādalai, the Dharanavihāra at Rānakapur, and the Lākhenā temple in Polo Jungle near Idar provide some excellent examples of $n\bar{a}l\bar{i}$. 29

(3) The Mulaprasada

 $N\bar{a}l\bar{i}$ in fact is a part of the $jagat\bar{i}$. After dwelling on $jagat\bar{i}$ we may directly proceed to the $m\bar{u}lapr\bar{a}s\bar{a}da$ or the shrine poper. The main temple containing the sanctuary (garbha or garbhagraha) proper is architecturally in no way different from a brahmanical shrine. That it is a Jaina building is indicated by the imagery associated with its $p\bar{i}tha$ (base), the mandovara (wall) and the sikhara (spire). We notice, for instance, scenes from the biographies of the Tirthankara-s in the $narap\bar{i}tha$ (human course) of the base, as at the Sammidhesvara temple

at Chittor, which originally was, as earlier mentioned, a Jaina building founded in Caulukya Emperor Kumārapāla's time, possibly soon after 1150.30 Next in sequence do we find the images of Yakṣṣṣṣ and Vidyādevṣṣs on kumbha-faces of the vēdibandha-podium which occupies the lower section of the wall proper. The Pārsvanātha temple at Sādri and the Padmaprabha temple at Nādol—both founded in the late eleventh century—represent some of the earlier instances showing this feature, the other notable instances being the Chittor temple (referred to in the foregoing) and the great temple of Ajitanātha at Tāraṅgā founded, as earlier mentioned, by Emperor Kumārapāla in 1165. The bhadra-khattaka-s (niches on the cardinal points) on the jaṅghā of the mandōvara, (where such niches are in the scheme), show seated or standing Jina images' generally with parikara-frame, as at the Vimala-vasahī temple at Dilwārā (1032), and temples at Sādri, Nādol and other places.

The rathikā-s (framed panels) at the bhadra (cardinal) offsets at the lower end of the sikhara of the prāsāda harbour figures of Yakṣī-s, Vidyādevī-s and at times Śrutadevatā or Vāgdevī (Sarasvatī) and Yakṣa-s such as Brahmaṣānti.³¹

There is nothing special or different about the sikhara's appearance from that of the sikhara-s noticed with the Māru-Gurjara Brahmanical temples. But it is likely that, by late eleventh century or the beginning of the next, some special named varieties of prāsāda-s for Jina-s, having their own submultiples and summations of andakas (spirelets) alongwith tilaka-s or hall-aediculae (wherever present) had come to be formulated as inferred from the Vāstuvidyā of Visvakarmā.³² This, however, did not affect the style or the overall appearance, we may once more stress, and the point is so subtle that no distinction can be made between the Jaina and the Brahmanical temples on the basis of an appearance of the sikhara-

In the interior of the temple, it is the doorframe which once again shows Jaina character of the temple, suggested by the associated imagery. There is, first, the Jina figure seated in padmāsana, placed as the tutelory deity in the centrally situated niche or panel of the innermost jamb. If the uttaranga (doorlintel) is there, ornamented with rathikā-niches, there again one finds seated Jina in the middle niche and Vidyādevī-s in other niches, sometimes with standing Jina figures in the recesses between the niches. The rūpastambha or stambha'sākhā, i.e. 'pilaret-jamb' also shows Vidyādevī and Yaksī figures, as at Osiāfi (11th century)³³, Sewādi,³⁴ Chittor, and some other places.

The garbha (sanctuary) is square and the cult image—mūlanā yaka—is installed over a moulded pedestal. The image of the Jina is oftener provided with a gorgeous parikara-frame, 35

(4) The gudhamandapa

The gūḍhamaṇḍapa is the closed hall, which normally has the same kind of elevation as the shrine proper (upto the wall cornice), its covering done very differently though, and in most cases by a samvaraṇā i.e. bell-roof.* The iconographic features associated with the main shrine are also paralleled in the gūḍhamaṇḍapa's elevation, though oftener, as at Sādri, Nāḍol, Kumbhāriā (Neminātha temple: ca. 1134), Chittor, Jālōr (Kumāravihāra: 1166) and a few other places, the apsaras (celestial maiden) figures which stand on shrine-walls in the jaṅghāniches at pratiratha-s i.e. companion buttresses to the ratha or bhadra, are replaced by Yakṣī-s and Vidyādevī-s with Vāgadevī figuring sometimes. The width of the gūḍhamaṇḍapa in relation to the mūlaprāsāda follows the rule of proportion given in Śrī-Devyadhikāra, namely, 1:1, 1:1 1/4, 1:1 1/5 or 1:1/8.36 But the fronton of the gūḍhamaṇḍapa, when the structure is connected with a mukhamaṇḍapa, is 'ironed out' to receive the khattaka-s (deep, bold and large niches) flanking the doorway.

The notices concerning the gudhamandapa in the vastusastra-s we earlier saw propos of the description of the temple-complex as a whole. The structure also finds mention in the inscriptions as well as literary sources. For example the Varahudiyā family inscription in the Lūṇa-vasahī in Dilwārā, Mt. Abu, dated S.1296/A.D. 1240.37 refers to the setting up by the family of a pair of Jina images in a khattaka in the gūdhamandapa of the temple of Jina Ajitanātha at Tārangā; also, in the Jaina temple at Cāropa, the image of Adinātha with prāsāda (shrine), gūdhamandapa and cha-caukiyā or vestibule.38

Narendraprabha Sūri, a contemporary of Vastupāla, takes note in latter's eulogy (ca. A.D. 1232-35) of the images of Nābhēya (Rsabhadeva) and Nēminātha the minister set up in the temple of Pārsvanātha at Thāmbhanā (anc. Stambhanaka):†

Pur-ottamē Stambhanak-ābhidhānē nives'anē Pārsva Jinēsvara-sya|
yo kārayēt kāncana-kumbha-danda-makhanda-dharmā sikharam garī yaḥ|
Nābhē yam Nēminātham ca tadī ye gūdhamandape|
Sarasvatīm jagatyām ca sthāpay-āmās saḥ kṛtī||

38-39

Jinaharsa, in the Vastupālacaritra (1441), mentions that Vastupāla (who was in charge of the Prime Minister's office between A.D. 1220 and 1235), set up the effigies of his father and grandfather in the trika that in sequence followed the gūdhamandapa of the temple of Neminātha on Mt. Girnār; similarly, he is said to have set up the images of Ajitanātha and Sānitnātha in the gūdhamandapa of Sakunikā-vihāra of Broach (anc. Brgukaccha), a foundation dated to 1166. He also renovated the gūdhamandapa of the ancient Sāliga-Jinālaya, and set up

two images of "standing" Jina in the gudhamandapa of the temple of Pārśvanātha of Thārapadra-gaccha, the latter two temples situated in Cambay (Stambhatīrtha).

The doorframe of the gūḍhamaṇḍapa may have the 'sākhā-manipulation the same as, or somewhat different from that of the garbhagtha; but the imagery associated with it is once again the same,—the Vidyādevī-s, the Yakṣī-s and the Jina figures,—as evidenced by Ghāṇerāv (ca. 954) and Sewāḍī (ca. 1020) temples, and almost all other medieval Jaina temples which followed the two in time.

The gūdhamandapa, in the instances of Dilwārā and Kumbhāriā, Satruñjaya and Girnār and a few other places possess side-doors with pillared porticos. For mystical effects, the closed-hall interiors with no side-doors, admitting only a furtive glimmer, as was the case with Sejakpur and Sarotrā temples, serve more to focussing attention on the sanctuary proper. Lighted with a pair of lamps, the seated meditative image of the Jina in the cella (when the image is sufficiently ancient and the glaring big crystal eyes are not provided) would seem to radiate strong spiritual power which seems to emanate from the faultless (niranjana) and formless (nirākāra) eternity of the liberated soul.

(5) The trika: saţcatuşkī: navacatuşkī: mukhamandapa

The Mt. Abu inscription of Minister Tejahapāla in the Lūņa-vasahī temple at Dilwara, dated S.1297/A.D. 1241.39 refers to two terms, namely, the trika and the khattaka, the meaning of which has not been correctly guessed by scholars outside Gujarat. Since the terms in question almost exclusively figure in the inscriptions connected with the Western Indian Jaina temples, and since they factually refer to the specific parts or structural elements of a Jaina building, the Jaina scholars.—particularly the erudite Jaina monks in Rajasthan and Gujaratwere familiar with them and also knew their true connotation.40 The Dilwara inscription under reference is not the only Jaina inscription in Western India to mention these terms; nor is it the earliest to do so. I have chosen that one to begin with, because, it is apparently with reference to that particular inscription that scholars (epigraphists in main) who wrote in English, have given the gloss as they considered of the two terms involved. The inscription in question is carved on a pedestal of an image in one of the two identical niche-shrines in the colonnaded vestibule lying between the gudhamandapa and the rangamandapa of the Luna-vasahi temple. It refers to the setting up of an image of Jina Ajitanätha in the niche-shrine of the triga (i.e. trika): (etat triga-devakulikā-khattakam srī Ajitanatha bimbam ca karitam//).41

We shall first look up to the term trika; the second term will be discussed in the proper place independently. D. C. Sirkar, who depended on U. P. Shah

for his gloss, takes trika as "a group of three figures of the tirthankara-s." It is not clear whether U. P. Shah picked up the selfsame term from the aforementioned Lüna-vasahi inscription or some other source. But Sirkar seems to assume it occurring in an inscriptional context as the title of his work seems to hint. As Shah's introduction pertains to Dilwārā temples, he might have the Lüna-vasahi inscription in mind. In any case, his interpretation of the term (and Sirkar who cites and seemingly accepts it) is not borne out by the epigraphical context in which the term occurs; nor does it do by the architectural context in which the said inscription is found.

For explaining the position and for reaching its true connotation, I shall cite relevant passages from the $v\bar{a}stus'\bar{a}stra$ -s and contemporaneous literary works of Jaina origin, and also a few other inscriptions.

To begin with we may notice the statement of the Aparā jitaprechā, according to which the trika is a colonnaded vestibule or a pillared porch attached to the closed hall of a temple: That it interposes between the nirgūdha (i.e. nirandhāra temple)⁴³ and the open hall for nitya is indicated by the sequence of the structures noted there:

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nirgūdh-āgrē trikaḥ prokta-s-tasy-āgrē nṛtyamaṇḍapaḥ//
—Aparā jitaprocha, 188,17.
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The association of trika with the Jaina temple scheme is established by the opening verse of the Vāstusāstra in its chapter on Jaina temple, seen earlier. 44 Also, in the statement for Jaina, jagatī in the Vāstuvidyā, the same sequence of structure is given, omitting, however, the mandapa and mentioning one more structure, balānaka-porch which, too, we noticed in the foregone discussion.

Among literary notices may be mentioned Jinahara Sūri's—who in the Vastupālacaritra (1441) refers to the setting up of the effigies by Vastupāla, his father's and grandfather's in the trika of the Neminātha temple on Mt. Girnār, and, his renovation, among other parts, of the trika of the Śāntinātha temple at Cambay.⁴⁵

The following textual statement equates trika with mukhamandapa. It refers to the 12 types of mukhamandapa-s, otherwise styled trika, to be attached to a nirgūdha temple:

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nirgūdh-āgrē trikam khyātam dvādasāh mukhamandapāh//
—Aparā jitaptechā 187.16
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That trika is otherwise called mukhamandapa is confirmed by an inscription of S. 1204/A.D. 1148 engraved on the pedestal of an image set up in the niche of the trika (vestibule) in the Neminātha temple, Kumbhāriā:46

Samvat 1204 Phālguna vadi 11 kuje Śrī-Neminātha-caitya-mukhamandapa-khattakē Śrī Śānti-bimbam

The term 'saṭka-catuṣkikā' for *trika* occurs in an inscription of S. 1255/A.D. 1199 in the temple of Pārsvanātha at Jhāḍoli, Rājasthān.⁴⁷ (The term *trika*, too, figures twice in the selfsame inscription.)

The Apabhramsa term cha caukī yā in lieu of satka-catuskikā figures in the Lūņa-vasahī inscription (which otherwise is in Sanskrit) of S. 1296/A.D. 1240:48

Śrī Anhilapura-praty-āsanna Caropē Śrī Ādināthabimbam prāsādam gudhamandapam cha-caukiyā sahitam etc.

(Term's Prākṛta form 'chakka' we noticed while citing Vatthusāra-payarana in the preceding section.)

The term 'navacatuṣka(ka)' for *trika* occurs in two inscriptions of S. 1513/A.D. 1457 in the Pittalahara temple, Dilwārā: (for the text, see here 'ālaka and 'ālaya' under *khattaka*.)

The basic plan of the *trika* involves three k_sana -squares in link: a $catu_skik\bar{a}$ in front is articulated with the middle k_sana . The inference follows from a verse in the $Apar\bar{a}jitaprech\bar{a}$ in the context of a Jaina $jagat\bar{i}$ named $Srikarq\bar{i}$:

tri-ksanam trika-makhyatam catur-bhi-s-tu catuskika/

-Apara jitaprecha 120.4

That the trika is made of three catuski-s is further inferred from the two inscriptions on the pillars of the vestibule of the Jaina temple at Junā near Bāḍamer in Rājasthān. Both the inscriptions are dated to S. 1356/A.D. 1300.⁴⁹ The first refers to the central double pair of pillars (madhya-catuskikā) and the second to the pair of two lateral catuskikā-s flanking the central one: (pārsvavarti catuskikā dvayam).

A trika is formed by the placement invariably of free standing pillars above the pītha-base as distinct from the formation of the mukhamandapa in a brahmanical temple where short pillars supported on the asanapatta (seat) above the vēdikā (dado) and surrounded by kakṣāsana (seat-back) are found: (Pītha is, of course, present there too.) And it is attached to the gūdhamandapa, and, is, in turn, articulated to the rangamandapa whenever the latter type of hall is included in the scheme.

The earliest available example of a trika, as said before, is encountered at the Mahāvīra temple at Osiān (late 8th cent.). The next important instance is

the Mahāvīra temple at Ghāņerāv (đu. 954). Sewādī (ca.1020) follows next, and then would come the Mahāvīra temple at Kumbhāriā (1062).

The original meaning of the term "trika" possibly conveyed a structure formed by the union of "three" catuṣki-quadrants in formation; but later on it also covered such vestibules which have six and nine quadrants, the other names for which in the popular parlance of that day were satcatuṣkikā (Guj. & Rāj. chacaukī) and nava-catuṣkikā (Guj. & Rāj. nava-caukī).

The examples noted in the foregoing are all having three catuṣki-s⁵⁰ and thus reflects the original meaning of the term. The examples where sateatuṣkī-s are found, are the Sāntinātha temple at Kumbhāriā, (ca. 1082), the Vimala-vasahī (trika, cā. late 11th cent.) and the Lūṇa-vasahī (1232) at Dilwārā, the Neminātha temple at Kumbhāriā (ca. 1765), the Ādinātha temple at Vadanagar and a few others. These examples reflect a trika which has six catuṣkī-squares in parallel link, three in the fore-part and three behind. The conception of navacatuṣkaka arises from adding three catuṣkī-s in the foreground of ṣaṭcatuṣkikā, the pillars of this extended part, however, do not share the pītha-base but rest on the lower ground. The rangamandapa-hall, if present, is shunted with the latter three catuṣkī-s in the fore. But there also was one single example where all the nine-caukī-s were supported over the pītha, as at Sarotrā.

The trika is customarily a very ornate structure, with pillars completely wreathed in ornamented figural and floral belts; and the ceilings which they support are indeed the choicest from the artists' repertoire. Trika's great beauty was duely recognised by the ancients as well as the moderners, and the sixteenth century writer of the Sabhā-srāgāra eulogises it as a structure made as though by Creator Himself! (The trika is generally provided with a pītha of the Kāmada class. The Śantinātha temple at Kumbhāriā has vēdikā and āsanapatta mouldings in the base. And the Lūnavashī temple at Ābu has vēdibandha instead.)

The finest extant examples of trika are at Osiān, Dilwārā and Kumbhāriā; those of the Vimala-vasahī and the Lūna-vasahī temples are incomparable: (Figs. 1 & 4). Two excellent fifteenth century examples are the Pārsvanātha temple at Varakānā and the Mīrpura Jaina temple, both in Rājasthān.

While it is true that the trika is in general a very decorated structure, there are instances where pillars are somewhat of plainer orders, as at Tārangā, Sarotrā, Vaḍanagar, Girnār, Bhadrēśvara and a few other places. The sparse decoration of pillars is very clearly not conductive to the effects intended to be created by the trika, a truth plainly perceivable in the latter instances. In ornate trikas the pillars are usually of one type, of the Modherā order in particular. In the Lūna-vasahī instance, however, other varieties, somewhat less adorned; also figure, flanking the very ornate pairs of the central catuṣkī-s.

J.S.-44

(6) The khattaka-s: khātaka-s: devakulīkā-khattaka-s

A major part of the caprice of the trika is due undoubtedly to the presence of the ornamented pillars and ceilings and the ornate doorway that leads into the gūdhamaṇḍapa; a second smaller but significant part is due to the pair of khattaka-s i.e. large deep niches with pediments that flank the doorway, in between the wall-pilasters. These special niches on the wall of the gūdhamaṇḍapa which supports the trika, harbour seated Jina images.

The term khattaka, in point of fact, applies to any niche, be it on the bhadra of the janghā of the wall of the shrine-proper, or, on the inner walls of the closed hall, or in the bhramantī-ambulatory where they occur in lieu of the devakulikā-shrines.

The term is mentioned in only one vastu work, Vastuvidya: There of course it is noticed in the context of the bhadra part of the jangha-section of the templewall:

The meaning of the term is confirmed by the inscriptional evidence found in plenty in the context particularly of the medieval Jaina temples in Rājasthān and Gujarāt:

(1) The inscription of V.S. 1172/A.D. 1116 from the temple of Mahāvīra in Sewādi refers to a donation by Cāhamāna prince Kattukarāja for the worship of the image of Śāntinātha in the khattaka caused to be built by Yasōdēva:

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Pūjā(-rtha) Santinātha-sya Yasodēva-sya kha(tta)kē//
pravarddhayatu Candr-Ārka-yāvadā-dāna-m(ujjva)lam//
-Ratnamanjusā, Sewari 1944, p. 2.
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- (A Jina image bearing a date S. 1175/A.D. 1119 now worshipped in a subsidiary shrine in Gamunda temple group at the reservoir near Jalor, Rajasthan mentions the khattaka of Suvidhideva.)⁵²
- (2) Next in date is the inscription of S. 1204/A.D. 1148 in the Neminatha temple at Kumbharia referring to the installation of the image of Santinatha in the khattaka of the mukhamandapa of the temple: (see in the foregoing the "trika" for the relevant part of the text of the inscription.)

- (3) Vastupāla's inscription of S. 1278/A.D. 1222 in the Vimala-vasahī temple at Dilwārā is one more instance which refers to the construction of a khattaka, that was for Jina Mallināthadeva.⁵³
- (4) The Varahudiyā family inscription of S. 1296/A.D. 1240 in the Lūņavasahī temple at Dilwārā refers to the construction of khattaka-s: (1) On Mt. Satruñjaya in Vastupāla's Satyapurīya Śrī Mahāvīradeva temple as well as in the hall he built in front of the Ādinātha temple; (2) in the gūḍhamanḍapa of the Ajitanātha temple at Tāraṇagaḍha (Tāraṇgā); in the main shrine at Vijāpura (Bijāpur); in the front hall of the Kumāravihāra at Lāṭāpalli (Lāḍōl); in the Candraprabhasvāmi-maṇḍapa of Śrī-Pālhaṇa-vihāra at Pralhādanapura (Pālaṇpur), and, in the Aṣṭāpada chapel of the Pārsvanātha temple atop Mt. Sauvarnagiri of Jābālipura (Jālōr):54
- (5) The Girnār inscription of S. 1299 (A.D. 1243) of the aforenoted Varahudiyā family mentioning the construction of a khattaka by Khedhā and Lāhada (and perhaps other members of the family) for Śrī Neminātha-bimba in the Sācaur-devakula (Satyapurīya Śrī Vīra temple) founded by Vastupāla on Mt. Satrunjaya:55
- (6) And also the Vimala-vasahī inscription of S. 1302/A.D. 1246,56 and Girnār inscription dated S. 1305/A.D. 1249 of the descendents of Minister Udayana:57
- (7) And finally the three inscriptions on the pedestal of Jina images, two dated to S. 1320/A.D. 1264 mentioning Kānhū-vasahikā-caitya of Lātāpalli in which the former were set up in the khattaka-s, and the third of S. 1325/A.D. 1271 from the same place and apparently from the selfsame temple, also refers to its setting up with its own khattaka.⁵⁸

The term looms large in literary works such as the Vastupālacaritra of Jinaharsa (1441). The work takes notice of the Jina images set up by Vastupāla in the khattaka-s (pre-existing or newly built) in: (1) the Sāliga-Jinālaya at Stambhatīrtha (Cambay); (2) Udayana-vihāra at Karņāvatī (Ahmedabad); Pārsvanātha temple at Serisaka (Serisā); Kumāravihāra at Tāraṇagaḍh, and a few other places, all situated in Gujarāt.

P. K. Acharya spelt this term "khattaka" and hence glossed it 'bedstead'.⁵⁹ Lüders whom Acharya quotes, spells correctly khattaka (Mt. Abu inscription No. 1, v. 64, EI, Vol. VIII, pp. 200, 212, and 218) and glosses it "pedestal or throne". The text of the inscription discussed by Lüders (as cited by Acharya) definitely refers to a 'niche' and not to 'bedstead' nor to 'throne', or 'pedestal' either. Sircar⁶⁰ follows Lüders but seems to take the term of Kannada origin

for which, however, he gives no reason. The citation is: Mūrttinām iha pṛṣṭhataḥ kari-vadhū pṛṣṭha-pratiṣṭhā jusām tau-mūrtti-r-vāmē āsma-khattaka-gatāḥ kāntā samētā dasa.61 The original consecration inscription is, incidentally, dated S. 1287/A.D. 1231 and the contents of the citation pertains to the setting up of the effigies of donor couples in stone in the niches of the hastisālā, elephant-court, of the Lūņa-vasahī temple.

Most of the inscriptions and literary references cited here probably refer to khattaka-s made at places other than the trika. But since the general connotation also applies to the niches in the trika-vestibule, it was thought pertinent to examine the evidence in full.

The variant 'khātaka' figures in the Kharataragaccha Bihad Gurvāvali completed in S. 1397/A.D. 1341.62 It refers, among other things, to the setting up of images of Yugādideva and Neminātha with khātaka (niche) in the mandapa of the Chandraprabhasvāmī-devagrha situated atop the Svarnagiri (of Jālōr), the date of the event given is S. 1346/A.D. 1290:63

S. 1346 Māgha Vadi I, Sā. Kṣemsimha Bha.Vāhada kārita Svarṇagiri[stha]Śrī-Candraprabhasvāmi-devagraha-pārsva-sthitayoḥ Śrī Yugādideva-Śrī-Neminātha-bimayo-r-maṇḍapa-khātakē-ṣu ca Sammetasikharavimsatibimbānām ca sthāpanā mahotsavaḥ|

In the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries two more synonyms of the term khattaka seem to be current, namely the ālaka and the ālaya. The term ālaka for niche is known from an inscription of S. 1552/A.D. 1496 in the Jirāvalli-Pārśvanātha temple at Hammirgadh, Rājasthān. A little earlier figures the term ālaya in the two inscriptions of S. 1531/A.D. 1475, in the vestibule of the Pittalahara temple at Dilwārā; the relevant part of the inscription reads: Śrī Arbudācalē Bhīmasīha prāsāde navacatuṣkē ālaya-sthā devakulikā kāritā; and, Arbudācalē Śrī Bhīmasīha-prāsāde navacatuṣkē ālaya-rūpadevakulikā-kāritā. The expression 'navacatuṣkē ālayasthā (or ālaya-rūpa) devakulikā' seems equivalent of 'triga-devakulikā-khattaka of the Lūna-vasahī inscription (cf. trika) and likewise means 'niche-shrine in the vestibule.'

The trika of the Osian Mahavira does not have the khattaka-niches. The Blank wall of the gūdhamandapa where trika joins, seems there ungainly bare. When exactly, then, the convention of gracing this part with khattaka-s started? Tracing back, we come across a pair of large conspicuous niches flanking the garbhagrahadoorway of the sāndhāra temple of the Sun at Varamāna, datable to the latter half of the ninth century. It is apparently this kind of niches which were transferred to trika to flank the gūdhamandapa-doorway there, the earliest instances of which are at the temple of Mahaviradeva at Ghānerāv and the Sewādī temple

(ca. 1020) of the same Jina. These large niches were further glorified by an addition of pītha-base and a crowning roof of phamsanā (stepped pyramidal) or samvaranā (bell-covered) type. In the Mahāvīra temple at Kumbhāriā (1062), there is seen a timid beginning of such niches in shrine-form. Better and larger examples of these are in the trika of the Vimala-vasahī temple (ca. late 11th cent: fig. 1): The most developed and elaborately just as intricately carved examples are in Lūṇa-vasahī temple: It is the inscriptions in these shrine-niches, on the pedestal of its images dated S.1297/A.D. 1241 which explicitly qualify the former as devakulikā-khattaka: (see citation under trika). The devakulikā-kattaka-s of Dilwārā's Tejapāla temple are considered among the brightest gems of the late Solankī Western Indian art.

(7) The Rangamandapa: Nityamandapa

The rangamandapa or the netyamandapa of the Jaina temple is the greatest single Jaina contribution to Indian architecture. It is also the most impressive part of, just as it is the chef d'ouvre in, a Jinaite sacred building. Spacious it often is, but even when not, it creates an illusion of large space. Its presence brings about a central cubical spatiality with rotund top around which revolve other spaces, rectangular semi-voids, of the colonnaded corridors on the three sides and the trika in the rear, and the interlinking quadrants marked by the tall pillars falling between. Its presence in the central situation cuts off the too much illumination inside the trika with which it is conjoined, and itself receives just enough direct sun-light and much reflected light passing between the columns, which brightens as well as fills its airy interior to a degree it ought to be, or at least the range of the intensity of light at its maximal and minimal is comfortably regulated and maintained, showing off its wondrous details and form to their best advantage.

In form it is an open structure standing directly over the paved uttānapatta or jagatī's floor, as in Kumbhāriā temples, or sometimes placed a little
higher, over a lowly raised single course of plinth as in Dilwārā instances.

On plan it usually is square but sometimes a little stretched along one or the
other axis, to a rectangular form. What composes this mandapa are first the
twelve, generally profusely carved columns of the Modherā order66 or, in rare
cases, of the Sidhpur order,67 or their derivatives68 and not frequently though,
of the Miśraka (compound) order with less elaborate carving.69 The lintels
supported by these columns are in most cases richly carved, matching with the
pillars' exuberance of carved detail. Those that form the central octagon, support
the karōtaka i.c. the great concentric ceiling with elaborate cusped and coffered
courses, and the large pendantive in the middle. The karōtaka's carved hemisphere
cularges the sense of size and intensifies profoundity. The hall's etherial, fairy-land
like beauty is further enhanced by the tōrana-s thrown in between the columns.

The proportions of the sides of the hall's central octagon vary. The octagon can be equilateral as in the Tejapāla temple at Dilwārā, or, if the floor-plan is slightly rectangular, the sub-cardinal sides may become shorter or longer, with angles that may not always permit a perfect central circle for the karōtaka as in the Sāntinātha temple at Kumbhāriā. But since perfect circularity is at all cost to be maintained for the plan of the karōtaka, devices are used to temper the elliptical ends, by bringing into play and exposing the crescent-shaped soffits of the lowermost ring of the karōtaka, which are masked under the wreath of rich carving. That is what they did in the Kumbhāriā instance, which is the most outstanding and where elliptical ends are the most conspicuous as compared to other instances.70

The vāstušāstra-s in general, the inscription such as the foundation epigraph of the Lūṇa-vasahī temple at Ābu (1231) and some literary references such as the eulogies of Minister Prthvipāla in Prākrta and Apabhramsa by Haribhadra Sūri (mid 12th century) allude to this hall simply as mandupa. Only the Aparā jitaprechā specifically calls it nṛṭyamandapa. And none of the known earlier vāstus āstra-s call it rangamandapa: But the latter appelation looms large in inscriptions as well as literary works, which we may now notice.

The notices of this hall occur in the late Caulukya (Solankī) and post-Caulukya inscriptions in Gujarāt, and also in the inscriptions of the time of contemporaneous dynasties in Rājasthān. For example, the inscription in the Jaina temple at Velār (anc. Vadhilāṭa) in Rājasthān dated to S. 1265/A.D. 1209 refers to the addition of a rangamanḍapa to the said temple. 72 The inscription dated S. 1275/A.D. 1219 in the Neminātha temple at Kumbhāriā refers to the setting up of dāḍhādhara (meaning unknown)* in the rangamanḍapa of the said temple: 73

S. 1275 atr-eva Śri Nemi-mandire rangamandape dadhadharah karitah//

An inscription of S. 1446/A.D. 1390 in the Mahāvīra temple at Varamāna refers to the addition of a rangamandapa to that temple by the Jaina pontiff Hēmatilaka Sūri for the merit of his predecessors in the 'Holy lineage':⁷⁴

Samvat 1446 varşē.... etc.... Śrī Hēmatilaka Sūribhih pūrva-guru śrey ortham rangamandapah kārāpitah//

Likewise do the two inscriptions in the Pärsvanātha temple at Jīrāvālā in Rājāsthān dated to S. 1483/A.D. 1427⁷⁵ and S. 148(7)?/A.D. 143(1?)⁷⁶ refer to the construction of the rangamandapa in that temple.

