

# JAINA ICONOGRAPHY—A brief survey

## Introductory :

Prehistoric sites in India have not yielded as yet any definite clue to the existence of Jainism. A few seals from Mohen-Jo-Daro showing human figures standing in a posture analogous to the free-standing meditative pose (*kāvotsārga mudrā*) of the Tīrthāṅkaras <sup>1</sup> or the seal generally acknowledged as representing Ś'iva as Yogī (in the meditative attitude) cannot in the present state of uncertainty of the meaning of the pictoscript symbols, be definitely used to attest to the antiquity of Jaina art or ritual.

Jaina traditions ascribe the first twenty-two Tīrthāṅkaras <sup>2</sup> of this age to a period covering millions of years before Christ, but modern criticism accepts only the last two—Pāras 'vanatha (250 years before Mahavīra's Nirvaṇa) and Varddhamana (Māhāvīra died about 527 B. C. according to traditions and about 467 B. C. according to some modern scholars)—as real historical personages.

The mutilated red-stone statuette from Harappa, though surprisingly analogous in style to the Mauryan-Polished-stone-torso of a Jina, obtained from Lohanipur, near Patna in Bihar, has, in addition, two circular depressions on shoulder-fronts, unlike any other Jina-icon known hitherto and could better be regarded as representing an ancient Yakṣa. <sup>3</sup> The Harappan statuette being a surface find it is difficult to assign a date to it.

The Origin of Image Worship in Jainism, may, on the basis of available archaeological evidence, be assigned to *at least* the Mauryan age, c. 3rd century B. C.,

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1. Marshall, Sir John, *Mohen-Jo-Daro and the Indus Valley Civilisation*, Vol. III, pl. xii, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 22.

Jain, Kamta Prasad, in *Modern Review*, August 1932, pp. 152 regards some of these seals as representing Jinas (Tīrthāṅkaras).

2. The Jainas believe that 24 Tīrthāṅkaras lived in this *Avasarpini* era, an equal number lived in the preceding era (*ārā*) called *Utsarpinī*, and the same number will be born in the forthcoming *Utsarpini* ara. For the Jaina conception of these Evolutionary and Involutionary eras, see Jaina, J. C., *Outlines of Jainism*.

Also Nahar, *Epitome of Jainism*

3. Marshall, op. cit., Vol. I pl. x, a-d. For the Lohanipur torso see, Jayaswal K. P., *Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society*, vol. XXIII part 1, pl. i-iv and Banerji-Shastri, in *ibid.*, vol. XXVI. 2.120 8 ff.

the age of Samprati, the grandson of Asoka, who is reputed in Jaina tradition to have been converted to Jainism and who is said to have given much royal support to the monks of this faith. The evidence of Lohanipur statue does support it.

So far as literary evidence is concerned, we have to weigh it with great caution since the available texts of the Jaina Canonical works are said to have been following the text of the second council at Valabhi which met in the latter half of the fifth century A. D. There are a few references to worship of images and relics and shrines of the Arhats (Tirthankaras) by gods and men, and these may be at least as old as the Mathura council (which met in the beginning of the fourth century A.D.) and even older.

But there are reasons to believe that attempts were made to worship an image (verily a portrait statue) of Mahāvira, even during his life-time. This portrait statue of sandalwood was supposed to have been prepared, when Mahāvira was meditating in his own palace, about a year prior to the final renunciation. So this statue showed a crown, some ornaments and a lower garment on the person of Mahāvira. Being a life-time portrait statue, it was known as *Jivantasvāmi-pratimā*, that is the "Image fashioned during the life-time of the Lord." All later images of this iconographic type then can be known as *Jivantasvāmi-pratimā*.

The original portrait statue was worshipped by the queen of Uddāyana, king of Vitabhaya-pattana, (in Sindhu-Saurvira land) and later by Pradyota of Ujjain. The image used to be taken out in Chariot on a certain day at Vidisa and during this *ratha-yatrā*, Samprati the grandson of Asoka, was converted to Jain faith by Ārya Suhasti. References to this image and the *ratha-yatrā* are found in texts like the Vasudevahindi, the Āvaśyaka-cūrñi etc. The old bronzes of *Jivantasvāmi*, one inscribed and datable to c. 550 A. D., and the other partly mutilated with pedestal (and possibly the inscription on it) lost, but somewhat earlier in age, were discovered in the Akota hoard. The tradition of *Jivantasvāmi* images is, therefore, fairly old and it is not impossible that one or more portraits of Mahāvira were made during his life-time. But regular worship of images and shrines of Tirthankaras may be somewhat later, though not later than the age of the Lohanipur torso. <sup>1</sup>

Nowhere it is said that Mahāvira visited a Jain shrine or worshipped images of (earlier) Tirthankaras, like Pārśvanatha or R̥sabhanatha. Mahāvira is always reported to have stayed in Yakṣa-āyatanas, Yakṣa-Caityas Pūrṇabhadra Caitya and so on. <sup>2</sup>

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1. For further details and discussion on *Jivantasvāmi* Images, see, Shah, U. P., *A Unique Image of Jivantasvāmi*, Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, Vol. 1, no. 1 pp. 72 ff and plates and Shah, U. P., *life-time Sandalwood Image of Mahāvira*, Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 1 no. 4, pp. 358 ff., Shah U. P.,—*Some More Jivantasvāmi Images*, Journal of Indian Museums.
  2. For further discussion on Caitya, Stupa etc. worship in Jainism, see, Shah, U. P., *Studies in Jaina Art*, (Banaras, 1955), pp. 43-121.

The Jain Image, as suggested elsewhere by us,<sup>1</sup> has for its model or prototype, the ancient Yakṣa statues. It was also suggested that the mode of worship of the ancient Yakṣa-Naga cult has largely influenced the worship in Jainism. The close similarity of the Jain (Tīrthaṅkara) and the Buddha image, and fact that both Jainism and Buddhism are heterodox cults, which protested against the Vedic Brahmanical priestly cult, shows that Buddhism could easily have been influenced by the worship of the Yakṣa and the Tīrthaṅkara images.

That the earliest known Buddha-image hails from Gandhāra is a mere accident as suggested by Kramrisch<sup>2</sup> and does not preclude the possibility of another earlier image being discovered in the land of Buddha's birth, as a product of the Native Indian School of Art. Jayaswal's discovery of a Mauryan torso of a standing Jina figure from Lohanipur proves, on the one hand, the authenticity of Jaina traditions, on the image worship, and, on the other hand, the existence in Magadha of an earlier model for the Jina and Buddha images of early Christian centuries.<sup>3</sup> The Jina-image definitely preceded the Buddha-image as a cult-object.

Lohanipur is a continuation of the Mauryan sites at Kumrahar and Bulandibag near Patna. Along with this highly polished torso were revealed, from the foundations of a square temple (8 ft. 10 in. X 8 ft. 10 in), a large quantity of Mauryan bricks, a worn silver punch-marked coin and another but unpolished and later torso of a Jina in the Kāyotsarga pose.

Evidence of Jina sculptures from the Kaṅkālī Tilā<sup>4</sup> (Mathura) and adjoining sites, shows prevalence of the Stūpa-worship in Jainism, from at least the second century B. C. The Jinā stūpa, which once existed on the site of Kankali Tilā, is regarded as a stūpa of Spar'svanātha, the seventh Tīrthaṅkara, but as I have shown elsewhere, it was very probably the stūpa of Pārś'vanātha who flourished 250 years before Māhāvira's Nirvaṇa in 527, according to Jaina traditions. The antiquities from the site, discovered so far, date from about first century B. C. and suggest that the stūpa was enlarged, repaired and adorned with sculptures in the early centuries of the Christian era.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Shah, U. P., *Yakṣa Worship in Early Jaina Literature*, *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda*, Vol. III (1953) No. 1 pp. 55-71, especially, p. 66.
  2. Kramrisch, Stella, *Indian Sculpture*, p. 40. Also see, remarks of U. P. Shah in *Journal of the Oriental Inst.*, Vol. No. 4 pp. 358-368.
  3. Also see, Shah, U. P., *Origin of the Buddha Image*, *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XIV, nos. 3-4.
  4. Smith Vincent, *Jaina Stupa and other Antiquities from Mathura* (referred to as JS.)
  5. *Studies in Jaina Art* (Banaras, 1955), pp. 11-12 and ft. notes.

Antiquities from the site attest to the existence amongst the Jainas, of the worship of the stūpa, the Caitya-tree, the Dharma-cakra, the Āyāgapatas (Tablets of Homage), the auspicious symbols like the Svastika, the Wheel of Law, the Nandyāvarta diagram, the Powder box (Varddhamanaka), the S'rivatsa-mark, Pair of Fishes (Minā-yugala), the full-blown lotus (Padma) the Mirror (Darpana) and so on. <sup>1</sup> Since Images of Tirthankaras of the Kusana age from Mathura, represented both in the standing and the sitting attitude show no trace of drapery, they clearly suggest that even though, the Digambara and S'vetambara schism had come into being in the first or second century A. D., the final crisis, in the differentiation of Tirthankara icons had not yet taken place. Hence the evidence of art from Mathura refers to Jain worship common to both the sects in the first three centuries of the Christian era. <sup>2</sup> The earliest known Jina image with a lower garment hails from Akota. It is a bronze image of Risabhanatha in the Kayotsarga-standing pose can be assigned to c. 450-500 A. D. 3A. It must be remembered that in the Digambara tradition no drapery is shown on the person of Tirthankara.

### Tirthankaras :

Images of the twenty-four Tirthankaras had no recognizing symbols (cognizance-*Lāñchhanas*), upto the end of the Kushana period, A Jina was identified only with the help of his name given in the votive inscription on the pedestal. During the Kusana period at Mathura, we find evidence of the worship of only a few Tirthankaras, namely, Rishabhathā, Nemināthā, Pars'vanāthā and Mahavira. <sup>4</sup> The famous image of Arhat Nandyāvarta is dated in the year 49 or 79. <sup>5</sup> This inscription, recently correctly read by K. D. Bajpai shows that it refers to the worship of Munisuvrata (the twentieth Jina) rather than Aranāthā as thought of earlier. Thus the list of (24) Tirthankaras was possibly already evolved or was being enlarged in the age of this sculpture, in the second or third century A. D. <sup>6</sup>

It is interesting to note that in the Jain Kalpasūtra lives of only four Jinas—Rishabhāthā, Nemināthā, Pārs'vanāthā and Mahavira are described in detail and

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1. Smith, *Op. cit.*, different plates.
  2. For a detailed discussion on the subjects of differentiation of icons in the two sects, see, Shah, U. P., *Age of Differentiation of the S'vetambara and Digambara Images, etc.*, published in the Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, Vol. I. no. I. with plates.
  - 3 A. Shah, U. P. *Akota Bronzes*, p. 26, figs. 8a, 8b.
  4. See Luders' List of *Early Brahmi Inscriptions in Northern India* published as appendix to the different nos. of the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X.
  5. *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. II *Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura*, Inscr no. 20.
  6. Bajpai, K. D. *Tirthankara Muni-Suvrata in an Inscribed Mathura Sculpture in Lucknow Museum, Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, Vol. xxiv-xxv (1951-52), pp. 219-220.

it is very likely that only these four lives formed the subject matter of the original text. A glance at the stylised summary treatment of the remaining Tirthankaras lends doubt to their antiquity and would suggest later additions, especially because the view seems to obtain support from the absence of images of twenty (out of the twenty-four Tirthankaras) at the Kankali Tila, Mathura. It would seem that details regarding the other Tirthankaras were added towards the close of the Kusaṇa period or before the Mathuri vacana (council at Mathura) took place under the chairmanship of Arya Skandila (c. 300-320 A. D.)<sup>1</sup> It may incidentally be noted that while the nineteenth Jina Mallinatha was a female according to the S'Ve. sect, he was a male according to the Dig. belief.

