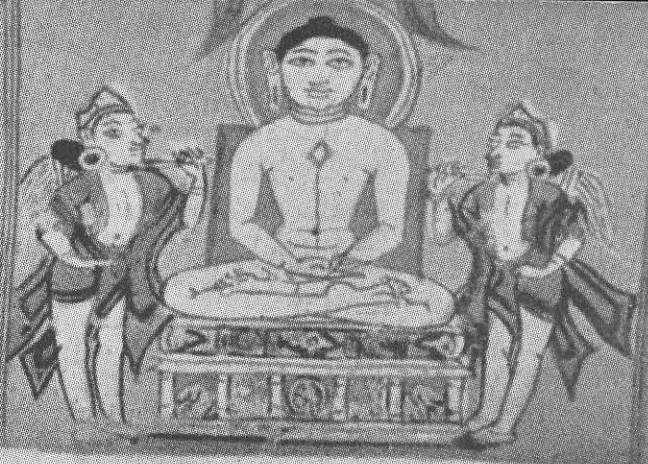


मोकषांगमात्रायाशक
माश्रित्यानन्तरासवेता॥
युःस्रवकारःताणकाले
असोत्तगरीवहावतिश्र
यावयनताम्रवकाला



April 1970



॥ जैनम्वन ॥

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(22 Plates)

OURSELVES

The Study of Jaina miniature painting, now known as Western Indian painting, is of very recent origin, and before Dr. Coomaraswamy wrote his article on Jaina painting in 1914, a portion from which is reprinted later in this issue, little was known of its existence. After the publication of the *Catalogue of Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, Part IV, by the same author in 1924, the study of Jaina painting received a great impetus and various scholars, such as Norman Brown, N. C. Mehta, O. C. Gangooly, Ajit Ghose, M. R. Majumdar, Moti Chandra, Sarabhai M. Nawab, Muni Jinavijaya and Muni Punyavijaya have greatly contributed to the discovery of new documents and the study of their aesthetics. Further research has given us a chronological sequence in the development of Jaina painting and also the distinguishing features of its techniques.

The earliest known specimen of this school of painting is a palm-leaf manuscript of *Nisītha Cūrṇi* dated 1184 V.S. (1127 A.D.). Taranath, the Tibetan chronicler, had spoken of an still earlier Ancient Western school, but as we do not have in our possession any specimen

of that school, it is very difficult to comment on it. On the basis of available materials, the history of this style of painting runs from the twelfth century to about the end of the sixteenth or the early part of the seventeenth century. Thereafter the school continued for some time more, may be in the 18th century, but during this period it came heavily under the influence of the Rajput-Mughal style of painting. The palm-leaf period of Western Indian painting ran from its inception in the twelfth century to about the end of the fourteenth century when paper came into use.

Most of these miniature paintings depict the lives of the *Jinas*, gods, goddesses and saints as contained in such texts as the *Kalpa Sūtra* and the *Kālakācāryakathā*. But there are other texts like the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, *Vipāka Sūtra*, *Samgrahanī Sūtra* which contain miniature paintings by way of illustration. In our limited space we have restricted our reproductions only to the *Kalpa Sūtra* and *Kālakācāryakathā*. But to show the continuity of this art we have included in our reproduction two paintings, one from *Sālibhadra Mahāmuni Caupāi* with Rajput-Mughal complex, and another, a portion from an illustrated roll of *Vijñaptipatra*, through which this art has come down to our times.

Miniature Painting in Western India*

(12th—17th Century A.D.)

W. NORMAN BROWN

Before the time of the miniature paintings in India of the Rajput and Mughal styles, that is, before the late sixteenth century, there have been found in that country only two styles of miniature painting. One of these flourished in Nepal and northern Bengal, with dated specimens starting in the eleventh century¹; the other in Gujarat, Kathiawar, and Rajputana, and is now known to have been existing in the early part of the twelfth century². These two schools of painting seem to have had

* The following titles make a fairly complete bibliography of the works on this school of painting :

- Brown, W. N., (1) in *Indian Art and Letters*, pp. 16ff., 1929.
(2) in *Eastern Art*, pp. 167-206, 1930.
(3) in *Parnassus*, pp. 34-36, November, 1930.
- Coomaraswamy, A.K., (1) in *Journ. Indian Art*, no. 127, 1914.
(2) *Cat. Indian Coll. Mus. Fine Arts*, Boston, pt. 4, Jaina paintings and manuscripts, 1924.
(3) *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 119-121, 1927.
(4) in *Bull. Mus. Fine Arts*, pp. 7f., Feb., 1930.
(5) in *Eastern Art*, pp. 236-40, 1930.
- Gangoly, O. C., (1) in *Ostasiatische Zeitschr.*, N.F.2, 1925.
(2) in *Quart. Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, vol. 4, pp. 86-88.
(3) in *Indian Art and Letters* N., pp. 104-115, 1930.
- Ghose, Ajit, in *Artibus Asiae*, pp. 187ff. and 278ff, 1927.
von Glasenapp, H., final plate in his *Jainismus*, 1925.
Huttemann, W., in *Bessler Archiv*, vol. 2, p. 2, 1913.
- Mehta, N. C., (1) in *Rupam*, 1925.
(2) in his *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1927.
(3) *Gujarati painting in the fifteenth century*, The India Society, London, 1913. A discussion of the *Vasantavilasa* paintings in 37 pages, with black and white reproductions of 16 miniatures.
(4) in *Rupa-Lekha*, no. 3, pp. 3-9, July, 1929.
- Nahar, P., & Ghose, K., *Epitome of Jainism*, 1927.
Shah, C J., *Jainism in North India*, pls. 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 14, 1932.