The Jaina literary works not infrequently refer to this term in the context of the Jinālaya-s. For example Jinadatta Sūri, in his encyclopaediac work, the

Vivēkavilāsa (ca. A.D. 1209), makes a statement which provides a clinching evidence for identifying such halls as raṅgamaṇḍapa, just as his is one of the earliest notices concerning that term. The Sūri, while dwelling briefly on the construction of a Jaina temple, mentions that the ghaṇṭikā (i.e. crowning bell-member) over the closed hall (gūḍhamaṇḍapa) should be coeval with that of the sukanāsa-antefix (of the sikhara-spire) and at the same measure (i.e. at the same level) should be that of the maṇḍapa called raṅga; and so should be for the entry hall, valānaka:

Samānā sukanāsa-sya ghantikā gūdhamandapē/ etan-mān-aiva rang-ākhyē mandapē ca valānakē//

-Vivēkavilāsa 1. 180

Next in date is the mention made by Dharmaghosa Suri in his Girinara-kalpa (ca. third quarter of the 13th cent.). The Suri takes note of the rangamandapa of, alongwith the Jina images in, the temples on the Amba and Avalokana peaks of Girnar and of the balanaka (implied to be the 'Kancana-balanaka' temple):78

Sikhar-opari yatr-Ambā-'valokana-sirasi rangamandapakē/ sambo balānakē-'sau Girināra-girīsvaro jayati//

-Girinara-kalpa, 10. 10.

A contemporaneous reference to the rangamandapa we may discern in the Saptakṣētrī-rāsu (1271) in its description of the Jaina temple we earlier noticed. One of the fifteenth century Jaina pilgrim-psalms composed a propos of the temples atop Mt. Girnar, refers to rangamandapa. At one place it alludes to the rangamandapa of the famous Neminātha temple (1129); at another to the rangamandapa of Vastupāla's 'Satrunjayāvatāra' temple (i.e. Vastupāla-vihāra, founded 1232) with effigies (putalī-s) of the dancing apsaras-damsels:

Bhamatī caitta-pravādi karaŭ rangamandapi Jinavara pūjījai/
—Srī Giranāra-caitya-paripātī, 20.

And:

Rangamandapi nava nātaka sohai putaliä apacharā man mohai/

-Śrī Giranāra-caitya-paripāţī 14.

Perhaps a little later than these references is the one of the Sabhāśrngāra, which we noticed while discussing in its description of the Jaina temple layout.⁸¹

The finest remaining examples of the rangamandapa-s are of course at Dilwārā (Fig. 5) and Kumbhāriā. Among post-Solankī and the fifteenth

century examples may be rackoned the Kharatara-vasahī temple (a. 1320) on Satrunjaya Hill.

The most notable fifteenth century instances are at Jesalmer (Lakṣmaṇa-vihāra: 1417), Chittor (Sātavisī temple, ca. early 15th century), Karaheḍā (Pārsvanātha and Ādinātha temples: first half of the 15th cent.), Varakāṇā (Pārsvanātha temple: ca. mid 15th cent.), Rāṇakapur (Dharaṇavihāra: 1440), Hammiragaḍh or Mīrpur (before 1494) and some other places.

(8) The Meghanada-mandapa

The vāstusāstra-s of the Solanki period show no knowledge of the mandapa called Meghanāda. 82 But the Prabhās-Pāṭan inscription of Bhīmadēva II dated S. 1273/A.D. 1217 mentions king's addition of a Meghanāda-mandapa to the temple of Somanātha, though its nature cannot be inferred from the inscription nor there today is any vestige left of that hall. But since the gūdhamandapa of the Somanātha temple was fairly big and implied to be a storied structure on account of the presence of the upper janghā and remnants of the upper balcony in its wall, a Meghanāda-mandapa that would confront such a large closed hall also must be a storied one in order to match with the latter structure.

The storied character of the Meghanāda-maṇḍapa is confirmed by the anecdote of the founding of the famous Neminātha temple at Ārāsaņa, recorded in a manuscript of prabandha-s, itself dated to S. 1527/A.D. 1471 but copied from an earlier palm-leaf manuscript, probably of about the second quarter of the thirteenth century or there about. The prabandha concerning the Ārāsaṇa temple relates how Pāsila, a poor lay-follower, inspired by the great Rāyavihāra or Rājavihāra of Pāṭaṇ, eventually built the temple of Neminātha at Ārāsaṇa and how a rich lady Hāñsī, daughter of a merchant-prince Chāḍā of Pāṭaṇ, who earlier had ridiculed him, was impressed by his feat and graciously added a maṇḍapa to his temple, called "Mēghanāda", at the cost of hundred-thouşand (drama-s). The temple was consecrated in S. 1193/A.D. 1137:83

Tatah Śrī-Dēvasūri-bhih samam śreşthi-putrī calitā, pitrā prēsitā|tatra pratisthā jātā 1193| tatra tathā śeṣam sampūrņam kṛtam| mandapa-s-tayā bhaginītvena kāritah| lakṣa 1 dravya-lāgih|sa ca Mēghanāda|

Now the great rangamandapa-hall of the Neminatha temple has an attic story, which would support the inference that a Meghanada-mandapa is a storied structure.

An important fifteenth century notice of the Meghanāda-mandapa I recently encountered in a Tīrtha-caitta-paripātī.† While describing the temple of Pārsvanātha at Karhedā (anc. Karahetaka) in Rājasthāna, the author refers to the three storied temple and the Meghanāda-mandapa as well as the 72 devakulikā-s:

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Bhavana-bhūsana bhavana-bhūsana Pāsa-Jina-rāya
Karahedai santhiyaü tinni-bhūmi cau disihe torana
Mēghanāda-mandapa pavara Ādi Nēmi duya
namau bhavahara bāhuttari Jina dēhariya tinni padakṣana devi
Jaya kusumale ketakī pūjaü karanda bharivi//6//
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(The temple in question is of the early fifteenth century and has a fine Meghanāda hall.)

One other caitya-paripati; which deals with the sacred Jaina shrines atop Mt. Giranar, refers to the Meghanada-mandapa of the temple founded by Samarasimha Malde in 1438 in place of the earlier Kalyana-tritaya temple of Tejapala:

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Kalyana-traya pakhīca Samarasimha kīdhu udhāra
trihu-rūpe chai Nemikumāra Meghanāda-mandapa sudhara//26//
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In this instance the hall has an upper story.

The two later vāstusāstra-s, the Vṛkṣārṇava (ca. mid 15th cent.) and the Dīpārṇava (ca. 16th cent.) mention the Meghanāda-maṇḍapa, the notices taken in the Vṛkṣārṇava are somewhat detailed and clearer.

The $V_1k_2\bar{a}rnava$ mentions $Meghan\bar{a}da$ -mandapa in the context particularly of the caturmukha temple. It places this hall in between the Misra-Megha (=ranga-mandapa) which is said to be in front of the $pr\bar{a}s\bar{a}da$ proper, and the $n\bar{a}li$ -mandapa which is the hall above the entry-passage:

```
Prāsād-agrē prayatnēna Misra-Meghamanoharah/
tasy-agrē Meghanādam ca catuskikā parivestitah//
Tat-pramānēna vidyatē mandapam nāli-bhūsitam/
```

Also, similarly, in case of the Trailokya-dīpakaprāsāda, the Vṛkṣārṇava mentions the Megha-maṇḍapa, articulated to the simhadvāra i.e. the main door of the inner sanctuary (of the caturmukha shrine) followed by Meghanāda-maṇḍapa and the nāli-maṇḍapa:

```
Prāsādē chand-oktā-s-ca maṇḍapāḥ sarvakāmadāḥ|
simhadvārē viseṣēṇa Megha-sya ca manoramaḥ||40||
Tasy-āgrē Meghanādam ca koṣṭhakapancavimsati|
nālimaṇḍapa tām(?) (viddhi?) vistārē Megha-muttamam||41||
```

Its storied character is inferred from the following statements in the selfsame work:

J.S.-45

Upar-yupari bhuminam chadya-patt-odare tatha/ Meghanade ca kartavyam anyatr-odgam-ayata//

In a second statement elsewhere in case of the Mahā-caturmukha temple, the text makes it a two sotried structure:

Dvi-bhumiracitopi Meghanada-s-ca svacchandatah/

The Ranakapur inscription dated S. 1611 (?)/A.D. 1555 (?) concerning the erection of the eastern two-storied hall, actually refers to it as 'Meghanada-mandapa.*

At least at two places the Vṛkṣārṇava mentions that in the caturmukha temple the Meghanāda-hall will be disposed on all the four directions:

Brahma-sthane ca samstha pyah pancavimsa caturmukhe tri-panca-sapta-sanghatah prasadah ratha-sam yutah//50//

And:

Sarva-Megha tato vaks ye ukta prāsāda-muttamam/|69||
pūrve ca pascime caiva uttarē daksiņē tathā|
Sarvatra Meghanādam ca tat-pun yam sāgar-opamam/|70||
prāsāda-sya ca chandēna mandapā-s-ca caturdisi|

The Meghanada-mandapa is a storied and hence tall and majestic structure. Its grandeur has been fully exploited by the architects of the caturmukha temples, the surviving example, late though, is the splendid Dharnavihara at Ranakapur: (Fig. 7). It has not been equalled by any temple-interior in all India. And this is very largely due to the presence of the four meghanada-mandapa-s in four directions.

(9) The Indramandapa: Akhandalamandapa: Sakramandapa

The contemporary penegyrists of minister Vastupāla and subsequent prabandha-historians and writer-pilgrims make reference to a hall called Indramandapa or Ākhandalamandapa built by Vastupāla on Mt. Satruñjaya sometime before 1230.84 Also Vijayasena sūri of Nāgendra gaccha refers to the renovation of an Indramandapa on Mt. Girnār in his valuable work on the sacred temples of Girnar, namely the Revantagirirāsu (ca. 1232). The vāstusāstrasshow no knowledge of any mandapa-type going by this name and in the literary sources, too, the only instance mentioned is Vastupāla's erection on Mt. Satruñjaya. The structure existed till the fifteenth century, after which possibly the renovators removed it, perhaps on account of its repeated disfigurement by Muslim invaders. In interpreting this term and thus trying to reconstruct the nature of this hall, we have to depend solely on

our imagination. From the brief references made to this hall in various caityaparipāti-s concerning the holy shrines on Satrunjaya, it appears that the said Indramandapa was a detached hall, located somewhere near Kharatara-Vasahi, though about its dimensions and nature nothing else can be known. That it was a sort of "hall" is clear by the suffix "mandapa". But why was it called Indramandapa? Was it meant to be a hall where Indra is supposed to have come (unseen to human eyes) and paid his adoration to Jina? Or is it the hall where Indra or Indra-s of the devaloka-s of Jaina conception came and danced before the Jina? In this connection I am reminded of two twelfth century instances which yield somewhat vague but still not an insignificant clue to the problem. Both are nearer to each other in point of time and space. The first is the hall of the Neminatha temple at Kumbharia added to by Śravika Hañsi, as earlier narrated; that was soon after the consecration of the main shrine; and the second is the hall of the Vimala-vasahi temple added to by Minister Prthvipāla in about 1150. In the Neminatha temple one notices figures of Indra-s in the janghā-section of the pillars of the hall (which otherwise is a Meghanāda-mandaþa), some shown in dancing postures as well. In the Dilwara instance, the Indra figures are mostly in the ubiquitous dvi-bhanga postures. From these instances, we may infer that an Indramandapa is a rangamandapa or even the Meghanada sort of mandapa with figures of Indra, dancing or otherwise, portrayed in the jangha-s of the pillars of the selfsame mandapa-s. This is of course just a plausible conjecture. But there seems at present no better explanation for the term and the structure implied.

(10) The Pattasalika: Bhramantika

In between the devakuli-s and the main shrine-complex comes the paţṭasalika or cloistered corridor, also known as bhamati i.e. bhramantika by virtue of its (incidentally) providing a-circumambulatory-path around the main complex, particularly in case of the 52 and more Jinālaya types. The paṭṭasālikā is attached to and is thus the part of the devakuli-s, formed as it organically is by the union of the pillars of the latter's prāggrīva-porches and generally spread in continuous "run" around the main shrine complex. The proportion of the paṭṭasālikā in relation to the main plan finds mention in the Aparājitapṛcchā soon after that of the sālā-s i.e. devakuli-s but no other detail is given there.85 The Vāstusāstra, however, clearly specifies that the paṭṭasālikā comes before (agrī) the devakulikā-s and adds that it should be provided with three steps (sōpāna-traya),86 which is how it is actually found at Dilwārā (Fgs. 6, 2, 19), Kumbhāriā and most other places.

The pillars of the patta's alika are shorter than those at other places, partly because the latter's level is higher than that of the jagata-floor by three steps and

partly because they must match with the height of the devakuli-s of which they are the part. They are also far less adorned and the lower cubical and upper octagonal, prismatic and round sections of their shaft are generally bereft of or have very little decoration. But the plainness of these pillars proves useful inasmuch as it provides a counter-foil to the extra-rich ornamentation of the hall-pillars. The continuous row of pillars in the pattasalika (on longer sides of the plan), seeming endless, creates an illusive rhythm of the aligned pillars, seeming progressively diminishing and tending to coelesce into a single mass.* The added interest of this corridor is the array of beautiful and many ceilings it contains, each revealing its existence as one moves from quadrant to quadrant, and each differing in design.

In the larger Jinālaya-s, the pattasālikā is usually connected (by means of a double row of three catuskī-s) with the rangamandapa hall on the three sides, leaving open the sides where trika is, and it is this particular feature which integrates everything inside, resulting in a cherismatic rhythm of pillars, ceilings and co-ordinated quadrant-spaces. Not only does it provides a proper framing about the inside-structure but also contribute to the play of masses and voids, points and counter-points of the scheme. Without the pattasālikā, the main shrine complex would seem lop-sided, almost like a wingless bird feeling sorry and ashamed of its lackings. Also, on the second score, the devakulī-s without the presence and support of the pattasālikā would have seemed nude, incomplete and functionally paralysed in terms of their relationship with the total plan. The pattasālikā sets off everything inside to their functionally and aesthetically best, and balances, regulates, just as sustains the fluidity of the symphony of the temple lay-out in its entirety. The caprice of trika is supported and enhanced by the rangamandapa; that of the rangamandapa by the pattasālikā.

(11) Devakuli: Devakulikā: Devakula: Devagrhikā: Sālā

The devakuli or devakulikā is a sub-shrine existing on its own accord but generally in relation to a larger major shrine. The term rarely figures in the context of Brahmanical temples, 87 but looms large in the Jaina inscriptions and literary sources of Gujarāt and Rājasthān, as we shall later on here see.

In the Jaina context, the devakulikā begins to assume meanig and assert its presence when it is repeated and the repeated ones are organically linked together to form a quadrangular or oblong chain along the jagatī-border and about the main shrine complex. It is the devakulikā-s disposed thus in formation that becomes functionally dynamic besides being theistically necessary, as we shall have occasion to here further observe. It is this feature, which, in conjunction with the pattasālikā, is distinctively Jaina, even when devakulikā-s were known to the Buddhist sacred architecture and in rare instances to the Brahmanical creeds, such

as at the Kailāsanātha temple at Kānci and the 64 Yogini temple at Khajurāho. In these instances there is no pattasālikā and there is no organic union of the sub-shrines with the hall of the main shrine. The pattasālikā, Which appears as $m\bar{a}lik\bar{a}$ in the Middle Cola architecture, as in the Gangaikondacolapuram (Ca. 1025) or the Dārāsuram's Airāvatesvara temple which is the best example of the Drāvidian style, there still is no union of the $m\bar{a}lik\bar{a}$ with the hall, despite the unity of conception.

As we earlier noticed, the Vāstusāstra, the Vāstuvidyā and the Aparā jitaprechā refer to the 24 devakulikā-s, the second one to 52 as well, in the layout of the Jaina temple. The Devyādhīkāra also speaks of the devakula-s which are 24, 52, but also 72 in order:

```
. . . . jagatī devakul-āvṛtaiḥ|
caturvimsati dvipancāsah dvisaptati kram-odgatā||
```

Among the post-Solanki works, the Vatthusāra-payarana (1326) is perhaps the earliest known to notice the disposition of devakuli-s. It succinctly gives the ordering of 24, 52 and 72 Jinālaya-s. As for 24 Jinālaya-s, it enjoins that eight devakuli-s may come on the front side and eight each on right and left. (The text seemingly excludes the devakulikā-khattakā-s from its calculation:)

```
Agge dāhina-vāmī aṭṭha'ṭha-Jininda-gēha cauvīsam/
mūla-silāgaū emam pakira'i jaga'i majjhammi//
—Vatthusāra-payarana 2.56.
```

The ordering of the 24 Jina-s is to be from the right side of the entrance (sihaduvāra-simhadvāra), beginning from Risaha (Rṣabha) and in clockwise fashion (sittimagge-sīṣtimārge):

```
Risahaī Jiṇapantī sīhaduvāra-s sa dāhiṇa disāo
thāvijja sittimagge savvehin jiṇālaë evam||
---Vatthusāra-payarana, 2. 57.
```

By this ordering, alongwith the cult-image, it would make 25 instead of 24 Jinālaya. Thakkura Pheru has resolved this dilemma by saying that in the ordering of 24 Jina-s (in the devakulī-s), the Jina who is also the $m\bar{u}lan\bar{u}yaka$ (cult-deity in the main shrine), be dropped and instead of his image, that of goddess Sarassai (=Sarasvatī) be placed.88

```
cauvīsa-tittha-majjhē jam egami mūlanā yagam havi|
panti tassa thāne Sarassai thāvasu nibhantam||
Vatthusēra th
```

The ordering of 52-Jinālaya-s is given by the author as follows: 34 deharaya-s ($=devagrhik\bar{a}$ -s) be set-up on left and right (i.e. 17 on either side), 9 on the back-side and eight in front (i.e. four on the left and right of the entrance); to this add the $m\bar{u}lap\bar{a}s\bar{a}ya$ ($=m\bar{u}lapr\bar{a}s\bar{a}da$) making the total 52:

```
cauvisa vāma-dāhina nava puṭṭhi aṭṭha purao a deharayam
mūlapāsā ya egam bāvanna-Jinālayā evam//
---Vatthusāra-payarana, 2.59.
```

As for the 72-Jinālaya type, the order suggested is: 25 on right and left, 11 on the back side, 10 in front; to this main shrine added, would make it 72:

```
Pañavīsam paṇavīsam dāhiṇa-vāmi-su piṭṭhi ikkaram/
daha aggē nā yavam ir bahattari Jinindālam//
---Vatthusāra-payarana, 2.60
```

The Viksārņava (ca. mid 15th cent.) even goes further when it alludes to 84 and even 108 Jina-s (with devakulikā-s implied).89

```
Prathama prāsāda-mānē sat-āgrē c-āṣṭa-saṇkhyatāḥ!
caturāsiti-dvi-saptaḥ satārdham ca dvay-ādhikam!|
caturvimsati-r-Jinēndrā bhāṣitam Visvakarmaṇā|
jyēṣṭha-madhya-kaniṣṭham ca trividham māna-muttamam||
```

The text is silent about the order of disposition of 108 devakulikā-s, but gives detail in brief of those of 84, 72, 52 and 24. It seems that the figure 108 as well as 84 was meant for caturmukha temples; the great caturmukha temple at Rāņakapur possesses 84 devakulī-s.

The order where 84 devakuli-s are involved has been termed "Jinamālā" in the selfsame text. The devakuli-s have to be 20 each direction (interrupted and divided equally into two sections by the insertion of entry-halls), to which must be added four mahādhara-prāsāda-s to complete the figure 84. (The text is not very clear in this context though).

```
Pancavimsati vistāram astavimsati mukh-āyatē/
bhāg-aikam lopayēt-karņam caturasiti Jinālayāh//
vimsa-vimsa kēte kṣetrē pēṣṭhē catvārimsa mukhāyatē/
Jiṇa(na)mālā-s-tathā nāma sarva-kalyāṇa-kārikā//
```

The 72-Jinālāya-s are thus disposed: 50 (divided equally) on the left and right of the main temple; 11 on the back side and 10 in front; added to which is the main shrine, making the total of 72:

Vāma-daksē ca pañcāsat prsthē Rudro-'grato dasa/ mūlaprāsāda-sam yuktam dvi-saptati-r-Jinā yatam//

For the 52 Jinalaya-s, the text recommends to have a group of 17 on either side, 8 in front and 9 on the back side:

Vāma-daksē ca pancāsat prsthē Rudro-'grato dasa/ Mulaprāsāda-Sam yuktam dvi-saptati-r-Jinā yatam/

As for 24 Jinālaya, the text gives two options a propose of the location of the devakulī-s. They can be placed before the main shrine, or behind it: their ordering would be: 8 each on either side and the remaining in front (or back), the last one (24th) in counting would be the mūlamandira i.e. the main shrine:

Agra-pṛṣṭha-dvay-ovidhi caturvims-ā yatam khalu/ aṣṭ-āṣṭa sapṭa-kulikā sahitam mūlamandirē//

When did the devakulikā-s began to be featured in the Jaina temple complex is a most point. The conception of surrounding the main shrine by subshrines goes back to the Buddhist caitya-s of the Kusana and Gupta-Vakataka ages. At some point Jaina-s decided to incorporate it in their temple scheme. But indeed when, is not very clear. In dpending too heavily on the available evidence we may commit the fault of disregarding the fact that many ancient Jaina temples have disappeared. In any case the present situation on this problem may be thus summed up. The Osian Mahavira temple stands on a vast jagati with balanaka in front and a colonnaded corridor along the backedge of the jagati, which was meant to be a waiting place for the pilgrims, as earlier here noticed. (This corridor was laterally extended in later times, perhaps in the tenth century.) Close by the trika on either side is a pair of devakuli-s; they were set up only in, and as late as, the eleventh century. There is no Gaturvimsati-Jinālayā, even when there is room enough over the jagatī for accommodating such a complex. Should we, on the basis of this negative evidence alone, infer that there was at that stage no conception of the 24 Jinālaya-s? The next, somewhat positive, evidence is in the Mahāvīra temple at Varamana dated, as earlier said, to around the late ninth century.90 Then there is a late literary reference crediting Yasobhadra Sūri (ca. 10th cent.) of having built a 24 Jinālaya srine in Dinduāņā (anc. Denduāņaka) sometimes in the tenth century.91 But entourage of devakuli-s 24 to begin with, becomes a regular and well recognized feature of the Jaina temples from the early eleventh century onward. The Mahavira temple at Sewadi (ca. 1020), and together with it the temple of Rsabha at Kasindra (anc. Kasahrda) of about 1035, may be cited as a case in point. When the inclusion 24 Jinalaya-s forcefully came in vogue, some of the earlier temples which did not originally have sub-shrines,

were also provided with in the eleventh century, and in some cases even subsequently. For instance the Mahāvīra temple at Ghānerāv, founded in the mid tenth century, got its set of 24 or odd devakulikā-s in the early eleventh century. The Ādinātha temple at Satruñjaya (1157) owed its devakulikā-s to the munificence of Minister Vastupāla, the descendents of Minister Udayana and Jagadusā of Kutch, constructed as they all were from about 1220 to 1250. The Vimala temple on Mt. Ābu likewise got its devakulī-s during renovation by Minister Pṛthvipāla, son Dhanapāla and some of their relations, between the years 1146 and 1187. The Sewāḍī temple got additional devakulī-s sometime in late eleventh century and was converted into a 52 Jinālaya type.

In some cases 24 or 52 Jinālaya-s were the result of an original planning; but the donors were sometimes different persons, as in case of a few devakulikā-s of Lūṇa-vasahī at Dilwārā, the Sāntinātha temple at Kumbhāriā and so forth. Additions of devakulikā-s by individual śrāvaka-s to the famous Jaina temples at different places in Western India are known through many inscriptions, the details of which are unnecessary at this juncture to enlarge upon, though some of the more important we will shortly notice.

There are several references in prabandha-s, pattavali-s and other biographical Jaina literature of the Solanki and post-solanki times concerning the founding of 24 or 52 and 72 Jinalaya type of Jaina sacred buildings by ministers and other dignitaries. For example the Udayana-vihara at Karnavati (ca. early 12th cent.) was a 72-Jinalaya according to the contemporaneous writers like Pradyumna-Sūri and Jinapati Sūri. The Tribhuvana-vihāra, founded by emperor Kumārapāla for the merit of his father Tribhuvanapāla in Pātaņ was a temple with 72 devalīya-s (=devakulī-s) according to the Kumārapālapratibodha of Somaprabhacarya (1185). The Kumara-vihara at Stambhatirtha also appears to have had 72 sub-shrines as inferred from a statement by Jinaharsa that Vastupāla placed 72 golden jars over that temple. Also according to Jinaharsa, Vastupāla founded Āsarāja-vihāra containing 72 devakulikā-s in memory of his father in Srī Pattana (Pāṭaṇ-Aṇhilwāḍ) and another for the merit of his mother Kumāradevī in Darbhāvatī, and in Stambhatīrtha a 52 Jinālaya for the merit of his wife (Lalitadevi). The eulogy of Vastupala by Jayasimha Suri refers to his placing of golden pinnacles and banner-staffs over the 25 (24+1) Jinalaya-s of the famous Sakunī-caitya of Bhrgukaccha earlier built by Minister Amrabhatta in 1166, as here elsewhere previously mentioned. The 24-Jinalaya-s of the Mahavira temple at Jabalipura are referred to in the Bihad-Gurvavali of Kharataragaccha.

Some additional references: In his eulogy (ca, 1232-1235) of Prime Minister Vastupāla, Ācārya Narendraprabha Sūri too refers to the placing by the former

of the golden flag-staffs over the twenty (should be twenty-four) devakulikā-s of the Munisuvrata-tīrthanātha-bhavana (Sakunikā-Vihāra) of Bhrgunagara, Broach:92

Bṛgunagara-mauli-mandana Munisuvrata-tīrthanātha-bhavanē yah/ devakulikā-su (catur)vimsatimitāsu haimēna kāryēd dandān//42

Jinaprabha Sūri in his 'Satrunjayatırthakalpa' (S. 1385/A.D. 1329) inside Vividhatırthakalpa, refers to the twenty-two 'kşulla-devakulikā-s', small attendant shrines, for the former images founded in the legendry times on Mt. Satrunjaya:

Hema-rūpyādija-dvāvimsaty-Arhat-pratimānvitam/ anka-ratnaja-Nābheya-pratimālankītam mahat// dvāvimsati ksulla-devakulikā-yukta mancakaih/

-Vividhatīrthakalpa, 1.17-18'

Upādhyāya Vinayaprabha in his Caitya-paripātistavana (ca. 3rd quarter of the 14th century) refers to the 72 devakulikā-s associated with the main temple on Satrunjaya Hill:

Prāsāda-sthita-maṇḍapa-traya-gatām Śrī-Jaina-bimbāvalīm/ Koṭākoṭi-Jinām-s-ca devakulikā dvā-saptati-s-tīrthapān// etc.

The inscriptional evidence, overwhelming as it is and coming as it does almost entirely from the Jaina temples, supports the $v\bar{a}stus\bar{a}stra$ -s in matter concerning the interpretation of the term and the situation of that structure in a Jaina temple. The Tejapāla's inscription of S 1287/A.D. 1231 in the Lūnavasahī temple mentions the temple of Neminātha (founded by Tejapāla in the selfsame year) to have been "adorned with devakulikā-s":

Śrīmad-Arbudācal-opari Deulvādāgrāme samastadevakulikālamkītam visālahastisālopasobhitam Śrī Luṇasimhavasatik-'ābhidhāna Śrī Neminātha-deva-caitya-midam kāritam||

The present complex of the Luna-vasahi temple has the devakulikā-s as mentioned in the inscription.

The six Girnār inscriptions of Vastupāla dated S. 1288/A.D. 1232 in the Vastupāla-vihāra, take note of the four 'devakulikā-s' set up by the Prime Minister on the four peaks of Mt. Girnār.