The Kalpasūtra mentions no cognizance for any of the Tirthankaras. The Āvas'yaka-Niryukti at one place only incidentally refers to the cognizance of Rshathana (the first Jina), in a context which explains the names of the twenty-four Tirthankaras.<sup>2</sup>

Cognizances are not mentioned in the ancient lists of atis'ayas or supernatural attributes of a Jina.<sup>3</sup> Of the thirty-four atis'ayas, eight are regarded as the Mahāprātiharyas (chief attendant attributes) which are figured on sculptures and in paintings of a Tirthankara. These eight are—the As'oka-tree, scattering of flowers by gods, heavenly music, fly-whisks, lion-seat, prabha-māṇḍala (halo), heavenly drum-beating, and divine umbrella.<sup>4</sup> A critical study of all the texts, giving lists of atis'ayas and a comparison with all available early sculptures suggest that the list of the eight Mahāprātiharyas took its final shape probably towards the close of the Gupta age.

1. For the age etc. of the different councils, see Muni Kalyanavijaya's, *Vira Nirvana Samvat*, aur *Jaina Kālaganānā*, in Hindi. Belief in 24 Jinas is however known to *Bhagavati Sūtra*, 16.5.
2. See *Āvas'yaka Niryukti*, vv. 1080 ff. For the various epithets and account etc. of Rsabha, see, *Āvas'yaka Cūṛṇi*, p. 131 ff, *Vasudevahindi*, pp. 157, 185. Jacobi, *Jaina Sutras*, *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXII., pp. 217 ff. *Trisastis'alakapurusa charitra*, Vol. I, *Padmacharitra* of Ravisena, 4. pp. 566 ff and *Adipurana* of Jinasena.
3. See *Samavāyāṅga sūtra*, sūtra 34 pp. 59-60. *Abhidhana-cintāmani*, 1. 57-64. *Tiloyapanṇatti* of Yativṛsabha, 4. verses 896 ff.
4. According to the Dig. verse—

अशोकवृक्षं सुरपुष्पवृष्टिर्दिव्यध्वनिश्चामरमासनं च ।  
मामण्डलं दुन्दुभिरातपत्रं सत्प्रातिहार्याणि जिनेश्वराणाम् ॥

For a similar S'vetambar list see *Pravacana-sāroddhāra*, verse 440; *Aupapatika sūtra*, su. 31, pp. 68-69, For a discussion on Astamangals, see, Shah, U. P., *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 109-112. For a List of Atis'ayas, acc. to Digambar tradition, see, Jaina, C. R., *Outline of Jainism*, pp. 129-130.

Later sculptures or paintings of the Tirthankaras, show further elaboration in the details of the parikara or paraphernalia attendant upon a Jina, which seems to date from the early mediaeval period. <sup>1</sup>

The lañchhanas or cognizances of Jinas are not found in known Digambara or S'vetambara texts upto c. 7th-8th centuries A. D. But in art their first appearance is known from a sculpture of Neminãtha on the Vaibhāragiri, Rajgir, having an inscription in Gupta characters referring to Chandragupta (Chandragupta II according to R. P. Chanda). Here a conch is placed on each side of the Cakra-purusa in the centre of the pedestal. <sup>2</sup>

But the lists were not finalised in the Gupta age and a post-Gupta sculpture from the same site, representing Pārs'vanātha or Supārs'vanātha, shows an elephant on each side of the dharmacakra in the centre of the pedestal, which is not the symbol of either of them and which is the symbol of Ajitanatha in both the sects. A comparison of the S'vetambara and Digambara lists of the lañchhanas shows a few differences and the origin of the lañchhanas may therefore better be placed in the age of the final crisis between the two sects (Digambara and S'vetambara) which as I have suggested elsewhere took place in the age of the last Valabhi-vacanā in 473 A. D.

Tirthankaras are said to be of different complexions, namely, white, golden, red, black or dark-blue. The complexions and the lañchhanas help us to identify the various Tirthankaras in Jaina images or paintings. Rsabhanatha is further identified on account of the hair-locks falling on his shoulders, for, while the other Jinas plucked out all the hair, the first Jina, at the special request of Indra, allowed the back-hair (falling on shoulders) to remain, as they looked very beautiful.

Iconography of Rsabhanātha is especially noteworthy. His names Ādinatha or Rsabhanatha his lañchhana the bull, and his bull-faced attendant Yakṣa Gomukha resembling the S'aivite Nandikes'vara or Nandi (Bull) are closely analogous to the conception of S'iva with the bull as his vāhana. Like S'iva, Rsabhanātha is sometimes represented with a big jatā overhead. (see figures 35, 36, 37 in Studies in Jaina Art.)

A table, showing the complexions and cognizances of the various Jinas according to both the traditions is attached herewith. <sup>3</sup>

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1. For a full description of the parikara, see, Ācāradinakara, II, p. 205. Vāstusāra of Thakkara Feru, pp. 93 ff.
  2. Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report for 1925-1926, pl. LVI. G, pp. 125-26. *Studies in Jaina Art.* fig. 18.
  3. For S'vet. lists, see, Abhidhana Cintamani, 1. 49, p. 17. For Dig. lists see Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra, Tiloyapaṇṇatti, etc.

## Tirthankaras of this Age.

No.	Tirthankara	Complexion <sup>1</sup>	Cognizance <sup>2</sup>
1.	Rsabhanātha	Golden	Bull
2.	Ājitanatha	Golden	Elephant
3.	Sambhavanātha	Golden	Horse
4.	Abhinandana	Golden	Monkey
5.	Sumatinātha	Golden	Krauñca (S've.) Koka (Dig.)
6.	Padmaprabha	Red	Lotus
7.	Supars'vanātha	Golden (S've) Harita or Greenish (Dig.)	Svastika (S've.) <sup>3</sup> Nandyavarta (TP.)
8.	Candraprabha	White	Crescent moon
9.	Puspadanta (Sūvidhinātha)	White	Crocodile
10.	S'italanātha	Golden	S'rivatsa (S've.) Svastika (TP.) <sup>4</sup>
11.	S'reyamsanatha	Golden	Khadgi (S've.) Ganda (Dig.)
12.	Vasupujya	Red	Buffalo
13.	Vimalanatha	Golden	Boar
14.	Anantanatha	Golden	S'yena or falcon (S've.) Sāhi (? TP.) <sup>5</sup> or Bear
15.	Dharmanatha	Golden	Vajra
16.	S'āntinātha	Golden	Deer
17.	Kunthunatha	Golden	Goat
18.	Aranatha	Golden	Nandyāvarta (S've.) Tagara-kusuma (TP) <sup>6</sup> Fish (Dig.)
19.	Mallinātha	Dark-blue (Nīla) S've.	Water-jar.
20.	Munisuvrata	Black (S've.) (Nīla) (Dig.)	Tortoise
21.	Naminatha	Golden	Blue-lotus
22.	Neminatha	Black (S've.) Nīla (Dig.)	Conch
23.	Pārs'vanātha	Dark-Blue. (Nīla) S've.	Snake
24.	Mahāvira	Golden	Lion

1. *Abhidhāna Cintāmani*, 1.49, p. 17, and *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.588-89. p. 217.

2. *Abhidhāna Cintāmani*, 1.47-48, p. 17; and *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4.604-05, p. 209.

3. *Svastika* acc. to *Pratishāśārodhāra*; p. 9 v. 78.

4. *S'ridruma* acc. to *Pratishāśārodhāra*; p. 9 v. 78.

5. *Sedhika* acc. to *ibid.*, p. 9 v. 78.

6. *Tagarm*, *ibid.*, v. 79, p. 9.

**Panchaparamesthins and Śalākāpurus as :**

The Tirthankaras are the supreme objects of veneration, classified as the Devādhidevas by Ācārya Hemachandra in his *Abhidhana Cintamani*. Enjoying the same high reverence are the Pañcha-Paramesthins, or the Five Supreme Ones—namely, the Arhat., the Siddha, the Ācārya, the Ūpādhyāya and the Sādhu.<sup>1</sup> The first two are liberated souls, but the Arhats are placed first as they are embodied souls, some of whom even establish the Tīrtha, constituted of the sādhu, sādhi, s'rāvaka and s'rāvika. The Siddhas are liberated souls who live in a disembodied state and reside on the Siddha-s'ila on top of the whole universe. Representations in paintings of Jinas after attainment of Nirvāna show them as seated on the Siddha-s'ila of crescent shape.<sup>2</sup> Worship of the Pañcha-Paramesthins is very old and a later elaboration of the concept is obtained in the popular worship of the Siddha-chakra (fig. 85 of studies in Jain Art) or the Nava-Devata (fig. 77 of studies in Jain Art) in the S'vetāmbara and Digāmbara rituals respectively.<sup>3</sup> Earlier texts refer to Pañcha-Paramesthins only and the inclusion of the four more *Padas* or dignitaries in the above mentioned diagrams probably does not antedate c. 9th century A. D. The earliest available reference to Siddha-Chakra diagram, so far known, is from Hemachandra's own commentary (called *Brihat-n'yāsa*) on his famous grammar *S'abdānus'āsana*.

The worship of the Five Supreme Ones is impersonal. It is the aggregate of qualities of these souls that is remembered and venerated rather than the individuals. By saluting the Paramesthins, a worshipper suggests to his mind the qualities of the Arhats, Siddha, Ācārya, Upādhyaya or Sadhu which the mind gradually begins to follow and ultimately achieves the stage attained by the Siddhas.

But the Devādhidevas are not Creators of the Universe and the other Paramesthins are not their associates in the act of creation or dissolution. The Jaina Divinity—The perfect Being—The Siddha or the Arhat— as a type is an ideal to all the aspirants on the spiritual path. A pious Jaina is not expected to worship his deity in the hope of obtaining some worldly gains as gifts from the God. For the Tirthankara is

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1. For Pañcha-Paramesthins, see, Jaini, J. L., *Outlines of Jainism* Nahar, *Epitome of Jainism*.
  2. For Kalpa-Sutra miniatures representing this and other scenes, see, Brown, W. Norman, *Miniature Paintings of the Kalpa-Sutra* and Muni Punyavijaya, *Pavitra Kalpa-Sutra*. The Paintings chiefly refer to the *Pancha-Kalyanakas* (Five Auspicious Events) in the life of a Jina. The conception of such events obtains parallel in the Buddhist representations of chief auspicious events in the life of Buddha.
  3. For a discussion on the Siddha-Chakra and the Nava-Devata, see, Shah, U. P., *Siddha-Chakra*, *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum*, Vol. 3 pp. 25th. Also see, Shah, U. P., *Vardhamana-Vidya-Pata*, Vol. IX (194), fig. 2 on pl. facing p. 44. Shah, U. P., *Studies in Jain Art*. 97-103 for a fuller discussion on *Siddha-Chakra* and *Nava-Devata*.



unattached, freed from all the bondages of karma, whether good or bad. The worshipper simply meditates on the virtues of the Divinity so that they may manifest in the worshipper himself. The Perfect souls and souls striving towards perfection, are Great souls, the S'alakapurusas as the Jainas call them.

This in essence is Hero worship or Apostle worship and as such, great souls, both ascetic and non-ascetic came to be especially revered. Lives of great souls became the favourite theme of Jaina Puranas. Such S'alakapurusas were the 24 Tirthankaras + 12 Cakravartins + 9 Baladevas + 9 Vasudevas = 54 Mahapurusas. Later texts speak of 63 S'alākāpurusas by counting nine Prati-Vāsudevas (enemies of Vasudevas) amongst the Great souls. <sup>1</sup>

#### Four Classes of Gods, Kulakaras and other Deities :

The Sthanāṅga sutra and other Jaina canons classify gods into four main groups, namely, the Bhavanavāsis, the Vyaṅtaras or the Vāṇamantaras, the Jyotiṣkas and the Vimanavāsis. These are again subdivided into several groups with Indras, Lokapālas, Queens of these and so on.

The classification, acknowledged by both the sects though not without slight differences, is a very old tradition, but these are after all deities of a secondary nature in the Jaina Pantheon.<sup>1</sup>

But there were other Great souls. The Jainas also evolved a conception of Kulakaras like the Manus of Hindu mythology. They were 14 according to the Digambaras and 7 according to the S'vetambaras.

Every sect draws its pantheon from the ancient deities worshipped by the masses and adopts them in a manner suitable to the new environment and doctrines. Such for example was the worship of the deities whose shrines existed in the days of Mahavira and whose images and festivals are referred to in the Jaina Āgama literature. They include Indra, Rudra, Skanda, Mukunda, Vasudeva, Vais'ramana (or Kubera), Yaksa, Bhutas, Naga, Pis'aca, trees etc., Lokapālas and so on.