The numbers in parentheses in the following footnotes refer to the corresponding numbers as above.

¹ See Coomaraswamy (3), pp. 115, 146.

² Brown (1).

no direct relationship with each other, except as they both derive from an older common Indian tradition. That of Eastern India exists chiefly in Buddhist books ; that of Western India mainly in Svetambara Jaina manuscripts, with a few interesting examples from its second period reported in secular and Hindu texts. The earliest known specimens, as well as the greatest number, appear among the Svetambara Jainas, and for this reason the style has been variously called “Jaina” or “Svetambara Jaina”, while one scholar has advocated the name “Gujarat”³. If a name based upon the apparent community of origin is desired, then “Svetambara” would seem to be the choice ; for the style does not appear among the Digambara Jainas and therefore the designation “Jaina” would be too inclusive. But we cannot be absolutely certain that the style originated among the Svetambara—although in the following pages I shall indicate reasons for thinking it did—and it might therefore be better to adopt a name after the geographical provenience of the style and call it “Western Indian”, to which I can see no possible objection.

This “Western Indian” school is one of great importance in the history of Indian painting. For one thing it contains all the western Indian painting, whether of large or small dimensions, known to exist over a period of some centuries, continuing the sequence of the frescoes at Ajanta, Bagh, and Elura. For another it is the parent, on the Indian side, that in union with the Persian schools, on the other side, gave birth to the Rajput and Mughal styles⁴, so prolifically cultivated and so well known. Important as this Western Indian miniature art is, and in spite of the few but easily accessible works that have been published on it, scholars are still found who seem unaware that it exists. As lately as in 1929, M.E. Blochet, of the Oriental department of the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, said : “... the oldest Hindu miniatures known do not go back beyond the second half of the sixteenth century.”⁵

One reason for ignorance may be the comparative paucity of specimens in Europe or even in India, except in the Jaina *bhaṇḍāras* where indeed the miniatures are numerous. A few exist in England, appearing on Jaina manuscripts at the British Museum, the India Office library, the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Bodleian library, the Cambridge University library ; in Germany at the Staats Bibliothek and the Museum fur Volkerkunde, both in Berlin ; in Austria at the library of the University of Vienna ; and in France, I believe, at the library of the University of Strasbourg. It is possible also that some

³ Brown (1), (2) ; Coomaraswamy (2), (3) ; Ghose, Mehta (2).

⁴ Cf. Stchoukine, *La peinture indienne a l'epoque des grands Moghols*, 1928.

⁵ Blochet, E., *Musulman painting*, xiith-xviiith century, p. 52, London, 1929.

exist in Italy at Florence. In the United States examples appear notably at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, where there is the best assemblage outside of Jaina libraries in India⁶, at the Free Gallery of Art in Washington, the Metropolitan Museum in New York, and the Art Museum in Detroit. There are also many privately owned paintings. Thus, it is evident that the materials, though not abundant in Western lands, are sufficient to remove any excuse for so sweeping a statement as that of M. Blochet, and the importance of the style is such that no account of painting in India can nowadays afford to ignore it.

The literature on the subject is not large. The first discussion was an account by Huttemann of the *Kalpa Sūtra* manuscript owned by the Museum für Volkerkunde in Berlin, published in 1913, followed a year later by an article by Coomaraswamy, and a description in book form in 1924 of the specimens owned by that time by the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. N.C. Mehta published examples from a secular manuscript in 1925 and 1927; and in 1928 (although dated 1927) Ajit Ghose published two important articles on the style of this art. In 1929 I myself published the oldest specimens of this style so far discovered, and in 1930 Doctor Coomaraswamy published a manuscript newly acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and I another. A few other references of articles have appeared⁷.

No one but myself has yet endeavored to outline, even tentatively, the history of this art, and even I have done so only briefly; but I feel that, with the materials now accessible in the combined articles published, manuscripts available but not published, and the photographs I made during the winter of 1928-29 in Jaina *bhaṇḍāras*, it is possible to sketch in general lines and illustrate the course of development of the art, provisionally offering certain stages in the history.

The time limitations of this medieval Western Indian miniature painting are from the beginning of the style—our earliest dated examples come from Vikrama Samvat 1184 (A.D. 1127)—to about the end of the sixteenth century or early part of the seventeenth, by which time the significant history of the style is over. Examples follow in the late seventeenth century, possibly even in the eighteenth, but western India in general, the Svetambara Jains included, now uses styles seriously affected by the Rajput-Mughal complex, finally succumbing to the latter. At this time come the second and third periods of Jaina painting, as

⁶ For descriptions of specimens acquired up to 1924, see Coomaraswamy (2).

⁷ For titles by these authors, see bibliography above.

recognized by Mr. Ghose⁸, which I should be inclined to call "Svetambara Rajput". My treatment here concerns only the period which he designates as the first, and it is within that period, extending roughly over about five centuries, that I wish briefly to indicate a development.