Inscriptions directly associated with such attendant shrines in Jaina temples leave no doubt about the determination of the gloss of the term. A selection from the bulk of evidence is cited below. The dates range between the early twelfth and the sixteenth centuries, the later inscriptions often using the term dihari a corrupt of devagthikā:

1. The earliest known inscription which alludes to devakulikā-s is of S. 1215/A.D. 1159 from Girnār which declares the completion of the construction of devakulikā-s over the jagatī (probably of the celebrated Neminātha temple). The devakulikā-s are said to have 'chāja' (=chādya), 'kuvāli' (=kapotāli), and samvirana (=samvaranā):92

```
Samvat 1215 varsē Caitra-sudi 8 ravāv-adyēha
Śrīmad-Ujjayanta-tīrthē jagatī-samasta-devakulikā-
(satka?)-Chājā-kuvāli-samviraņa etc. . . .
Sāvadēvēna paripūrņā kṛtā// etc.
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 The inscription in the Mahāvīra temple at Varamāņa Rājasthāna, dated S. 1242/ A.D. 1186;93

```
Samvat 1242 varṣē etc. . . . Śrī Mahāvīra-caitye
Śrī Ajitanāthasvāmī-devakulikā ya . . . . etc.
```

3. The inscription in the Jaina temple in Satsen, Rajasthana, dated S. 1244/A.D. 1188:94

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Samvat 1244 varsē Śrī Pārsvanāthadeva-sya devakulikā/
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4. In the Vimala-vasahī temple at Dilwārā, Mt. Abu; dated S. 1245/A.D. 1189 of Minister Yaśovīra who is said to have installed an image with a torana, alongwith building the devakulikā:*

```
Samvat 1245 varsē etc. . . . Mantrī Yasovīrēņa etc. . . . pratimā sa-toraņa sa-devakulikā kāritā etc.
```

5. One other inscription of Yaiovira from the selfsame temple dated in the same year also refers to the construction of the devakulikā and the image of Neminātha he set up therein:

```
Samvat 1245 varşē etc. . . . . Kavīndra-bandhurmantrī Yasovīra iti prasiddhah/
etc. . . . tena etc. . . . kārita sva-pun yā ya | Śrī Nemi-bimb-ādhisthita madhya
sa-devakulikē yam//
```

6. The term figures in many inscriptions of Minister Tejapāla in the Lūņavasahī temple. It also figures in the inscriptions of other donors in that temple. The more important notices are tabulated below.⁹⁵

AprJLS			
Ins. No.	Date	Builder or donor	
292	S. 1287/A.D. 1231	Minister Tējapāla	
363			
365			
366	. *		
368	S. 1288/A.D. 1232	do	
370	•		
372 & 374			
295			
296		·	
298	S. 1290/A.D. 1234	Minister T ē japāla	
302 & 304			
350	S. 1291/A.D. 1235	Descendents of Śrēsthi	
3 55		Nemada of Nāgōr	
359	do	Mantrī Yaśōvīra	
36 0			
325 to 328			
330 to 332	S. 1293/A.D. 1237	Minister Tejapāla	
335 & 337			
289	do	Śrēsthi Sājaņa of Candravati	
307	—do—	Sons and grandsons of Sresthi Jasanaga of Candravati	
313	do	Sons and grandsons of Śresthi Pasil of Candravati	
334	do	Descendents of Śrēṣṭhī Ajita of Candrāvatī	

- 7. The Varhudiyā family inscription of S. 1296/A.D. 1240 in the Lūņa-vasahī temple at Dilwārā refers to the devakulikā-s added by the family to the Jaina temples at the following different places:⁹⁶
 - (i) A devakulikā with danda (flagstaff) and kalasa (pitcher-finial) in the Nandisvara temple of Tējapāla on Mt. Satrunjaya:
 - (ii) Two devakulikā-s in (Tējapāla's) temple of Dilwārā at Mt. Abu:
 - (iii) Two devakulikā-s in the temple at Vijāpura; and
 - (iv) a devakulikā with the image of Ajitanātha in the Kumāravihāra of Lāṭāpalli.

8. The Girnār inscription of the Varahudiyā family of S. 1299/A.D. 1243 refers to the devakulikā-s added by the family to the 'Sācaura devakula' (Satyapura-Vīra temple of Vastupāla) on Mt. Satrunjaya, to two devakulikā-s added to the temple of Neminātha of Tējapāla (Lūṇa-vasahī) on Mt. Ābu, a devakulikā to the Pārivanātha temple at Jābālipura and another one to the Jaina temple at Vījāpura.97

- 9. The fragmentary Girnār inscription of the descendents of Minister Udayana⁹⁸ which can be dated to S.1305/A.D. 1249⁹⁹ refers to the *devakulikā*-s set up at Śatruńjaya (Satruńjaya girau-devakulināńjalih) and other places.
- 10. The Neminātha temple inscription in Kumbhāriā dated S. 1335/AD. 1279 refers to the setting up of an image of Ajitanātha alongwith the devakulikā by the donors: 100
 - S. 1335 varsē etc. . . . Śrī Ajitanathasvami . . . bimbam devakulika-sahitam karitam etc.
- 11. The inscription of S. 1354/A.D. 1298 in the Pārsvanātha temple at Jīrāvālā refers to the addition of a devakulikā to the selfsame temple.¹⁰¹
- 12. The following inscriptions of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth century temples in Rājasthāna consistently refer to the building of devakulikā-s by sundry donors: 102

Ref. AprJLS			•
Nos.	Place	Name of the temple	Date
117	Jīrāvalā	Pārsə vanātha	S. 1401/A.D. 1345
119	3)	33-	S. 1411/A.D. 1355
121	33))	S. 1412/A.D. 1356
122	3 >) ;	S. 1420/A.D. 1364
124	, ,	**	S. 1462/A.D. 1406
127	. "	**	S. 1481/A.D. 1425
130	"	**	S. 1483/A.D. 1427
293	Brāhmaņavāḍā	Ādinātha	S. 1510/A.D. 1454
285-			
291	> 3	**	S. 1599/A.D. 1463
294	,,	***	S. 1521/A.D. 1465
460	Nāndiy ā	Mahāvīra	S. 1521/A.D. 1465
463	,,	"	S. 1528/A.D. 1472
JTSS. II.2			
p. 22	Ņā ḍlāi	Ādinātha	\$. 1597/A.D. 1541

The current Gujarātī and Rājasthānī term 'dehri' or its abbreviation 'deri' for a small shrine occur in lieu of devakulikā in the inscription in a few Jaina temples in Rājasthāna:

APK	77.0	In c
AFA	ILA	ms.

No.	Place	Name of the Temple	Date
147-149 &	Jirāvalā	Pārsvanātha	S. 1483/A.D. 1427
151-153		•	
281	Brāhmaņavādā	Mahāvīra	S. 1519/A.D. 1463
379-383	Pindavādā	Ädinātha	S. 1603/A.D. 1557
144-145	Jirāvalā	Pārsvanātha	S. 1483/A.D. 1427

In the fourteenth century, the muni-s of the Kharatara-gaccha seem in their writings to be using the term 'devagṛhikā' instead of the customary devakulikā. The Bṛhad-gurvāvali of Kharatara-gaccha (completed A.D. 1341), refers to the hoisting of banners with golden staff on the 24 devagṛhikā-s of the Mahāvīra temple at Jābālipura in S. 1317/A.D. 1261:103

S. 1317 Māgha sudi 14, Śri-Jabālipur-ālankāra Śri-Mahāvīra-Jinendra-prāsāda-caturvimsati-devagthikā-su svarņa-daņļa-dhvajārōpanam sarva-samudā yēna kāritam|

Also in the same work the 24 devagihikā-s of the Yugādī-deva temple (built by Jinakusala Sūri) in S. 1379/A.D. 1323 are taken note of:†

.... Śrī-Śatru# jay-ālamkāra Śrī-Yugādi-deva-mahātīrthayātrām ... etc. ... svakī ya Śrī Yugādi-deva-caitye nūtana-niṣpanna-Śrī-caturvimsati-jinālaya-devagīhikāsu Śrī-pū jyarā jaih savistarah kalasa-dhvaj-āropah kītah|

Earlier by a few years is the inscription recently came to light on Mt. Satrunjaya: It is dated S. 1337/A.D. 1281:

Samvat 1337 Jyestha Vadi 5 Srī Mallinātha-devagīhikā bimbam ca Srī Jinaprabodha Sūri-bhih pratisthitam/ etc. etc. . . . (The inscription apparently belongs to the Kharatara-gaccha.

The term $\dot{s}\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ for the devakulik \bar{a} figures only in one work, namely the Apar \bar{a} jitaprech \bar{a} as earlier noticed in the citations. It preserves the memory of the more ancient nomenclature, such as parna $\dot{s}\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ as was used by the Buddhist for the sub-shrines attached to the vih $\bar{a}ra$ -s.

The girdle of devakuli-s enframe as well as conceal the entrils of the interior. Without the devakuli-s the pattasālikā cannot exist. And without the pattasālikā the interior would lose its architectural balance and sensitivity. The interdependence of all these structures is a vital point in the architectonics

and aesthetic effects just functional properties of the Jaina temple. The doors of the devakuli-s in formation and all opening in the pattasālikā, each revealing the sombre interior of the cellas with Jina images provide a dimly lit but fairly visible and dignified back-drop which fully coordinates with and participates in making the interior perfect in form and final in appearance. From outside their conjoined arrays seem graceful irrespective of what they contribute to the inside.

(In some cases the devakulikā-s may from inside be only a row of khattaka-s as noticed partially at Kumbhāriā (Mahāvīra and Śāntinātha) and totally at Śatruñjaya as in the four early fourteenth century examples, namely the Bhulavanī, the so-called Kumārapāla, the Śreyāmsanātha and the Chīpā-vasahī temples).

(12) Bhadraprāsāda-s

In the Jaina temples of 24 and 52 Jinalaya complexity, the bhadraprasada-s form a constituent part of the girdle of devakulikā-s: They are coaxial with the transepts of the rangamandapa and are otherwise distinguished from their companions by their relative largeness and consequent protrusion marking them off the external alignment of the shrine-girdle, like a pendent in a necklace. If the devakulikā-s are not provided with sikhara-s, the bhadraprāsāda-s, generally speaking, were expected and in such cases they are prominently picked out, such as at the Mahavira temple (ca. 1062) and the Parsvanatha temple (ca. 1100; cf. here ground plan) at Kumbhāriā. Wherever the jagatī is present to support the shrines, the bhadra-shrines jut out but not much too prominently though otherwise remaining distinguished from the rest of the devakuli-s because of the sculptural decoration on the walling and also the jāla (caitya-dormer lattice) to ornament the sikhara. The shrines in question do externally project from the rest, but rather slightly. They of course are larger than the rest. Where, however, there is no jagati and yet the surround of devakulikā-s is present, the bhadraprasada-s are made much larger and a much greater portion of their structure juts out, their façades as usual consistently linked with the infacing façades of the rest of the devakulikā-s. The surviving instances are all of the fifteenth century: we may quote the so-called Melaka-vasahī (anc. Kharatara-Vasahī) atop Mt. Girnār (1455) and the temple of Parivanatha at Varakana of roughly the same date.

The bhadraprāsāda is mentioned in the Vāstuvidyā of Visvakramā in connection with the elevational scheme of a Jaina temple. As enjoined by the text the madhya-prāsāda (central i.e. main shrine) should be of the Mēru class; the shrines attached to the transepts (bhadraprāsāda-s) of the Nāgara class; those at the extremities (antakāḥ), of the Drāvida class and those mahādhara type (at the corners), of the Latina class:

Madhyaprāsāda Mēru-s-ca bhadraprāsāda-Nāgarāh; antakāh Drāvida-s-c-aiva mahādharā Latinā-s-tathā

-Vastuvidya, Jinaprasadalaksana, 4

The evidence leading to the meaning is, however, to be found in the two inscriptions of S. 1540/A.D. 1484 in a side shrine of Jina Suvidhinātha in the Pittalahara temple (Bhīmsīha-caitya) at Dilwārā, Mt. Ābu. The inscriptions in question are engraved on the pedestals of two images. They declare that the latter images were installed in the bhadraprāsāda of the Bhīma-caitya. 104

Although no hall today exists in the Pittalahara temple, the shrine of Suvidhinātha is located exactly at a spot where the southern transpect of the hall would join. The hall was never built, though the space demarcated by the surround of chapels hints to its provision originally contemplated in the scheme of building.

The second reference to bhadraprāsāda is met with in the inscriptions in the Caturmukha temple at Achalgarh, Mt. Abu. Two images, each of which bearing an inscription of S. 1566/A.D. 1510, refer to bhadraprāsāda as the place where they were installed.¹⁰⁵

The bhadraprāsāda-s can also be in a caturmukha (four-faced) shrine, only duplicated for symmetry's sake, as for example in the great Caturmukha temple at Rāgakapur in Rājasthān:

In the medieval period the bhadraprāsāda-s customarily enshrined the Jina images only, sometimes extra large, such as in the Neminātha temple at Kumbhāriā. From the fifteenth century onwards, the bhadraprāsāda-s were used for harbouring symbolic representations of Jaina sacred mountains such as the Astāpada, Sahasrakūta, Merugiri, Sammetasikhara, Girnār, and Satruñjaya and sometimes Nandīsvaradvīpa and Samavasaraņa as can be deduced from the Ranakapur, Varakāņā and Girnār examples. The beginnings of making such larger bhadraprāsāda-s can be partially perceived in the instance of the great Vastupāla-Vihāra on Mt. Girnār (1232), where very large shrines of Astāpada and Sammetasikhara are attached to the hall of the central temple of Ādinātha.

The bhadraprāsāda-s are larger than the other devakulī-s, pārtly because they are internally coaxial with the bhadra-transepts of the netyamandapa. (Bhadra parts of a mandapa are always larger in length than the other anga-parts). Externally, their larger sikhara-s break the monotony of the profile as well as the skyline of the devakulī-chains. Internally some distinction is given to them by providing richer and larger door-frames (as in the Neminātha temple at Kumbhāriā) and their pillars in the pattasālikā are sometimes marked off by rich decoration (as in

case of Pārsvanātha temple at Kumbhāriā and the Lūņa-vasahī at Dilwārā) in contrast to the otherwise plainer pillars of the paṭṭasālikā. The bhadraprāsāda in the Neminātha temple at Kumbhāriā has extra large images and hence the larger door-frames and omission of steps of the paṭṭasālikā where they are. In some cases, as remarked in the foregoing, in lieu of images, symbolic representations of Aṣṭāpada, Samavasaraṇa, etc., are found.

(13) The Mahadhara

The mahādhara is a two-doored shrine placed at an angle on the diagonal of a caturmukha Jaina temple. 106 It is thus a 'bifacial' karnaprāsāda or konaprāsāda ('shrines at the corner') with two (instead of the usual one) doorway-openings, each disposed, as inferred from field examples, at right angle to the other.

The earliest reference to the mahādhara-shrine occurs in the Vāstuvidyā, in the opening verses of the Jinendra-prāsāda-lakṣaṇa-sūtra, the chapter dealing with the 52 types of temples meant for enshrining the Jina. There, Jaya, the first of the four mind-born sons of Visvakarmā, thus demands of his divine father:

"Listen, my Father the Great God, I beg of you, Lord, to tell me how the temples sacred to Jinendra are like: How is their tala (plan) delineated and how are their sikhara-s (spires) formulated and how are the handsome 52 [subsidiary chapels] are disposed (about the main shrine): O, Father, how is rendered the Samavasarana and how likewise the Aṣṭāpada; (also) how, O best among the ascetics, the mahādhara is made, beautified as it is with two door-way openings?"

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Srunu tāta Mahādeva yan-mayā pariptacchyatē|
prāsād-sya Jinendrānām kathaya-s-tvam kim prabho!||
Kim talam kim ca sikharam kim dvi-pancāsad-uttamam|
Samosaranam kim tāta! kim syād-aṣṭāpadam hi tat||
Mahādharam munivaram (dvidhārinī? dvidvārakam) susobhitam|
—Vāsutvidyā, Jinendralakṣaṇasūtra, 1-3'
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The reference in the Vṛkṣārṇava to the mahādhara is not only explicit but also relates that kind of shrine to the caturmukha Jaina temple:

"(In the plan of) nine quadrants, the shrine at the four corners are to be with the bhadraka-offsets; (they are) the four mahādhara-s, bifacial and fulfiller of all desires:"

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prāsāda-s-ca catuḥ-karṇē nava-kōṣṭhē sa-bhadrakam/
Mahādharā-s-ca catvāro dvi mukhā sarva-kāmadā//
```

A single isolated just as the earliest example of mahādhara is afforded by the shrine of Asṭāpada (dated S. 1266/A.D. 1210) at the SE corner of the Śāntinātha temple, Kumbhāriā. The instance of the four mahādhara-s in the caturmukha temple complex is encountered in the Dharnavihāra at Rāṇakapur in Rājasthān. The four mahādhara shrines of this great temple contain foundation inscriptions, three of S. 1507/A.D. 1451 and one of S. 1503/A.D. 1447. Three of the inscriptions specifically style such chapels 'mahādharacaitya at the karna' (Karṇa-mahādhara-caitya).‡ giving a clinching evidence conforming the identification.

The mahādhara-shrines at the corner of a caturmukha temple are provided with their own mandapa-s, a pair to be precise, as evidenced by the great temple at Rānakapur. These mandapa-s fall in the right-angle between the rangamandapa (or rather Meghanāda mandapa-s). This fact has been noticed in the Vikṣārṇava:

ranga-mahadharai-r-madhye mandapam sarvakamadam/

And:

Mahadhara-s-ca babhu-pakse mandapah madhyatam simu/

The four mahadhara shrines in a caturmukha temple scheme, as at Ranakapur, are the major larger shrines after the main four-faced shrine, to which they seem to bear a definite relation in terms of proportions. They balance and prop the skyline of the whole complex by creating the rhythm of the major and minor triangles in vertical space and their precise placement at the corner just as their bifacial character ensures perfect symmetry in the lay-out and clevational orchestration of the interior. Their two openings permit the two way linking of their two open halls at right angles with the corresponding major halls of the main quadruple shrine. Their presence cuts off some light in the major halls and the nearby portions of the pattasalika, true; but they enrich the interior with additional forests of columns, canopied by chains of large and small vitāna-s, without disturbing the symmetry of the configuration, flooral as well as elevational, and add no less to the etheriality of the ornate endlessness. The mahadhara-s thus are functionally effective only in the caturmukha temples. This can be clearly discerned in the interior of Ranakapur's Dharanavihara temple.

(14) The Pratoli: simhadvara:

The pratoli is a gate having some length and width, and, in its smallest version, a pair of pilasters attached to the channel-walls, located at either end of the entry-way. The structure was generally associated with citadels and city-walls and also with domestic architecture in case particularly of larger mansions. J.S.-47

In the context of the Jaina temple, the only logical spot where it can conveniently be introduced is the aperture for the main entrance which is created by dropping a devakulikā at that point, that is to say, at the starting point of the central axis of the jagatī. The entry-way then passes between the two middle devakulikā-s of the row, using the side walls of the latter on either side as its own walling. When the side-walls do not repeat the mouldings of the devakulī-s but done as plain walls, and next provided with a pair of wall-pilasters at both the ends of its length, the passage-way gets encased in the structure which is none else but pratōlī, such as the one in the Lūṇa-vasahī temple at Dilwārā.

Generally speaking, wherever a balānaka or mukhamandapa is provided, pratoli is dropped, which is why we today do not have many instances of pratoli-s, in Jaina temples. The only other instace where a true pratoli is provided is the Caturmukha temple of Savā-Somā on Mt. Saturājaya built at a date as late as 1619.

The Vastupāla-caritra refers to the construction by Vastupāla of a new pratolī with toraņa at the Śakunikā-vihāra of Bhṛgukaccha. (The Dilwārā instance, however, is not ornamented with toraņa.)

Pratoli, in absence of balanaka, adds dignity to the entrance. It gracefully frames the view of the rangamandapa together with the trika in the rear-ground, and gives a shock of delightful surprise to the visitor as he reaches to and goes over the Jagati-flight and stands at its threshold.

The simhadvāra is a synonym for pratoli in domestic and civic architecture as gleaned from the vāstusārstra-s. In the Jaina context it is found in the Vatthusāra-payaraņa, the vīkṣārṇava and in several caitya-paripātī psalms of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

(15) The balanaka: nalimandapa:

The balānaka is, generally speaking, the hall at the entrance of the temple, though it also figures in several different positions and locations elsewhere, as will be briefly observed in the discussions to follow.

The term figures in the foundational inscription of the Lūna-vasaḥī temple in Dilwārā dated to S. 1287/A.D. 1231 which mentions, among other parts of the temple, balānaka. 107

Jinaharsa (Vastupālacaritra: 1441) more than once mentions this term in connection with the theistic constructions of minister Vastupāla: (1) He renovated the balānaka, the trika and the gūḍhamanḍapa of the Sāntinātha temple (afflated to Thārāpadra-gaccha) in Stambhatīrtha; (2) added a balānaka to the Cāhaḍa-vihāra

of Cambay; (3) founded an ample temple of Parivanatha in Darbhavatī (Dabhoi), in the balānaka of which he set up the effigy of his mother Kumāradevī.

The psalms composed by Jaina divines to commemorate their pilgrimage to sacred Jaina tīrtha-places, sometimes take notices of the structural parts of the temples visited. Balāna figures in two examples under-cited:

(1) In the Girnāra-tīrthamālā, the anonymous disciple of Ratnasimha Sūri (ca. later part of the 15th century) briefly describes the Indranīla-prāsāda founded by merchant Bhumbhava on Mt. Girnār, in S. 1509/A.D. 1453, and takes notice of the golden balāna hall. 108

. Indranīla tilaka prāsādo hēma-balāna-siūm amwādo/

(2) Muni Śilavijaya, in his $T\bar{\imath}rtham\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ (S. 1746/A.D. 1690 or earlier), takes notice of the golden $b\bar{a}l\bar{a}na$ of the temple of Ambā on Mt. Girnār: 109

Gadha-Girnārī Nemi-Jinanda praņamum bhavi sukha-kanda/kancana-balāna sikhara udāra tihān devī Ambāvi sara/|6//

Balāṇaka's position in the temple scheme and its architectural features are, however, to be known only from the vāstu works. From a passage in the Aparā jitaprechā, balāṇaka's location is thus ascertained:

Sura-sadma suk-agr-antē divya-mandapa bhūşitam/ gūdh-agrē ca trik-agrē ca nītya-ranga-balanakam//

-Aparā jitaprechā, 189.1

The text enjoins that in the sequence of structures, after the buffer-wall bearing the sukanāsa, come in succession the closed hall, the vestibule, the hall for theatrical purposes and finally the balānka or entrance hall. Comparing this textual sequence with the actual example at Lūna-vasahī, the identification remains fully confirmed. (The balānaka in this temple is, however, placed not in front, i.e. west, but on the south side in view, of course, of the peculiar situation of the temple on an escarpment. The entrance has, as earlier observed, the pratolī. The Vivekavilāsa, as we earlier noticed, places in its sequence the balānaka after the rangamandapa: (for citation see here under rangamandapa).

The $V\bar{a}stuvidy\bar{a}$ gives almost the same sequence a propose of a Jaina sacred building and further adds that the $bal\bar{a}nakas$ may be two or three storied in conception: (see citation under trika).

The Aparā jitaprecha is aware of this feature of the $bal\bar{a}naka$. It recommends that a $m\bar{a}da$ (upper storey) be built over the gateway (of a palace) and universally over the $bal\bar{a}naka$ in front of a temple:

Pratoli-paratah sarvē kāryā māda-s-tat-ottama/ devat-āgrē-şu sarvatrah balānak-opari tathā//

-Aparā jitaprechā, 84.1

Maximally, the stories could be either 7 or 9: (Ap. 122.8). (The Vāstusāstra in its chapter on the coordination of the balānaka with the temple terrace also refers to the storied sequence in connection with the types it calls Harmyašāla and Puskara, though it is dumb over its number.)

According to the Aparājitaprechā, the balānaka may be built in front of the temple, as an entrance to a fort as well as a mansion, and, in the middle of water-sheet i.e. tank (122/6"). Its basal dimensions may be the same as those of the shrine proper, or equal either to the diameter of the cella or alternatively to the summation of the width of the transepts and nave (122.2). The five types of balānaka-s are thus mentioned by name in the selfsame work, namely, (1) Vāmana, (2) Vimāna, (3) Harmyasāla, (4) Puṣkara, and (5) Uttunga (122.5). Of which Vāmana is that which is articulated with the jagatī, terrace; vimāna, supported over the jagatī; Harmyasāla, in front of a mansion or a temple, or on the city-front (i.e. as a city-gate); Puṣakara, in the midst of a tank, and Uttunga (and Vimāna, too) in front of a king's palace: (122.8 and 24). So what we notice in the context of Jaina temples are Vāmana and the Vimāna types, it seems.

The detailed rules of the constructional aspect of $bal\bar{a}nakas$ are mentioned in both $V\bar{a}stus\bar{a}stra$ and the $Apar\bar{a}jitaprech\bar{a}$. From the details given, it clearly follows that the $bal\bar{a}naka$ has the same form as that of the rangamandapa hall possessing the $vedik\bar{a}$, dado, the $mattav\bar{a}rana$, seat-back, and the dwarf pillars supporting the superstructure, and the $t\bar{o}rana$ between the pillars of the bhadra-offset at the facade. The exception being the Harmyasāla, which is specifically said to have the form of a $g\bar{o}pura$ (122.24). a fact supported by the very nature of the term which is characteristic of the $g\bar{o}pura$ class of gateways.

The Aparājitaprechā, as its ending note, mentions the divinities in whose temple the balānaka may be constructed: They are Śiva, Sūrya, Brahmā, Viṣnu, Candikā and Jina (122.23).

The $n\bar{a}limandapa$ is the $bal\bar{a}naka$ placed over a $jagat\bar{i}$ with an entrance passage $(n\bar{a}l\bar{i})$ underneath, cut through the $jagat\bar{i}$ front. The term occurs in only one work, namely the $Vrks\bar{a}rnava$. The question of $bal\bar{a}naka$ with $n\bar{a}limandapa$ is suggested by collating the senses of the undernoted two particular verses: The text, in the first instance, enjoins to carve out $n\bar{a}l\bar{i}$, canalway, coaxially with the central intercolumniation (of the inner hall), and next, above this passage, to construct the $bal\bar{a}naka$ -hall with its concomitant features:

Tathā ksaņ-āntarē nālyam balāņaka-s-ca mūrdhvakē tasy-āgrē Nanda-vedīm ca janghā vadati pūrvakah//

-Vrksārnava, 148.21

Next in the following verse is mentioned a mandapa connected externally at the opening of the circuit of 72 devakulikā-s of a Jaina temple called Kirānāvali, and the mandapa in question is called nālimandapa:

Bahutari-s-ca bahye-şu mandape madhya-vedikā/ nālimandapa sam-ākhyātā vedik-āsanamanditā//

-Vrksārnava, 147.43

The storied conception of nalimandapa is inferred from the description in the context of Mahacaturmukha Jinaprasada:

Nalimandapa samyukta dvi-tri bhumyam samayukta/ vedik-asanapattē-s-ca pankti-sopana-sancaya//

-Viksārnava, 147.62

The Viksārņava, in one other context, calls this structure balānakamandapa and goes on to say that it could have 2 storeys (externally in the fore-part) and 4 or (upto) 9 above the canalway:

Kṣaṇāḥ pañca prakartavya-magrē balānaka-maṇḍapam| tasy-āgrē dvayo bhūmi vedī kuryād-vicakṣanaḥ|| Catvārau navabhiḥ prājñah kṛtvā nāli-s-ca margatah|

The oldest example of balānaka is the hall above the jagātī-stairway of the Mahāvīra temple at Osiātī.

The other notable examples of balānaka are: the Pārsvanātha (ca. A.D. 1100, storied) and the Neminātha, both in Kumbhāriā, mentioned earlier. The examples of this variety, of the fifteenth century, are many, the most notable is that of the Lākhenā temple in Polo jungle and has two-storied ones of the Rāṇakapur temple: (Fig. 22). All these are instances of nālīmaṇḍapa.

The mandapa at the entrance of the Vastupāla-Vihāra on Mt. Girnār is an example of $bal\bar{a}naka-mandapa$ which is reached not through the $n\bar{a}l\bar{i}$ but an open flight of steps.

The balānaka or nālīmandapa serves as a resting place to the visitors. The very large balānaka of the Osiān temple perhaps served as a lecture hall (vyākhyāna-sālā).

Balānaka's presence breaks the monotony of the devakulī-s at the entrance and its semi open character admits more light and provides further areal circulation to the interior. How adequate just as aesthetically appealing its conception is, can be judged from the instances of the Pārsvanātha temple at Kumbhāriā and the Lākheṇā temple in Polo jungle, the latter example today partly ruined though.

(16) The mukhacatuşki:

The mukha-catuṣkī is the pillared porch attached to the entrance of a Jinālaya-complex. A pair or more number of devakulikā-s flank it in its rear. In absence of balānaka it can also serve to break the monotony and provide a graceful portal. The Sāntinātha temple at Kumbhāriā, the Lūna-vasahī at Dilwārā and the Sarotrā temple, the latter in particular, 110 provide good illustrations of the mukha-catuṣkī. The fifteenth century temples of Pārsvanātha at Nāḍalāi in Rājasthān, and Ādinātha on Iḍar Hill and the Digambara Jaina temple at Bhiloḍā, the latter two in North Gujarāt have an upper (screened) story also.

(17) The mukhamandapa:

The mukhamandapa is a balānaka without the vedī-dado and āsanapaṭṭa-seat, or, what amounts to the same thing, a multiple mukha-catuṣkī. The Mahāvīra temple at Kumbhāriā shows such one, but the space between the pillars there is grilled. The exquisite entrance hall—mukhamandapa—of the Varakāṇā temple (15th cent.) has an upper story also. On the whole, the instances of mukhamandapa are somewhat rarer compared to the former two, namely the balānaka and the mukhacatuṣkī.

(18) The hastisala: gajasala:

The hastisālā is the court of the effigies of elephants carrying the figures of dignitaries, generally the builder and his relations and the ruling royalty, depicted as proceeding toward the temple for the adoration of the Jina: (Fig. 24). The conception of this court is somewhat of later origin in the evolution of the Jaina temple scheme and no satisfactory solution had been found as to how conveniently it can be accommodated. The vāstusāstra-s take no notice of the structure and it clearly was never at first thought to be the integral part of the temple. Its conception very probably took shape sometime in the middle of the twelfth century when minister Prthvipāla and subsequently his son Dhanapāla set up the marble elephant figures with effigies of theirs and their ancestors in a free standing hall before the Vimala-vasahī temple. An inscription dated S. 1212 A.D. 1156 on a Samavasarana installed in the centre of that hall clearly refers the structure as hastisālā: (Śrī-Vimala-mantrī-hastisālayām Śrī Ādinātha-

Samavasaranam kārayancakē etc.). 112 The next notice in date for this structure is in the foundation inscription of the Lūna-vasahī temple there (1231), which, while mentioning the erection of the selfsame temple by Tejapāla, also refers to the surround of devakulikā-s and the vast elephant court: (. . . . Śrī Arbudācal-opariDeulavād agrāmē-samasta-devakulik-ālankttam visāla-hastisāl-opasobhitam Śrī Lūna-vasahik-ābhidhāna Śrī Neminātha-caitya-midam kārītam//)

The Vastupāla-caritra, among pious deeds of Vastupāla in Śrī-Pattana (i.e. Pāṭaṇ Aṇhilwāḍ), mentions his addition of a gajasalā (=hastisālā) to the temple founded earlier by Vīrācārya in about the first quarter of the 12th century.