1. For on account and paintings of these S'alakapurusas, see, Muni Punyavijaya and Shah, U, P., *Some Painted Wooden Book-Covers from W. India, Western Indian Art (Special issue of Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art (1965-66), pp. 34 ff, esp. pp.36-38, and plates XXIV-XXV, and p. 43, Table I for Tirthankaras, their Complexion and cognizances, and Table II, p. 44 for the different S'alakapurusas, acc. to S've. traditions. For Dig. tradition of S'alakapurusas see, Ramachandran, T. N., Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples, pp. 219 ff.*

1. For details regarding these classes, see Kierfel, Kosmographic Der Inder section on Cosmographic Der Jaina Tilopyannatti; Samgrahani Sutra; Bunler, The Indian Sect of the Jainas; Ramachandran, T. N., Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples, pp. 185 ff.

Indra, the great Vedic deity was assigned the role of a principal attendant of the Jina or the Buddha by the Jainas and the Buddhists. Most of the other deities of the list were deities worshipped by the common man, the masses, and were not necessarily derived from Vedic priestly cult.

Skanda, the Commander of Gods in Hindu mythology is the commander of the infantry of the Jaina Indra. But the goatfaced Naigames'in who was associated in ancient times with procreation of children as Neamesa was also worshipped by Jainas (cf. Gajasukumara adhyayana of Antagadadasao).<sup>1</sup>

#### Sarasvati or Srutadevata-the Goddess of Learning :

Amongst other ancient Jaina deities may be mentioned S'rutadevata or Sarasvati, the Goddess of Learning and S'ri-Laksmi, the Goddess of Abundance and Beauty. An early image of the former is obtained from the Kañkali Īla, Mathura and shows her seated with upright legs and carrying the lotus and the book. The peculiar posture of the goddess is not without any significance. For, according to the Ācaranga sūtra, Mahavira himself obtained knowledge while he was sitting with knees held up (*ukkurudiae Janu*) in the *godohika asana*, i. e. the posture adopted while milking a cow. Sarasvati in this image, is therefore, seated in an asana associated with the attainment of Kevala jñāna by Mahavira.<sup>2</sup>

Later images of Sarasvati show her as having two, four & eight and even twenty-four arms. The four-armed variety is the most common and the goddess generally carries, the vīṇa, and the book in two hands and showing the amirtaghaṭa (pūrṇa-kalasa, and the lotus or the varada mudra in two others. The swan is generally shown as her vahana.<sup>3</sup>

Bahubali, the elder son of the first Tirthaṅkara Rṣabhanatha is very popular amongst the Digambaras and colossal statues of Bahubali (also known as Gommates'vara) are found at S'ravaṇa Belgola, Karkal and Venur in the South, in the Mysore State. The conception of the rigorous penances practised by Bahubali is comparable with the penances of Valmiki, around both of them, plants grew and creatures crawled on their bodies. Images of Bahubali show him nude, standing in the Kayotsarga posture, and engrossed in meditation, with creepers and reptiles entwining his legs.

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1. For an exhaustive account of this deity, see, Shah, U. p., *Harinegames in, JISOA*, vol. XJX (1952-53) pp. 19-40 and plates.
  2. Dated in the year 54, the image was the gift of a smith Gova. See Smith Jaina Stupa and other Antiquities from Mathura, pl. XCIX, pp. 56 ff. Also see, Acharanga sutra, 2. 15. 24-25, SBE. Acharanga Sutra, (transl.) p. 201.
  3. Shah U. P., Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Sarasvati, Journal of the University of Bombay X (1941).

Images of Bahubali are hardly found in S'vetambara temples.<sup>1</sup> They are however found in the Jaina Caves at Ellora and Aihole, in several sites in the South at Kalugumalai etc. and in Digambara shrines.

Rituals of both the sects include invocation and worship of the Parents of the Jinas. Sculptural representations of them are very rare, though relief slabs showing Mothers alone of the twenty-four Tirthankaras, each holding a child on her lap, are known. A ceiling in one of the shrines at Kumbbaria however contains representations of the 24 Parents along with labels inscribed below them. A type of sculptures, showing princely figures of a male and a female standing or sitting by the side of each other and holding a child each, with a few more playing children shown on the pedestal, deserves special consideration. Some of these sculptures are also accompanied by a yaksha and a yaksini figure on the sides of the pedestal. In such cases the main figures cannot be regarded as Yaksha and Yaksini. Every sculpture of this type has an image of a Jina on top of the tree under which the pair is sitting or standing. I have therefore tentatively suggested that these sculptures might have represented Parents of the different Jinas. Such sculptures have been mainly found from various sites in Central and Eastern India, especially sites like Khajuraho and the Devagadh fort.<sup>2</sup>

Images of Jaina monks are also found in temples of both sects. Usually they have inscriptions of pedestals giving the name of the monk represented. Figures of monks of the Digambara sect are nude while those of the S'vet. sect show a lower and an upper garment. Often there is figure of *Sthapanacarya* <sup>3</sup> in front of these monks who carry a book in one hand and show the *vyakhyana mudra* with the other. A disciple monk is sometimes shown in front of the acarya.

Ganadharas are Jaina monks, being direct disciples of Tirthankaras, and hold the highest position of respect among Jaina monks and nuns. Sculptures of Ganadharas like Pundarika and Gautama, the chief direct disciples of the first and the last Tirthankaras respectively, are sometimes installed in special cells in Jaina shrines.

### **Sarasvati or S'ruta-Devata—The Goddess of learning.**

Two goddesses enjoyed unquestionable popularity in the past, one is Laksmi, Padma or S'ri, the goddess of wealth, beauty and abundance, the other is Sarasvati, the goddess of learning. Wealth and learning the two primary needs of humanity, valued

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1. For a fuller account of Bahubali see, Shah, U. P., *Bahubali, Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum* no. 4, pp. 32-39, with plates.
  2. For a detailed discussion with photographs, see, Shah, U. P., *Parents of the Jinas, Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, no. 5, pp. 24-32 with plates,
  3. For *sthapanacarya*, see, Shah, U. P., *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 113-115

as such from remote past in India, were idealised in the forms of deities and widely worshipped.

The Mother-goddess conception is of hoary antiquity, both in India and outside. Amongst deified natural phenomena and objects, we find, in Vedic age, a group which includes, Sarasvati, Ap-devatas, rivers, and Sindhu. Amongst deified abstract qualities and objects connected with sacrifice, we find Sarasvati or Vak group which includes Vak or Sarasvati, Gauri, Sasaparni, Ila (as speech) and Bharati. Rivers are youthful goddesses, amongst whom Sarasvati and Sindhu are the most famous in Vedic age. Sarasvati who receives the warmest homage in Vedic literature, amongst goddesses and amongst mothers, is so mighty and great that even gods are said to approach her on bent knees (RV. VII. 95. 4). As a river she is called seven-sistered and is invoked to preserve sacrifice. Residence on her banks is desired by the Aryan people.

She is the instructress of men and creatrix of good speech (RV. I. 3. 10-12) and is addressed as Sunṛta devi (RV. I. 40. 3). As a sacrificial goddess she is closely associated with Ila, Mahi and Bharati (RV. V 5. 8; IX. 5. 8; X. 74. 8; X. 110. 8), all the three being explained by Sayana as different forms of speech. Gauri is identified with Vak or speech (RV. I, 164. 41). Sarasvati is the creatrix of truthful speech, instructress of gods and men, and inspirer of knowledge (RV. I. 3. 11-12).

Once the sanctity of the Vedic river Sarasvati was established, she soon took the foremost place amongst rivers. From Vedic times, whiteness and purity came to be associated with the river and it is not improbable that the whiteness of the goddess of learning came by transference from the river itself.<sup>1</sup>

Gradually Sarasvati came to be identified with the speech—the speech or mantras chanted on her banks, with the speech of the Madhyadesa. She came to be equated with Divine Wisdom—the Prajnaparamita of the Buddhists. The river association, so obtrusive in the Vedic Samhitas, and sometimes in the Brahmanas, gradually recedes into background and the concept of the deity comes to the forefront. Sarasvati soon becomes the Mother of the Vedas, the dispenser of all wisdom, the foremost of the Mothers, the best of the rivers and the greatest of all goddesses. Very soon she became the presiding deity of fine arts, especially music, dance and song.

Not only was Sarasvati herself approached for prosperity (Aitareya Brahmana, II. 1. 4; Vaj Sam 31. 37) but she and Laksmi were often invoked together.

Seal no. 18 found at Bhiṭa<sup>2</sup> contains a figure of a vase (*bhadraghata*) on pedestal. Below it is written in characters of the Gupta period, the name Sarasvati. J. N. Banerji

1. Bhattacharya, Haridas, *Sarasvati, The Goddess of learning, K.B. Pathak Commemoration Volume p.36*

2. *A.S.I.A.R. 1911-12, p. 50, pl. XVII*

has also referred to a round seal from Rajghat, with pot and foliage motif and Gupta legend 'S'ri Sarasvata'<sup>1</sup>

Coomaraswamy suggested the relation of the full-jar (purna-ghata), signifying abundance, with that of fertility, of which the lotus was another symbol. Sarasvati bestows vitality and offspring (RV. II. 41. 17) and is associated with deities who assist procreation (RV. X. 184. 2.).

It is interesting to note that the lotus and the water-pot, along with the book signifying knowledge and sacred lore, are the earliest symbols known of Sarasvati in Indian Iconography. The earliest available image of Sarasvati, dating from the Kusana period and hailing from Mathura, belongs to the Jaina faith. It shows the goddess with her right hand raised up from the elbow and carrying something (now mutilated and lost but) whose end seems to suggest that it was a lotus with a stalk, and holding the book with her left hand. On two sides are attendants one of whom is holding a water-pot, the purna-ghata.<sup>2</sup>

That Sarasvati held a lotus in her right hand in this image, is further inferred by a beautiful bronze from Vasantagadh hoard, where the symbol is well-preserved and where again we find two purna-ghatas placed on the pedestal on two sides of the goddess. The image dates from c. seventh century.<sup>3</sup> This early iconographic form of Sarasvati was popular amongst the Jainas as can be seen from the fact that two more bronze of Sarasvati with the lotus and the book in her hands are also found from the Akota Hoard.<sup>4</sup>

In Jainism, the goddess of learning is named variously as Sarasvati, S'rutdevata, S'arada, Bharati, Bhasa, Vak-devata, Vagisvari, Vani and Brahmi<sup>5</sup> She is regarded as the superintending deity of knowledge and learning. As S'rutadevata, she presides over the S'ruta or the preaching of the Tirthankaras and the Kevalins. The twelve principal canonical texts-the dvadasangas are regarded as the different limbs of the S'rutadevata.

The antiquity of her worship in Jainism is established from literary references found in the Bhagavati sutra, the Mahanisitha sutra, the Dvadasaranayacakra, the Pancasaka (of Haribhadra suri), etc., and the famous Mathura image of the Kusana age

1. Banerji, J.N., *Development of Hindu Iconographs*, pp. 197-198.

2. Shah, U.P., *Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Sarasvati*, *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Sept., 1941 198 f; fig. 1. Smith, V.A., *The Jaina Stupa and other Antiquities from Mathura*, pp. 55-57, pl. XCIX.

3. Shah, U.P., *Bronze Hoard from Vasantagadh, Lalitkala*, no. 1, pp. 55 ff., fig. 15

4. Sah, U.P., *Akota Bronzes*, figs. 18, 33, 37.

5. *Abhidhana-Cintamani*, 2, 155 and comm. of Hemacandra on the same.

The dhyanas of this goddess mostly describe a two-armed, a four-armed or a multi-armed form. In art, however, we also find six-armed and eight-armed varieties of Sarasvati images. She is white in complexion and rests on a lotus seat. When two-armed, she carries the lotus and the book.

The Vajra-Sarada of the Buddhists holds the same symbols; the Sita-Prajnaparamita of the Buddhists does the same. Prajnaparamita, the embodiment of Mahayana Scripture of the same name, symbolised knowledge.