This style of miniature painting falls naturally into two periods, distinguished externally by the nature of the surface on which the painting is done, internally by the subject matter of the paintings and the character of the execution. During the first of these two periods the examples all appear on palm-leaf manuscripts ; during the second on paper manuscripts, or on separate paper sheets or pieces of cotton as pictures independent of manuscripts, or on the prepared surface of manuscript covers, for which see Mr. Ghose's account. The palm-leaf period runs from the time of our first dated specimens (A.D. 1127) to about the end of the fourteenth century ; the paper period from the end of the fourteenth century to about the beginning or middle of the seventeenth century. The year 1400 might be taken as a convenient date to mark the line of division, although the two materials were doubtless used side by side for some years, and any precise date is bound to be inaccurate. Possibly the period of transition ran from about 1350 to 1400 or a little later.

During both these periods the paintings have many common features. The method of manufacturing the manuscript seems to have varied but slightly. Two persons were employed, the copyist of the text and the artist of the paintings. On the manuscript folios the copyist marked off rectangular spaces (*ālekhyasthāna*) for the illustrations before he wrote down the text ; this fact is clear from the minute examination of pages which show the writing running over the lines that bound the panels for the pictures. Sometimes he wrote in the margins legends to guide the artist, which the artist usually followed but not always. When the copyist had finished his work, he turned over the manuscript to the artist, or sometimes did not, in which case the panels remained empty⁹.

In both periods the drawing is of great importance and is highly competent, although the art as a whole is in most of the surviving later examples one of craftsmanship and copying of previously constructed compositions rather than individual invention. As Mr. Ghose points out, the art is one with high decorative quality, both in design and colour scheme, although I may add that this is less true in the palm-leaf

⁸ Ghose; Coomaraswamy (2).

⁹ Cf. Coomaraswamy (2); Ghose.

period than in the paper. The colours contrast strongly and richly. The art always remains formal ; there is seldom an attempt at portraiture ; it is an art of idealized types. One of the most striking of its external characteristics is the angular appearance of faces, both male and female, and with this goes a strange treatment of the eyes. In the older period faces are always represented in one of only two views, either that from the full front or that from about two-thirds, something just more than profile. In the latter case the farther eye is always drawn in full so that it protrudes beyond the line of the cheek into space. Mr. Ghose explains this phenomenon as due to the artist's desire to show that he was not painting something flat, but rather that his aim was plastic. This suggestion, ingenious as it is, seems to me to imply more sophistication than the artist is likely to have had and to be less probable than the concrete explanation I have offered elsewhere¹⁰, and will repeat here. In Svetambara temples now in use all important images bear, over the eyes carved in the stone, additional glass eyes which are oval like eyes and are possibly added to give brilliance. These glass eyes extend before the natural eyes of the image to a distance of a half inch or more, and when the image is viewed from an angle the farther point protrudes into space beyond the line of the cheek, somewhat as do spectacles when a face is seen from an angle, giving precisely the result that appears in the miniature paintings. Since the earliest known specimens of this style of miniature painting appear in Jaina manuscripts and are chiefly illustrations of *Jinas*, goddesses and distinguished monks, such as are or might be figured sculpturally in Svetambara temples, I have suggested that the western Indian style may have been hieratic in its inception, originating in the Jaina milieu, and that the artists merely copied the style of temple images. It is difficult to illustrate the close similarity in appearance between the eyes of a Jaina image and those of our paintings ; for a three quarters photograph of a *Tirthankara* in the rear of a dark temple cell is practically impossible for one who like myself is ceremonially ineligible to enter the cell. Yet the similarity is striking.

In comment upon my suggestion Doctor Coomaraswamy reminds us that there are secular and Vaisnava miniatures from Western Indian manuscripts that show the same peculiarity, and that it also exists in a less exaggerated form in the ceiling frescoes of the porch of the Kailasanatha (Hindu) temple at Elura¹¹. The evidence of the miniatures he mentions does not seem important, for they are all on paper and are some centuries later than the oldest palm-leaf examples. The Elura

¹⁰ Brown (1),

¹¹ Coomaraswamy (4).

paintings, datable perhaps in the tenth or eleventh century, may have a bearing, although the protrusion is not prominent there ; perhaps the artist was representing nothing more than the eyelashes. The phenomenon, as far as I am aware, does not appear in the paintings at Ajanta, Bagh, Sittanavasal, the Jaina (Digambara) caves at Elura, and the Digambara structural temple at Conjeevaram, where there are two styles of ceiling painting one painted on top of the other palimpsest fashion, of which the second is the only one so far reported in print¹². The Digambara Jainas do not ornament their images with the additional glass eyes, and hence would have no established temple type to imitate, as did the Svetambaras. In a note to me Doctor Coomaraswamy calls my attention to a remark by Otto Fischer (*Die Kunst Indiens*, p.59) "über den umrissvorspringende Auge" in the Burmese paintings at Pagan. I cannot presume to estimate the significance of the phenomenon there ; I can only point out the difficulty of relating it to that in Western India. There is a wide extent of territory between the two places, and so far there have been reported in the geographically intervening styles of painting (the Pala style in Bengal and the style in Orissa) no instances of the protruding eye, which might serve as connecting links between the styles of Gujarat and Pagan. It seems more likely that the origin of the phenomenon is in each place independent of the origin in the other. Last of all there has come to light a small engraved bronze vessel which shows a tendency in some figures, but not all, toward the protruding eye, most of them exhibiting only the protruding eyelash. This vessel Doctor Coomaraswamy (*Ostasiatische Zeitschr.* N.F. 6, Heft 5, 1930) considers on stylistic grounds to come from Western India and to be of late or immediately post-Gupta times, but it seems to me rather to come from Central Asia¹³. In style it shows some little similarity to Western Indian painting, but like so many other fine pieces it has no documentation and is not satisfactory to use as evidence in determining the origin of the protruding eye motif. It still seems to me, therefore, that this phenomenon is best explained as having its origin in the copying of images with their additional glass eyes as found in Svetambara temples.