The hastisālā of the Vimala-vasahī temple is a detached structure, and thus outside the main plan. But in the Lūna-vasahī temple, it is integrated inside the scheme of the temple and is behind the main shrine, in place where the backrow of the devakulikā-s would have been: (Fig. 24). Its forepillars have insertions of grilles giving it a screened fronton. As the later prabandha-s say, the placement of hastisālā at the rear end of the Jina was condemned as inappropriate (and inauspicious) by minister Yasovīra, when he was asked by Vastupāla to make observations on the then newly built temple. Later temples do not show hastisālā, nor are there further inscriptional or literary notices to that structure available. It seems that after the times of Vastupāla, the feature disappeared as quickly as it came.

(19) The vitana-s:

The phantasy of the Jaina temple-interiors is also to a great deal due to the presence of decorated ceilings, the large and major ones known as karōṭaka-s and the relatively smaller—square, oblong or circular—vitāna-s of varied descriptions and categories. The rangamandapa always had the largest and the most impressive ceiling, of the 'Sabhā-mandāraka' class, the gūdhamandapa, somewhat less elaborate and of the Nābhicchanda class; while the trika, and the paṭṭasālikā harboured the multitudinous minor ceilings, of considerable charm and variations in designs.

The karotaka-ceiling of the rangamandapa is unexcelled for its profoundity of conception and feeling of wonderment, excitement and exhaltation it evokes. Its structurization and its details, though done according to certain conventions which permit only fewer options, are the products of a long evolution and they reached a stage and moment in their history when nothing beyond could be visualized or conceived. It identified itself with and reflected by its symbology the vision of the cosmos itself: (Figs. 8-11). The great karotaka-s of the Jaina temple-halls are for certain the more complete, the more evolved, far larger and more impressive than what is shown by their counterparts in the Brahmanical temples.

The evolution and varietal character of the central pendantive—lambana or $k\overline{o}lakamala$ as referred to in the $v\overline{a}stus\overline{a}stra$ -s and currently called $padmasil\overline{a}^{115}$ —is a feature mainly, why, almost exclusively of the Jaina temples. The rangamandapa's enthralling impressiveness and its look of the "assembly hall of the celestials" derive from and are a result very largely of the $kar\overline{o}taka$.

But of all the parts, it was the *trika* and the *paṭṭaṣālikā* which gave fuller scope to the sculptors to variate and create new and many fanciful, rich and beautiful patterns that are never found in the contemporary or late Brahmanical buildings. To Jaina-s cost was no problem, for the temples were, as narrated earlier, for the larger part built by high officials and wealthy tradesmen, sometimes royalties, and not infrequently by the corporate efforts of many donors, each of whom had resources adequate enough to commission one or two *devakulikā*-s with ornate doorframes and matching ceilings in the corresponding portion in the *paṭṭaṣālikā*, or, sometimes, contributing to building the parts of the *trika* with ceilings as testified by inscriptions in adequate number.

If karotaka is the most evocative and transcendental object, the minor vitāna-s of the varied categories such as Samatala (flat), Nābhicchanda (concentric), Mandāraka (with pendantive) and their various combinations such as Padmanābha, Padma-mandāraka, etc., are no less emotive. They grace, as mentioned in the foregoing, the trika, the pattasālikā, as also the bays (alinda-s) between the rangamandapa and the pattasālikā, the side catuskī-s and wherever there is scope for their introduction, for example over the antarāla and pārsvālinda-s (aisles) in the gūdhamandapa and so forth. The Dilwārā, the Kumbhāriā and the Girnār, temples today are the richest treasure-houses of the Māru-Gurjara vitāna-s: (Figs. 12-18 & 20-21). With the exception of a few ceilings in the Visvanātha and Kandariyā temples (ca. 1001 and 1050) in Khajurāho (Jejākābhukti style), they remain unexcelled in all Northern India.

After the occupation of parts of Rājasthāna and next Gujarāt by Muslims, the many great temple-centres inestimably suffered. The materials of the desecrated and razed-to-ground temples were used in raising the mosques, such as in Ajmer (Ajayameru), Jālōr (Jābālipura) Bhinnamāla (Bhillamāla, Śrīmāla), Bāyānā, Sāñcor (Satyapura) and a few other places in Rājasthāna, and Pāṭan (Anhilla-Pāṭaka, Śrī-Pattana), Siddhapur (Śrīsthala), Ahmedabad (Āsāpalli-Karņāvatī), Khambhāt (Stambhatīrtha), Vaḍanagar (Vrddhanagara, Ānandapura), Kapaḍavañja (Kārpaṭavānijya), Bharuch (Bhrgukaccha), Mānḍala (Maṇḍali), Junāgaḍha (Jīrṇadurga), Vaṃthalī (Vāmanasthalī), Prabāsa-Pāṭana (Prabhāsa, Śrī-devapattana) and some other places. These mosques contain scores of major and minor ceilings pilfered to a great extent from the Jaina temples. But often divested of their lower-most courses such as the rūpakantha (figural

belt) and karnaka (sharp-edged arris), and its rich bracket-statuary, just as the pendentive frequently missing or truncated in the centre, they look very ungainly. The karōṭaka-s were designed for a different purpose and were in different environment and setting. The relative proportions of the columns and the karoṭaka-s originally were also different. And there never was a practice of placing karōṭaka-s in chain as is done in the Ibādatakhānā of the mosque, where they seem as meaningless as they look dead and tragic, supported ridiculously by the duplicated and triplicated slender columns, their figural decoration mutilated. This is evident from all those mosques constructed out of the Jaina and Brahmanical temple material, be it Ajmer or Jālōr, or Ahmedābād or Khambhāt.¹¹⁶

(20) The torana-s:

The torana-s are the additional grace-ornaments,—arches,—like inverted fastoons thrown between the columns of the hall. They are as indispensable to a Māru-Gurjara Jaina temple as crowns and diadems are to the royalties. The rangamandapa-s of the earlier temples at Kumbhāriā had torana-s in four directions between the bhadra-pillars only. The Dilwārā ranga-halls,—which are larger—show torana-s also between the pillars flanking the middle pair. As an exception the Mahāvīra temple at Kumbhāriā has torana-s in the trika, between the side and the central columns; and the nālimandapa of the Neminātha temple has a torana in its fore-bhadra.

Of the three types of tōrana-arches used in the Jaina temples, the first two, namely the illikā (crawling caterpiller) and the madala-tilaka (serpentine) type are also known from the contemporary as well as somewhat earlier Brahmanical shrines. But the double twisted madala-tilaka variety first known from the hall of the Lūṇa-vasahī temple, seems the innovation of the architects who worked for the Jaina temples. 119

The torana-s were used more frequently in Jaina than the Brahmanical temples; but their intrinsic beauty as well as power to enrich and decorate was fully exploited and seen at its best in the Jaina rangamandapa-s (Figs. I, 3 and 5).

CONCLUSION

The Western Indian Jaina temple is a phenomenon very largely of the medieval period, even when the beginnings of its formulation may be pushed back to about the eighth century. Once it attained the total integration of its characteristic constituent parts,—which occurred when the Māru-Gurjara style had reached its apogee,—it concentrated on the absolute harmony of forms and their details, even when the sculptural art was progressively deteriorating. Its interior with the plurality of Jina-s in their many surrounding cells around the columnar halls J.S.-48

symbolize the philosophy of the endlessness of liberated souls, each a "mirror image" of the other, through the billions of aeons: Its ornate marble interior with its vast central ceiling revealing the marvels of the dynamic but finite cosmos, where the Jina's omniscience sees and senses everything that exists in Eternity but interferes with nothing. To the Jina, the liberated consciousness brings not only the infinite 'knowledge' and sensibility but also infinite bliss. In the process was created a spirituality in building which is sensed somewhat differently from that of the Brahmanical temple-interiors, or, for that matter, what one experiences in the melancholy majesty of the Gothic cathadral, or, the still vacuuity of abstractness in the columnar sanctuary of the mosques where the architecture moves in transverse direction as opposed to the central of the Jaina temple. The sense of exhaltation one feels is consequently different in the three instances. The Jaina way, which totally rejects the idea of Creator and Creation, designed temple interiors which are only concretioned bliss, symbol and vehicle of the limitless and transcendental peace. If transcendence is attained through pure abstractness in architecture, as in the case of some mosques, it can also be reached from the other end, through harmonized, organized ornateness as is discovered in some Jaina temples, particularly those in Western India of the Solanki period. The Western Indian Jaina temple thus represents the highest water-mark in the realization in material form the Jaina concept of the Ultimate and Eternity. Physically it differs from the contemporaneous Brahmanical shrines in certain fundamental respects, in the organization and fuller statement of its constituent elements, but spiritually it reflects a very different ideal, sensed and seen when one stands at its threshold.

REFERENCES

- 1. Jina as Siddha, the Liberated one, is only the Knower (Jhātā) and Seer or Witness (Drastā; sākṣi) but not the Doer or Maker (Kartā). He fulfills no demands, no desires, answers to no prayers; but his worship, in a spiritual way, elevates the worshipper and the material fruits resulting through an agency of "meritorious deed"—for worship is supposed to be a meritorious act,—are only incidental just as unavoidable. An image of Jina is set up with the purpose of accruing merit (pun ya) or for the well-being (sraya) of the devotee and not primarily for material benefits, even when later literature extalls the glory (mahimā) of some Jaina tirtha-s and specific images. The earlier āgamic injunctions did not encourage the monks to undertake pilgrimages though these eventually became a favourite occupation with the Jaina ascetics in the medieval period, whose preachings then greatly inspired and gave a philip to a tremendous temple building activity in Western India in particular.
- 2. More will be said on this point in the discussion on the devakulika-s to follow.
- 3. The word 'dkara' in Sanskrit means 'quarry'. Whether the word 'Ārāsaṇa' came from 'drasa' (marble) or the particular stone (i.e. marble) quarried from near Ārāsaṇa got the name from the place is not clear.

- 4. Some ceilings in the corridors of the Vimala-vasahi temple at Dilwārā (ca. 1145-1185) and in the side-bays of the Mahāvīra temple at Kumbhāriā as also the rangamandapa and the trika of the Lūṇa-vasahi temple at Dilwārā (1231) are cases in point. They illustrate the delicate china-porcelein like shades. Aesthetically the marble of Ārāsaṇa is surely much superior to that of Makarān which Mughals extensively used in their architecture at Delhi and Āgrā.
- See author's "Some Early Jaina Temples in Western India", The Golden Jubilee Volume, Shri Mahavir Jaina Vidyalaya, Bombay 1968, p. 13, ground plan.
- 6. Ibid., p. 328, ground plan.
- 7. Ibid., p. 336, ground plan.
- 8. H. Cousens, Somanatha and Other Medieval Temples in Kathiawad, ASI, Vol. XI.V, 1931, plt. LXVIII.
- 9. The older portions, particularly the base and much of the wall of this temple dates from Vāgbhatta's time. The fuller discussion on this temple will appear in author's book in Gujarātī entitled 'Śatruñjaya tīrtha-nā Jaina-mandiro' being written in collaboration with Shri Amritlal Trivedi.
- * Jas. Burgess and Henry Cousens. The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat, ASWI, Vol. IX, London, 1903, Plt. CIX.
- 10. The Sāndhāra temples are not known to be forming a nucleus supporting other structural appendages and sometimes not even the encirclement of sub-shrines. This will be further clarified in the discussion.
- 11. Vide, "Some Early."
- I am discussing this temple with its ground-plan in our book on Satrunjaya temples earlier here mentioned.
- 13. The figure in Dilwara does not exactly come to 52 though. This discrepancy is partly due to the presence of balanaka on the southern side and partly due to the presence of elephant-court in the rear quarters.
- 14. The door on the eastern side is sealed and blinded for some years since it opened into a desolate area.
- 15. Earlier I had postulated fifteenth century for the Renaissance. But the new evidence now shifts the beginnings to the date around 1315. I intend to discuss this point fully elsewhere.
- † Shri Prabhashankar O. Sompura and I presently collaborate on editing this work.
- † This work, too, is being edited at present by Shri Prabhashankarbhai and myself.
- 16. The work is in a dialogue form between Visvakarma and his first mind-bore son, Jaya.
- 17. Ed. Popathhai Ambashankar Mankad. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. CXV, Baroda 1950.
- * The fragment exists in the collection of Shri Prabhashankar Sompura.
- 18. Ed. Bhagwandas Jain, Kota 1939.
- 19. Ed. Pt. Bhagwandas Jain, Jaipur City 1963.
- 20. Cf. C. D. Daial, Prācina-Gūrjara-Kāvya-saṅgraha, G.O.S. No. XIII, pt. 1, Baroda, 1920.
- 21. Cf. Agarchand Nahta, Varanasi, V.S. 2016.
- * Cf. Pt. Ambalal Premchand Shah, Ranakapur-ni paneatirthi, Bhavnagar, V.S. 2012.

22. The *Upadeša-sāra* (S. 1362/A. D. 1306?) is one more source of information on the Catur-mukha temple built at Siddhapura.

- 23. The Nandisvara-dvipa—the island continent—of the Jaina cosmography.
- 24. The gati-s are dzīva (human), manus ya (man), tiryañca (animal) and nārakī (hellish).
- † The notice occurs somewhere in the Prabhavakacaritra but since the work is not handy, at the moment, I am unable to cite the exact reference.
- 25. This reference, too, is likewise lost from my notes.
- 26. This reference, too, I am unable at present to quote.
- 27. The work is at present being edited by Shri Prabhashankar O. Sompura and myself.
- * Some of the medieval pilgrim-psalms reveal that the writers were struck by the beauty of the Dilwārā temples and the Kharatara-vasahī on Mt. Śatrunjaya.
- † This is despite the assertion of the Vāstuvidyā for decorating the jagati with figural work.
- 28. Like the Varakānā temple and the Melaka-vasahī temple on Mt. Girnār.
- 29. The temple has been discovered in the last decade and is being conserved at present by the State Department of Archaeology, Government of Gujarat.
- 30. See Madhusudan Dhanki and Prakash Bapna, "Śrī Citrakūṭē Kumāravihāram?" Svādhyāya, Vol. V, No. 4, Baroda.
- 31. For particulars see the temples described in "Some Early".
- 32. This work gives two series of Jaina temples, one concerning the 52 types and the other 72.
- 33. For details, see "Some Early".
- 34. Ibid.
- 35. This is for the Arhat-s.
- * E.g. Mahāvīra and the Śāntinātha temples at Kumbhāriā. The Vimala-vasahī and the Lūna-vasahī at Dilwārā, however, have phamsanā or stepped pyramidal roof.
- 36. Garbhagṛh-āṣrayā kāryaṃ tat-tulyā guḍhamaṇḍapam/ caturo-'sta-pañcam—āṃṣ́—oktā prāsāda pṛthu-mānatah//
- 37. Cf. Śri Arbuda-prācina-Jaina-lēkha-sandoha (Ābu pt. 2), V.S. 1994, No. 352.
- 38. Ibid.
- † Cf. Punyavijaya Muni, Sukttakirttikallolin-yādi-Jaina prašasti-sangraha, Singhi Granth-mālā No. 5, Bombay, 1961.
- 39. Jayantavijayaji, No. 251.
- 40. For instance Jinavijayaji, Jayantavijayaji and Kalyanavijayaji.
- 41. Jayantavijayaji, No. 261.
- 42. Cf. D. C. Sirkar, Indian Epigraphical Glossary, Delhi, 1966, p. 343.
- 43. Temple without an ambulatory.
- 44. See here p. 329.
- 45. Original references are too lengthy to be cited here.
- 46. Cf. Muni Visalavijayaji, Śri Ārāsaņa-tīrtha apara-nāma Sri-Kumbhāriyā ji-tīrtha (Guj.), Bhavnagar 1961, No. 3.
- 47. Cf. Jayantavijayaji, Arbudācala-pradakṣinā-Jaina-lekha-sandoha (Ābu pt. 5), Bhavnagar V.S. 2005, No. 12,

- 48. Jayantavijayji, (Abu pt. 2), No. 352.
- Jayantavijayji, "Purätana Itihäsa ane Sthäpatya", Śrī Jaina-satya-prakāśa, Vol. 2, No. 11, 1937 (Gujarati) Nos. 49-50.
- 50. These are in one row. A forth one is articulated with the central one to form a mukha-catuşki.
- 51. This generally is a deep niche. Exceptionally, on the karna-s also,—as in the case of the Pārsvanātha temple at Sādri, and the Padmaprabha temple at Nāḍalāi,—the khattaka-s occur.
- 52. Cf. Pt. Ambalal Premchand Shah, Jaina-tirtha-Sarva-Sangraha (Guj.), Vol. I, Ahmedabad 1953, pt. 2, p. 190.
- 53. Cf. Jayantavijayaji (Abu pt. 2), No. 9.
- 54. Ibid, No. 352.
- See my article "Girnāranā eka navaprāpta prasasti-lekha par dṛṣṭipāta" (Guj.), Svādhyā ya,
 Vol. 8, No. 4, Baroda V.S. 2027.
- 56. Cf. Jayantavijayji (Abu pt. 2), No. 145.
- 57. Ed. Jinavijayaji, Prācīna-Jaina-lekha-sangraha, pt. 2, Bhavanagar 1921, No. 49.
- 58. The inscribed images under reference are at present in the L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad.
- Cf. An Encyclopaedia of Hindu Architecture, (Manasara Series: Vol. VII), Allahabad (1927?),
 p. 136.
- 60. Sirkar, Glossary., p. 157.
- 61. Vide Acharya, Encyclopaedia, p. 136
- 62. Ed. Jinavijaya, Bombay 1956, p. 59.
- 63. Ibid.
- 64. Cf. Jayantavijayaji, $(\overline{A}bu$, pt. 5), No. 236.
- 65. Cf. Jayantavijayaji, (Ābu, pt. 2), Nos. 428-29.
- 66. By "Modherā Order" is meant the pillars of the species of the dancing hall of the Sun temple, Modherā in North Gujarāt.
- 67. "Sidhpur Order" means the pillars of the type found in the ruins of the Rudramahālaya at Sidhpur.
- 68. As in the older Somanätha temple (ambulatory) the Lüna-vasahi temple (rangamandapa) and a few other places.
- 69. Sarotra, Bhiloda (15th cent.), Brāhmanavādā (14th-15th cent.) and a few other places.
- 70. The kalpavalli carving on these has been illustrated in "The Ceilings in the Temples of Gujarat, Bulletin, Museum & Picture Gallery, Baroda, Vol. XVI-XVII, figs. 21 a & b. (Authors: J. M. Nanavati & M. A. Dhaky).
- 71. Cf. the citation here under 'baldnaka'.
- 72. Cf. Jayantavijayaji ($\bar{A}bu$ pt. 5), No. 327.
- * However, of late I came across the term dādhā in the Vṛkśārṇava, purporting to mean 'beam-frame'. Dhara of course mean 'pillar'. So dadhādhara must mean lintels with their supporting columns.
- 73. Vishalavijayaji, Śrī Ārdsanatirtha, No. 30.
- 74. Cf. Jayantavijayaji, (Abu, pt. 5), No. 113.

- 75. Ibid., No. 155.
- 76. Ibid., No. 162.
- 77. Ed. Bhagubhai Fatehchand Karbhari, Bombay 1916.
- 78. Cf. C. D. Dalal, Prācīna Gūrjara.
- 79. Cf. here p. 333.
- 80. This one is at present being edited by me.
- 81. Cf. here p. 334.
- 82. Literally "Thunder hall" or "Echoring hall".
- * Cf. Pt. Ambalal Premchand Shah, Rāṇakapur-ni Pāṇcatirthi (Guj.) Bhavanagar, V.S. 2012, No. 11.
- 83. Ed. Jinavijayaji, Bombay 1936, p. 30.
- † This is being edited by me.
- † This one is being edited by Mrs. Vidhatri Vora and myself.
- 84. For particulars, see Punyavijaya Muni, Sukțtakirttikallolliny-ādi-Vastupāla-prasasti-sangraha, Singhi Jaina grantha-mālā No. 5, Bombay, 1961. An unpublished Catiya-paripāţi (which I am at present editing) gives the variant 'Śakramandapa' (Śakra—Indra).
- 85. Cf. here p. 330.
- 86. Cf. here p. 329.
- In the Gālā inscription of Siddharāja Jayasimha, dated S. 1193/A.D. 1137. For details, see
 H. D. Sankalia, Archaeology of Gujarat (Including Kathiawar), Bombay 1941, Appendix
 A, p. 14.
- 88. So far there has been no image of Sarasvatt known this way replacing the 'repeated' Jina, though it sounds a logical option.
- 89. This work, too, is at present being edited by Shri Prabhashankarbhai and myself.
- 90. See my "Some Early", pp. 327-328.
- 91. For this information I have depended on the writings of Triputi Maharaj: But the original sources I am unable at present to cite.
- 92. Cf. Punyavijaya Muni, Sukrta.
- 93. Cf. Jayantavijayaji, (Abu, pt. 5), No. 110.
- 94. Ibid., No. 108.
 - * Cf. Jayantavijayaji., Abu pt. 2, No. 150.
- 95. Consult the work noted in the preceding.
- 96. Cf. Jayantavijayaji, (Abu pt. 2), No. 352.
- 97. See my "Giranāra-nā".
- 98. Cf. Jinavijayaji, Prācīna, p. 95
- 99. The date of the prasasti-inscription is lost. But since the mulanayaka image set up by the builders bearing the date S. 1305 is still available—(now in the Vastupala-vihara)—, it is logical to conclude that the prasasti was also dated in the same year.
- 100. Cf. Vishalvijayaji, Śri-Ārāsaņatirtha., No. 26.
- 101. Jayantavijayaji, Abu pt. 5, No. 115.
- 102. For details, consult the last-noted work.
- 103. Jinavijayaji, Kharatara-gaccha, p. 59.

- † Ibid. p. 71.
- 104. Jayantavijayaji, Abu pt. 2, No. 434.
- 105. Ibid., No. 473.
- 106. As in the case of the Dharana-Vihāra at Rānakapur.
- ‡ Cf. Ambalal Premchand Shah, Rānakapur-nī., p. 21.
- 107. Jayantavijayaji, Abu, pt. 2, No. 251.
- 108. Ed. Shri Vijayadharma Sürl, Prācina tirthamālā-sangraha, pt. 1, Bhavanagar, S. 1978, p. 35.
- 109. Ibid., p. 103.
- 110. Cf. Burgess, The Architectural, text fig.
- 111. See my "Renaissance and the Late Maru-Gurjara Temple Architecture", Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, (Special number, Western Indian Art), fig. 14.
- 112. Cf. Jayantavijayaji, Abu, pt. 2, No. 229.
- 113. For details, see Nanavati & Dhaky:, "The Ceilings".
- 114. Ibid., p. 1, and my "Renaissance", p. 14.
- 115. Padmašilā meant a flat ceiling with full-bloom lotus carving.
- 116. The total number of Jaina temples destroyed for material for mosques in Gujarat alone seems to be nearing one hundred.
- · 117. This may be partly due to the smaller size of the halls there.
 - 118. At Modherā and Kirādu for instance.
 - 119. That is what it seems at present.

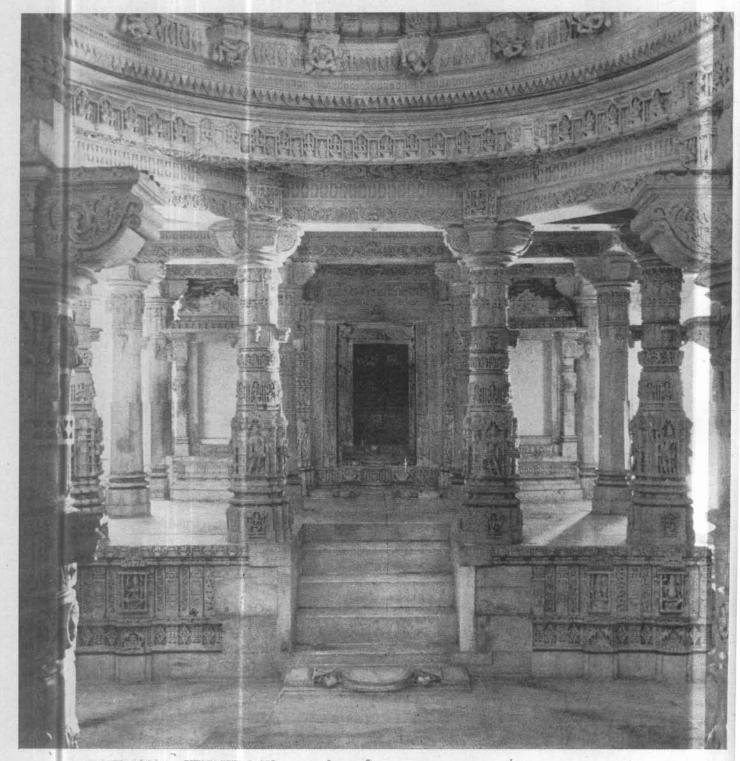
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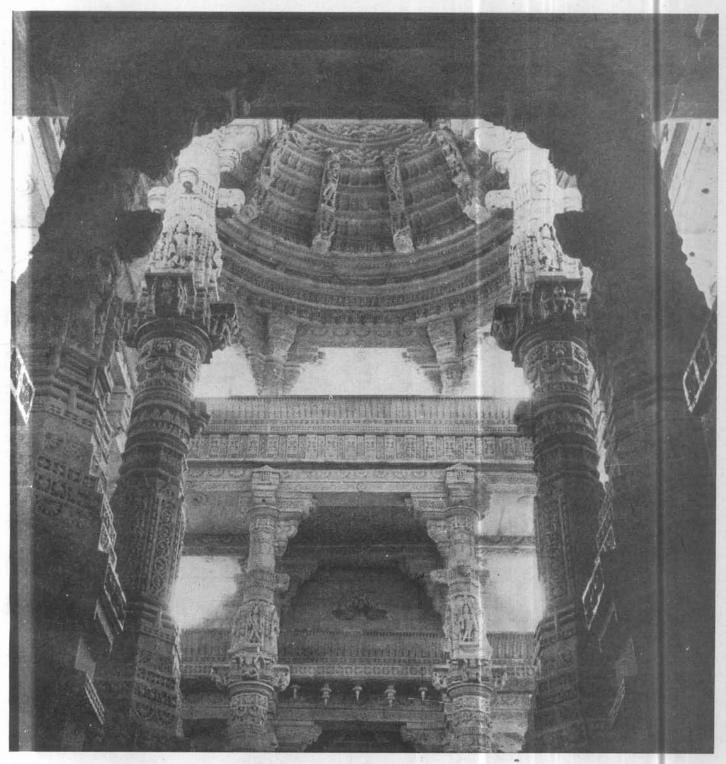