Munisundar suri (15th century A.D.) describes Sarasvati as holding the vina and the book in her two hands and riding the swan. A sculpture on a pillar in the famous big Jaina temple at Ranakpur shows Sarasvati standing and playing on the vina with both the hands. The swan vehicle is shown near her right foot.

The Buddhist Vajravina-Sarasvati also holds the vina with both the hands. In Hindu Iconography, Sarasvati and Laksmi are shown accompanying Visnu as his consorts. In such cases, Sarasvati carries the vina with both hands. Even when she is replaced by Pusti, Pusti also carries the vina with two hands.

According to the Digambara writer S'ubhacandra, Sarasvati has the peacock-vahana and holds the rosary and the book in her two hands.

In the Sarasvati-kalpa ascribed to the S've writer Bappabhatti suri (c. 8th century A. D.), Sarasvati is invoked as white in complexion and four-armed, carrying the vina, the book, the rosary of pearls, and the white lotus. In this variety, she has the swan as her vahana.

Bappabhatti gives one more form of Vagdevi showing the *varada*, the *abhaya*, the book and the lotus.

According to the Digambara writer Ekasamdhi, Vani is white, sits on the lotus, and shows the jnana mudra, the rosary, the *abhaya* and the book in her four hands. Mallisena and Arhaddasa (both Digambara) describe the same form and add that she has the peacock as her vahana. Pandit Asadhara (Digambara) refers to her peacock vehicle but does not describe her symbols.

Two sculptures of six-armed variety of Sarasvati are known from Luna Vasahi, Abu, one with almost all symbols mutilated and another showing the lotus in two upper hands, the Jnana mudra with two middle ones, and holding the rosary and the *kamandalu* in the two lower hands. The swan is shown as her vahana.

An eight-armed form of a dancing Sarasvati is identified on the west wall of the S've. Jaina temple of Ajitanatha at Taranga (North Gujarat). Here the goddess shows the book, the rosary and the *varada mudra* in three right hands, and the lotus, the noose and the *varada* in three left ones. Symbols of the remaining two hands are mutilated.

A large variety of Sarasvati is known from literature and art. This shows the great popularity of this ancient goddess amongst the Jains.

### S'ri-Laksmi The Goddess of Beauty and Abundance.

Long ago, in *Eastern Art* Vol. I (pp. 175 ff). Coomaraswamy discussed the Early Indian Iconography of S'ri-Laksmi which was later followed by an excellent long paper, by Dr. Moti Chandra, on "*Our Lady of Beauty and Abundance, Padma-S'ri*," in *Shri Jawaharlal Nehru Abhinandana Grantha*. The cult of S'ri-Laksmi, as shown by Moti Chandra, was closely connected with the ancient Mother-goddess cult represented in old terracotta figurines and stone-rings. Moti Chandra has also shown her association with sky-going horse, *makara*, and cupid (Kamadeva, whose ensign is *makara*). In the Rgvedic times, she indicated importance, splendour and adornment, something pleasing to the eye. The word Laksmi is used in the sense of auspicious or pleasant quality. In the S'ri-sukta, S'ri and Laksmi are denomination of the same goddess who is said to be sitting or standing on the lotus (*Padma-sihita*). According to this sukta, S'ri is awakened by the roar of elephants, bathed by the elephants with golden pitchers. Mother S'ri is lotus-faced, lotus-born, and darling of Visnu.

S'ri-Laksmi in the Epics is a concrete goddess with full iconographic significance. She bears on her hand a *makara* as an auspicious mark, and is the mother of Kamadeva. She is *padmalaya* and *padmahasta*.

S'ri-Laksmi retains her auspicious character in Jainism. The lustration or *abhiseka* of S'ri has been reckoned amongst the fourteen<sup>1</sup> auspicious dreams seen by a would-be Tirthankara's mother. The Pritidana referred to in Jaina canonical texts included images of the goddesses S'ri, Hri, Dhrti, Laksmi, Kirti, and Buddhi. In Jaina texts on cosmography S'ri and Laksmi are said to live on lotuses of extraordinary magnitude in the lakes Padma-draha and Pundarika-draha respectively, thus emphasizing S'ri-Laksmi's association with the waters and the lotus.

When accompanied by elephants pouring water on her, S'ri-Laksmi is generally called Gaja-Laksmi; and two-armed as well as four-armed forms of this goddess are available in Jaina temples. She usually carries the lotus in two hands, and the rosary and the pot in the padmasana. She is popular amongst both the Jaina sects.

### Yaksas and Yaksinis<sup>2</sup> :

The Yakasa cult is very ancient in India. References to Ceiyas like the Guna-sila-Ceiya; Purnabhadra-Ce; Bahuputrika-Ce; etc. in the Jaina Canonical texts are significant. The commentators rightly interpret them as shrines of yaksas (yaksa-ayatana)

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1. Fourteen amongst the S'vetambaras, Sixteen amongst the Digambaras
  2. Yaksa worship in Ancient India has been discussed by Dr. Coomaraswamy in his Yaksas I and II, *Yaksa worship in Early Jaina Literature* has been discussed by Umakant Shah in *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. III, no. 1*. Dr. Motichandra's recent contribution on Yaksa worship, published in *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, no 3*. throws some more light on the problem.

and the word Jakhayayana is not unknown to the canons<sup>1</sup>. Purnabhadra and Manibhadra are well known as ancient yaksas.

Mahavira stayed in such shrines. The Aupapatika sutra gives a detailed description of the Purnabhadra Caitya, calling it ancient (porana) and visited by many persons. Mahavira, obviously selected for his stay shrines of cults which were not following the vedic rituals and were, therefore non-vedic, or heterodox and possibly not-Aryan in origin. The description of the Purnabhadra Caitya refers to a Prthivi-s'ila-patta, soft to touch and shining like mirror, which I regard as referring to a highly polished N. B. P. terracotta plaque. Excavations at Kosam and Vaisali have demonstrated the existence of the N.B.P. ware in the sixth century B.C. Thus the description of the Purnabhadra shrine visited by Mahavira is authentic and preserves genuine old tradition,<sup>2</sup>

We should, therefore, have no hesitation in regarding these Prthvi-silapatas (of the Purnabhadra-Chaitya description) as precursors of the Jain ayagapatas from Mathura dating from C. 1st cent. B.C.—1st Cent. A.D.

It is but natural that when the pantheon began growing the Jainas thought of introduction a yaksa and a yaksi, as attendants *S'asana Devatas*, who protect the samgha of a particular Jina. The attendants obtained a place on the pedestal of a Jina-Image itself.

Firstly a pair common to all the twenty four Tirthankars was introduced. The yaksa carried a citron and a money-bag and resembled Kubera or Jambhala. The Yaksi two-armed, carrying a mango-bunch and a child, and having the lion as her vahana (mount) had as her prototypes Nonaia Nana (of the Kushana coins), Durga and Hariti.

In Jaina iconography, before the Gupta age, or more correctly before the end of the fifth century A. D., we do not find any attendant Yaksi accompanying any Tirthankara ; nor do we find separate sculptures of any Sasanadevata which can with confidence be assigned to a period before c. 500 A. D.

Tirthankara sculptures which can be definitely assigned to the Gupta age are very few. A headless statue of Mahavira in the Lucknow Museum, inscribed and dated in the Gupta year 113, is perhaps the only known Jaina sculpture of the Gupta age, bearing a date, discovered hitherto. It does not show the Sasandadevatas on the pedestal. Some finer specimens like J. 104 and C. 181, in the same Museum, or B. 6 & B. 33 in Mathura Museum, though not inscribed, can be assigned to the Gupta age or late Gupta age on the evidence of style.

A seated figure of Neminatha on the Vaibhara hill, Rajgir, published by R. P. Chanda, *A. S. I. Ann. Rep. for 1925-26*, pp. 125 ff.pl.lvi.d, bears a fragmentary inscription, in Gupta characters, referring to Chandra Gupta (the second). This is the earliest

1. Shah, U. P. *Studies in Jaina Art* pp.

2. For a detailed discussion, see, *Studies in Jaina Art*.



specimen assignable to a fairly accurate date, showing the introduction of the cognizance of a Jina, but has no figures of Sasanadevatas.

None of the Tirthankara sculptures of the Kusāna period show on their pedestals either the recognizing symbols of Jinas or the Yaksa pair, even though Yaksa Kubera or a two-armed Yaksi, a prototype of Ambika, were probably known and worshipped separately as Yaksa-deva or Yaksi-devi but not as an attendant (Yaksa) or a Sasana-devata.

The Agama texts are silent about attendant Yaksa pairs. Even the Kalpasutra which could have referred to them is completely silent about Sasandevatas and the lanchanas of Jinas. Negative evidence is generally inconclusive, but since both literature and archaeology have hitherto not produced any evidence to the contrary, one can safely assume that the Sasandevatas were not evolved before c. 500 A.D.

An interesting beautiful bronze of standing Rsabhanatha, discovered from Akota, is perhaps the earliest known Jaina image which shows Sasanadevatas accompanying a Tirthankara.

The inscription on the back of the images reads, "Om devadharmh=yam niv (r) ti kule Jinabhadra Vachanacharyyasya," and is written in the Brahmi script of c. 550 A.D. Since on the evidence of Kahavali, Vachanacharya, Divakara, Ksamasramana Vadi etc., are ekarthavaci terms, Jinabhadra Vacanacarya of the inscription can be identified with Jinabhadra Gani Ksamasramana.

Now, in this bronze we find a Kubera-like Yaksa and a two-armed Ambika shown as attendant Yaksa and Yaksi of Rsabhanatha. I have shown elsewhere that at Ellora, and other places we find only this Yaksa pair. In sculptures and bronzes, at least upto about the end of the ninth century A. D., we find only this pair. I have also shown that the pair accompanies several Tirthankaras like Rsabhanatha, Parsvanatha and Mahavira, even though in later literature and art, the Kubera-like Yaksa and Ambika are Sasanadevatas of Neminatha only. It is quite clear that before circa ninth century A. D., the different pairs of Sasanadevatas were not evolved or at least they were not popular.

The period of transition from the Gupta age to the middle ages, i. e. from the end of the sixth century A. D. to c. 11th century A. D. is a period of new impetus to Tantrism in all the three main Indian sects, namely, Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. This brought into existence worship of new deities and additions to the existing number of iconographic varieties of old ones. The new activity continued even up to at least the thirteenth century A. D. which period (6th-7th to 13th century A. D.) has witnessed temple-building activity on a large scale all over India. The earlier simplicity of forms in architecture and sculpture was replaced by complex forms overloaded with ornamental details. Gods and Goddesses who had two or four arms multiplied so much so that we have conceptions of deities like the thousand-arm Avalokitēsvara !

The different sects vied with one another in the race for multiplication of their respective pantheons and mystifying their rituals with complex details. Jainism, which has shown greater conservatism than other sects in preserving their *ācāra-vidhi*, was also obliged to introduce new deities (though, of course, subordinate to the Tirthankaras), or to compose Tantric works like the *Jvālīnī-kalpa* or the *Bhairava-Padmāvati-Kalpa*. The *Achāra-Dinakara* of Vardhamāna Suri is a product of this spirit, and was composed in 1468 V. S. (1411 A. D.) The *Nirvāṇakalikā* composed by another Pādalipta in C. 1000–1025 A. D., in the mediaeval period but ascribed to the earlier Pādalipta-suri, and the *Pratisthāsārodhara* of Āsādhara were also composed under this influence.