For we may go still further, and say that the angular features of the human face as drawn by Svetambara Jaina artists, and following them secular and Hindu artists in Western India, do not result from a desire to simplify the execution, as Mr. Ghose suggests, but rather from direct copying of medieval Jaina *Tirthankara* images, which have faces that look exactly like those of the *Tirthankaras* and other unbearded

¹² Coomaraswamy (3), p.119.

¹³ See in the *Pennsylvania Mus. Bull.*, vol. 27, no. 148, p. 138, April, 1932.

figures in the miniature paintings. So, too, do the faces of modern images and of the wood carvings that appear in Svetambara temples and are probably in a tradition at least as old as medieval times. Last of all, many of the figures, especially of *Jinas*, goddesses, gods, and monks, appear in cells or temple-like pavilions, as though the originators of the style had copied the setting with the figure. The whole style seems, in short, to have originated in Svetambara temples, where the painting art has passed away, but some of its characteristics still continue in sculpture.

Palm-leaf Period (1127, or earlier, to about 1400)

The earliest known specimens of Western Indian miniatures are two paintings found in a palm-leaf manuscript of the *Jñāta Sūtra* and next three *Āṅgas* of the Svetambara canon with commentary by Abhayadeva now in the Nagin Das (also called Santinatha Temple) *Bhaṇḍāra* of the Svetambara Jainas at Cambay. These are dated Vikrama Samvat 1184 (A.D. 1127)¹⁴. Following these are two paintings of Hemacandra and his celebrated patron, the famous king Kumarapala, found in a palm-leaf manuscript of Hemacandra's *Mahāvīracaritra* (not Bhadrabahu's *Kalpa Sūtra*, as has sometimes been stated) at Patan, dated Vikrama Samvat 1294 (A.D. 1237)¹⁵. After these may come two other miniatures from Cambay. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, owns most of a palm-leaf manuscript of the *Sāvagapaḍīkammanasuttacūṇṇi* (also called *Samaṇ'ovāsagapaḍīkammanasuttacūṇṇi*) containing six miniatures, some badly rubbed, dated Vikrama Samvat 1317 (A.D. 1260), coming from near Udaipur in Mewar, Rajputana¹⁶. Other palm-leaf miniatures

¹⁴ Box 6, bundle 2; see Brown (1); the first manuscript is listed in Peterson, *Detailed report of operations in search of Sanskrit Mss in the Bombay Circle*, part I (extra number *Journ. Bombay Branch Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, 1883), Appendix, p. 35. In the same library in box 18, bundle 1, is the second manuscript, which is of Hemacandra's *Neminathacaritra*, Parva 8 of the *Trisastisalākāpurusacaritra*, containing two paintings, and said to have been copied in Vikrama Samvat 1198 (A.D. 1141), see Brown (1). Although Hemacandra was active at that time, it is not likely that this date is correct. Hemacandra wrote the *Trisastisalākāpurusacaritra* at the request of King Kumarapala, according to the *prasasti* of the work, and Kumarapala did not ascend the throne until Vikrama Samvat 1199. The date is probably an error; perhaps it should be Vikrama Samvat 1298 (A. D. 1242), which would conform to the stylistic qualities of the miniatures as well as the demands of literary history.

¹⁵ See Nahar and Ghose: also the learned Muni Caturvijaya's edition of the *Moharajaparajaya* of Yasapala (Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. 9, 1918), frontispiece; and Shah, p1.8.

¹⁶ Coomaraswamy (4), (5).

are two from a manuscript of the *Kalpa Sūtra* and a version of the *Kālakācāryakathā* in the Sanghavike-Padaka Bhandar at Patan, dated Vikrama Samvat 1335 (A.D. 1278); two from a manuscript of the *Kalpa Sūtra* and a version of the *Kālakācāryakathā* in the Saṅghaka Bhandar at Patan dated Samvat 1336 (A.D. 1279)¹⁷. Many other palm-leaf miniatures exist in manuscripts both at Cambay and Patan, and probably in other libraries which I have not seen, as those at Jaisalmir. Just recently a number of miniatures have been published in colour from a palm-leaf manuscript of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, illustrating traditional scenes heretofore known only in the paper manuscripts¹⁸.