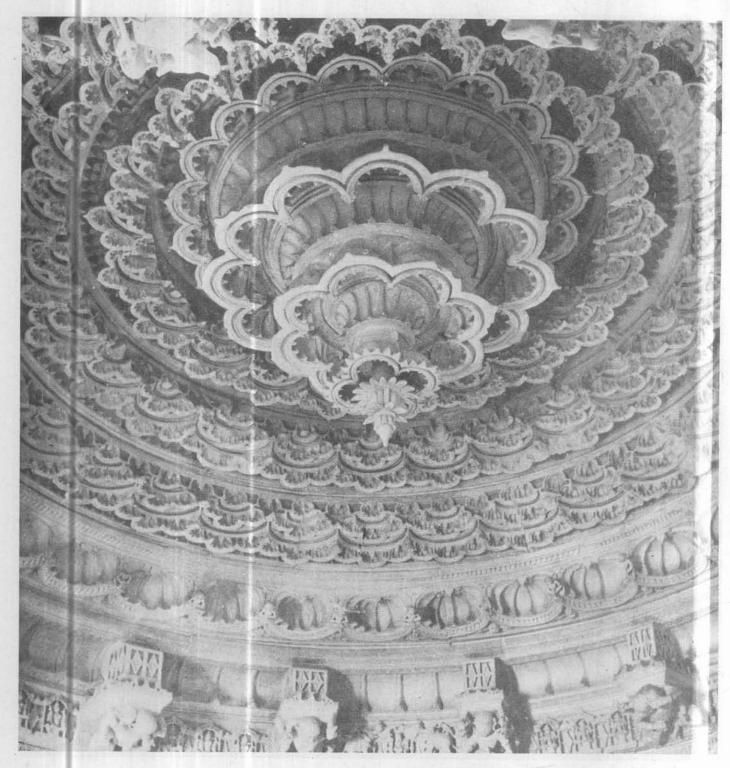


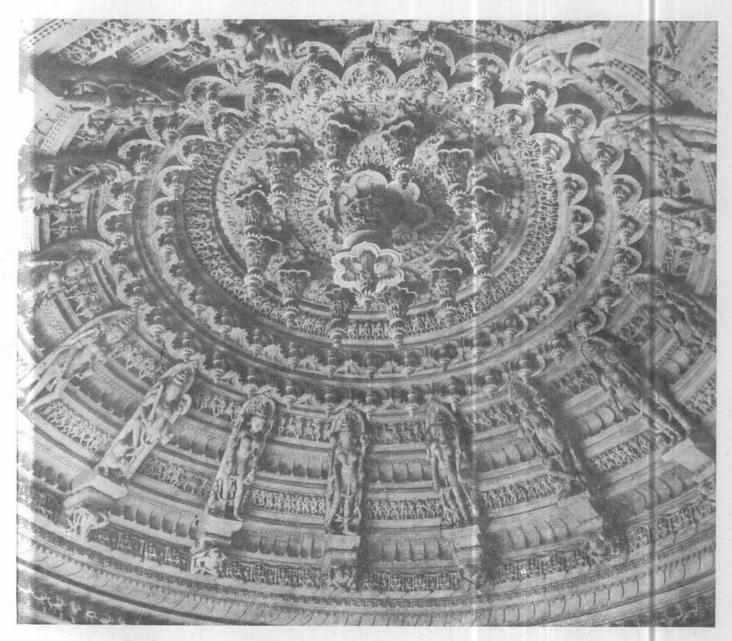


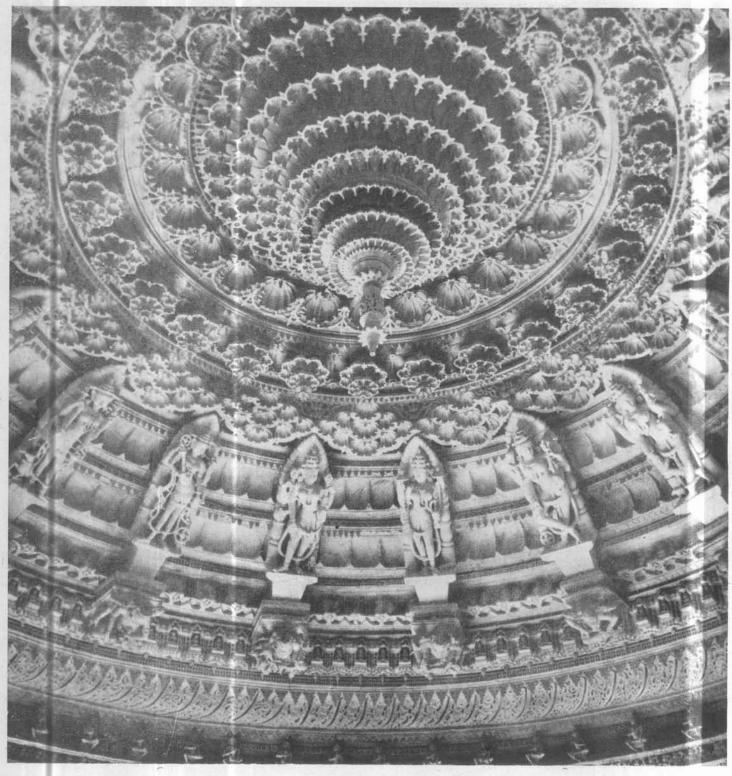


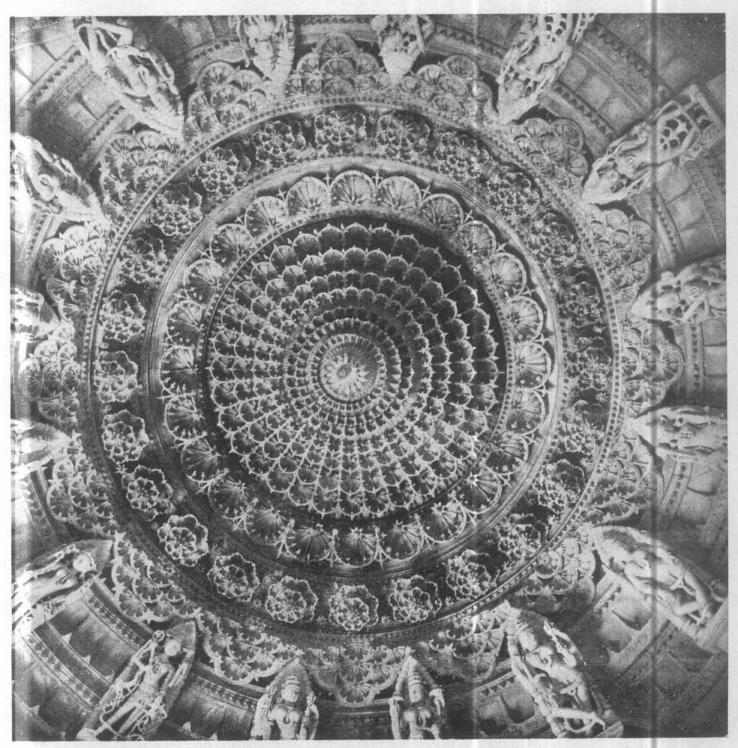




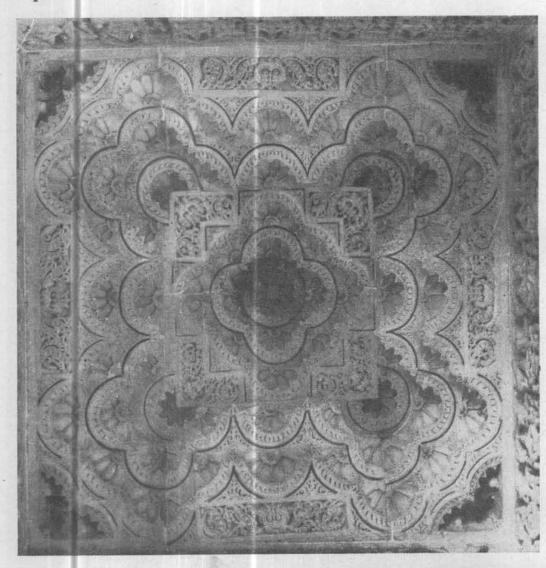




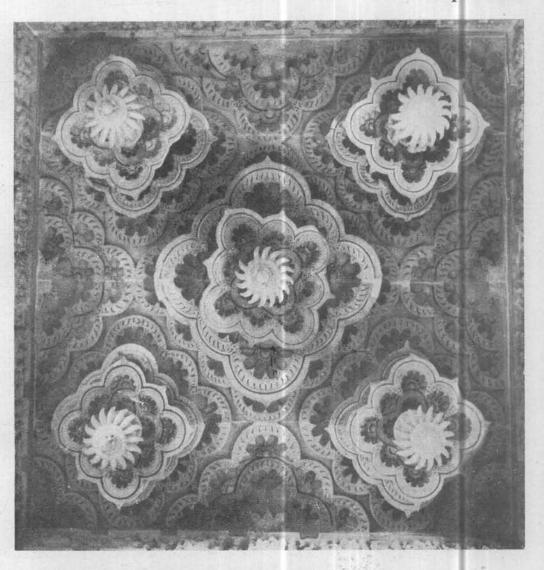


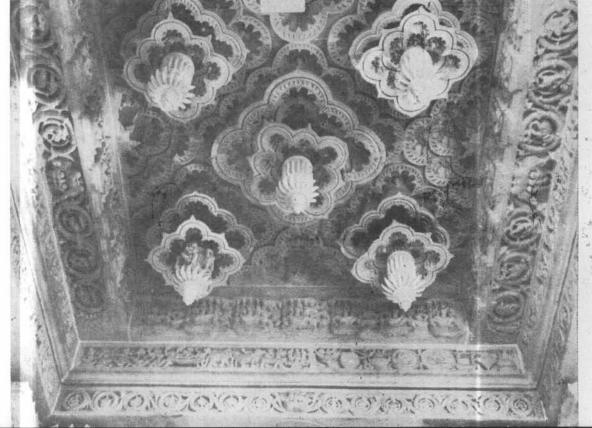


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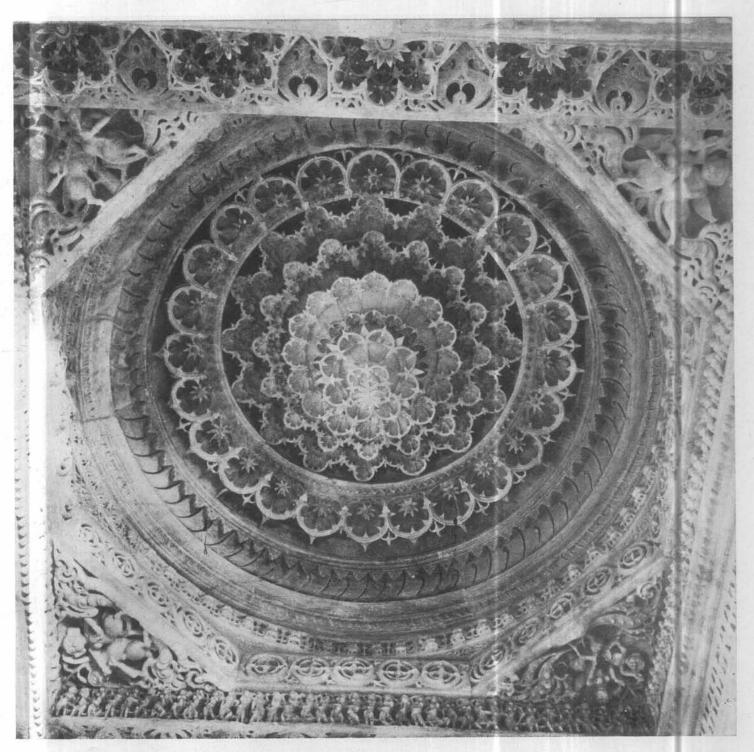


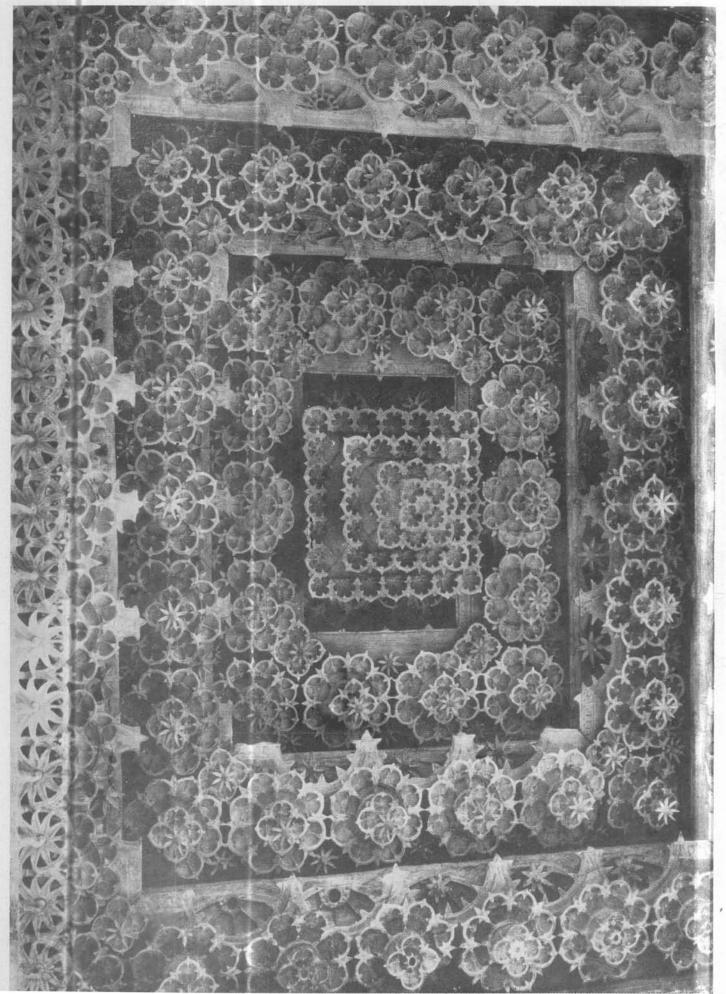




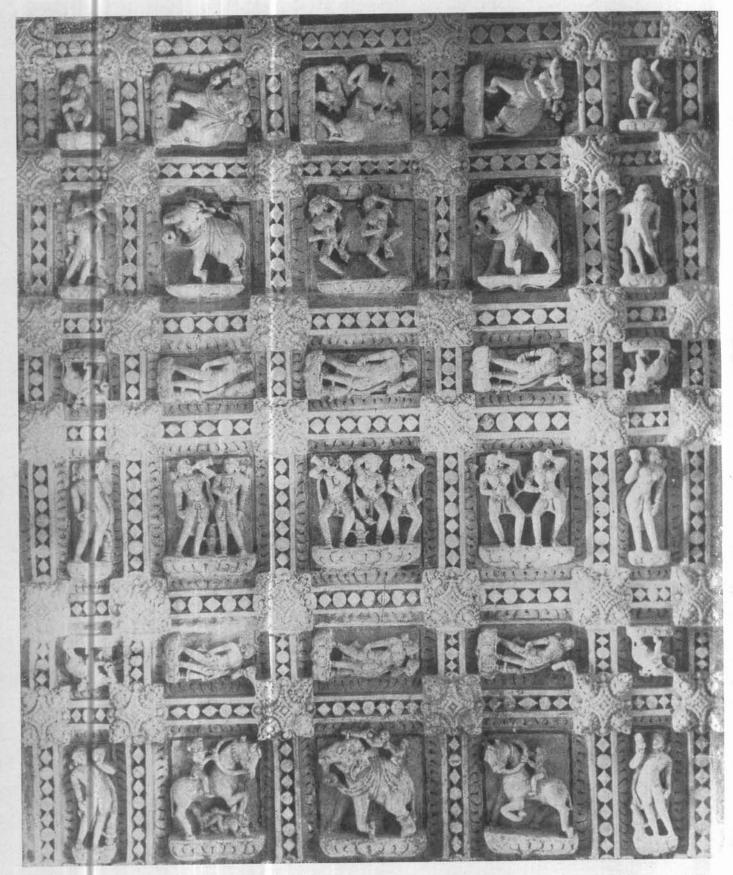




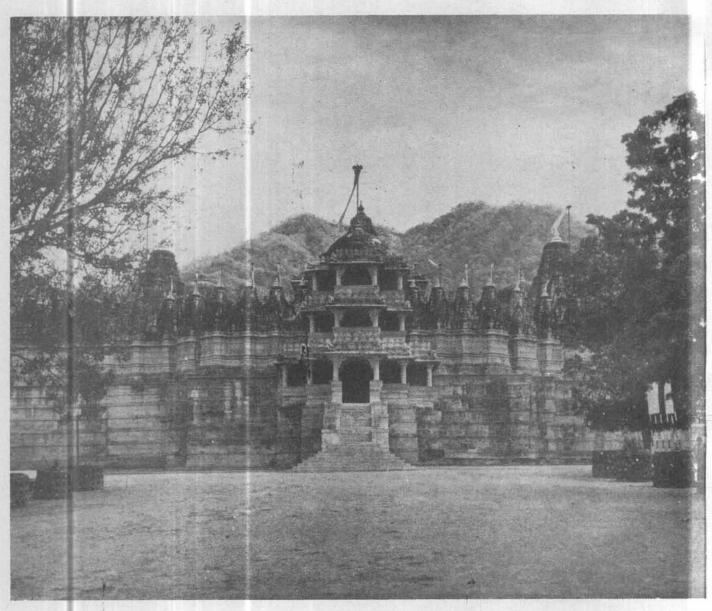


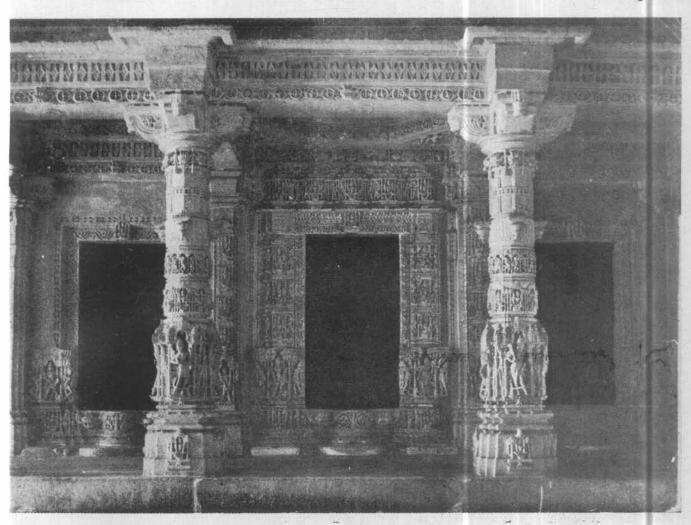


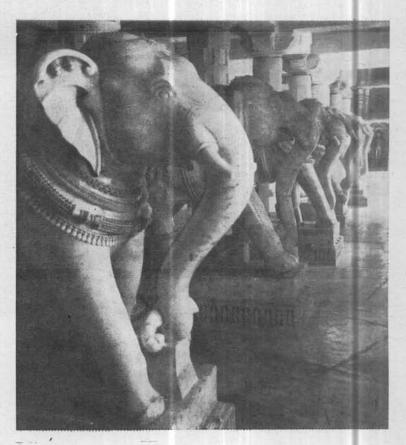


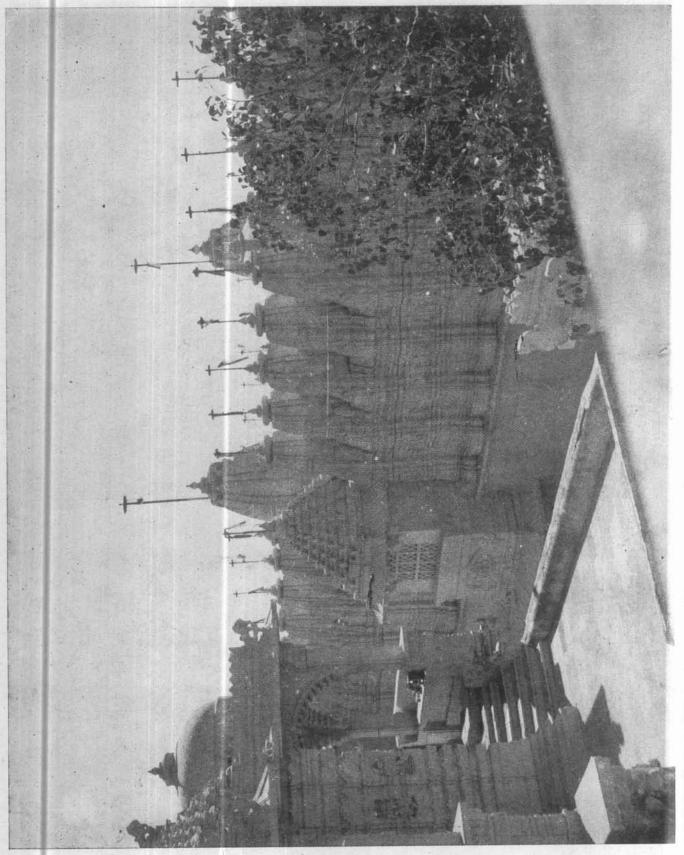












29. JAINA PAINTING OF WESTERN INDIA

STELLA KRAMRISCH

Much has been written about the Western school in its cultural context. There are many dated illuminated manuscripts and book covers from the 11th to the 16th century and its chronology is secure. The variety of its styles and materials have been analysed. Some of its salient features have been noted so that it cannot be mistaken. It has been commented upon by Indian writers at the time of its creation and by scholars within the last fifty years. It has been extolled and vituperated by them with a fervour, provoked only by new aspects as a rule of contemporary art of today. The integrity, the very being of its style however has remained undefined.

The patrons of the Western school were rich merchants and bankers. They had temples built and manuscripts illuminated for the sake of their renown in the Jaina community and to secure for themselves a place in heaven after death. They were lavish in the pursuit of this kind of self-gratification by which they attained spiritual security. They had to rely, as did the builders and painters, on the knowledge of the Jaina monks and the precepts laid down in sacerdotal-technical treatises.

The art of the builder of temples and of the illuminator of religious manuscripts is hieratic and lavish. The gold which was used profusely for the illuminations from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries was transmuted, by the alchemy of creation, from wealth into radiance. This art was not "bourgeois" although the patrons belonged to the wealthy middle class. A fourteenth century manuscript of the Kalpasūtra dated 1346 A.D., illuminated in gold, red and blue, has only recently been discovered by U. P. Shah.

The iconography was meticulously regulated. It is unsurpassed in the monotony of its repetitive typology. Visually, however, the stereotyped motives, each of which has its name and function, savior, monk ,mother-to-be of the Savior, god Sakra, King, throne, bed and so on (Figs. 1-2, Kalpasūtra d. 1432), recur with the frequency of architectural mouldings of an Indian temple where

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each moulding has its name and place. Together, in the innumerable nuances of their ever-so-slight deviations from the standard proportions, they cohere in their reciprocity which is as of one cast.

In the very large output of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the differences in quality are conspicuous; here truly many reproductions were accepted as authentic by the religious practitioner. They served the purpose for which they were made.

The vast majority of the work of the Western school is Svetāmbara Jaina in subject. The Kalpasūtra, "the lives of the Saviours" and the "story of Kālaka" were the favorite texts. Few illuminated Digambara Jaina manuscript are known. In the fifteenth century also Hindu religious texts and one non-religious erotic poem, were illustrated, the latter a long scroll, the Vasanta Vilasa, painted on cotton cloth, in the style of the Western school. The differences in subject and the variations within the overall style are obvious. Amongst the quantity of fluidity outlined levities of the paradoxically provocative illustrations of the Spring Festival, the Vasanta Vilāsa, painted by several hands, some illustrations appear to be the work of indifferent Kalpasūtra painters. They reduce hieratic formulae to a poignant and fugitive "speed-painting" which, in part also, engendered them. In short, the Svetāmbara Jaina illuminations of their sacred books are the most highly specialized efflorescence of the Western school while hack painters of the Kalpasūtra and Kālakācāryakathā (the story of the venerable teacher Kālaka) were available also for other tasks:

The flavour (rasa) of the Svetambara paintings is incomparably subtler than that of the story of Kālaka (Fig. 3. 1370-80) which was compiled in the eleventh or twelfth century when the Western Indian school of painting was in its formative stage. One of the preoccupations of the story of prince Kālaka, who became a monk, is with the Sahis, or Sakas of Seistan who invaded Kach and Surat in about 60 B.C. They came to his help against the wicked Indian king Gardhabilla over whose land, the Sahis became the rulers—for a few years. They were overthrown by Vikrama, son of Gardhabilla. In the illustrations of the story however, they are clad in Tartaric attire and show the Mongol countenance and its nearly full-face rendering into the sixteenth century.

This updating of the imagined appearance of the Sakas was prompted by an immediate and also protracted local experience, the encounter of the people of Gujarat with Islam, from about the turn of the first millennium. Mahud of Ghazna invaded the country in 1024, Alauddin conquered Gujarat in 1296. During the fourteenth century Gujarat was part of the Sultanate of Delhi; just one hundred years later Zafar Khan, then governor of Gujarat, revolted and

formed the kingdom of Gujarat. In 1573 the kingdom of Gujarat was annexed by the Mughal empire.

The Western Indian style consolidated and reached its zenith under Muslim rule. Muslim fashions and their patterns are depicted with regal splendor in the Svetāmbara Jaina paintings of the fourteenth to the sixteenth century; before that, from ca. 1100-1300, laymen are shown wearing shorts and jackets, a costume also foreign in India. This became discarded subsequently for the original Indian dress while the gorgeous quaba of Khwarizm, with their gold embroidered Tartaric splendor are reserved for soldiers, sultans, Khans and Maliks. We are looking, however, at canonical Jaina manuscripts and exemplary stories about great Sūris or Jaina religious teachers, illuminated on behalf of Jaina devotees, the rich merchants and bankers of Gujarat.

Great affluence and strict religious discipline, purposeful asceticism as also lasciviousness and the rule of an alien power were experienced, as the story of Kālaka shows, in a context of magic for good or evil as the case may be, when practiced by Kālaka, the monk-hero or by his antagonist, the vicious king Gardhabilla. This magic web casts iridescence over a contrived story with conflicting tensions and a "happy end" of total release. The Svetāmbara Jaina paintings of the Western school shine in gold and bold patterns over a web of nervous tensions.

It was about the year 800 A.D. that something momentous had happened in Indian painting and was to hold Western India in its thrall for nearly eight hundred years. (Compare, Ajanta II, Votaries with offerings, Kramrisch, The Art of India, Appendix, Fig. 11). It was a turning away from the illusion of a world which Indian art of the preceding centuries had conjured, with its suggestion of a three-dimensional expansiveness of volumes, on a two-dimensional ground, by their pervasive modelling or also by their structural cubism. This was the world as painted on the walls of the Buddhist rock-cut sanctuaries at Ajanta (from around the beginning of the Christian era to the sixth century A.D.) and Bagh, or the Brahmanical cave temple at Badami. It was in this, its classically Indian form, that the traditions of Indian painting were accepted in Afghanistan, Central Asia and Western Tibet.

It was, however, an all-Indian phenomenon not localized in any one center, but varied in regional schools from South India to Ladakh in the Western Himalayas and subsisting there long after its supersession elsewhere.

When the turning away from this classical tradition became obvious, by the end of the eighth century, it was already an established fact, no paintings 388 Stella Kramrisch

being known hitherto from after the sixth and before the eighth century. However a premonition of the new style can be seen in Ajanta itself. There, although it does not affect the form of the paintings, it may be seen as a symptom of the change to come. This symptom is the treatment of the eye (Fig. 4).

The eye, in classical Indian painting and in its contemporary theory of painting arrests attention, even more than it does in nature. Indian eyes are large, luminous, and expressive; these qualities were underlined with collyrium, from ancient times. Eyes were observed and classified, according to their shapes, expressions and movements. India was eye-conscious and the painters within the classical tradition made the eyes appear even larger than in nature. At a later date in one particular instance, in Jaina paintings of the Western school, the power of the eye and the meaning conveyed by the eye were shown by painting the eyes only—eyes per se—without a face—on either side of the Mahāvīra pot indicative of a more than human presence. Similarly, within Buddhist art and not connected with any of its qualities, a pair of eyes were painted with each of the four squares of the highest architectural part of a Buddhist Chorten in the Himalayas. These representations of eyes only, apart from any body are always frontal in full view; these are eyes "per se" absolute eyes, eyes of an absolute, disconnected from any face.

In the classical tradition of painting, heads are generally shown in three-quarter view, rarely in profile or full front view. The large eyes are foreshortened, particularly the further eye. They lie within the contour of the face obviously—though with a few exceptions (Fig. 5), where the further eye overlaps the contour of the face. Its outer corner projects as far out as does the curly hair of the celestial, a male figure painted at the height of the classical tradition of Ajanta.⁴ In another painting, (Fig. 4), a female attendant, her face turned further away, though still in three-quarter profile, has her further eye shown in such a way that from the pupil on, it projects beyond the contour of the foreshortened cheek.⁵

One has to look hard to find the few anomalies in the wealth of overlarge-eyed faces painted at Ajanta in close proximity to one another, painted with all the resources of modelling in colour and line. They are exaggerations due less to the rapidity of painting than to the intention of stressing the beauty and importance of the eye by enlarging its size out of context. This would also hold good for the exaggerated size of sensitive hands and curving fingers as expressive shapes in themselves, valid accents in the context of the painting.⁶

It is, however, not as an isolated feature that the further eye projects across the contour of the face shown in three-quarter profile, in paintings of about

800 A.D. In Elura (Fig. 6) the nose projects beyond the outline of the cheek, is forcibly turned outward—it could be a nose seen in profile. But whether such a combination of multiple views is intended or not, the result is a contour of the further side of the face altogether different from the calmly sumptuous simplicity of the Ajantesque oval of the face. The face, by about 800 A.D. has become a scalloped profile, indented in a calligraphic shorthand as if the entirety of its shape would strain to be contained in the brittle alertness of the bounding line—with the eye calmly lying partly outside it.

The further eye, foreshortened and lying apart outside the facial contour, is a recurrent, if not exclusive trait in small paintings on wooden covers of a palm leaf manuscript, assignable to the mid-eleventh century, from Western India (Fig. 7),⁷ in a painting on palm leaf dated 11278 and in a painted ceiling of a Hindu temple hall of the 12th century in Madapur, near Jhansi, U.P., In none of these paintings is the face with eye beyond its outline an isolated feature, let alone that this rendering occurred by chance. It is now the leitmotif of a style that conforms with the very nature of this convention.

This does not mean that all or even most of the faces were rendered in this way at the critical phase, i.e. about 800 A.D.¹⁰ Most of them show their wide-open eyes contained within the facial contour, i.e., within the bounding curve of the foreshortened facial oval (Fig. 8). While the resources of painting which conjure the third dimension are still employed they are however drawn upon with a changed intent, modelling has become congested in blotches and schematic, residual, or thinned, condensations near the bounding lines—a mannerism which became constant in, and characteristic of Central Asian paintings.

Modelling and plasticity were constituents of the classical tradition. It is imbued, with three-dimensionality—conjured up illusionistically in painting.¹¹ The illusion was that of bodies sustained and expanding with the sap and breadth of life, plant-like and pneumatic vessels, flexible in every joint, in closest proximity to one another, in flexion and torsions which dancers have at their command, leaving—where shown in groups—no larger voids between them than the suggestion of their volumetric bodies necessitates with their overlapping and interlacing modelled shapes (cf. A. Ghosh, Ajanta Murals, Pl. XXXVII, Cave I). The density of their contacts engendered the illusion of a three-dimensional continuum of bodies woven into the thick, as if viscous, fabric of configurations composing the painting. Depth was implicated in it inasmuch as modelling, foreshortening, and overlapping insured it, but together with the salience of modelled shapes, their grouping itself did not produce the illusion of receding distance, but, on the contrary, one of impinging proximity advancing towards the spectator,

The relevance of this pictorial world is positive as well as negative to all subsequent schools of Indian painting. In the "post classical" phase, as in Elura (Fig. 8), the volumetric plasticity of the single figures and of their context has dwindled; their continuum now is planar rather than illusionistically volumetric and this in spite of an adept and abundant display of foreshortened limbs, and their overlapping in bends and contorsions of the figures, having clear, at times, powerful and sensitive outline. But the dancer-like movements now are jerky, suggesting exaggerated postures, violent bends and twists so that the once flowing wave-like contour of the figures breaks in pointed angles. Triangular and rectangulated shapes cut across the painted field where arms are raised in the gesture of greeting (vandana mudra), legs fold under figures hovering in the air and the bodies of dancers, in extreme twists, meet at sharp angles. Even where shown in a calm pose and drawn with a modelling outline suggestive of the fullness of the body, the line seems to halt, sensitive and brittle, where in Ajanta its flow would have been unbroken. Its angularity presents as much a disturbance in the traditional flowing line as it shows a forcible twist of the figures-around their own axis and-into the picture plane. They now exist in a thinned context of jostling, continuous shapes.