It was in the beginning of this transitional age that the first Yaksa-pair Kubera-like Yaksa whom I propose to address tentatively as Sarvānubhuti invoked in the Panca-Prati-kramana, and two-armed Ambika made their first appearance as the attendant Yaksa pair *par-excellence*, common to all the Tirthankaras. Early specimens of Ambika, hitherto known, came from the Meguti temple, Aihole, in the Dharwar district,<sup>2</sup> Mahudi on the Sabarmati, North Gujarat,<sup>3</sup> Dhānk in Saurashtra,<sup>4</sup> or on sculptures numbered B. 78 and B. 75 in the Mathura Museum.<sup>5</sup> But these belonged to an age not earlier than the seventh century A. D. The discovery of the Akota hoard pushed back the introduction of Ambika Yaksi in Jainism to at least the sixth century A. D. as evidenced by a bronze of Ambika with an inscription assignable to C 550–600 A. D., and by the bronze of Ṛsabhanatha installed by Jinabhadra,<sup>6</sup> discussed above, both the bronzes belonging to the Akota hoard. The earliest descriptions of the two-armed Ambika known hitherto, came from the *Caturvimsatikā* of Bappabhatti Suri<sup>7</sup> (c. 800–895 V. S.) and the *Harivamsha*<sup>8</sup> of Jinasena (783 A. D.). Jinasena also refers to Apraticakra in the same verse in which Ambika is referred to. But since Apraticakrā is known as a Vidyadevi in ancient Jaina texts, it is not certain that in the age of

1. See प्रतिक्रमण सूत्र with प्रबोधटीका, Vol. III P. 170 Also cf. U.P. Shah, 'A female Chaurie-Bearer From Akota, Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, no. 1.
2. Cousens, H., *Chalukyan Architecture*, Pl IV. The sculpture is assignable to the seventh century A. D.
3. *Annual Report, Department of Archaeology, Baroda State 1939*, pp. 6 ff, and plates.
4. H. D. Sankalia, 'Earliest Jain Sculpture in Kathtawar' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London*, July 1939, pp. 426 ff. In an article in the *Jain Satya Prakasa* (Gujarat, Ahmedabad), Vol. IV, nos. 1–2, Dr. Sankalia tries to give them an early age, but the reliefs are certainly not earlier than c. 7th century A. D.
5. Vogel's *Catalogue of Sculptures in the Mathura Museum*, A seventh century relief is also found at Chitral in the old Travancore State (now Kerala), see, *Buddha and Jaina Vestiges in the Travancore State, Travancore Archaeological Series* II. part 9, pp. 115 ff., pl. V. fig. 2.
5. *Journal of Indian Museums*, Vol. VIII. pp. 50 ff., fig.
- 6a. See U.P. Shah, *Akota Bronzes*, fig. 11.
7. *Caturvimsatika*, ed. by H.R. Kapadia, pl. 143, 162.
8. *Harivamsha*, (M.D. Granthamala, Bombay) Vol. II, Sarga 66, v 44.

Harivamsa, Cakresvari was already introduced as the Śāsana-Yaksi of Rsabhanatha. There is no sculpture of this age showing Cakresvari as the attendant Yaksi of Rsabhadeva.

Earlier references to Ambika come from the Lalitavistarātikā of Haribhadra Suri. An Amba-Kusmandi Vidya has been referred to by the same writer in his tika on the Avasyakaniryukti, V. 931, (p. 411). In both these cases, however, neither the vahana nor the symbols are described.

But a still earlier reference is from a Ms. of Visavasyaka-Mahabhāṣya with Ksamasramana-Mahattariya-tika recently discovered by Agamaprabhakarā Muni Shri Punyavijayaji which seems to settle the age of the introduction of Ambika Yaksi. This Ksamasramana-Mahattariya-tika gives the following reference on folio 226:—

यस्मिन्मन्त्रदेवता स्त्री सा विद्या अम्बाकूष्माण्डयादिः ।

Here Amba-Kusmandi is referred to as a Vidya. But since we do not find Amba or Kusmandi in the list of the sixteen chief Vidyas, it is very likely that this refers to the Vidya-Sadhana of the same goddess Ambika which accompanied the different Tirthankaras and which later came to be worshipped as the Sasanadevata of Neminatha.

Thus we obtain both literary and archaeological evidence for Ambika, assignable to the sixth century A. D. No earlier evidence is known hitherto. It is also interesting to note that both these evidences are associated with Jinabhadra Gani Ksamasramana. We might therefore, safely say that Ambika Yaksi was introduced in Jaina worship sometimes in the sixth century A. D. or at the earliest in c 500 A. D. It is not possible to push back this upper limit of the introduction of Ambika in the present stage of our knowledge, since all Tirthankara sculptures assignable to an age prior to c. 500 A. D. do not show any attendant Yaksa pair nor do we find any loose sculptures of Ambika which can be placed before c. 500 A. D.

But when were the 24 Yaksas and Yaksinis introduced? The earliest list of these sasanadevatas is obtained from the Abhidhana-Cintamani of Hemacandra and their iconographic forms are given in the Trisastisaakapurucaritra of the same writer. The Nirvanakalika of Padalipta, ascribed to the famous Padaliptacharya of c. 2nd century A. D., also gives such lists. As the Pravacanasarodhara-tika ( V. S. 1248 ) refers to it, the lower limit for Nirvanakalika is 1191 A. D. The work however seems to have been composed in the eleventh or twelfth century A. D. The colophon shows that the author belonged to the Vidyadhara-kula and the work was composed by Padalipta, grandpupil of Sangamasimha, A Sangamasidhamuni died by fasting on Mt. Satrunjaya and his pupil installed an image of Pundarika Ganadhara in his teacher's memory in V. S. 1064. A Sangamasimha composed a hymn which referred to the Vimala Vasahi

. वैयावृत्यकराणां प्रवचनार्थं व्यापृतभावाणां यदाम्बाकूष्माण्डी-ग्रादीनां शान्तिकराणां । Lalitavistara, p, 60,

at Abu, erected in V. S. 1088. The teacher of the author of Nirvanakalika was possibly one of these two Sangamasimhas. The treatment of the different sections of Nirvanakalika, e. g., the Ekasūtipadavastu, shows that the work belongs to an age of Brahmanical influence in the Jina Tantra. The work is assignable to c. 1000—1025 A. D.

The Prakṛit text kahāvalī is supposed to be a work of one Bhadresvara Sūri who lived in the 12th century A. D. But the language of this work betrays peculiarities of the language of the churāis. I have shown in a separate article in Jaina Satya Prakāsa, Vol. XVII. no 4 (January, 1959), pp. 90–91, that the work is earlier than the 12th century A. D. In this work, in the Sthavirāvalī portion, we find :—

जो उण मल्लवाई व पुव्वगयावगाही खमापहारो समणो सो खमासमणो नाम जहा आसी सपयं देवलोय गन्नो जिणभट्टि (इ) गरिण खमासमणो त्ति रयियाइं च तेण त्रिसेसावस्सय-विसेसणवई-सत्थारिण जेसु केवलनाणदंसणवियारावसरे पयडियांमिप्पाओ सिद्धसेन दिवायरो ।

Thus the author of Kahāvalī cannot be far removed in from Jinabhadra Gaṇi amasramaṇa by about six centuries, if he talks of Jinabhadra as one who was lately (recently or better 'now') dead. Jinabhadra being very famous, at the most an author writing about a couple of centuries later can use the word sāmpratam ('now') for him. This would mean that Kahāvalī was originally composed in a period not later than the eighth century A. D.

This work refers to the Śāsanadevatas in the portions dealing with the lives of the different Tīrthaṅkaras. This would show that in c. 8th century A. D., the twenty four different Śāsanadevatās were already introduced in Jaina worship. Archaeological evidence known hitherto does not support the conclusion. No sculpture from any part of India assignable to this age shows the different Yaksis, or Yaksiṅis. The only early sets of the different Yaksis, known hitherto, come from the Navamuni cave, Orissa, and the Temple No. 12, Devagadh fort Madhya Pradesh. The Navamuni cave is assigned to the ninth century A. D. and the reliefs probably belong to the same age or are slightly later. The Devagadh set bears inscribed labels, the characters of which are roughly assigned to c. 9th–10th century A. D. We might, therefore, say that the earliest known archaeological evidence for the 24 different Yaksis does not date prior to the ninth century A. D.

If the passages of the Kahāvalī, referring to different Śāsanadevatas are genuine, then either we accept that the Śāsanadevatās were introduced in c. 8th century A. D. or that the Kahāvalī dated from the 9th rather than the 8th century A. D., we might arrive at a tentative compromise by assigning Kahāvalī to c. 800 A. D.

It must however be acknowledged that the different Yaksis did not become popular in temple worship before c. 1000 A. D. and even later. This is proved by the fact that on a number of pedestals of Tīrthaṅkara sculptures in the different cells at Deivada, Mt. Abu, and in the Jaina shrines at Kumbharia, we find Ambika (2 or 4

armed) and 2 or 4 armed Yaksas, either like Kubera, (Sarvānubhutt) or evolved from the form of Kubera. This is in fact a stage in the evolution of the worship of twenty four different Śāsanadevatās. The practice lingered on even after Hemacandra (who refers to quite different forms) as proved by the archaeological evidence of Abu and Kumbharia noted above.

At Devagadh the following stages are marked: One replaced the old Yaksī (Ambika) for Tīrthaṅkaras other than Neminātha and inserted a two-armed Yaksī showing *abhaya* (or *varada*) *mudra* and a pot or a citron; the other was the evolution of all the twentyfour different Yaksīs with a different iconography and new names as in Temple no. 12. In this set some forms are of better workmanship than others. Each Yaksī is represented as standing on a separate slab, and above her is a figure of a Jina whose Śāsanadevatā she is supposed to be. Names of the Jina as well as his Yaksī are of the same age as the sculptures since it is difficult to assign a roughly accurate date either to the sculptures or to the Devanagari characters of the labels, the characters being in a stage of evolution which still awaits scientific palaeographical study. But they may tentatively be regarded as of the same age, c. 950 A D. or a little earlier.

The Tiloyapannatti gives a list of twentyfour Yaksis, the names being different from the lists of the Devagadh set or of the Pratisthasarodhara. The age of this portion of the Tiloyapannatti is uncertain and the list is probably later than the time of the original Tiloyapannatti. The reference to Balacandra Saiddhantika in Tiloyapannatti, also suggests the same thing.

The following comparative tables showing names of the twenty four Yaksis according Devagadh Temple 12 set (DT), Tiloyapannatti (TP), Pratisthasarodhara (PS), and Hemacandra's Trisastisalakapurusa-caritra (HT) may be useful:—

Jaina	DT	TP	PS	HT
1. Rsabhanatha	Cakresvari	Cakresvari	Cakresvari	Cakresvari
2. Ajitanatha	—	Rohini	Rohini	Ajita
3. Sambhava.	—	Prajnapti	Prajnapti or Namra	Duritari
4. Abhinandana	Sarasvati	Vajrasrn- khala	Vajrasrn- khala or Duritari	Kaliga
5. Sumati.	—	Vairankusi	Khadgavara or Mohini	Mahakali
6. Padmaprabha	Sulocana	Apraticakra	—	Syama
7. Suparsva.	—	Purusadatta	Kall or Manavi	Santa
8. Candra- prabha	Sumalini	Manovega	Jvalini	Bhrukuti
9. Puspadanta	Bahurupi	Kali	Mahakali- Bhrukuti	Sutaraka

Sr. No.	Jaina	DT	TP	PS	HT
10.	Śītala.	Śriyadevi	Jvālāmālini	Māhavi or Cāmūṇḍā	Aśokā
11.	Śreyāmsa.	Vahni-Devi	Mahākālī	Gauri or Gomedhaki	Mānavi
12.	Vāsupūjya	Abhogarohiṇī	Gauri	Gandhārī or Vinyurhmālinī	Caṇḍā
13.	Vimala.	Sulakṣana	Gandhārī	Vairotī Vidyādevi	Viditā
14.	Ananta.	Anantaviryā	Vairotyā	Anantamālī Kumbhini	Aṅkuśā
15.	Dharma.	Surakṣita	Anantamati	Mānasi- Phrabhartā	Kundarpā
16.	Śānti.	Śriyadevi or Anantaviryā	Mānasi	Mnhāmānasi- Kandarpa	Nirvāṇī
17.	Kunthu.	Arakarabhi(?)	Mahāmānasi	Jayā- Gandhārini	Balā
18.	Ara.	Tārādevi	Jayā	Tārāxati- Kālī	Dhārini
19.	Malli	Bhīmādevi	Vijaya	Aparājitā-	Vairotyā (Dharpna -priyā)
20.	Munisuvrata	—	Aparājitā	Bahurūpint- Sugandhini	Naradattā
21.	Nami.	—	Bahurūpini	Cāmūḍā Kusumamolini	Gandharī
22.	Nemi.	Ambāyikā	Kuṣmāṇḍini	Āmra-Kus- māṇḍini	Ambikā
23.	Pārśva	Padmāvati	Padmā	Padmāvati	Padmāvati
24.	Mahāvira	Aparājitā	Siddhāyini	Siddhāyini	Siddhāyikā.