An examination of the miniatures of this period will show that the subjects of the paintings are as follows : *Jinas* (that is, *Tirthankaras*, “Saviors”), goddesses, gods, monks, patrons (male and female) of the manuscripts, a king, symbols. This is a limited list of subjects. So, too, the attitude or poses of these subjects are limited, being only three. One shows with bilateral symmetry a cross-legged figure with face directed squarely to the front, and is confined to representations of the *Tirthankaras* ; a second is a standing pose with face turned to something less than full profile and usually with ankle and hip joints bent ; the third is an easy seated pose with the face again turned to something less than full profile. The second and third poses are used with all subjects except *Tirthankaras*. The full front view used with *Tirthankaras* is the one possible view of a *Tirthankara* image as it sits at the rear of a cell in a modern Svetambara temple (hence my inability to get a photograph to show the effect of the protruding glass eyes mentioned above). Bodies have broad shoulders and narrow waists, as in sculpture from early times in India. With both men and women the breasts are full ; in the female both breasts are drawn in; in the male only the farther. The poses of the torso are reminiscent of the bent figures of sculpture and point to a tradition anterior to our earliest preserved specimens, during which these conventionalized types were adopted and adapted to painting. Similarly, the dress, ornamentation, marks on the *Jinas*, the attributes of attendant figures, and the very compositions (as, for example, the two elephants pouring water over a *Jina*) are of ancient Indian lineage.

Although the types in these paintings are of great plastic antiquity and constitute the culmination of a long development, the painting itself is “primitive”. It is flat, lacks depth, and has a narrowly restricted palette, using only a brick-red, close to vermilion, yellow, blue, white,

¹⁷ Shah, pls. 1, 2, 5, 6, 14.

¹⁸ See references in footnotes 15, 17.

and rarely a green. The reproduction in Shah's work cited above indicate that gold is used. The art is at a far remove from that of Ajanta or Bagh, as though it were a folk art converted to the purposes of religion, on which point Mr. Ghose writes pertinently (*loc. cit.*). The great merit of the art is the vigor of its drawing, the nervous force of its line, its high decorative quality.

The background in these early miniatures is usually a brick-red, close to vermilion. This characteristic persists throughout the entire history of the art, although in the paper period two kinds of red are employed for the background in different manuscripts, the old brick-red or vermilion and a red containing more purple, and the red is often displaced in whole or in part by blue.

In some of the paintings the drapery, especially that of the female figures, looks like a representation of Gujarat *patola* work, a patterned silk textile. In the paintings executed in Gujarat the female figures wear closed bodices—it takes a careful examination to determine this in the case of the Cambay miniatures—; in those from Mewar they wear bodices open in the front¹⁹. Here possibly are depicted local peculiarities of costume. There are also variations in the treatment of the monks' drapery. Hemacandra has the right shoulder bare ; on the other hand, the monks in the Patan manuscript of 1278 A.D. are covered to the neck, and the monk in the Patan manuscript of 1287 A.D. seems to have the right shoulder bare but the arm covered. There seems to be convention that one figure should not be placed before another (*cf. in Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, 1925, p. 188), and this is observed in both the palm-leaf and paper periods, except as an end of drapery or a foot of one figure comes before some part of another figure.

In the margin of the palm leaf opposite the panels there sometimes appear thumb-nail sketches of the compositions done with black ink, and occasionally the titles appear beside the completed paintings.

The miniatures of the palm-leaf period are executed with wider stroke, less complicated composition, and fewer details than are those of the paper period. The brushes used seem to have been heavier than some of those employed later, making them better suited to the surface on which the earlier paintings appear ; for the palm leaf is less adapted to fine and delicate workmanship than is paper.

¹⁹ Coomaraswamy (4).

Paper Period (about 1400, or earlier, to about 1650)

The date at which paper came into use in Western India is not precisely ascertainable. I have seen a Svetambara paper manuscript with illustrations dated Vikrama Samvat 1204 (A.D. 1147), and I had tentatively accepted the date inspite of some misgivings²⁰. But there can be no doubt that the date is false, as the learned Acarya Sri Vijaya Indra Suri has clearly pointed out to me in a letter. One of the texts mentioned in this manuscript was not composed until Vikrama Samvat 1364 (A.D. 1307), and the date of the manuscript was forged possibly to associate it with the celebrated Jinadatta Suri, whose name appears as copyist, founder of the Kharatra Gaccha of the Svetambara Jainas, according to one tradition, who was actually living in 1147 A.D.²¹. The manuscript is to be considered as just what it appears to be aside from the date associated with it, namely, a typical late fifteenth or early sixteenth century example ; and it is therefore no longer necessary to arrange a history of Western Indian miniature painting to conform to the disturbing appearance of specimens so advanced stylistically at such an early date. My previous opinions have therefore been modified in the present treatment.

At Patan I saw a paper manuscript without miniatures dated A.D. 1278, possibly correctly. But in any case by the middle of the fourteenth century the use of paper seems to have been well established in Western India. In the catalogue of the Svetambara Jaina *bhaṇḍāras* at Limbdi²², entry no 2869 is dated A.D. 1353, entry no 1564 is dated A.D. 1391 (entry no 2350 dated A.D. 1191 seems to contain a misprint, since that seems to be the date of the composition of the work, not of the copying of the manuscript) ; none of these contains

²⁰ Brown (1).

²¹ Vijaya Indra Suri's letter dated December 6, 1929, said in part : "...I wish to bring to your notice one important fact. So far as I know I have not heard of any Jaina work in paper Mss. prior to the 14th century. The commentary *Sandehavisausadhi* on *Kalpa Sutra* was written by Jinaprabhasuri in the early part of the 14th century (circa 1308). The *Avacurni* which is said to have been based on Jinaprabhasuri's commentary must have been later. So the *Avacurni* cannot be said to have been written in 1147. It is an impossibility. I think the mistake was committed by the copyist in the name of a great person to enhance the value of his manuscript by antedating it by nearly two centuries. So I cannot accept the date of the manuscript as 1147." For date of the *Sandehavisausadhi*, cf. also Jacobi, *The Kalpa Sutra of Bhadrabahu*, p. 25. See also in *Indian Art and Letters*, vol. 4, pp. 149-50, 1930. For Jinadattasuri, mentioned as copyist of the Ms., cf. Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus*, p. 352.