The forcible twist of the figure into the picture plane is of two kinds, the one precipitates into the picture plane the movement of body and limbs of the figure heretofore disposed in a semblance of three-dimensional volumes, the other translates the three-dimensional illusion of the body into planar extensiveness by distending its outlines so that bulging sideways (laterally) they confine the volume in the plane (Fig. 7). It is in this latter capacity that the line has come into its own in the eleventh century. Wall paintings and miniatures which may be assigned to ca. 11th century, the former on the ceiling of the Indrasabhā, a rock-cut Jaina temple at Elura, the latter from Western India (Gujarat), show the process witnessed in the painted ceiling of the western porch of the Saiva Kailāsa temple at Elura, further on the way to devolution of the classical heritage while at the same time leading towards the fulfilment of the new vision in the fourteenth to fifteenth century.

The "Western School", at its height, in the 14th and 15th century parallels Byzantine painting in significance and quality. Divested of the illusion to which the classical style had given pictorial reality, it creates in a trenchant linear shorthand a new world through single signs are of classical Indian extraction (Fig. 9). In classical Indian painting, as in Ajanta (Fig. 10) or Badami, the entire content of experience, in its Buddhist or Brahmanical frame of reference was projected on to the wall. The shapes of nature, man, animals, plants, rocks and also buildings, placed in close proximity, seemingly tangible each in their substantiality or their breathing presence. Throughout the diversity of

shapes, there is acute observation not only but an identification by the painter with each painted figure in its livingness. A mighty, steady current makes them surge into pictorial existence. They are bodied forth on the picture plane, in the density of their shapes. Into its web enter the equally, seemingly tangible devices of the structures of buildings and rocks carrying with them their threedimensionality in an intellectual perspective akin to that of cubism. But whether experienced in empathy or reconstructed by a mental process as pictorial elements, the shapes of the classical Indian painting are the visualized contents of the painter's consciousness, discharged and thereby ojectified so that they can be seen and their impact is felt. The classical Indian perspective presents them as they become manifest on the wall, their configurations confronting the spectator. They are seen as if coming towards him though they never address him by glance or movement. Steeped in their own illusive reality within the painted context their presence makes itself felt in nuances of tone and modulations of line borne by rhythms which seem to belong to an experience of the flux of life itself.

But this universe of experience had been left behind when by 800 A.D. its style had begun to dessicate and fall apart. Some of its components tenaciously survived. In the eleventh century they appear transplanted in a new setting. This has none of the luscious calm of the classical tradition. Discarding its luxuriance and clearing the growth, its density survives though not in its shapes. These are compacted on an opaque plane, saturated with colour, an impenetrable surface. As a rule, this monochrome ground is read, a glowing vermilion-ochre. On it the figures are set off, sharply outlined. The small format of the paintings limited by the size of the palm leaf pages and their wooden covers, has no part in the transformation of the style.

Taking up the leit-motif of the further eye, it is extended beyond the contour of the face now shown nearly in profile rather than in three-quarter profile. The further eye appears as if floating away from the flesh-tinted face, on the red ground. This holds good for practically all the figures in Western Indian Jaina painting from the eleventh century excepting those of the Saviors (Tirthankara) painted in strict frontality (Fig. 11). Their eyes are wide open and unforeshortened in the broad oval of the face. Their glance is fixed and penetrating. But it is only in figures based on the human shape that the overlarge, wide-open eyes are shown practically unforeshortened. In the case of animals, their eyes, duly foreshortened, stay within the contour of the head, one eye only being shown if the figure of the animal—altogether of rare occurence in these paintings—is shown in profile.

From the eleventh century (Fig. 7) the figures which occupy the monochrome ground are spaced out on it, and their wide-flung limbs allow the ground its own existence between the figures and their groups respectively but also within area occupied by the figure itself, its body and limbs. The figures are topheavy according to a new scale of proportions. As large as are the eyes in relation to the face, so large is the head in relation to the body. Its thin limbs are flung wide in poses based on the classical tradition, given shape in paintings and sculptures and described in ancient standard texts on the dance. Splayed out on the red ground, the limbs now are shown with maximal flexions culminating in an exaggerated angularity as if wrenching themselves from the body which propels their gesture. The chest is thrown out beyond capacity and the buttocks bulge in the opposite direction. The power formerly vested in the modelled body strains to distend its limits. A thinner than Minoan waist gathers the inflated curves in the deep recess of its central location. Thence that once-flowing contour of chest and thighs is flung out in near horizontal curves. Frenzied contortions near to the breaking point, suggestive of movement in three dimensions, but compressed in the surface, combine with a visual adjustment to the plane of a once illusionistic modelling. Strained and hectic, the resulting pattern seems to flit across the plane ground with juxtaposed and hasing shapes. Their paradigm is the scarf with ends fluttering away in opposite directions, from the body of its wearer-an originally Sassanian motif.

A group on a twelfth century bookcover illustrates the ambivalent situation in which the painter found himself.¹³ In drawing firmly the keen profile of one of the women enhanced by the further eye projecting beyond its contour, the artist augmented the presence of this woman by extending the further contour of the face into the orbit of which the further eye falls. This contour springs from the root of the hair, recedes so as to hold the eye within its confines and then rounds off the cheek so that a heavy faced three-quarter profile proper, carried on a short neck, distinguishes the self-same, yet amplified, figure whose first neck in profile is accentuated, as are the necks also of her companion. figures by two horizontal curves indicating foreshortening of the neck-folds (trivali) considered also as signs of beauty, increased in the two female figures by a bead necklace which passes in the case of the "double presence" around her slim, first neck.

An ambivalence like that of drawing the twice-necked lady marks a Picasso-esque situation, a turning away from and adjustment of an illusionistic past, i.e., a new orientation. It is not by accident alone that the foreshortening of the left feet of the figures—their legs lying on the seat—are distorted also, a la Picasso.

To these patterns on the monochrome ground, the three-quarter profile of seated figures adds further and new conventions of the Western Indian school of painting in its early stage (Fig. 12). If grouped together the seated figures face in one direction—towards the main figure in the center, on a spatial formula which floats on the red ground. This is the slab of the seats, which as if seen from above, indicates the notion but does not impart an impression of the figure sitting on it and expanding in the third dimension. Overlapping and foreshortened legs show that they are sitting, they are the sings which convey this fact. It is, however, overlaid visually by the colours and over-large geometrical patterns of the garments. Their motley fabrics are stretched across the figures laid out in three-quarter profile. Their forearms raised sharply from the elbow hold aloft hands whose fingers, in the standardized language of their gestures, spark febrile intensity. Triangulation like that of a raised arm bisect the interval between the figures so that the plain ground itself forms part of the design of the painting.

The opaque monochrome ground on which the figures are limned implies a total rejection of the throbbing plenitude of shapes and images which, in the classical tradition, had surged on the painted field so densely that the figures themselves formed their own ground and the illusion of their almost tangible presence. Now it is the pure objectless coloured plane alone on which the figures are drawn with acuity and mannered intensity. But this is not a new beginning. Out of the exaggeration of inherited traits and out of the rejection at the same time of their very substance and context, the new style arises with zest and intentness. If things have been reduced to the plane they also have come to the point. The attention shown by some of their lesser figures, the disciples and devotees is one-pointed, directed toward the Savior or toward their teacher. Sharply pointed gestures, glances, noses, all are turned towards one goal and it is the singling out, this spellbound concentration which is the theme of the paintings of the Western Indian school. Nothing exists but the contemplated object and goal. This attitude has two sides to it, an impassioned tension and an impregnable rigidity. The latter is particularly given form in the images of the Saviors, motionless, expressionless, fixed, frontal, each an integer, alone, all-one as stark as the monochrome plane of the ground on which his figure is painted. On either side of his image—as here—rapid movements, directional tensions that seem to motivate the further eye popping out, beyond the limit of the face, an eye-magic, organically one here with a mode of representation and a total style.

The projected further eye, however, exercises its hypnotic power far beyond the confines of the Western school, centered in South Rajasthan and North Gujarat, painted as it is with tender care in the Buddhist wall paintings of Alchi monastery at Ladakh in the Western Himalayas¹⁴ of the eleventh to J.S.-50

twelfth centuries. There, figures are modelled illusionistically as in Ajanta, or with a more stereotyped patterning of shadows as in Central Asia. Their full and delicate features in a impeccably foreshortened three-quarter profile view are enhanced by the further eye projecting from its socket far on the red aureole around the head of the figure or on to its blue ground. The heavy eyelid is painted here realistically. Under it and the arched brow, the long shape of the eye leaves their protection—the pupil being painted just outside the contour of the face and more than half of the eye sails away from is socket. The eye here is practically a disembodied entity, a signat re-shared between a bodied forth celestial presence and the realm where it is made manifest, 15 be it the glow of an aureole or the blue of the sky of eternity.

The treatment of the further eye is even more conspicuous in a later painting of hybrid Mongol style at Alchi monastery of the thirteenth or fourteenth century.16 There, moreover, the near eye, particularly in the delicately structure face of the main figure, overlaps the nose. Like fish, and having a life of their own, the eyes seem to dart across the face. The eye magic continued in sixteenth-seventeenth century paintings in Alchi even though at that time Mughal "realism"17 detracts from its hypnotic effect. At this stage, two views seem coalesced in the representation of the face, a three-quarter profile in the upper part showing forehead, brow, and eye and an almost strict profile below, camouflage and apology for a treatment now felt to be out of date. Nonethelesseven though in the process of being superseded, the unforeshortened further eye persisted in the Western Himalayan monastery longer than in any school of the Indian plains. Moreover, in the Mongol type painting of the fourteenth century this treatment was extended (twice over) to the representation of a non-Indian face whereas in the Western school proper in India, where from the fourteenth century, non-Indian figures or foreigners, the Sahis, are frequently depicted with Mongol physiognomy and costume and in the style of Timurid painting, the projecting eye has no place in the full, nearly frontal and planar expanse of the face. The further projecting eye in the Western Indian paintings is the prerogative of the Indian figures whether of gods or man. The charisma of the "Indian eye" vanished from Indian paintings with the prevalence of the Mughal style from the middle of the sixteenth century. The throes of adjustment to a new experience of painted "space" and of reality subside in Western Indian painting by the fourteenth century when Western Indian painting had perfected its form (Fig. 13), unequivocally the further eye in full size, as if seen in front view, floats on the painted ground, hinged to the face by the slight slant of the outline of the upper lid only. If the further eye projects unforeshortened beyond the compass of the face, the near eye too of the face which is practically shown in profile is unforeshortened. Both the eyes are drawn in their fulness like those of the Tirthankaras, who are always depicted as total

unchangeable presences, in rigid front view, confronting the devotee as does the red plane of the ground on which the figures have their pictorial existence. The pupil and iris right in the center of these large "frontal" eyes is a dark large dot. The unblinking eye of the Jina as Siddha compels by its presence. Moreover it is independent of the face.

The turning of the eye from a facial feature to a self-existing reality of which the face is only a carrier points to the disembodied pair of eyes, with their hypnotic stare in the symbol of the "brimming vase." The power and magic of the eye in its Jaina context in Western Indian painting trans-figures the ancient Indian symbol of the brimming vase (pūrna kalasa) or Mahāvīra pot brimming with lotus flowers from being a symbol of the plenitude of life to one of its magic power. The magic eyes are not painted on the vase, but to either side of it, on the plain ground. They are disembodied symbols of magic potency—as is the ground itself on which their spell is cast.

The unwavering frontal eyes, with their more than natural power are at one in the paintings with the dimension of the opaque ground on which they are painted. They pinpoint the figures to this ground.

The transformation, in the painting of the eye from the classical Indian style where it appeared overlarge, moist, human and expressive of emotion and also of states of mind having overcome emotion to the self-existent eyes of magic power was, though gradual and diverse, yet unerring. It coincided with the change-over of a three-dimensional style, conjuring up the reality of an experience of this illusory world, to a planar form which had no room for the throbbing density of shapes. This transformation was demanded and anticipated by the monochrome ground (Fig. 14). The monochrome, opaque picture ground shows, precipitated into the intensity of its coloured plane all the changes that were to come. Though emptied of the enmeshed coherence of the figured field of classical painting it draws the quality itself of density into its colour charged, opaque red ground.

Both, the radical change of ground and the gradual change in showing the eyes, are directed towards the same aim. The first was given effect altogether within the realm of painting, by one decision, to substitute monochrome objectless opacity for the indefinitely variable complexity of the tonalities of classical, modelling illusionism. It is not that prior to this decision the surge of shapes has not subsided to some extent or that their flattened bulk had not hardened. These warning signs of the waning of creativity within its own domain were swept away by the surge of the red ground. It is free from the illusion of space. It exists in two-dimensional intensity which holds up the

lineaments of figures made to appear on it. Thus defined within their extension on the ground, they are further particularized within their limits. What vestiges of the classical tradition remain are caught, arrested, and compelled to give way within bounding lines to the command of the planar ground which not only surrounds but also intrudes their extensivess, denying in the total effect of the painted panels, the ambiguities of their classical residues. The latter play a subordinate role in the new context of figure and ground. These two protagonists, figure and ground, henceforward in the Western Indian style, make up a painted field of tensions.

Nature, painted as it had been in its structural form, of "rock cubism" in the classical tradition and transferred to the plane of the painting finally dwindles into a mottled patch of color indicative of locality, as a support in some of the critical—and typical—moments in the career of a Savior. It is the semantic function which "nature" is allowed to play in the Western Indian style. Reduced also to their semantic significance are the representations of architecture. Gone are the multi-storied mansions of Ajanta paintings; one-storied pavilions replace them. The verticals of their pillars, the horizontal and low triangles of their bases and roofs partition the painted field and frame the figures. They are borders and frames that fit the large figures. They are reduced in their proportions, a pillar having the height, a room having the width which will accomodate the seated group or the lying figure in this tightly drawn rectangle in the monochrome plane of the painting. Lined up on it and without an architectural frame are the large figures; if seated, they may occupy the heightof the plane just as the figures in their rooms are coexistent with "architectural" limits within which they are splayed out.

The planar width of the body of the figures has been observed already. Torsos now curve in generous outlines into which is poured the fullness of the body and its flexions. The curve is distended by a maximal tension resulting from the conversion of volume and movement into plane and line. The early eleventh century is the vital phase of this transformation. Residues of the classical tradition linger on in local practice or where contacts with conservative and contemporary schools of Indian painting are obvious. This refers to the rendering of the naked body or those parts of the body which are not clothed. Where clothed and adorned, bodices may fit skin tight (fig. 15). The body is either modelled in the colour of the garment or its colour is laid on flat and opaque. If the garment is patterned, its stripes or geometric designs take over. They were to become an integral part of the styles by the fourteenth century.

One part of the garment particularly is of leading importance; the fluttering ends of "scarf" and loincloth. The scarf is slung diagonally across the body,

crossing over the left shoulder, its ends hanging down from the shoulders, its long ends swinging loose laterally, often in opposite directions away from the body. (Fig. 14). Their essential function in the paintings is their pointed flutter away from the body, ending always in points, triangular or fishtail-like, tossed and suspended by an invisible storm, unpredictable in its directions except by compositional needs of fragmenting the opaque ground. The loose end of the loincloth may be used to the same extent. Where the scarf is thrown across the body, its patterned broad band curves along with the contour of the body, further augmenting sway and width of the latter.

The oscillating outlines of the drapery originally were meant to convey a movement in three-dimensional space, wreathed as the shawl is, around the limbs of the body. Space having condensed and congealed as opaque ground, is now traversed by the undulations of the garment. They spread over the ground and break it up in manifold patterns. By the fourteenth century the fragmentations of the ground presents itself in monochrome and speckled areas. The latter may be contained in the ample zones of patterned raiments or they are part of the ground itself where figures of lesser importance, and therefore small in scale, are scattered rather than grouped.

The paintings on palm leaves, of the fourteenth century, delineate delicately and with precision the tensions contained within the outlines of the figures, but a love of fabrics and their patterns has insinuated itself between the tensile outlines of garments and furnishings. Gujarat was one of the most inventive centers of textile design and techniques. The "Hamsa" (mythical bird, stylized gander) design of ancient Indian origin may cover a painted field next to one throbbing with scattered dots or reticulated in a woven geometry. Garments in Indian art, ritual, and daily life, like jewelry, adorn the bodies of gods and men paying homage to the life which they protect and enrich in many ways; they are raiments, not clothing. In Western Indian painting at its height (Fig. 3), paradoxically, they totally reveal the body, if it is that of a monk, through their immaculate white transparency, and they enhance to the extent of obliterating the bodies of other figures. Foreign, i.e. Persian, elements are conspicuous. They are generally considered to be limited to the depiction of the Sahis, their physiognomy and costumes. And yet their arms rise out of their Persian garb gesturing in Western Indian style. The sumptuous patterns of their coats, augment the repertory of the other garments, canopies, and thrones. The Sahi figures retain throughout the flat oval face of Timurid tradition. Their eyes are contained within it, and the pupiles are in the furthest corner of the eyes in the direction towards which the faces turns. This gives them a look of participation in the scene. Their eyes function on a different level of experience than does the farseeing steady gaze of the disembodied eyes in full view which form as it

were a seal impressed on the foreshortened visage and the monochrome ground alike. These eyes have an opposite function to that of a mask. The mask hides the presence which the wearer represents in himself; it makes him anonymous. The disembodied eye ignores the specificity of its carrier. It is the steady changeless signature of sight, wide-awake and motionless beyond and across appearance, beyond the flutter, the temporality of movements. The monochrome ground is as steady, changeless and timeless as are the eyes. Whatever is seen by the onlooker to happen in these illustrations is a spectacle "sub specie aeternitatis." The realization of timelessness and the power this realization imparts are vested in the eyes. The eye magic of Western Indian painting dominates its style. Its spell hallows the activities illustrated in the scenes.

The introduction of the foreign figures of the Sahis, brought with it also formal changes. The monochrome opaque ground became partitioned. The ambience of these foreigners was divided from that of their Indian inter-locutors. A separation of the painted field into juxtaposed rectangular panels evolved. The pervasiveness of the monochrome ground, its ubiquitous unimpeded intrusion into the field of movement of the figures was halted. The vital dynamic relation between figure and ground was segmented. The painted field now is an addition of rectangular units, separated explicitly by dividing lines or elements merely by a disposition of each figure or group (Fig. 1) with its ambience within a rectangular field, next to the other.

The partition of the painted field into more or less self-sufficient though interrelated panels brings with it a steadying of the composition, a calming down of the tenseness of directions.

Having taken onto itself the mode of partitioning panels and adjusting them to new themes on an opaque ground, the Western Indian style of the fourteenth century reaches its last creative phase in the fifteenth centrury. A Kalpasūtra in the Philadelphia Museum of Art was painted at the height of this phase, i.e., 1432 A.D. The elegance of spacing, the finesse of drawing however in the best miniatures whether painted on palm leaf or paper, in the second half of the fourteenth century were never surpassed. Here, the interpenetration and tension of ground and figure appear suspended in a delicate equilibrium supporting the angular intensity of movements and gestures. Architectural shapes have become divested of any suggestion of mass, pillars being thin as lines and the parapets of the buildings are perforated screens patterned like textiles. Textiles augment and overlay the figures; apart from them they are vital shapes, charged with linear energy and rhythms tossed in various directions neither by the movement of their wearer nor by any wind. but by the creative upsurge which made the painter put across their lineaments, Textiles now furthermore

cover not only seats and couches and the most elaborate chairs and thrones on which kings and monks in India were ever made to sit, their shapes, as canopies and baldachins, are wave-edged horizontal zones. These elements by now have become extensive and elaborate with festoons and pendants attached to them, diminutive accents of attention scattered over the monochrome ground. There is a scintillating preciousness in these shapes for which one would look in vain before the fourteenth century. It celebrates the, by now compositionally standardized, scenes of the lives of the Saviours but is absent from less canonically circumscribed illustrations. There, a more rapid and spontaneous notation places human figures, architectural objects, trees, animals and rocks on the red ground. At times these configurations, though employing the types and conventions of the Western Indian school, are representative of Indian storytelling in pictures of the kind known from the Buddhist reliefs in Bharhut of the second century B.C. to "Rajput" paintings in the sixteenth century.

In the Kalpasutra in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, dated 1432 A.D., the style of Western Indian painting is one of self-assured overstatement. The large format of the illuminations on paper, the wider range of pigments due to the avialability of ultramarine and carmine, the use of gold continued lavishly all due to Persian contacts, were put into the service of the established style, glorifying it. Every one of its elements had boldly been injected with splendor. Gold leaf over-painted with colour so as to yield several metallic tints and ultramarine blue are used for the ground of textile patterns not only. They take possession of the hitherto monochrome red ground. The illuminated page is now a field of dovetailed colour, scintillating within the rigorously maintained traditional types of Jaina hierophany. The linear agitation by which the Western Indian style found its identity is now an established fact. No ambiguity is left in the quality of the line; it is charged with purpose for now the dovetailed colours of the painting hardly allow to distinguish the figures from their ground-although these retain all of their iconographic identity. Textile patterns, jewellery, furniture, human figures and animals, unforeshortened, wide-open eyes (they never close though the mothers of the Saviors in the scene of the dream of conception are meant to be shown sleeping) and the glowing aureoles (any figure worthy to be painted may be painted with a halo whether she is the mother of the Savior or her attendant) keep the entire painting astir with restlessness, with an excitement of the speckled colour field in which figure and ground are one.

In these planar paintings, whatever three-dimensionality can be detected, has, in spite of all restrictions imposed on it, survived superbly in the conduct of line, the chest of the lying queen, her arms and hands under cover, so to say, of raiment and jewellery, patterned in multifarious directions in the

surface of the painting. The corporeality of the figure is "confined" to and condensed in potent outlines like those of the right leg of the mother-to-be of the Savior; otherwise it is painted out by the patterning of the loincloth spread on a lambent triangle across her leg as well as across the differently patterned mattress of the couch. The complexity of painting simultaneously in two visions or formal concepts—the one of classically Indian rotundity of bodies, the other of their planar context in the picture is unified by the mighty diagonal and undulating sweep, freely accompanying while aggrandizing and summing up the theme of the painting, the mother-to-be of the Savior.

The garments, particularly the shawl, augment the divagating S-curve of the body; it is swung over the further arm or shoulder; its transparent fabric follows the bulges of the body as well as its own gravity while passing with undulating hemlines from the shoulder to the opposite hip. They forcibly change direction. The transparent fabric outlined by them now stiffens in wind-tossed edges. They come to a point, drawing out the cloth in self-asserting angles. It is these long drawn-out points which henceforward become major accents in the painted field. The divagating line, voluble in its diversifications catches in its labile net the patterns of the diverse garments as they overley one another, stars upon scrolls in transparent layers on opaque ground, revealing with undiminished clarity their lilting, lambent outlines. The gestures and features of their opulant wearers are refined with precious angularity, their hands ending in fingers acutely sensitive as nerve ends laid bare. Yet there is a rigor of posture in the few major recurrent types of figures. The minor figures, a fraction in size of that of the protagonists, bristle with the angles of their svastika like distortions.

In painting of the fifteenth century, a motif hardly employed in the Western Indian style before the late fourteenth century,—other than as a thin ring around the head, is the opaquely coloured halo contrasting with the colour of the ground. As practically all the major figures now have their faces outlined against the colourful plaque of their halo with its beaded or ray-beset edge, these disks are now part of the ground. The original "ground" becomes but a separating colour zone in between them and the many patterned speckled zones of semitransparent garments overlaying its figures. While curtailing its monochrome—now not exclusively—red, but also deep blue radiance, the figures with their halos became part of the ground. Their shapes assume a staid yet scintillating majesty. Laid out in splendor, ground and figure in the fifteenth century once again,—as in Ajanta—though quite differently from it, are an inextricable unit. It sparks forth power. The nervous, sensitive hands of the sleeping queen are charged with it like claws of a bird of prey. No need for the right hand to support the reclining head. The bolster on which it rests supports it as if it were an emblem and

tool of power. Torsions and distortions of body and limbs reconstitute a robust vitality. It infuses equally the textile patterns, their dots, stars, and birds. It seals the ground with festoons and pendants of pearls. They lash out with controlled furor. The 'coming to a point' of the ends of fluttering drapery was noticed in paintings of the fourteenth century. Now the long drawn out pointed shape looking like that of a weapon depicts the hem of the loincloth of the sleeping mother-to-be of the Savior. It passes over but does not hide the forceful outline of her leg. Darting triangulated shapes like this end of a garment, here with its undulating bead border are vested with the power of a serpent, spread from the center of the Western Indian school in Gujarat-Rajasthan to the Deccan (Kalpasutra from Mandu, 1439 A.D.), while in the second half of the century, in another regional work from Northern India (Kalpasūtra from Jaunpur 1465 A.D.) the motif recurs in coarsened schematic repetitiveness. Neither of these series of illuminations, however, shows the integrating dove-tailing ardor of figure and ground of the miniatures of the Western school proper in its center in Gujaratajasthan. Stiffened and reduced to geometrical triangulation, the motif of the loose end of the garment persists in Northern Indian painting (Āraņyaka Parvan from Kacchava, near Agra; 1516 and Mahāpurāņa from Palam, near Delhi, 1540 A.D.) and elsewhere in the first half of the fifteenth century, and somewhat later outside the Western Indian style where it originated. At that time, in the middle of the sixteenth century, the Western style had ceased to be creative, after a climax of one and a half centuries (early fourteenth to late fifteenth century) of saturation of the painted field with a style entirely of its own.

The Western Indian style has an extremely sophisticated consistency. Paradoxical from the outset, it proceeds by integrating several sets of polarities. In its beginnings it stems, and turns away, from an illusionist style commanding every pictorial means of bodying forth its figured content on a two-dimensional ground. While defecting the figures from their three-dimensional semblance into two-dimensional flatness, their volumetric quality is translated into linear form. Distensions and deformations result. In their terms, then, a new pictorial ideal type is created, exaggeratedly sinuous and voluptuous with reference to the body, obsessionally meticulous at the same time not only in circumscribing the amplitude of the shapes but also in bringing them to a halt at their points of intersection. Angles calibrated according to the degree of gestural movement of the figures cut into their flowing curves or else insinuate themselves into the expanded curves as for instance in the distorting outline of the shoulders. Curve and angle are counter—and inter-players.

The increased capaciousness of the bulge of the bodies extends the field which they occupy on the plane. It is further widened and diversified by a uniquely complex phantasmagoria of patterned, transparent, semi-transparent and J.S.-51

opaque areas which show the garments clinging to the bodies of the figures and floating around them. These superimposed areas do not detach themselves but together with the figure sink into the monochrome ground of the painting like an inlay, flush with the surface around it, ensuring the unity and equivalence of figure and ground.

After the sixteenth century, the eye, out in space on the monochrome ground, vanished from Indian painting. Other conventions became binding, amongst them the strict profile of the face with its eye practically in front view. A new order of the painted field set in and Western India was not its center.

While it had lasted for half a millenium the Western Indian school of Svetambara Jaina painting was the most acute creation of pictorial form in India. The great radiation of temple architecture and sculpture which culminated in the earlier part of this phase has its roots and unfoldment in the centuries before. It was moreover an all Indian contribution. 'Western Indian painting from the 11th-16th centuries on the other hand belongs to one region, Gujarat and Rajasthan, whence, though it did send forth offshoots these were of secondary importance, soon to be incorporated in new and differently oriented schools. The rigor of the colour saturated ground and its hieratic splendor, with its web of figures are sealed by the wide open glanceless eyes established in a spaceless, timeless world of pointed gestures speeding and brittle lines and flickering patterns. The ground has altogether come to the surface on which the patterns are imprinted and to which they are hinged by eyes wide open and unblinking. To the surging plenitude of embodied form of classical Indian painting, as in Ajanta, the Western Indian school holds up it stark planar brilliance, motionless, while shot across by frenzied gestures whose agitation wants to be measured against the never closing eyes on figures and the saturated ground of eternity.

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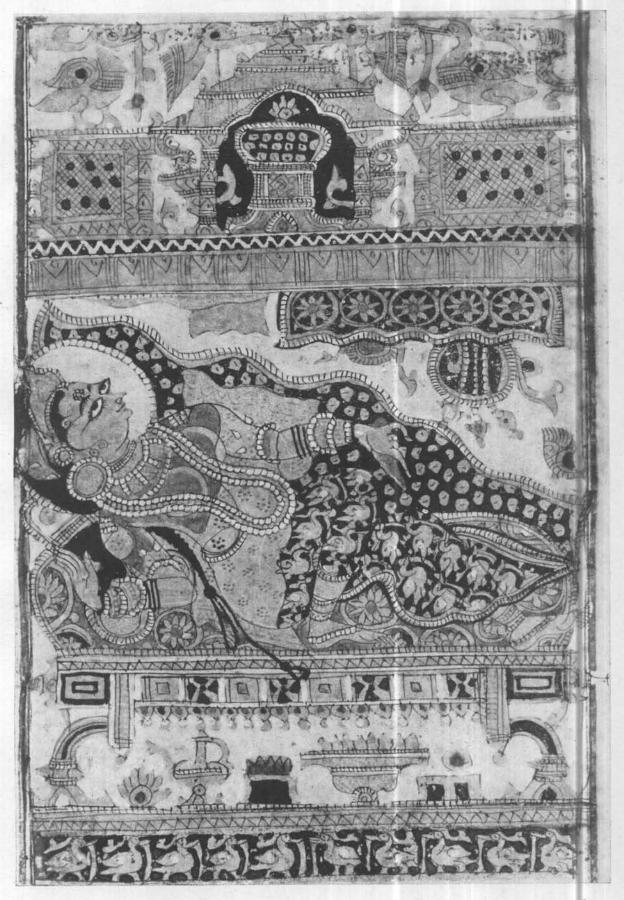
- 1. Moti Chandra, Jaina Miniature Paintings from Western India, Ahmedabad, 1947, p. 25.
- 2. W. Norman Brown, The Vasanta Vildsa, New Haven, 1962, Fig. 43, p. 48, 81.
- 3. Moti Chandra, op. cit., pp. 121-125.
- 4. A. Ghosh, ed., Ajanta Murals, New Delhi, 1967, Pl. IV (from Cave XVI).
- 5. Ibid., Pl. XIV (from Cave I) second figure from right.
- 6. Ibid., Pl. LXIX (from Cave XVII).
- 7. Muni Punyavijaya and U. P. Shah, Painted Wooden Book Covers from Western India, Western Indian Art, Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta, 1965-66, Pl. XXIII, p. 1.
- 8. Moti Chandra, Jain Miniature Painting from Western India, Madras, 1949, Pl. 8.