It may be noted that in the above table Hemachandra represents the Savetmbara tradition, the rest represent Digambara traditions.

At Pithaura, Nagod State, is a shrine of Pattani-devi, where the godeess Ambika is accompanied by small figures of the other 23 Yaksinis on the three sides. The names of these Yaksinis are 1 :- Bahurupini, Cāmūḍā, Sarasvatī, Padmavati, Vijayā, Aparājitā. Mahamanasi, Anantamati, Gandhārī, Mānasi, Jvālāmālinī, Bhausi ? Vajrasṅkhalā, Bhānujā (?), Bahini (?). Obviously, the small inscribed labels

could not be read properly, but the list seems to be generally akin to the list of Tiloyapannatti which seems to present a stage between the Deogarh set and the Pratisthāsāroddhāra. At Deograh, a four-armed loose sculpture of Yaksi Sarasvatī and another of Sumālinī are also obtained. Since both are dated in the year 1070 A.D., it may be presumed that the Deogarh Temple No. 12 set is earlier than 1070 A.D. The list of Yaksas and Yaksinīs given by the TP cannot be assigned to the original TP as suggested by the learned editor. The original text has definitely undergone certain additions and its evidence has to be treated with caution.

Literary traditions of both these sects, show that by c. 12th century A.D., the lists of the various Yaksinīs were finalised in both the Jaina sects.

It is noteworthy that in the Digambara lists of Āsādhara and others, names of some of the Yaksinīs seem to have been borrowed from the sixteen principal Vidyadevis since the lists of Vidyadevis are earlier in age, the above conclusion is inevitable.

The evolution of the iconography yakshi Padmavatī a snake-goddess is equally interesting. Firstly, in all early representations of Pars'vanatha, before c. 900 A.D., she hardly figures as the yaksi of this Jina. Along with Dharanendra, she is known as a snake-deity standing and adoring Pars'vanatha or holding an umbrella over the head of Pars'vanatha. Scenes of attack (*upasarga*) by Kamatha on Pars'vantha during the latter's meditation, are very popular in the Deccan in the Jaina caves at Elura, Dharas'iva, etc., and even further south at Chitharal, Vallimalai, Kalugumalai and so on. In all these representations, Dharanendra is shown as protecting Pars'vanatha with his snake-hoods and adoring him, along with his queen Padmavatī. It is indeed surprising to find that in the canonical lists of chief Queens of Dharanendra the name of Padmavatī is not mentioned at all. It is, therefore, difficult to label this attendant queen of Dharanendra as Padmavatī in the representations at Elura etc. (She may be Vairotya).

Vairotya the thirteenth Jaina Mahavidya is an earlier Jaina snake-goddess. Lists of Mahavidyas are definitely earlier than the hitherto known lists of the 24 different Jain Yaksas and Yaksinīs and the ancient Jaina monk Ārya Nandila is associated with the worship of Vairotya in Jaina traditions. Very probably, the snake-goddess in the Elura relief was known as Vairotya.

Padmavatī gradually replaced Vairotya in popular worship during the medieval period from c. 1000 A. D. Next to Ambika, she is the most popular yaksi and a snake-deity, but her role in the Jaina Tantra is greater than that of the Ambika. Tantric texts like the Bhairava-Padmavatī-kalpa, Adbhuta-Padmavatī-kalpa etc, were composed. Four-armed, she usually carries, the lotus, the goad, the noose, etc. and rides on a composite mythical animal called Kukkuta-Sarpa.

Cakres'vari, the yaksini of the first Tīrthankara Rsabhanatha is also a later goddess, for in all earlier representations, antedating c. 900 A.D., it is Ambika who figures as the yaksini of Rsabhanatha and all other Tīrthankaras (cf. the image installed by Jinabhadra Vacanacarya from the Akota Hoard. Her iconography shows close similarity with that of the Hindu Vaisnavī, Cakres'vari Yaksi invariably carries the *Cakra* and shows in the other arms, the conch, the *varada mudra* the disc, etc. Like Vaisnavī she rides on the eagle.

It is often difficult to differentiate between images of Cakres'vari the Yakshī and Cakres'vari or Apraticakrā the Vidyadevī, if the goddess is not accompanied by the figure of a Jina (either on her crown or above the pedestal). Apraticakrā, the Vidyadevī is earlier in origin than the yaksī of the same type.

Siddhayika replaced Ambika as the Yaksi of Mahavira, during the process in which separate yaksas and yaksinis were evolved for each Jina. Though she is regarded as one of the four principal yaksinis, she could not become so popular as the other three yaksinis, namely Cakresvari, Padmavati and Ambika. In the sve. traditions, Siddhayika usually shows the book, the Vina, the abhaya or varada and citron in her four hands and rides the lion. In the Digambara tradition she shows the book and the varada or abhaya when two-armed. The lion is her vahana:

A list of the later yaksas of the 24 Tīrthankaras, according to the Śvetāmbara and Digambara traditions, is attached herewith. Space does not permit us to refer the iconographic peculiarities of each of these deities. It may however be noted that names of some of these yaksas are interesting. Gomukha, the cow-faced yaksa of Rsabhanatha has his parallel in Nandī or Nandikesvara, the mount and attendant of the Hindu Śiva. There are Jaina yaksas like the Śanmukha-yaksa, the Brahma-yaksa, the Catur-mukha-yaksa, the Is'vara-yaksa and so on which obviously betray later attempts to placate Hindu gods in Jaina worship.

Tirthankara :	Yaksa (S've) :	Yaksa (Dig.)
1. Rsabhanatha	Gomukha	Gomukha
2. Ajitanatha	Mahayaksa	Mahayaksa
3. Sambhavanatna	Trimukha	Trimukha
4. Abhinandana	Yaksessvara or Isvara	Yaksessvara
5. Sumatinatha	Tumburu	Tumburu
6. Padmaprabha	Kusuma	Kusuma or Puspa
7. Suparsvanatha	Matanga	Matanga or Varanandi
8. Csndraprabha	Vijaya	Śyama or Vijya
9. Suvidhinatha	Ajita	Ajita
10. Sitalanatha	Brahma or Brahmā	Brahma or Brahmessvara



11. S'reyamsanatha	Isvara or Manuja or Yaksaraja	Isvara
12. Vasupujya	Kumara	Kumara
13. Vimalanatha	Ṣaṅmukha	Ṣaṅmukha or Caturmukha or Karttikeya
14. Anantanatha	Patala	Patala
15. Dharmanatha	Kinnara	Kinnara
16. Śantinatha	Garuda	Garuda or Kimppurusa
17. Kunthunatha	Gandharva	Gandharva
18. Aranatha	Yaksendra	Khendra or Jaya
19. Mallinatha	Kubera	Kubera
20. Muenisuvrata	Varuna	Varuna
21. Naminatha	Bhrukuti	Bhrukuti or Vidyatprabha
22. Neminatha	Gomedha	Gomedha or Sarvanha
23. Pars'vanatha	Parsva or Manuja	Pars'va or Dharana
24. Tahavira	Matanga	Matanga

Gomukha, the yaksa of the first Tīrthānkara Ṛsabhanath, is cow-faced and reminds us of Nandi the vahana of Śiva. Ṛsabhanatha himself is sometimes shown with a jata overhead of hair-locks falling on shoulders from the back and in such cases he obtains comparison with the Hindu Siva who is Nandi-vahana. In his two-armed variety Gomukha carries the cirton and the bag in the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara traditions and rides the elephant. When four-armed, he shows symbols like the varada, the rosary, the cirton, and the goad. Sometimes the rosary and the citron are replaced by the goad and the money-bag. The vahana is generally the elephant but occasionally the bull also. In the Digambara tradition the symbols of the four-armed variety are generally the lotus, the cirton, the money-bag, and the *abhaya or varada mudra*, while bull is more common as his vahana.

Gomedha, the yaksa of Nemnatha, is generally six-armed and rides on the man according to Śvetāmbara and Digambara texts, but the latter also refer to a four-armed variety with the elephant vehicle.

The Yaksa of Parsvanatha usually rides on the tortoise vehicle and shows the cirton and the money-bag when two armed, in both the traditions. When four-armed, he shows symbols like, the snake, the citron, the *nakula* and the snake or the mace in the Śvetāmbara traditions, and shows symbols like the snake, the snake, the noose, and the *varada* or the goad, the noose, the *abhaya* and the citron in his four arms according to the Digambara traditions. He often has one or more snake-hoods overhead. He is called Parsva in the Śve tradition and Dharana in the Dig. tradition.

The yakṣa of Mahāvira rides the elephant and is generally two-armed in both the sects. He shows the citron and *nakula* or the staff according to the Svetāmbara tradition and the fruit or the pot and the *varada* or the *abhaya* in the Digambara tradition. He is sometimes represented four-armed or six-armed amongst the Digambaras, and shows the *anajli-mudra* or carries the *dharma-cakra* with two hands.

Since Rṣabhanātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvira are amongst the more popular Tīrthāṅkaras in Jaina worship we have given here some details of the iconography of their yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs.

It may be noted that over and above these yakṣas, worshipped as attendants of the Tīrthāṅkaras, yakṣa Vaisramaṇa or Kubera as one of the Lokapalas of Śakra, presiding over the northern quarter, also finds a place in the Jaina pantheon and worship.

Comparisons of the different Jaina yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs with some deities of the Buddhist and Hindu pantheon would be highly interesting. It will be seen that the Jaina lists contain names which are distinctly Hindu, for example, Brahma-Yakṣa, Nandi, Kumara, Śaṅmukha, Varuna Isvara, Chaṇḍa, Chānmuṇḍa, Kali, Mahakali and Gaurī. The iconography, however, as described in the Jaina and Hindu texts, often differs, but the borrowings are unmistakable. Sometimes the Hindu name is retained, sometimes the Hindu iconographical traits with a different name are marked out. In the latter type of borrowing, sometimes both the Hindus and the Jainas might have borrowed or evolved a form from the earlier common heritage of gods and goddesses worshiped in India. Since the Jaina lists are comparatively later, the conclusion that in some of the above cases the Jainas have borrowed from the Hindus, is justified.

Of Buddhist influence we have a few cases only, in Taradevī, Vajrasrṅkhala and Vajrankusa, etc.

Why was this borrowing done? To obtain a following, to attract the people into its fold, a sect had to show the superiority of its deities over the deities of the other sects. Mahayana Buddhism did this by showing their gods trampling over or riding the Hindu gods; the Jainas were not so cruel or discourteous and they were satisfied with assigning a subordinate position to the Hindu deities by making them yakṣas and attendant yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs. It is impossible for a sect to gather strength without incorporating in one form or the other the beliefs and practices of the masses. Sometimes this process is not deliberate but is the inevitable result of the human tendency to continue older beliefs and practices. The Jainas, as the march of history through the ages shows us, had to meet strong Śaivite opposition which made it necessary for them to show the superiority over those of the Hindus. Sometimes

the Tirthankara was to be practically the same as the highest divinity of the other faith, for example, Rsabhanatha was hailed as Isana, Vamadeva, Tatpuruṣa or Aghora as has been done by the author of the Ādipurana in the 8th century A. D. The Vedic Indra was assigned the function of celebrating the different *Kalyanakas* (Auspicious events of the Tirthankaras.) But the idea of an Indra as a ruler of gods was extended and as many as sixty-four Indras grew up among whom Isanendra is noteworthy. Śakra or Saudhramendra is clearly the Vedic Sahasrakṣa Indra while the description of Isanendra shows that he is none else than Śiva. At a later stage the Bhairavas and Yoginis and even Ganesa came to be included in Jaina worship.

### The Sixteen Jaina Mahavidyas :

The sixteen Mahavidyas form a group of Tantric goddesses worshipped both by the Savetambara and Digambara Jaina sects. Jaina traditions speak of as many as 48,000 vidyas out of which sixteen are reported to be the chief ones. Texts providing the *Sadhana-vidhi* of each of these sixteen vidyas are not yet traced, though *Sandhanavidhis* for a few are known, but belief in Mahavidyas seems to be ancient.