²² *Agamodaya Samiti Series*, vol. 58, Bombay, 1928.

miniatures. The statement has been made by Mr. Kaye that the earliest dated paper manuscripts in India are of the years A.D. 1231 and 1343, but on what authority he makes that statement does not appear, correct though it may be²³.

The paper manuscript which I saw at Patan dated A.D. 1278 (Vikrama Samvat 1335) was on folios about 10 by 3 inches, that is, of about the same length as a small palm-leaf manuscript but of greater depth. The folios of the paper manuscripts become larger, running to a size of 11 by 4½ inches in the fifteenth century, and reaching still greater dimensions in the seventeenth century, when the Mughal influence in painting crowds out the old Western Indian style, showing then a size of as much as 16 by 6 inches, and possibly even larger.

Paper as used for manuscripts seems to have come to India proper in Gujarat first arriving from Persia, which country it appears to have reached from China brought in by conquering peoples from Central Asia.

The oldest dated illustrated Svetambara paper manuscripts of which I know are one in the library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, being a manuscript of the *Kalpa Sūtra* dated Vikrama Samvat 1472 (A.D. 1415)²⁴ and one of the *Kālakācāryakathā* in the Limbdi *bhaṇḍāra* (catalogue no. 577) of the same date. Following these is a manuscript of the *Kalpa Sūtra* dated Vikrama Samvat 1484 (A.D. 1427), now belonging to the India Office, London, of 113 folios, most of them coloured black or red, with the text written in silver ink²⁵. Many more appear during the fifteenth century, often written with gold ink. We may fairly assume that illustrated paper manuscripts were being manufactured by A.D. 1400. The oldest manuscripts are usually done with

²³ Kaye, G. R., *The Bakhshali Manuscript, Archaeol. Surv. India, new imperial series*, vol. 43, pts. 1 and 2, p. 9. "The art of paper making appears to have been practised by the Chinese at a very early date. From the Chinese the Muslims learnt the process in the eighth century and they introduced it into Europe and also India about the 12th century. Among the earliest Muslim manuscripts now preserved, one was written in A.D. 866 others in 974, 980, 990, etc. The earliest Indian paper manuscripts known were written in A.D. 1231 and 1343. The earlier one measures 6×4 inches (ratio 1.5) and the other 13½×5 (ratio 2.7).....About the middle of the 15th century the use of palm leaf as a writing material ceased in western India, but in eastern India it continued to be used side by side with paper until much later."

²⁴ See in *catalogue of Mss*, in that society's library prepared by Prof. H.D. Velankar, no. 1429.

²⁵ Jacobi, *The Kalpa Sutra of Bhadrabahu*, 28, Leipzig, 1879.

gold or silver writing on a prepared red or black or blue, or sometimes an unprepared white, background. There is no proof that the writing with silver or gold ink on the coloured surface is the oldest writing used with illustrated Svetambara manuscripts, as Mr. Ghose suggests ; for the earliest dated paper manuscripts without miniatures are written with black ink, like the palm leaf manuscripts, on a plain background. The use of gold or silver ink and the coloured surface indicate only an unusual outlay of money on the part of those laymen who gained merit by having the manuscript copied. The use of gold and silver ink on a specially prepared background persists to the time when the Svetambaras executed the illustrations in the Mughal style, and I have seen at Patan a most elaborate *Kalpa Sūtra* from that period on large size folios done thus. A general principle, yet one which is by no means infallible, for estimating the age of undated paper manuscripts may perhaps be found in ascertaining the dimensions of the page : the nearer the measurements approach those of the palm-leaf folios, the more likely the manuscript is to be of the fifteenth century rather than of the sixteenth or seventeenth. For example, the manuscript in the India Office dated A.D. 1428 has folios measuring $11\frac{1}{4}$ by $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Also, the more blue there is in the background of the paintings, the more likely the manuscript is to come from the sixteenth century or later, although again this criterion is not absolutely certain ; for blue is used in moderate degree in some of our oldest dated manuscripts. But the fact that the oldest paper specimens generally have a brick-red back-ground makes it difficult to photograph them successfully without equipment for panchromatic work.

The introduction of paper for a writing surface produced a marked change in the character of the illustrations. In the first place the artist was able to get a larger working space than he had on the palm-leaf folios. In the case of the latter, the size of the picture was inevitably constricted by the natural width of the palm leaf : the miniatures from Cambay executed in the year A.D. 1127 measure $3 \times \frac{7}{8}$ by $2 \times \frac{1}{4}$ or $2 \times \frac{5}{8}$ inches²⁶; those from Mewar, now at Boston, are a little smaller²⁷. But the paper miniatures are all larger. As time went on and the size of the folios was enlarged, the available surface for the paintings was correspondingly increased. So too the shape of the miniatures was generally different. In the palm-leaf specimens the greater dimension is the horizontal ; in the paper it is usually the vertical.