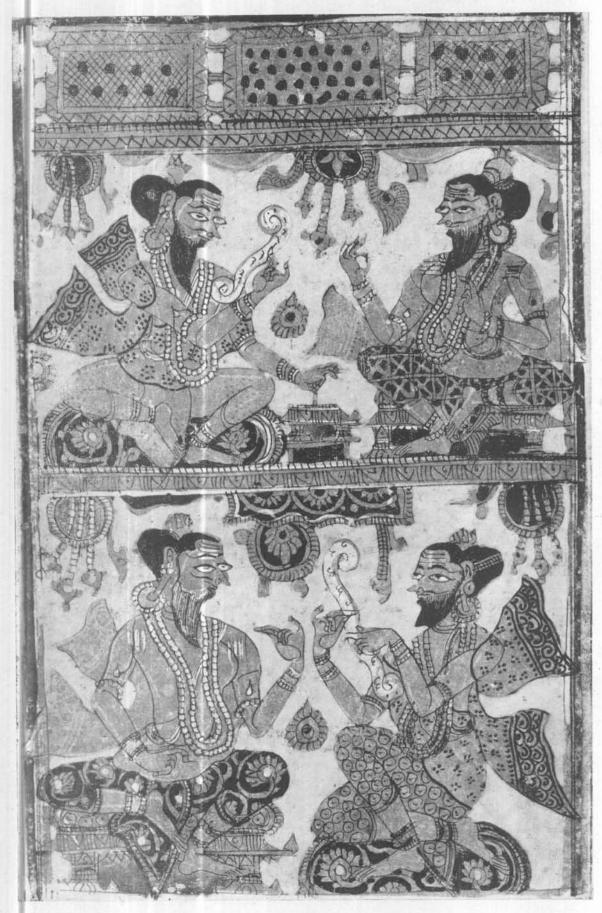
- 9. Stella Kramrisch, "A Painted Geiling", Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Vol. VII, pp. 175-182, Pl.
- 10. A. K. Goomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, Stella Kramrisch, A Survey of Painting in the Decean, London, 1937, Pl.V.
 - A Small but well-preserved fragment of painting in this style or preserved on the walls of one of the chapels of the Kailāsanātha Temple at Kanchipuram (near Madras). The temple was constructed in the early eighth century; the paintings could antedate those on the ceiling of the Kailāsanātha at Ellore.
- 11. Barrett-Gray, Central Asian Painting, Pls. XXVI, XVIII.
- 12. Muni Punyavijaya and U. P. Shah, I.c., Pl. XXIII, Fig. 3. This pattikā (wooden book cover) assignable to ca. 1030-1060 is the earliest hitherto known painted book cover of the Western school. Its outstanding significance in the history of Western India paintings lies in the relation of figure and ground, the delineation of the figures and their movement. The paintings of the pattikas assignable to the end of the century, Pls. XXIV, XXV with their static, stodgy, dull residues of modelling and unmotivated flutter of cumbersome garments are side-tracked in their attement of combining new and old. Their conservative manner lingered into the mid-twelfth century (Moti Chandra, op. cit., Figs. 193-198), where, however, the new vitality had absorbed the classical residues, though with a stilted manner, Figs. 199-200, of about the same age are more relaxedly planar, whereas the paintings of scrolls on the reverse of the cover (Figs. 201-202) are of purely late classical Indian vintage, as in Elura. A set of three different pairs of book covers associated with Jinadatta Suri (ib., Figs. 190-192) and K. Khandalawala-Moti Chandra, New Documents of Western Indian Painting, Bombay, 1969, Fig., 1, assignable also to the mid-twelfth century, shows the new style having taken possession of the established form; also Muni Punyavijaya, op. cit., Pl. XXII, although there are differences of quality of these three sets illustrating the Discussion between two great Jaina scholars, one Svetāmbara, the other Digambara (Moti Chandra, op. cit., Figs. 193-198).
- 13. Gompare Punyavijaya—Shah, op. cit., Pl. XXIII, Fig. 5, and Karl J. Khandalawala and Moti Chandra, 1969, op. cit., Fig. 1 of ca. first half of mid twelth century.
- Cf. Alchi Celestials, 11th-12th Century, Madanjeet Singh, Himalayan Art, Greenwich, 1968,
 Pl. on p. 47
- 15. Ibid., Pl. on p. 61.
- Cf. Royal tent, 13th-14th, Ibid., Pl. on p. 63.
- 17. Cf. Garment of Bodhisattva (detail), 16th 17th, century, Singh, Himalayan Art, 1968, Pl. 32 on p. 84.
- Kalpa-Sutra (eyes), 1475, Devasano Pado Bhandar, Khandalawala—Moti Chandra, op. cit. Fig. 33b.
- 19. S. M. Nawab, The Oldest Rajastani Paintings from Jain Bhandars, Ahmedabad, 1959, Pl. 6, 8 facing pp. 13-14, of. a painted book cover, ibid., Pl. 2 which is inscribed in V. S. 1150-1199, i.e., it belongs to the first half of the twelfth century and corresponds in its motifs and their stylization to sculptural versions of similar motifs, of ca. the 11th-12th

century. The paintings, however, of Pls. 6 and 8 are related to some of the later paintings in Elurā, Indrasabhā, Cave XXXII, Stella Kramrisch, A Survey of Painting in the Deccan, London, 1937, Pl. VII. These ceiling paintings and those on the wooden book covers, Pls. 6 and 8 of S. M. Nawab's book are painted in a residual "classical" tradition. The lotus stalks forming the continuous wave and their large lotus flowers are painted on the book cover in a dense contiguity of linear rhythms, suggestive of the eddying of waves of water, each such unit forming a shell-like ground for an elephant, or monkey, or great cat, a lotus flower or a lotus leaf forming a platter for a couple of fish, or a tortoise. However, this classical repertory of illusionistically modelled shapes also carries two sporting ganas, painted with great zest in Western Indian style. Their far-flung limbs jerking svastika-like from their bodies are powerfully immediate in their movements. Their eyes are two pair of frontal eyes, the nose bteween turned into profile.

ILLUSTRATIONS

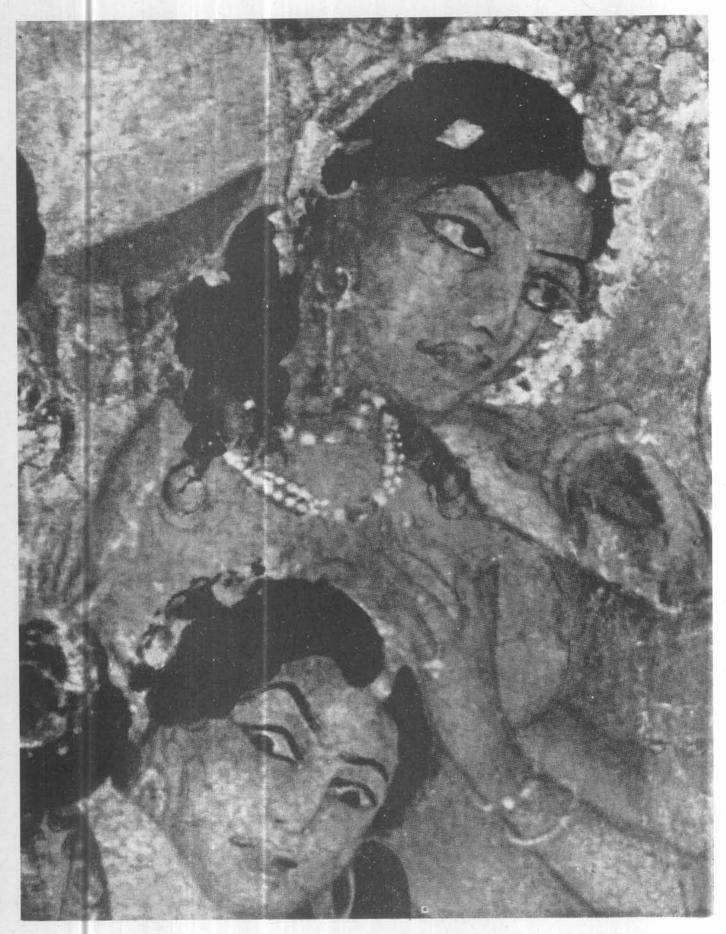
- 1. Devānandā, Kalpasutra, 1432, Philadelphia Museum of Art.
- 2. Astrologers' and Soothsayers, Kalpasutra, 1432, Philadelphia Museum of Art.
- 3. Kālaka & Sāhi chief, Bombay, 1370-80, Khandalawala—Moti Chandra, New Documents of Indian Painting, Plate 1, top.
- 4. Ajanta I, Mahajanaka Jataka (3 heads) reproduced from A. Ghosh, Ajanta Murals, Pl. XIV, 3 figures on right (i.e. the upper figure of the three).
- 5. Celestial, Ajanta XVI, reproduced from A. Ghosh, Ajanta Murals, Pl. IV.
- 6. Elura, Laksmi, reproduced from Kramrisch, A Survey of Painting in the Deccan, Pl. V.
- Bookcover 1030-1060, XIth century, Muni Punyavijaya and U. P. Shah, Painted Wooden Book Covers from Western India, Western Indian Art, Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta, 1965-6: Pl. XXIII 3. (detail).
- 8. Elura, celectials, reproduced from Kramrisch, A Survey of Painting in the Deccan, Pl. VI.
- 9. Sakra Stava, Kalpasutra, 1432, Philadelphia Museum of Art.
- 10. Lustration scene, Ajanta I, reproduced from A, Ghosh, Ajnata Murals, Pl. 20.
- 11. A Jina on Siddhasilā, Kalpasūtra, 1432, Philadelphia Museum of Art.
- 12. Bookcover, Punyavijaya and Shah, Painted Wooden Book Govers from Western India, IISOA, Calcutta, 1965-6, op. cit., Pl. XXIII, 4.
- Birth of Mahāvīra, Kalpasūtra 1370-80 Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, Copyright, Prince of Wales Museum.
- Birth of Mahāvīra 1346 (gold) (Collection Muni Punyavijaya) Motichandra-U. P. Shah, New Documents of Jaina Painting, Colour Pl. 1
- 15. Bookcover, C. 1030-1060, Punyavijayaji-Shah, JISOA, op. cit., Pl. XXIII 5.









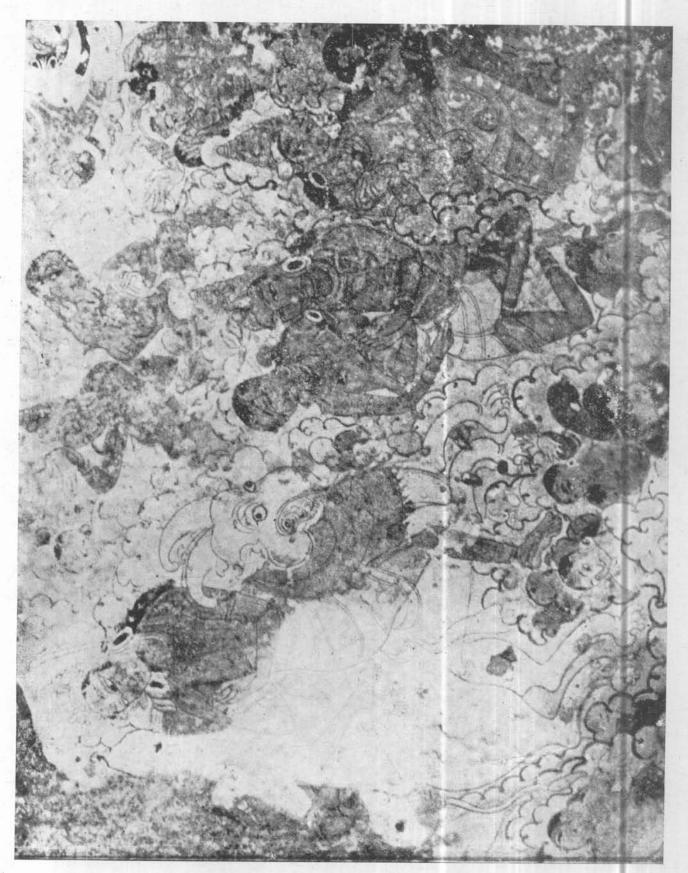






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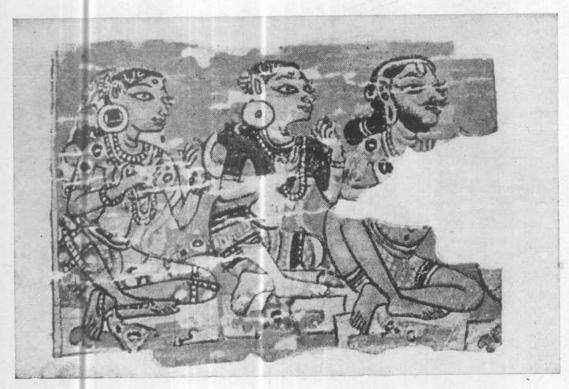














30. ILLUSTRATED LEAVES FROM A PAÑCATANTRA MANUSCRIPT OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

ANAND KRISHNA

I am grateful to the organisers of this Seminar for giving me the opportunity to make certain observations before such an august gathering. I propose to make certain remarks on the nature of a strictly traditional school of manuscript illustrations, available in main from the Western India and mainly used in cases of the Jaina texts. It was tempting to call it "Jaina" or "Gujarāti" painting. However, as gradually the horizon of this tradition widened, the nomenclature required to be modified. I do not wish to impose a discussion on this intricate point but it would be safe to conclude that this was a stereotyped provincial version of the mediaeval Indian painting, whose parallels are available from almost all parts of the country, or even in centres outside India, under influence of the Indian pictorial traditions. These points suggest certain ingrained qualities in the style. Looking at the rapid decadence which appeared in the casual manuscript illustrations, one can well imagine that the craftsmen, bound by the inexorable control of tradition, and commissioned to paint in bulk, were painting the given scenes in the given forms. Naturally, a state such as this must have led the creative artists to frustration; they would have been completely handicapped, save the opportunities presenting themselves through independent illustrations of the traditionally set themes or in creating even newer themes. Thus it was the introduction of the new formats and themes. or their treatments which saved the creative artists from complete demoralization. The sudden flare of the style, despite traditionalism and other limitations, can be evidently seen in such adventurous treatments. Examples of this class are available in the Pancatirtha-pata of 1433 A.D., the Sarasvati-pata (in the National Museum), where large spaces of cloth were at artist's disposal. Same spirit is revealed in the wooden covers in matter of the freedom of treatments. Even in the manuscript illustrations like the Supasanaha-coriya dated in 1423 A.D. and painted at Delvada (Mewar) or the Kalpasutra or the Kalaka-katha manuscripts in Manau style reveal such changes. Tendency to introduce large size figures in some of these illustrations, offered an opportunity to sensitive drawing. The marginal figures in the manuscripts like the Kalpasūtra in the

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Devshā-no-pādo Jaina Bhandara (and another manuscript, shortly to be published by Dr. U. P. Shah) acquaint us with a wide group of motifs already known to these painters but rarely used by them under the pressure of tradition. The exceptional painters, therefore, can be credited to break the barriers. Once the nut was cracked, the style discovered ample opportunities to express itself in newer and still newer forms.

As already observed above, the change in format was a major factor in the development of style in the fifteenth century. As a rule we find the representations more sensitive if the painter-artist found a wider field to paint. This is supported by the Vasanta vilāsa illustrations. These are romantic scenes in the traditional style and in spirit nearer to the subsequent Rājasthānī painting. It appears from a closer look that two or more painters worked on this famous illustrated scroll, with the result that their personal styles can be distinguished.

The case of the Laur Canda illustrations (limited to the few leaves, known to us from the collection of Bharat Kala Bhavan), again demonstrate that the changed format mattered much in the development of the style. The theme itself spurred the artist's imagination. It is here that the blue background has been used with a special significance for depicting 'night'. On the other hand, the general practice had been to introduce the ultramarine backgrounds without any special meaning. Thus, one can surmise that new interpretations of style were made by creative painters within the framework of the traditionally laid down rules.

[2]

The Pancatantra seems to be a popular theme for illustrations. If we accept the Buddhist Jātakas as a parallel of such illustrations, they abound in the wall painting at Ajantā. In their Pancatantra counterpart, these paintings appear for the first time in the temple¹ at Madanpur (U.P.). These include several identifiable scenes, though the representations are symbolic in nature. We might take the instance of "The Ass in Panther's Skin"², "The Lion and the Hare"³, or "Uddhata the Ass, as a Singer"⁴. Economy of compositional details is found in other panels: "The Monkey catches a Glow-worm to warm himself"⁵, "The Unfaithful Wife cheated while crossing the river"⁶, "Mandvisarpa the Snake, bites the son of a Brahman"¹, "The Hamsas carrying the Crab"³. "The Monkey drinks water with a pipe"ց etc. The above noted are the general characteristics of the Jaina Apabhramsa school but seem to be specially popular with illustrations on fables. Another point common both to one of these ceiling panels and the fragmentary manuscript of Pancatantra, the theme of this paper, is that an unidentified panel at Madanpur, is in the tate beche position. We shell see below

that a similar instance appears in the Kala Bhavan leaf (folio 122, acc. No. 11040). Such lapses are found in other manuscripts as well, but it is difficult to account for the problem in the case of a wall painting.¹⁰

For closely similar in nature and mood of the painter but in the context of the $J\bar{a}taka$ illustrations one finds support in the manuscript illaustrations from Eastern India in the illustrated manuscript of the $K\bar{a}la$ -cakra Tantray $\bar{a}na$, dated in 1440 A.D. now in the collection of the Cambridge University Library (Add 1364).¹¹

Thus it is only in the later manuscript illustrations that we come across a sustained effort to render visual treatments of the Pancatantra scenes. It is not impossible that such Pancatantra illustrations—parallel to the Jātaka panels at Ajantā—were commonly produced in ancient India; however, no such definite examples are known to us nor do we find any reference to such an illustrated copy. Yet looking at the popularity of the text and imagining the curiosity these stories must have aroused among the people, there is very likelihood of such illustrated manuscripts available in the early periods.

[3]

I had the privilege of discovering an extensively illustrated manuscript of the Pañcatantra (or Pañcākhyāna) with an antique dealer in Delhi; 12 in due course, Bharat Kala Bhavan (Banaras Hindu University) succeeded in acquiring 13 illustrated folios (acc. Nos. 3/11040-52) of the manuscript. 13 Even in Delhi the manuscript ran into above one hundred illustrated leaves. The folios bear one to three illustrations, each respectively on one or both sides. The size of the leaves is approximately 28 cms, 11.75 cms., and the text area is approximately 22 × 11.5 cms. The illustrations are in rectangular panels varying in size between 7 to 9 cms. in length and 4.25 to 9 cms. in height.

The illustrations are noted for their lively expressions, as we shall discuss individually in due course. The illustrators have used a limited colour scheme, restricted to dull brick-red (invariably as the solid background or as body colour; for example, a brick-red figure of elephant), blue-black, dull yellow, carmine and dull green. The same colours have been repeated in all the types of scenes. The colours are generally muddy.

Despite limitations clamped by rigidity of the stylistic traditions and limited space, the illustrators were successful in breaking shackles of the traditional style in which they were working. It is significant that the time-honoured forms continued; for example, they still used the "farther-eye", yet it is in the spirit of the illustrations that a change is perceptible, paving the way for the

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rise of the Rājasthānī Painting in the subsequent centuries. We find a flexibility that the spaces allocated to the illustrations changed in dimensions according to the demands of the respective episodes. This was the first step towards a relaxed treatment. Moreover, the episodes introuced the illustrations to a variety of situations and types of settings.

Folios 152 R (acc. no. 11051) is an instance of a domestic setting, as we find a mother looking at her baby in the cradle: (Fig. 1). This is the story of Deva Sarman's wife and baby. The wife returing home after fetching water, found a she-mangoose, the latter's face smeared with blood. The mangoose was killed unwittingly by the enraged woman, although the beast had saved the baby from a serpent: (Tantra 5, story 2.)

The other panel on the same leaf possibly shows the Brahman consoling his wife.

The folio 91 R (acc. no. 11047) shows a couple on the couch; a balcony projects on the side of the palace, while a man steals into the palace by climbing a rope. The illustrator smashed the barrier of the given frame of the picture and extended this scene lengthwise: (Fig. 2).

The story refers to a princess who at first sight fell in love with a young man. In the opening scene we find the sakhi inducing the young prince to meet the lady in the night. While this man failed them, another fellow Praptavyarthah casually saw a rope descending from the palace. In the second scene he is shown climbing the rope: (Tantra 2, story 4).

As we come across the story of the four young Brahmans (Tantra 5, story 3), we find three scenes on folio 153 (acc. no. 11044). On the verso, we have the framing story in which the Brahman relates the following tale to his wife. On the recto are two scenes from the illustrative story; in the first penal the four young Brahmans, in fortune hunting bathe in the river Siprā near Avantī. In the next scene we have many interesting points. The Brahmans are only three in number here. This is a liberty taken by the artist, as we shall notice in certain other instances. They appear before a large figure of a Yogi of the Kanphatā order, as can be seen from some of his attributes. For example, he holds a trumpet (singi). But the interesting points in this scene are his conical traveller's hat, and a typical Sultanate half sleaved $j\bar{a}m\bar{a}$. According to the story he is Bhairavānanda of Avantī, reputed for his occult powers. He was the person who directed the fortune-seeker-Brahmans to the Himalayas, where they would eventually discover mines: (Fig. 3).

It is interesting to find that the illustrator of our manuscript freely depicted his contemporary life; for example, we find the Sultanate dress of Bhairavananda the Yogi, on folio 153 R. Even typical Sultanate textile designs can be seen on the jāmā. This is in contradiction with the casual Jaina manuscript illustrations on the Kalpasūtra in which only traditional dress and the set motifs were used.

Folio 149 R (acc. no. 11043) bears a scene which again is an instance of the artist's improvisation. Here are episodes from the story of Manibhadra, the trader and the stupid barber (masseur). On the recto appears a maid shampooing a lady's feet. According to the *Pancatantra* it was a male barber-masseur vice the maid, the illustrator here fell in his own trap as it was the barber who would invite the Jaina monks in the next stage. Anyway, this is again a domestic setting, rare in the Apabhramsa school of painting: (Fig. 4).

On the other side we come across two panels: the first shows a man paying homage to a Jaina muni. Such a scene must have been inspired by the Svetāmbara manuscript illustrations; the setting is just the same, yet this is more informal in expression. In the second scene the barber appears at a Jaina shrine. The illustrations are based on the story 1 of the Tantra 5: Sresthi Manibhadra of Pāṭaliputra lost his fortunes. One night he was asked in a vision, by Padma Nidhi to be hit on the head by the Sresthi next morning as he would appear as a Jaina monk. The sresthi followed the advice and the Nidhi turned into gold. The barber thought he had discovered the secret and tried to repeat the trick by inviting certain Jaina monks, but in vain. The monks suffered the blows and cursed the barber.

We might discuss one more group of panels to show the variety of life: Folio 138 R (acc. no. 11042) can be a good example of representation of scenes from life. It shows a man driving a Persian wheel. This is an episode from the story of a Brahman couple who met a cripple ("halt"). The Brahman and his wife had left home as a result of family feuds. The wife suddenly died in the way but was revived as the husband offered "half of his life" and presto she was revived. Just after that they met a cripple ("halt") driving a Persian wheel: (Fig. 5).

In the panel on the verso, the unfaithful Brahmani infatuated by the cripple ("halt") throws her husband into a well. In its setting it is a precursor of a similar composition in the Mrgāvatī illustrated manuscript of the early sixteenth century (in the latter case, the prince hides himself in a well to meet Mrgāvatī; the scene is repeated several times.): (Fig. 6).

In the second panel she appears carrying the cripple ("halt") in a basket-like box and is checked by the king's officials: (Fig. 7).

We find an instance of violent action as a man charges monkeys with a club-like stick. The beasts run pell mell. The gravity of the situation can be J.S.-52

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judged as heads of the poor monkeys roll on the ground (folio 168 V, acc. no. 11046). This refers to the story 10, *Tantra* 5, where the pet monekys were slain by the orders of the patron king Candra to cure his horse's burns: (Fig. 8).

The second panel shows the old and wise monkey at the lotus pond. It is here that he would discover the $R\bar{a}k_{\bar{s}}asa$ and lead the inimicus king to the pond to be devoured by the monster.

Earlier (folio 168 R) we find the royal horses in flames. The horses definitely show influence of the Timurid tradition, which must have filtered down to the Apabhramsa painting.

Folio 163 V (acc. no. 11045) illustrated the story of Mantharaka, the weaver (Tantra 5, Kathā 8). Here we find a man vigorously axing a tree: (Fig. 9). This was the haunt of a Vyantara-Devatā, who offered a boon if the weaver would refrain from his action. One cannot miss looking at the violent gestures of the man. In the second panel one sees Mantharaka consulting his wife.

Naturalistic treatment can be seen in the story of the "Monkey and the Cātaka bird" (*Tantra 4, Kathā* 12) where the monkey with his chattering teeth in a winter rain was reprimanded by the bird. The scene appears on folio 144 V (acc. no. 11052). One can notice the shivering monkey, while the bird, cosily perched in her nest peeps out and gives him a sermon. Notice the elongated nest of the *bayā* bird,¹⁴ which seems to have been based on nature study; (Fig. 10).

Following the underlying feeling of the stories the illustrator has successfully attributed human feelings to the birds and the beasts. On folio 108 V (acc. no. 11049), appear the Elephant King Mahagaja Caturdanta and his herd (*Tantra* 3, Story 1). They, during a drought, ran in panic in search of water. Also note the colour patternization with the alternating red and yellow ochre patches.

Earlier on the same leaf (folio 108 R) we find a group of owls. This relates to the election of Bhadrākāra, the owl as the king of birds; the crow enquired the reason for festivities at the coronation and dissents (*Tantra* 3, the framing story). Here we not only find another instance of patternization, but also a variety of typical flexed postures of the birds.

Let us take up the illustrations relating the story of the "pious" cat, Tikṣadanṣṭrā. (Tantra 3, Story 2). Folio 112 R (acc. no. 11050) illustrates the scene where the cat guised as a celebate, is approached by the hare and the pigeon to solve their dispute: (Fig. 11). The river Gangā, is as usual shown by a diagonal trip of dull blue, marked with wavy lines. On the other side

(folio 168 V), one cannot miss the violent gesture of the cat as she catches hold of the disputants by the neck: (Fig. 12).

Folio 122 bears three scenes from the popular story of Kākolūkīyah (the disputes between the Crows and the Owls). The entire Tantra 3 is devoted to this story (alongwith its several sub stories). In the first instance we find the King of Crows, Meghavarna perched on a tree with his royal demeanour. Next appear crows feasting in their plates (Fig. 13) and finally the minister of the crows, Sthirajīvī visits the Owl-King.

The crows have a colour sweep to suggest modelling and the owl sits in his royal glory.

The Pancatantra offered unending vistas for illustrations. Unfortunately most of the leaves are dispersed and we cannot judge the qualities of this manuscript hidden in the pages unavailable to us. But even in the Kala Bhavan folios, we find enough scope to present before the scholarly world remarks on their adventorous nature. On folio 97 V (acc. no. 11048), while showing the scenes from the story of the two sons of a trader—Guptadhana and Upabhuktadhana—(Tantra 2, Kathā 6), in the first panel we find Somalika, the guest, sleeps comfortably as the guest of Upabhuktadhana: (Fig. 14). In the following panel Upabhuktadhana receives a grant from the king, next morning: (Fig. 15). This is to illustrate that a nice action never goes unrewarded.

The Pancatantra stories offered the illustrator innumerable varieties of birds and beasts. They appear in the manuscript in stylized distortions. In some of these the painter indulged into quite symbolic settings. On folio 131 (acc. no. 11041, Tantra 4, stories 1 and 2), we have the episodes from Gangadatta the frog, who would not visit Priyadarsi, the serpent, again in the well; the monkey relating the above story to the makara (gargoyle) referred to the story of Karālakesarī the lion, worsted by an elephant and badly hurt due to the elephant's deadly kicks, is attended by Dhusaraka the Jackal. Dhusaraka subsequently was successful in enticing Lambakarna, the donkey to visit the Lion. Here we find economy of details in each of the panels. Moreover, Karālakesarī the lion is shown as a vyāla figure and the makara as a jalebha. In the original Gangadatta the frog, is supposed to address a godhā (iguana), but the illustrator (possibly due to a confusion) has changed the godha into a jackal. See that in the last mentioned scene, the artist has provided a motif resembling a piece of rectangular cloth (bearing a textile design), as if hanging at the top-centre. This might be a harbinger of the "rolled up curtain" motif in the early Rajasthani illustrations; this motif is frequently known in other Jaina illustrations.

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A very symbolic scene shows Uddhata, the ass, singing in full volume although refrained by his friend, the jackal. In the lower register we find the two human story-tellers, Cakradhara and Suvarnasiddhi: (Tantra 5, Katha 7).