Both the Buddhist and the Jaina sources demonstrate the popularity of spells, magic, mantras, vidyas, science of divination, supernatural powers etc. in the time of Buddha and Mahavira. Alms obtained through the supernatural powers of mantra and vidya are prohibited for monks, in the Jaina canonical texts. These texts refer to vidyas like *antadāhani*, *utpatani*, *jangoli-vijja* (against snake-bites and poisons), the *matanga-vidya* (for telling past history) and so on. Varddhamana-vidya, still popular, is an ancient Vidya, of which *Sadhana-vidhis* are available.

The Nisitha-Bhasya refers to two vidyas namely, *Gauri* and *Gandhari*, which according to the Brhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya are *Mataṅga Vidyas*.

The earliest known Jaina accounts of the origin and worship of Vidyadevis and Vidyadhars are available in the Vasudevahindī (c. 400 A.D.),<sup>1</sup> and in the Paumacariyam of Vimalasūri. Elaborate accounts of Nami and Vinami founding two groups Vidyadhara cities on the slopes of Vaitadhya mountain are also available in the Āvasyaka-cuṅṅi and the Āvasyakatika of Haribhadra suri, in the Caupanna maha-purisa-cariyam (868 A.D.) of Śīlāṅka, the Trisastisalakupurasacaritra of Hamcandra (c. 1100-1167 A.D.), in Digambara work Harivamsa of Jinasen (783—4 A.D.) and so on. There were sixteen clans or groups of Vidyādhars named after the classes of vidyās they possessed. Hemacandra's list of sixteen classes of Vidyas practically agrees with the earlier list given by Sanghadasa gani in his Vasudevahindī. According to the Vasudevahindī, the vidyas originally belonged to the Gandharvas and the Pannagas and included vidyas like Maha-Rohini, Pannati

1, For a detailed discussion on this see, Shah, U. P., *Iconography of the sixteen Jaina Mahavidyas*, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol, XV, pp. 114-177

(Prajnapti), Gori (Gaurī), Vijjumukhī (Vidyutmukhī), Mahajala (Mahajavala), Bahurupa, and so on.

In the *Harivamśa* it is stated that of the Vidyādharas, the following eight classes, namely, Manus, Mānavas, Kausikas, Gaurikas, Gandharvas, Bhumitundakas Mūlaviryās and Śāṅkukas belonged to the Aryas, Adityas or Gandharvas while the other eight, namely, the Mātaṅga, the Paṇḍuka, the Kāla, the Śvapāka, the Parvata the Vamśālaya, the Paṇḍumūla and the Vīksamūla classes belonged to the Daityas; the Pannagas or the Mātaṅgas.<sup>1</sup> This is important as it suggests a new line of investigation into the origin and development of certain Tantric practices and deities in India.

Besides the lists of the sixteen classes of Vidyādharas, the author of the *Harivamśa* gives a list of Mahā vidyās and states that the following vidyās, belonging to the above-mentioned sixteen classes, are assigned the chief position amongst all vidyās : Prajnapti, Rohiṇi, Aṅgariṇi, Mahā-Gauri, Gauri, Mahāśvetā, Māyuri, Ārya-Kuṣmaṇḍā-devi, Acyutā, Āryavati, Gandhari, Nirvṛti, Bhadra-Kali, Mahā-Kali, Kālī, Kalamukhī.<sup>2</sup>

The list is important in as much as, besides being one of the earliest known complete lists of the sixteen vidyās available to us, it differs largely from the somewhat later lists supplied by writers of both the sects. According to these later traditions, the sixteen Mahāvidyās are : (1) Rohiṇi, (2) Prajnapti, (3) Vajrasṅkhalā, (4) Vajrāṅkuṣā, (5) Cakresvari, (S've.) or Jambūnadā (Dig.), (6) Naradattā or Puruṣadattā, (7) Kālī, (8) Mahā-Kālī (9) Gauri, (10) Gandhāri, (11) Sarvāstra-Mahājvālā (S've.) Jvālāmukhī (Dig.) (12) Mānavi, (13) Vairotyā (S've.) Vairoṭi (Dig.), (14) Acchuptā (S'Ve.) Acyuta (Dig.), (15) Mānasi and (16) Mahā-Mānasi.<sup>3</sup>

As yet hardly any sculptures or paintings of Mahā-vidyas in the Digambara tradition have been brought to light but future explorations are likely to be rewarded with success. Amongst the S'vetāmbaras, a very valuable set of sixteen Mahāvidyās is preserved in the dome of the beautiful Sabhāmandapa of the Vimala Vasahi, Delvada, Mt. Abu. This Sabhāmandapa was built by Pṛthvipāla, a minister of Kumārapāla, in c. V. S. 1204=c. 1147 A. D.<sup>4</sup> The set of Vidyādevīs in the Sabhāmandapa of the Lunavasahi is incomplete and a few of the sculptures are modern crude copies of some old mutilated ones. A palm-leaf ms. of seven different texts bound in one volume, preserved in the Jaina Bhandāra at Chhāni near Baroda.

1. *Harivamśa* of Jinasena, 22. vv. 56-60.
2. *Harivamśa*, 22. vv. 61-66
3. *Adhidhāna-Cintāmaṇi*, 2. 152-154; *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra*, p. 56, vv. 33-36.
4. For some photographs of Vidyādevīs in Vimala Vasahi, etc. see, Shah, U. P., *Studies in Jaina Art*, figs, and *Iconography of the Sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās*, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. XV, pl. XIII-XVI.

contains miniature paintings of the sixteen Mahā-Vidyās, besides those of Sarasvatī, Ambika, S'ri-Lakṣmī, Brahma-Śanti-yakṣa and Kaparddī-yakṣa. The manuscript is assigned to a date sometime after 1245 A. D. on account of a reference to Vijayasena sūri on one of its folios. <sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to go into detailed iconographic study of these Mahā-vidyās in this short survey. But below are given the vahanas of each of these goddesses in both the sects, also are given wherever possible one or more chief distinguishing symbols which are almost invariably associated with each of these goddesses. Such symbols may help one to identify an image or a painting of the deity even though the number of arms and other symbols may vary. It may however be noted that they have been introduced here as chief distinguishing symbols on the basis of our own study of texts and images but there is no text specifically calling them chief distinguishing symbols.

Rohiṇī in the S'Ve. tradition is generally white in complexion, rides the cow, is four-armed and carries the bow and the arrow and the conch which seem to be her chief symbols. Her fourth hand shows the varada or the rosary.

In the Dig. tradition, Rohini has the lotus as her vāhana, and carries the Kalaśa, the conch, the lotus and the fruit or shows the spear, the lotus, the varada, mudrā and the fruit in her four hands.

Six-armed, eight-armed or multi-armed (more than eight, i e., 12 or 16 arms and so on) varieties of forms of Rohiṇī are also known. It may be noted that the S'Ve text Nirvanakalika refers to multi-armed forms of all the sixteen vidyādevis. This may be remembered even though we do not repeat this in the case of all goddesses.

Prajñapti, red in complexion, in the S'Ve. tradition is two-armed, four-armed, six-armed, or multi-armed and has the peacock as her vāhana. The *Sakti* seems to be her chief distinguishing symbol. Two-armed, she carries the lotus and the *Sakti* in S'Ve. tradition. When four-armed, she shows the *Sakti*, the *Rukkuta*, the *varada* or the trident and the *abhaya* or the citron. In one case she shows the *vajra* the *viara* the *varada* and the fruit in the S'Ve. tradition.

In the Dig. tradition, two-armed Prajñapti, dark-blue in complexion shows the sword and the disc and rides the horse. When four-armed, she shows the disc, the conch, the *khadga* and the *varda* and rides the horse.

Obviously, Prajñapti of the S'Ve. tradition has close similarity with Kaumārī,

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1. For illustrations of all these miniatures, see, S. M. Nawab, *Jaina Citrakalpadruma*, Vol. I., figures 16-36.

the Śakti of Kumāra or Skanda-Kārttikeya. Worship of Prajñapti is very old since it has been referred to in the Vasudevahiṇḍī (c. 400 A. D.), the Brhat-kalpa-bhāṣya, the Ādipurāṇa etc. and seems to have been associated with the power of change of form. Her name suggests that originally she was propitiated for obtaining supernatural cognition.

Vajraśrīkhalā, the third Mahāvidyā, carries a chain of vajras, an adamantine chain, which is her chief recognition symbol. She sits on the lotus and is either two-armed, four-armed or multi-armed. She usually carries the chain with both hands, in both the traditions. In the Dig. tradition, her vāhana is the elephant and she sometimes shows the *vajra* in both the hands. In the S've, tradition she sometimes holds the chain and the club. When four-armed, she usually shows the chain in two hands and the lotus and the *varada*, or the rosary and the mace, or the *varada* and the citron in the remaining two hands in S've. tradition, and in the Dig. tradition her symbols are : the chain, the conch, the lotus and the citron.

In Vajrayāna Buddhism, Vjraśrīkhalā is an emanation of Amoghasiddhi and carries the Va'raśrīkhalā.

The fourth Mahāvidyā, called Vajrāṅkuśī is so called because she carries the *vajra* (thunderbolt) and the *aṅkuśa* (goad), which are her chief recognition symbols in both the traditions. The elephant is her vāhana. She is either two-armed, four-armed, six-armed or multi-armed. In all varieties of forms, the *vajra* and the *aṅkuśa* are mostly common, the other two symbols being the lotus, or the *varada* and the citron or the *kalaśa*.

Both Vajraśrīkhalā and Vajrāṅkuśī seem to have been influenced by Buddhist goddesses of the same name. Vajrāṅkuśī accompanies Vajratāra in Buddhism. She is also the gate-keeper of the Lokanātha-maṇḍala. In Buddhist iconography, *vajrāṅkuśa* usually signifies *vajra* surmounted by *aṅkuśa*. The *vajra* and *aṅkuśa* symbols of the Jaina Vajrāṅkuśī also have a parallel in those of Rambhā, a form of Gaurī according to the Rūpamaṇḍana, and of the Mātṛka Aindrī, the female energy of Indra, as described in the Devīpurāṇa.

The fifth Mahāvidyā is known as Cakreśvarī or Apraticakra. in the S've, tradition, but in the Dig, sect, Jāmbūnādā holding altogether different symbols is the fifth Vidyadevī.

The chief distinguishing symbols of Apraticakra are the *cakra* (discus), and her eagle vehicle. In very rare cases she has the man vehicle. When two-armed she carries the *cakra* in each hand, when four-armed, she either shows the *cakra* in two hands and the *varada* or the rosary and the citron or the conch in the two other hands.

Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between Cakreśvarī the Vidyādevī and Cakreśvarī the Yakṣī of Ṛṣabhanātha, if the goddess is not shown as S'āsanadevatā accompanying an image of the first Tīrthaṅkara. The iconography of the Cakreśvarī-Vidyā may be compared with that of the Brahmanical goddess Vaiṣṇavī who also holds the *cakra* and has the eagle as her vāhana.

Jāmbūnadā (Dig.) holds the sword and the spear when two-armed, or the sword, the spear, the lotus and the citron when four-armed. The peacock is her vāhana.

The sixth Mahā-Vidyā is called Naradattā or Maha-Puruṣadattā or Puruṣadattā by both the sects. In the Digambara pantheon, the yakṣī of Sumatinātha is known by the same name.

Two-armed, Puruṣadattā-Vidyā, holds the sword and the shield. Her fierce laughter and dazzling beauty of form are emphasised. She has the buffalo-vāhana.

In the Digambara tradition, however, she holds the *vajra* and the lotus and rides a ruddy goose (*cakravāka*).

When four-armed, she shows, in the S'Ve. tradition, the *varada* or the *abhaya*, the sword, the citron and the shield. The sword and the shield seem to be her chief distinguishing symbols. But in the Digambara tradition, she carries the *vajra*, the lotus, the conch and the fruit.