Paper not only offered a larger area for the painting but also provided a surface susceptible to finer workmanship. The broad, simple

²⁶ Brown (1).

²⁷ Coomaraswamy (4), (5).

lines of the earlier miniatures now give place to a more delicate, if often weaker, drawing and to an elaboration of the composition with minor elements and a multiplication of detail. The miniatures of the paper period are more elegant, more sophisticated, and more decorative.

A great change takes place in the colour scheme. Gold is employed where yellow appears in the palm-leaf miniatures, although the yellow still persists in some examples. Gold is also sometimes used as ink for writing the text, as too is silver. Possibly the gold would not adhere to the palm-leaf as well as it would to the paper. As time went on the use of gold increased ; its ornamental value was appreciated, and we see it substituted for white in monks' drapery with the whiteness indicated by white dots, or, strangely, often by red dots. As much gold as possible was used in the paintings, adding brilliance to the colour effect, and technique was developed of applying first the gold, then the other colours²⁸. Blue is more freely applied than in the palm-leaf period, thus giving a richer colour scheme, and is often used to form backgrounds, even in the fifteenth century. An old rose is used, and very rarely an ochre. Green still remains rare. Both the brick-red or vermilion of the palm-leaf examples and a red containing some purple quality are used, usually not in the same miniature, although the two may appear on the same page in the case of those manuscripts which write the text with gold ink on a prepared red background. The background for the writing is never to my observation, done with the brick-red or vermilion.

In the subject matter of the miniatures also there is change. The old balance of few narrative scenes to many of *Tirthankaras*, gods and patrons, changes to a heavy preponderance for the illustration of narratives. In the new field it is confined among the Svetambaras so far as is now known, to the *Kalpa Sūtra* and the *Kālakācāryakathā*²⁹, which, often appears as an appendage to the *Kalpa Sūtra*. The scenes depicted are fairly well stereotyped. Each artist reproduced those known to his predecessors and the depicting of new scenes was a rarity, although as time went on new ones were done, and the late manuscripts of the *Kalpa Sūtra* contain sometimes twice as many as the early paper manuscripts³⁰. The compositions are standardized and appear with only slight individual variation in different manuscripts. In the case of the Kalaka legends which appear in a number of different versions, scenes are sometimes

²⁸ Ghose.

²⁹ Huttemann ; Coomaraswamy (2).

³⁰ A descriptive catalogue of miniature paintings of the *Kalpa Sutra* has been prepared by me, and, I hope, will shortly be published.

illustrated in a manuscript where the actual text does not describe the scenes. For example, the incident of Kalaka getting the ball out of the well does not appear in the text of Bhavadeva's version, yet one of the manuscripts of that text illustrates it in a painting. Thus we see clearly that the artist was illustrating the body of legend clustering around the name of Kalaka rather than the actual text in which his miniatures were appearing.

The art also appears outside the Svetambara milieu. A secular roll manuscript of a text called the *Vasantavilasa*, dated Vikrama Samvat 1508 (A.D. 1451) contains miniature of this style³¹. Another manuscript outside the Svetambara environment is partly preserved and is now owned by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. It is Vaisnava in subject, being devoted to the worship chiefly of Krishna. The latter manuscript is not dated but seems to be from about the middle of the fifteenth century³². In neither of these manuscripts do the illustrations seem to be clichés ; rather they have the character of originals.

Additional elements appear in the compositions, particularly in the wider use of foliage decoration, a greater number of animals represented, the more profuse illustration of architectural settings, the picturing of domestic and other new types of scenes. The drawing becomes more delicate and refined, the compositions more complicated, new bodily poses appear.

Very suggestively there are present in the *Kālakācāryakathā* paintings a new type of face and with it a new facial pose. The face is decidedly Mongolian in shape, moustaches, and beard, and is used only for depicting the foreign Sahis, Saka by nationality, whom Kalaka has led from the western bank of the Indus to the eastern and into Kacch, Gujarat, and Malwa. The very name of these Sahis is Persian, being a Prakrit word for Shah, "King", and their overlord is called Sahanusahi, Persian Shahan Shah. The face of the Sahis is never shown in the slightly less than full profile pose with the protruding eye that is the invariable pose for the faces of Indians. Instead it is shown in something less than full front face and the eyes are always contained within the facial contour³³.

The costume of the Sahis is often different from that worn by any Indian figures. They are frequently dressed in long coats of overlap-

³¹ Gangoly (1); Mehta, (1), (2), (3).

³² Brown (2); Gangoly (2), (3). Although Gangoly's article was published in an issue for 1930 the issue was not distributed until 1931 ; hence he had not seen my article in *Eastern Art*, nor had I seen his when I wrote.

³³ Brown (1).

ping links of mail, and on their heads they wear pointed helmets with long neck pieces. In some paintings they wear the turban wound around a pointed cap, like that at present in vogue among Pathans³⁴. Still more, the bodily poses are sometimes unlike any used with Indians.

It may not be without point to draw attention to the fact that the Mongolian cast of countenance of the Sahis, their costume, and their bodily poses, although foreign to the rest of this Western Indian style of painting, are similar to elements in Mongol-Persian painting³⁵.