[4]

Let us take this opportunity to assess the contribution made by the present manuscript in the development of the style. To begin with, here is one of the rare instances where the painter found chances to deviate from the beaten path of illustrating the "usual" texts like the Kalpa-sūtra or the Kālakācārya-kathā episodes. These texts had become so popular with the illustrator and his Patron that numerous illustrated copies appear from the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries. The sundry manuscripts carry the same scenes presented in the set formulas. Not only that the scenes are repetitive but the illustrators used over and over again the same sort of treatments. It is possible that the illustrators produced this class of manuscripts in bulk and they were available to the customers ready made. The fact is substantiated by the later addition of the colophons or the prasastis of the donors. Evidently, such productions led the style down the hill, as the illustrations from that class are weak and duil, they present a degenerated level of the style.

On the other hand, the illustrator, as if starved of new avenues to express his potentials in traversing untrodden path, when opportunities like illustrating the present *Pancatantra* manuscript occurred, opened up new vistas and led the traditional style to higher peaks. Eventually such experimentations paved the way for the rise of the Rajasthani painting in the sixteenth century.

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- 2. Ibid., pl. 18, fig. 2.
- 3-4 Ibid., pl. 19, fig. 2.
- 5-8 Ibid., pl. 18, fig. 2.
- 9. Ibid., pl. 19, fig. 2.
- 10. Ibid., pl. 19, fig. 2.
- 11. See P. Pal's "A New Document of Indian Painting", Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, Oct. 1965, pp. 103-111, plates I-IV. Here several Jataka scenes appear in symbolic forms, e.g. the Hamsa-Jātaka, the Mrga Jātaka, the Śaśaka-Jātaka and so on. In each case we find the particular bird or beast attended by a male worshipper, with folded hands.
- 12. Reportedly this manuscript was first discovered in Udaipur (Raj.).
- 13. After this paper was presented, I discovered an illustrated copy of the Paneatantra in the same style and possibly of same time, with a curio dealer in Jaipur. Now I understand

that, that copy, again fragmentary, has been acquired by a private collector. The Jaipur copy, I was informed, carried about ninety illustrations. Some of these were exactly the same, as I could see off-hand, as the Kala Bhavan illustrations. For example, I remember the scene with the Persian Wheel or the "Monkey and the Bayā Bird", "The Monkeys losing their Heads", "The Bhairavānanda Episode", "The story of Prāptavyārthaḥ", "Story of Deva Śarmā's Wife and the Mangoose", "Story of the Tikṣadanṣtrā Cat" and so on. I was struck by the similarities in the treatments. Such a position leaves no doubt that the illustrators were working under the established traditional compositions, laid down for such illustrations. It is in this sense that they introduced improvisations or enlivened the characters by attributing and communicating human or animal feelings to them.

By a comparison of the manuscripts many more points can be determined, yet the divergences, if any and seldom, appeared to be just superficial.

14. It is interesting to find that the text, although refers to the cātaka bird (sparrow) the illustrator has provided the bayā bird which is known in the folk tradition. Since it is after this incident that the bayā bird, as the belief goes, started to build his nest on thorny trees so that it is beyond the monkey's reach.

ILLUSTRATIONS

- 1. A Mother looking at her baby in the Cradle.
- 2. A couple on the couch; A man steals into the palace.
- 3. Four fortune-seeker-Brahmans (The Story of four Brahmans.)
- 4. A maid Shampooing a lady's feet.
- 5. A cripple driving a persian wheel.
- 6. The Unfaithful Brahmani infatuted by the Cripple throws her husband into a well.
- 7. Brahmani Carrying the Cripple in a basket-like box and is checked by the king's officials.
- 8. Killing of monkeys to cure the king's horses' burns.
- 9. Tree, the haunt of Vyantara Devata, is axed by a man vigorously.
- 10. The monkey with chattering teeth is given sermon by a Cataka bird from her nest.
- 11. Cat guised as a celebate, is approched by the hare and the pigeon to solve their dispute.
- 12. The violent cat holds the disputants by the neck.
- 13. The crows feasting in their plates.
- 14. Somalika, the guest of Upabhuktadhana taking rest.
- 15. Upabhuktadhana receives a grant from the king.

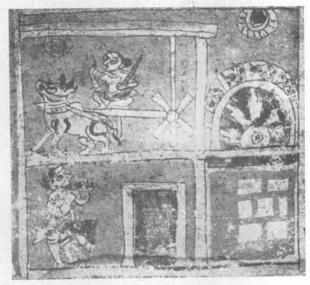






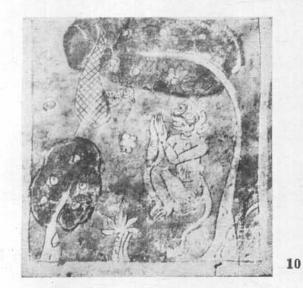
















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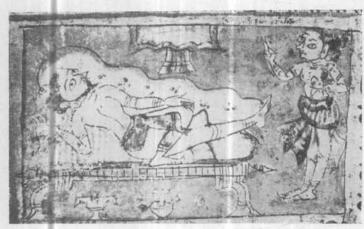


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31. JAINA WOOD CARVINGS IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM COLLECTION

V. P. DWIVEDI

Introduction

India abounded in forests full of different varieties of woods from the remotest times. No wonder wood was one of the first items which man learnt to put to various uses. In it he found a medium which was easy to carve and shape. The use of wood had another advantage, namely of reducing weight without affecting the strength of the structure, which was amanable to elaborate ornamentation on diverse parts not possible in brick or stone. However, countrys' tropical climate which was responsible for the abundance of wood was again responsible for the perishability of works of art fashioned out of it. Though our literature provides glimpses of extensive use of wood actual specimens of ancient period are hard to come by.

Gujarat and Rajasthan, comparatively drier than other parts of the country, have preserved wood carvings belonging to 16th century and afterwards. Wooden balconies, a special feature of homes of this area, not only looked elegant but provided more air also. Heat resistant quality of wood was perhaps another reason for its extensive use in this area. Use of any material for building construction is mainly determined by its local availability and cost. Teak wood, which is considered the most naturally durable wood of the world², was extensively available in Gujarat.³ Besides the Dang and Gir forests in Gujarat state, it is found in North Kanara district of Karnataka, Western Ghats and Madhya Pradesh⁴. It lasts for hundreds of years and its oily contents preserves nails from rust. The Central Conservation Laboratory of National Museum, New Delhi, studied four polychrome sculptures from different regions of the country to analyse their contents⁵. One of these was from Gujarat⁶ and the analysis showed that it was made of teak wood⁷. Use of similar wood in other sculptures shows that probably teak was favoured by the Gujarat carpenters for wood carvings.

Gujarat has preserved some of the earliest examples of dated wood carvings in the country. One such example is the Santinatha derasara in Haja Patel's

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Pole, Kalupur, Ahmedabad⁸. According to a stone inscription the temple was completed in Vikrama samvat 1446, that is 1390 A.D., by one Sheth Somji. Śrī Pārsvanātha derāsara in Śrī Samet-Śikharji's Pole, Mandavi Pole, Ahmedabad, is also said to be about 300 years old, i.e. of 17th century A.D.⁹ Ahmedabad has several other early examples of derāsars. Patan, too, has many early examples of wooden structures. The family derāsara of Śrī Lallubhai Danti at Maniati Pada and Sri Rishabhadev Swami's derāsara at Kumbharia Pada, Patan are famous examples of house shrines in the city. Similar examples also exist at Palitana, Palhanpur, Cambay and other cities of Gujarat. 11

Jaina Traditions

The Jainas have a long tradition about wood being used for carving of temples and sculptures. They believe that a sandal wood portrait sculpture was carved in the life time of Mahāvīra when he was meditating in his palace, about a year prior to his renunciation. The statue later came in possession of Uddayana of Sindhu Sauvira from whom king Pradyota of Ujjain carried it off to Vidiśā after depositing an exact wooden copy at Vītabhayapattana. The copy was somehow buried in a sand-storm which wrought the destruction of the whole city. Kumārapala got it excavated and brought it to Anahilavada-Patan according to the contemporary evidence of the great Jaina saint Hemacandrācārya. That the famous Jaina temples which were originally erected on the Holy Mount Satrunjaya were of wood is established by references in Jaina manuscripts. Jaina manuscripts.

General Characteristics

Before we discuss the National Museum collection, certain points having bearings on Jaina wood carvings, need to be made clear. Firstly, art of wood carvings, whether in Gujarat or another part of India, represents the common man's art. Most of the Jaina temples are the gifts of single wealthy individuals of the middle class and that is why these buildings are generally small and deficient of that grandeur of proportion that marks the buildings undertaken by royal command. The stone carving has always been patronised by kings, affluent guilds and merchants. Stone was not only costly but was difficult to procure because of the problems of distances and transportation in those ancient days. Then the process of stone carvings, a hard and time consuming thing was also costlier than the process of wood carving. Wood was available in every part of India and could be worked easily.

Secondly, the entire wooden construction was so devised as to combine art with utility, regulated by climatic conditions, the mode of living and social and economic status of the people. Doors, windows, pillars, beams and brackets

are the main parts on which the wood carvers lavished their skill.15 Thirdly, the wood carvings have helped in preserving ancient motifs. Though in many cases these are of comparatively recent origin, quite often they are made after ancient counterparts which have now perished. In this way, the wood carvings have helped in the continuity of traditional popular motifs and designs. Yet another important feature of the Jaina wood carvings in round (wood sculptures) is that all these were once part of Jaina mandapas or house-shrines. These are smaller in size when compared to their counter-parts in stone. Once detached from their original structures most of these look as if carved independently.16 However, these sculptures are carved in such a way that atleast one of their sides, which was earlier attached to the architecture, is not finished properly. Most of these sculptures were once polichromed. Last important point to be borne in mind is that wood carvings were repaired from time to time, making it quite difficult to ascertain their exact dates. Quite often the wooden structures: mandapas, gharader asaras, etc., are assemblage of parts made at different times. The abovementioned facts, continuity of motifs and different parts being made at different times; make it very difficult to assign exact dates to the wooden works of art.

National Museum's Collection

The National Museum was set up in the year 1949 but collections for the museum started one or two years earlier, thanks to the foresight of Late Dr. V. S. Agrawal and other senior Indologists entrusted with this responsibility. Soon after independence it was felt by all the art lovers that the country needed a National Museum. The Department of Archaeology was entrusted with the job of building collections for the National Museum, Besides acquiring paintings, bronzes, stone sculptures etc., the authorities also purchased wood carvings and other decorative arts. In the year 1947 itself, the famous collection of Sri B. N. Treasurywalla of Bombay was acquired for the museum on the expert advise of Sri K. J. Khandalavala and Dr. Moti Chandra. Besides the miniatures paintings, bronzes and other items, the collection had about 70 wood carvings. The collection having been built at Bombay, obviously had a good number of Gujarati wood carvings, quite a few of them being Jaina.17 Another wood carving collection of consequence purchased by the museum in the year 1956 and 1957 came from Shri M. K. Hasham, proprietor of Oriental Art Museum, Bombay. This too, had several carvings from Jaina mandapas and temples. Yet another collection of wood carvings, that of Shri D. J. Gazdar, was again acquired from Bombay in the year 1960. Thus, all the three important collections of Jaina wood carvings purchased by the National Museum, came from Bombay and obviously contained a good number of Jaina carvings. Some of the important carvings from Jaina house-shrines, temples and mandapas belonging to these collections form the subject matter of our paper. J.S.-53

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Architectural Pieces

Let us first discuss the architectural pieces of the collection. Like all other architectures, Jaina architeture can also be divided into two broad categories: domestic and religious. The domestic architecture usually has either a Tirthankara or Srī-Laksmī image or mangaleihnas, like fourteen dreams, carved on its door lintal or window-frame. Other decorations on the frame include depiction of the așta-mangalas, floral creeper patterns, 18 dvārapālas etc. The religious architecture can again be divided into two categories, house shrines or ghara-derāsars and wooden temples. Although now very few Jaina temples have wooden structures, it is believed that once the temples erected on the Holy Mount Satruniaya were made of wood and were replaced by stone structures by Uda Mehta's son, 19 The story goes that while the famous minister was counting Navakāravalli (rosary for repeating navakāramantra) in the shrine at Satrufijaya, he saw a mouse carrying away a burning wick. Realising its danger to the wooden temples, Uda Mehta resolved to rebuild the temple in stone, a wish which was ultimately fulfilled by his worthy son.²⁰ Later on, most of the shrines were made in stone only. However, the house shrines continued to be built in wood and have preserved some of the best works in wood carvings.

One of the best Jaina wood carving which the National Museum possesses is a mandapa of some home shrine (Fig. 1). Its ceiling, composed of several pieces, reminds one of the famous Mount Abu temple ceiling²¹. Sixteen absaras or celestial musicians and damsels adorn the dome. From its centre hangs a decorated floral pattern. The mandapa is octagonal in plan and has been displayed on modern wooden pillars to suit the height of the gallery ceiling. The lower most beam of the dome shows a continuous procession giving glimpses of contemporary vehicles, dresses, musical instruments etc. and terminating at a Tírthankara shrine (Fig. 2). Eight niches show eight seated figures probably dikpālas, in the background of $j\bar{a}l\bar{i}$ work, one of which is missing now. The supporting pillars at eight corners show dancing apsaras and celestial musicians. The perforated jāli work as well as niches show Muslim influence. Two of the four outside beams show seven seated Tirthankaras (Fig. 3). Fore-part of the galloping horses, elephant with riders, apsaras, all carved in round, are the outside attraction of the mandapa, which otherwise looks like an assemblage of plain wooden logs (Fig. 3). The four elephants with riders carved in the round at the four corners are quite attractive and show Maratha influence, especially in the turban of the riders. The apsaras, musicians and other figures as well as jālī and niches etc. point to a late 16th-early 17th century date.²²

Another example belonging to almost the same period is a door-frame (caukhat) of some Jaina house-shrine or temple, evident from the seated Jaina

Tirthankara figure in the centre of the top panel (Fig. 4). Two fly-whisk bearers, one on each of his two sides, flank him and nine garland-bearers on each side are seen carrying garlands, forming an interesting pattern. The two side posts, besides showing four-armed figures of dvārapālas,23 one on each side, show four niche figures (one above the other) in attendance of the Tirthankaras. A narrow band, composed of nine musicians and rising tiers, is seen on both sides. Creepers motif runs through the whole door frame on both sides of the two upright pillars and on the inner side of the top panel. Two stylised kīrtimukhas carved in round, adorn the top of the two pillars. Although badly damaged at places, the figures point to a late 16th-early 17th-century A.D. date.

Yet another architectural example of Gujarati Jaina wood work at the National Museum is a small door (complete with planks) of a householdshrine (Fig. 5). Though smaller in size, it has all the details which a large door usually has. It has a two plank doorway which can be opened and closed. Both the planks are carved with beautiful floral patterns set in big and small squares in alternate rows. They still retain old iron binding straps. The top lintel shows fourteen auspicious dreams (Fig. 6), a typical feature of the Jaina wood carvings.24 Another broad panel, just below this panel, depicts a four armed seated Śrī-Laksmī flanked by standing female chauri-bearers and elephant riders. The bottom post shows two elephants and the two side posts show a dvarabala flanking the shrine on each side. Above dvārapālas are seen peeping human heads from niches giving impression of multi-storeyed building. A similar miniature doorway exists in the Baroda Museum²⁵ which shows intricate and minute carvings and has been dated to 16th century A.D. The National Museum doorway, however, should be dated to early 18th contury A.D. as its execution of floral patterns and figures is much pronounced and lack the fine quality of the Baroda Museum carving.

Muslim influence infiltrated the Jaina architecture as well.²⁶ We often find arched windows in Jaina houses. The National Museum also has one such example (Fig. 7). The window frame has a running floral and scroll design interspersed with human and animal figures. The upper band shows a Tirthankara in a shrine towards which a number of people are going to pay their homage. The arch, carved separately and attached to the frame, has winged-female figures and birds encased in arched motif. Another panel at the lower part show creeper and floral motif. Yet another Muslim feature also found its way into the Jaina architecture as the carvers in many cases were the same persons. The beaded decoration carved in round and attached to the top band is a common feature of late 18th-early 19th century works from Gujarat.

Rectangular panels, once architectural parts of wooden shrines, are quite interesting as they provide us a peep into the contemporary life. One such

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panel shows five Jaina monks (with cloth-piece tied to their mouths) being greated by villagers who are offering them numerous things (Fig. 8). An equastrian figure, in the lower right corner, supervises the ritual and many other followers are seen bowing to the saints with folded hands. While one man is holding a garland, another stands by his side holding a purnakumbha and rosery. A pair of dogs, seen in the lower right corner, provide a realistic touch to the whole scene. It is interesting to note that wooden panels from Jaina shrines often depict processional scenes which invariably show bullock carts²¹ (Fig. 9). These carts are always carved with utmost care and show bullocks in walking postures accompanied by figures in front and back, as in this case. Yet another mode of travel in the ancient days, especially for the royal persons, palanquine, also finds depiction on such rectangular panels from Jaina shrines (Fig. 10). The example illustrated here shows a royal couple seated in the palanquine accompanied by elephant riders in front and horse riders in the rear making it clear that the figures are indeed royal. The way the male figure has held tightly a support to hold his balance is noteworthy and shows the minute observation of the wood carver. Unfortunately his consort has lost both her hands and we are unable to visualise her exact posture. A small animal, below the palanquine (probably a dog), completes the entourage. The pole bearers have also been depicted with a rare sense of realism. All the three rectangular penels described above probably belonged to Jaina wooden shrines carved in Gujarat in the late 16th century A.D.²⁸ The fourth panel (Fig. 11), probably from the top of a door frame, depicts \$rī-Laksmī attended by a chauri-bearer on each of her sides and can be dated to the early 18th century A.D.29

Wood Sculptures

The Jainas believe that a sandal-wood portrait sculpture of Lord Mahāvīra was carved in his life time. But despite such a sacred tradition, wood carvings in round, depicting Tirthankaras have not been found so far. Most of the images carved in round are made of either stone or bronze. At what time this transformation took place it is difficult to say. But those who are conversant with the Jaina ritual of Tirthankara worship will immediately understand the reason for abandoning the wood sculptures. The daily washing of images by water and milk and application of sandal paste etc. do not allow the use of wooden sculptures for worship. However, subsidiary and allied carvings, carved in round and fitted to wooden architecture, have preserved a better continuity in wood sculptures and quite a few of these can be seen in different museums all over the world.³⁰ National Museum has also some such carvings, mostly depicting apsaras, dancers and musicians.31 All these must have once formed part of Jaina wooden mandapas. Some of them are still multi-coloured while others have lost their colours. However, these skillful carvings have retained their celestial charm, Some of them are described below.

One of these figures (12 a) portrays a dancer carved in round showing her right hand near breasts and left by her side in dancing pose. She is wearing profuse jewellery and skirt. Another figure, much smaller in size, is shown near her feet in semi-seated dance posture. A tenon above her head makes it evident that the figure must have been attached to some structures. The second figure shows a mother and child (Fig. 12 b). She is dressed almost in the same fashion as the earlier figure. Both the figures are rather elongated and stylised and can be dated to 17th century A.D.³²

The observant eye of Gujarati wood carvers delighted in portraying charming females noticed in daily life. A woman getting ready for dance, portrayed in the posture of putting on an anklet (Fig. 13), is a good example of such minute observation.³³ The statue painted in gay colours, must have once adorned a mandapa, as was the usual feature of these shrines. Yet another figure, probably a flute player, also seems to have come from the same mandapa, as is evident from her similar dress and features. This, too, is painted. Both the figures can be dated to late 18th-early 19th century A.D.³⁴

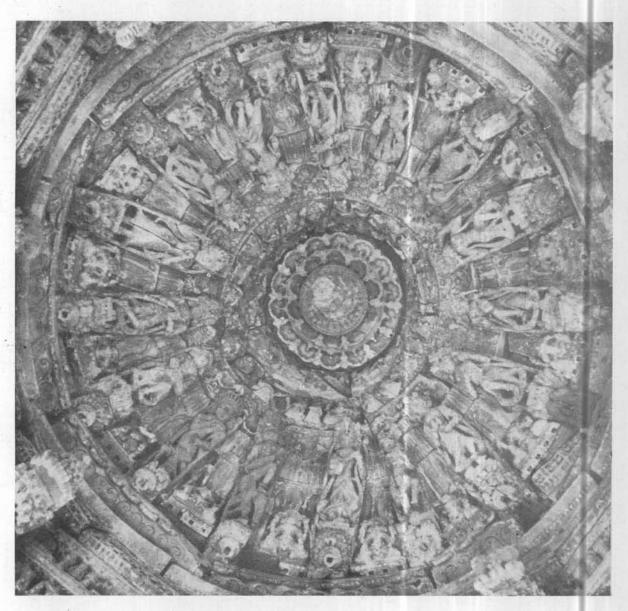
The foregoing discussion not only shows the wide range and variety of the Jaina wood carvings but also adds a new category to the Jaina community's achievements. According to an authority "The Jainas have always been tenacious guardians of the traditions of the past and especially of the arts of the past, spending enormous sums on temple building, sculpture illuminated manuscripts, etc." To these categories we can now add Jaina wood carvings also.

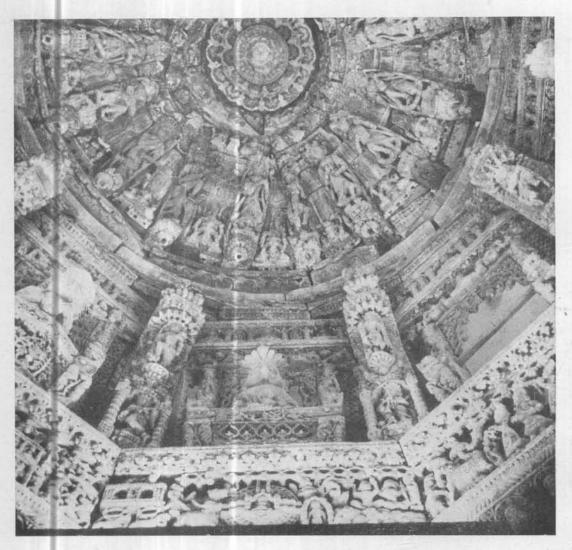
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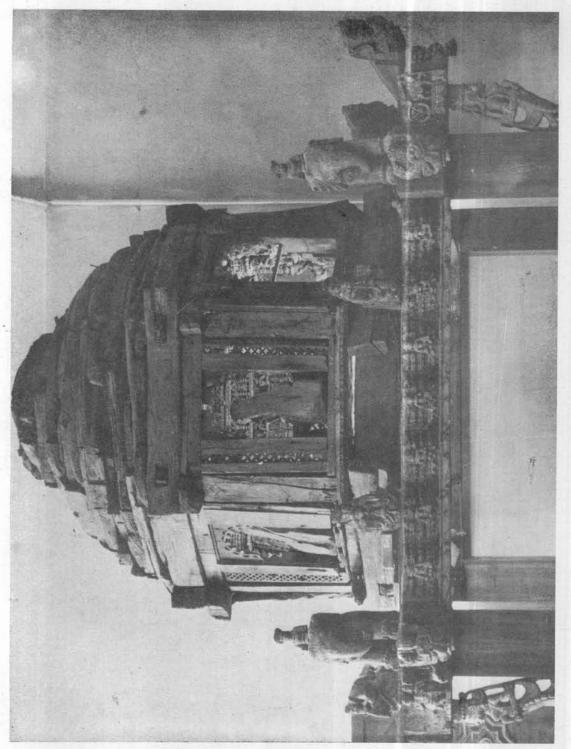
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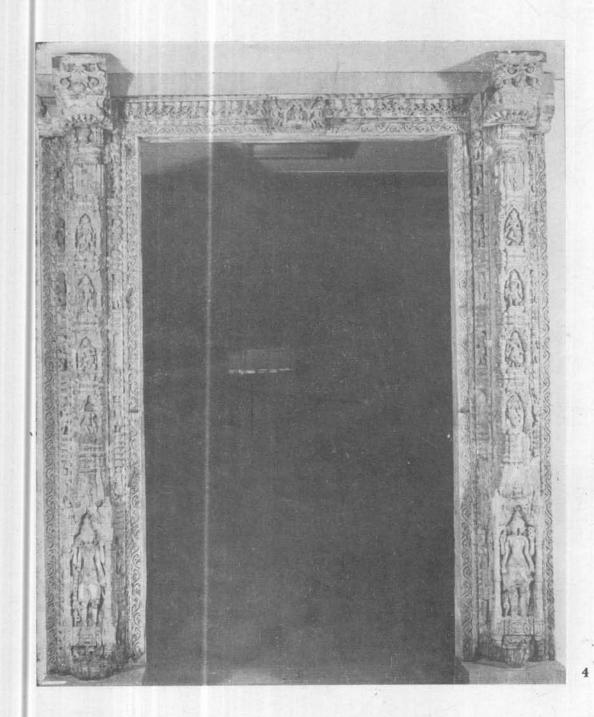
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- 18. Trivedi, R. K., op. cit., plates LXI to LXV.
- 19. Ibid., p. 4.
- 20. Ibid.
- 21. Fergusson, James, op. cit., plate XX.
- Goetz, H., 'A monument of old Gujarati wood sculpture', Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery, Vol. VI, Pt. I-II, Baroda, 1960, figs. 12 to 14 and 16.
- 23. For almost identical figures, please see Trivedi, R. K. op. cit., plate LXXXVII.
- 24. Fourteen dreams also occur over the door frame of Shantinath Temple, Ahmedabad see, Trivedi, R. K., op. cit., plate XCIII.
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- 28. Ibid., figs. 12-16.
- 29. Ibid., fig. 27.
- 30. One of the best example of a wooden shrine which left India is the one in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, please see R. K. Trivedi, op. cit., plates CII to CVII, originally it was in Patan; see Burgess James and Cousens, Henry, The architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat, A. S. I., Vol. IX, London, 1903, p. 49.
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 B. N., op. cit. figs. 5 to 12.
- 32. Goetz, H., op. cit., Baroda, 1950, fig. 36.
- 33. Dancer putting on anklet seems to have been a popular motif, with Gujarat Jaina wood carvers, please see Trivedi, R. K., op. cit., plate CXIX, figure and plate CXX, fig. A; Treasurywalla, B. N., op. cit., fig. 5 (Central figure).
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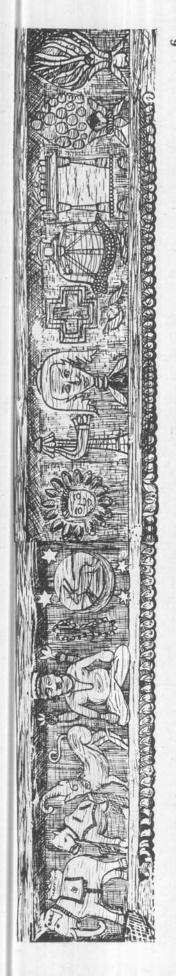






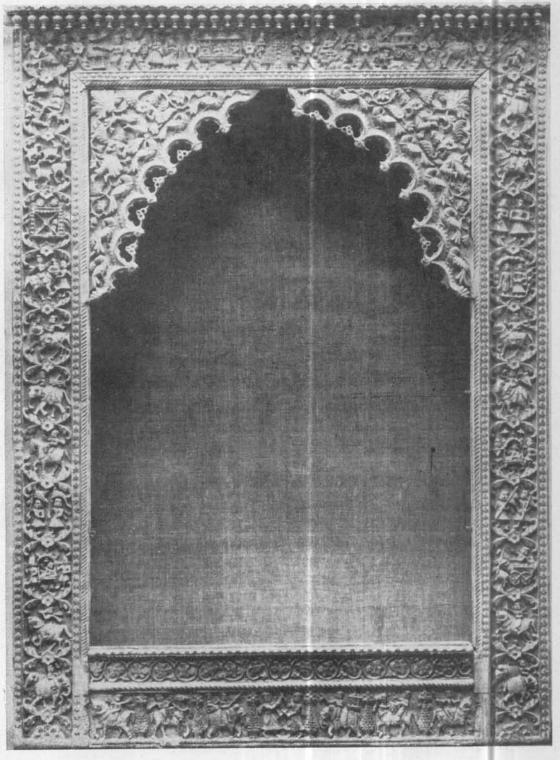


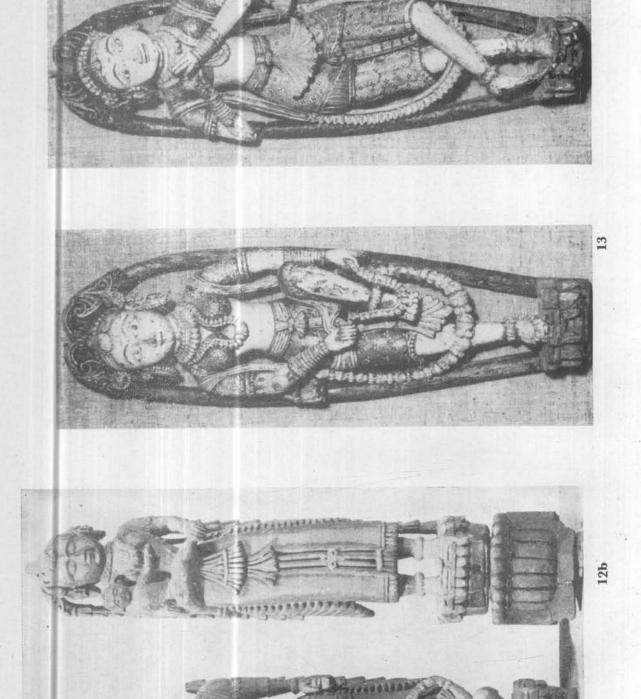












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