The Mahā-Puruṣadattā of S'Ve. iconography, with four or more arms, seems to be an ancient goddess, said to have been propitiated by Ārya Khapūtacārya (c. 2nd century A. D.) according to Haribhadra Sūri. She offers comparison with the Brahmanical Durgā-Mahīṣamardīnī who is associated with the buffalo and carries the sword and the shield. Durgā and Kātyāyanī are two very ancient popular Indian goddesses who are also referred to in the Jaina Anuyogadvāra-sūtra and its cūrṇi.

Kālī, the seventh Mahāvidyā of both the sects, sits on the lotus, carries the club and the rosary and is dark or blue in complexion according to the S'Ve. tradition, but in the Digambara worship, she is golden, holds the pestle and the sword and rides the deer. When four-armed, she also shows the *abhaya* and the *vajra* in the S'Ve. tradition while in the Digambara tradition she shows the pestle, the sword, the lotus and the fruit. Thus the mace and the pestle seem to be her recognition symbols in the S'Ve. and the Digambara traditions respectively.

Mahākālī is invoked as the eighth Mahā-Vidyā. In the S'Ve. pantheon,

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1. *Anuyogadvāra-sūtra*, 20 f; and *cūrṇi*, on it. pp. 24-25, *Anuyogadvāra-sūtra* is said to have been composed by Ārya Rakṣita, in c. 600 years after Mahāvīras Nirvāṇ.

she has a man as her vāhana, while the bell seems to be her chief recognition symbol. Four-armed and dark in complexion, she shows the *vajra* the fruit, the bell and the rosary.

In the Digambara tradition, she holds the bow, the fruit, the *khadga* and the arrow and rides the fabulous animal called *Śarabha* (or sometimes the *astāpada*).

The S'ive. Mahā-Kālī may be compared with Kālī of the Brahmanical Pantheon who is black in colour and below whose feet is shown the body of S'iva. An image of Mahākālī from a Jaina temple at Patan (N. Gujarat) actually represents her human vāhana lying prostrate below her left leg.

The eighth Mahā-Vidyā is called Gaurī by both the sects. White or golden in complexion and of a voluminous form, she has the alligator as her vahana and carries the lotus which seems to be her chief symbol. She is either two-armed or four-armed or multi-armed. When four-armed, in the S'ive. tradition, she rides the *godha* (or sometimes the bull) and shows the pestle, the *varada mudra*, the rosary and the lotus. In the Digambara worship, she carries the lotus in one or more hands, whether two-armed or four-armed.

The Jaina Gaurī is similar to the Brahmanical Gaurī in name as well as in form the lotus and the godhā vāhana seem to be chief distinguishing symbols of the Brahmanical Gaurī and her different forms like Umā and Sāvitrī as described in the Rūpamandana.

The Jainas were more generous than the Buddhists in their treatment of Hindu deities. since the Brahmanical Gaurī, Hari-Hara and other deities received scant courtsey in Buddhist worship. We find Gaurī under the feet of the Buddhist god Trailokyavijaya, along with her consort S'iva.<sup>1</sup>

Gaurī is one of the four ancient Mahāvidyās known in Jaina traditions recorded by Jinadāsa Mahattara and Haribhadra Sūri. Gaurī and Gāndhārī are also referred to in the Brhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya. According to Niśītha Bhāṣya, Gaurī and Gāndhārī are Mātāṅgavidyās. Mātāṅgī, Cāndālī, Gaurī and Gāndhārī could have been originally borrowed from cults of non-Aryan Indian masses. The second Jaina canonical text known as the Sūtrakṛtāṅga-sūtra includes Kalingī, Damilī, Gaurī, Gāndhārī, S'vapākī, Vetālī and others amongst sinful sciences (*pāpāsṛuta*).

The tenth Mahāvidyā is known as Gāndhārī and a commentarry on S'obhana-stuti says that Gāndhārī is so called because she was born in Gandhara in a previous birth.

1. Bhattacharya, *Benoytosh, Elements of Buddhist Iconography* (first ed.) pp. 146 ff.



In the S'vetāmbara tradition, Gāndhārī, darkblue in complexion, sits on the lotus and holds the pestle and the *vajra* when two-armed. But in Dig. worship, she rides the tortoise, is dark-blue in complexion, and holds the disc and the sword in her hands. She holds the disc in all the hands. when four-armed, in one Digambara tradition. In S've. worship, however, four-armed Gāndhārī, usually carries the pestle and the *vajra* in two hands while the other two hands show the *varada*, or the citron.

The eleventh Mahāvidyā is variously known as Jvālā, Mahājvālā, Jvalanā-yudha, Sarvastra-Mahā-Jvālā, Jvālā-Mālinī in both sects. Hemacandra says that she is called Sarvāstra-Mahā-Jvālā because large flames of fire issue from all her weapons. Both the sects however do not agree regarding the symbols, form and vāhana of this goddess. However her popularity and the common name in both traditions are noteworthy.

Indranandī, a Digambara monk, composed in S'aka 861=939 A. D., a Sanskrit Tantric work called Jvālīnī-Kalpa, which, according to him, was based on an earlier text of Helācārya. The worship of this goddess is however still earlier in Jainism, since Sanghadāsa gaṇi (c. 400 A. D.) refers to a vidyā called Mahā-Jvālīnī or Jvālā-vatī and describes her as *Sarva-vidya-chedinī* (i. e. powerful enough to uproot all rival vidyās). This explains the terrific appearance and nature of the goddess. It may also be noted that Indranandī addresses her as the yakṣī. In Digambara worship Jvālīnī is also the name of the Yakṣī of the Tīrthaṅkara Candraprabha.

Jvālāmālinī is worshipped as two-armed, four-armed, eight-armed or multi-armed. In the Digambara tradition we have reference to an eight-armed form only. Jvālā or the fire-flame seems to be her chief recognition mark.

Two-armed Jvala is white, rides the cat and carries the fire-brand in both the hands.

Four-armed Mahā-Jvālā rides the cat or the goose or the lion, while in the eight-armed Digambara form she rides the buffalo. When four-armed, she holds the serpent in each of the four hands, or the fire in two hands and the rosary (or *varada mudra*) and the citron in the other two. When eight-armed, she shows the bow, the shield, the sword, the disc and other symbols not specified in the text.

The Buddhist Ekajātā, an emanation of Aksobhya may be compared with this Jain deity. Ekajātā of twenty-four arms is addressed as Vidyut-Jvālā-karālī and carries fierce weapons. A goddess Jvālā-mālinī is included in the list of the sixteen Nityās in the Brahmanical Kaula-Tantras.

Mānavī, the twelfth Vidyādevī, has the tree as her chief recognition symbol in the S've. traditions, and rests on the lotus. Both the traditions have two-armed

and four-armed forms. But in the Digambara tradition, two-armed Mānavī rides the hog and carries the fish and the trident.

Four-armed Mānavī is dark, sits on the lotus and shows the *varada*, the *pāśa* or the tree, the rosary and the tree, or the rosary, the lotus, the *varada* and the pot in the S've. tradition and the fish, the sword, and the trident and in the Digambara tradition where the hog is her *vāhana*. The fish seems to be her chief symbol in the Digambara tradition.

Variotyā, the thirteenth Vidyādevī according to both the sects, is a snake-deity, who was probably more popular in earlier times but whose popularity waned with the gradual rise in popularity of another snake-goddess Padmāvati, the yakṣiṇī of Tirthankara Pārs'vānātha. A Variotyā-stotra ascribed to an ancient monk Ārya Nandila (c. 2nd Century A.D.) is published.

When two-armed, she carries the snake and the sword, shines with snake-ornaments and is dark in colour. She generally has one or three snake-hoods over head, and rides the cobra. The snake, the sword and the shield seem to be her chief symbols, when four-armed, in S've. worship. The fourth hand shows the *varada* or the rosary. In the Digambara tradition, she rides the lion and carries the snake in four hands.

The fourteenth Vidyādevī is called Acchuptā or Acyutā by the S'vetāmbaras and Acyutā by the Digambaras. She rides the horse. When two-armed, she shows the sword and the bow, in the S've. tradition, and the sword in one hand in the Dig. tradition. When four-armed she shows the arrow, the bow and the sword and the shield (or *varada* and citron) usually in S've. tradition, and the *vajra* in four hands in Digambara tradition. The bow and the arrow seem to be her chief symbol with the S'vetāmbaras.

Mānasī, the fifteenth Mahāvidyā in both the traditions, is golden, rides the swan, and carries the *vajra* in each of her two hands in S'vetāmbara worship. According to Bappabhatti Sūri, she holds the burning *heti* in her hand (or hands). Another tradition refers to her as holding the trident and the rosary. According to the Digambaras, two-armed Mānasī is red, has the snake-*vāhana* and shows both the hands folded in adoration and worship.

When four-armed, she shows the *vajra*, the *vajra* (or *vajra-ghantā*) or the lotus and the *varada* and the rosary usually in S'vetāmbara traditions and the rosary and two folded hands in the Digambara tradition.

The *vajra* seems to be her chief symbol in S'vetāmbara worship.

The last Mahāvidyā is called Mahā-Mānasī by both sects. She is said to ride the lion and carry the sword, according to S'obhana Muni who possibly refers to a two-armed form of S'vetāmbara tradition.

When four-armed, she rides the lion and generally shows the sword, the

shield, the kundika (gourd or water-pot) and the jewel or the *varada mudra* in her hands in S'vetāmbara tradition and the *varada*, the rosary, the gourd and the garland in Digāmbara tradition. Sometimes her two hands are shown folded in the Digāmbara tradition.

The foregoing discussion shows the popularity of Vidyādevīs in the Jaina Tantric worship. In most cases, names of Digāmbara yakṣīs are identical with those of the Vidyādevīs, but the Mahā-Vidyās, are known from earlier text traditions, and are, therefore, earlier than the different yakṣiṇīs.

The S'vetāmbara text Nirvanakalikā describes a multi-armed form of each of the Mahā-Vidyās and refers to a special Mudrās for each of them. Names of these Mudrās would seem to suggest to modern students, the chief recognition symbol of each of them. It may be noted here that the chief recognition symbols noted by us in the above discussion are not mentioned as such by Jaina writers but we have drawn these tentative conclusions from our study of Jaina texts and images.<sup>1</sup>

It is not proper to associate these Vidyā-devīs with the Goddess of (Learning (Sarasvati or S'rutadevatā) because of the name Vidya-devata given to them. There is no textual support to this view of some modern scholars.

Mediaeval Jaina ritual at least had incorporated worship of the eight Dikpālas, the nine Planets and the eight Mātṛkās well known to Brahmanical iconography. Figures of planets are often found on pedestals of Tirthankara images in Western India and on two sides of the Tirthankara in several sculptures from Eastern India. Figures of Mātṛkās are very rare though they find a place in Jaina rituals. These gods and goddesses had been popular amongst the masses of India and the different principal religious sects of India had to introduce them to please the laity. Ksetrapāla, the Guardian of the kṣetra (land or place) is another such Indian deity of long standing who also finds a place in Jaina worship.<sup>2</sup>

The Brahmaśānti-Yakṣa (S've.) or the Brahma Yakṣa (Dig.) and the Kaparddi Yakṣa (S've) deserve special notice as they seem to be Jaina versions of the Hindu Brahmā (as S've. Brahmaśānti) or Śātsā (as Dig. Brahma Yakṣa) and Śiva-Sūlapāni-Kaparddi (as S've. Kaparddi Yakṣa).<sup>3</sup> Brahma-Śānti usually wears a beard, a jatāmukuta, a sacred-thread and sandals, and carries the rosary, the staff or the laddle, the *Kuṇḍika* and the *Chatra* (umbrella) in his four hands. The swan is generally shown as his vahana. Sometimes he has the bull vehicle.

1. For a more detailed study of these goddesses, see, Shah, U. P., *Iconography of the sixteen Maha-Viḡyas*, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. XV pp. 114-177, and Shah, U. P., *A peep into History of Tantra in Early Jaina Literature*, *Bharata Kaumudī*, Vol. 11. pp. 839 ff.
2. See. Shah, U. P., *Studies in Jaina Art*, Fig. 47
3. For a detailed study. please refer to Shah U. P. *Brahma-Śānti and Kaparddi-Yakṣa*, *Journal of M. S. University of Baroda*, Vol. VII. No. *Matan* the 1958), pp. 59-72, with plates.