Possibly in these miniatures of the *Kālakācāryakathā* we should be justified in seeing the first small intrusion into Indian painting of Persian elements. As time went on the Persian encroached increasingly upon the native Indian style, until the combination of the two brought into existence the Rajput and Mughal schools. The Western Indian style was ultimately extinguished. By the middle of the seventeenth century it was about done; the few examples I have seen from after that time are degenerate and of no value aesthetically. Jaina, Hindu, and lay artists alike employ Rajput styles³⁶.

Reprinted from *The Story of Kalaka*, Washington, 1933.

³⁴ The pointed cap reminds us of the fact that among the ancient Sakas there was a division known as the Tigrakhauda, "Pointed-Caps".

³⁵ See illustrations in Blochet, op. cit., pls. 46, 62.

³⁶ Coomaraswamy (2); Ghose.

Aesthetics and Relationships of Jaina Painting

A. K. COOMARASWAMY

The Jaina manuscripts, although the illuminated examples are far from common, constitute the chief exception to the general rule that Indian manuscripts are not illustrated. It will be seen, however, that there is no attempt at an organic relationship of text and illustration, such as always appear in Persian manuscripts. The Jaina miniature is simply a square or oblong picture that looks as if it had been pasted on to the page, rather than designed as a part of it. This may not arise so much from the fact that the painter and writer must have separate persons, as from the fact that Indian painting was highly developed long before the sacred books were habitually preserved in written form.

We are familiar with the striking continuity of the traditions of Buddhist painting : to give only one example, compare the White Elephant Gift (*Vessantara Jātaka*) as represented at Degaldoruva in Ceylon (18th century ; my *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, frontispiece) with the same subject represented at Miran (2nd Century ; Stein, *Desert Cathay*, figure 147) ; the latter example, and indeed both, must reflect still older Indian models. Just the same must be true of the illustrations to the lives of the *Jinas* : probably nothing in the composition is due to the 15th century painter, just as nothing in the text is due to the 15th century scribe. This does not mean, of course, that the Jaina art has not varied in style, nor that the details of costume, architecture and manners may not largely reflect the painters own environment, nor that there is no diversity of merit in the mediaeval works ; it means that we had before us Jaina paintings of the 15th century, or even earlier, we should most likely recognise in then compositions almost identical, as such, with many of those in the 15th century books and later.

Probably the illustrations to the *Kālakācāryakathānakam* have not so old an ancestry. The story itself is of later origin, and I should suppose the compositions may not go further back than the 10th century. On the whole, they are decidedly less formal and more anecdotal than those accompanying the lives of the *Jinas*.

In any case, we have before us a purely Indian art derived, like Rajput and Orissa painting and the late Buddhist art of Ceylon from

old traditions ; but carrying us further back in actual examples than either of these.

If we seek for definite parallels, other than such obvious resemblances as that of the figure of a seated *Jina* to a seated Buddha, we are reminded first of the illustrations to the oldest Nepalese palm-leaf mss of Prajnaparamita, etc. These illustrations likewise take the form of square frames let into the text very much as in the manuscripts. There are also resemblances in matters of detail : thus, the curious sloping throne (a perspective representation ?) seems to be derived from architectural canopies of the earlier art. There are also striking reminiscences of the Nepalese manner of drawing hands and feet, and general feeling for outline. Also the colouring, where gold is not employed, or only to an insignificant extent, recalls old Buddhist art.

The pictures are filled with characteristically Indian and ancient motifs : for example the constant representation of *hamsa*, peacocks, lions and elephants, the occasional purely decorative use of the lotus to fill empty spaces (cf. 18th century Sinhalese Buddhist paintings) ; the fondness for clouds (which have no likeness to Chinese or Persian formulas) ; the conventions for water ; the Hindu costumes (such as *dhoti*—note the *hamsa* and diaper designs of the printed cotton or woven *sāris*, etc.) ; the lion thrones (*simhāsana*) ; and the bending of trees (*drumatinir*) towards the holy man (cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, exile of Rama—"the trees incline their heads towards him.") The plain domed arch is of *makara toraṇa* origin ; the same is doubtless true of the cusped arches which give no proofs of contemporary Persian influences, as they occur also in Nepalese art of the 9th century, and the upper frieze of the Visvakarma Cave temple at Elura, still earlier. The distinctively Persian costume of the Sahis in Kalakacarya pictures cannot be said to prove more than an acquaintance with Persian customs.

The physical type is rather peculiar, the very sharp-hooked nose and large eyes being especially striking. The sword-edged nose is also characteristic of mediaeval Nepalese bronzes and Orissa sculptures and was admired in the most Hindu circles (in Vidyapati, a beautiful woman's nose is compared to Guruda's beak) ; it was nevertheless a feature no less admirable in the eyes of the Persians. The large eyes are of course characteristics of all Indian art ; but they are here drawn in a peculiar manner, not as in Nepalese or Rajput paintings. The further eye is made to project from the outline of the cheek in a most extraordinary way. The prolongation of the outer corner of the eye, almost to meet a ear, is also remarkable ; it corresponds to characteristic passages in

Hindu literature¹. Nevertheless, this elongation of the eye by a single fine line stretching to the ear is not quite like anything that is familiar in other schools of Indian painting, while it very strongly recalls the drawings of the 12th and the 13th century Rhages pottery, and seems to me to constitute the most definite suggestion of relationship to Persian Art that these Jaina miniatures afford. The use of gold leaf possibly points in the same direction.

The parallels with Rajput painting are naturally closer. Thus, in the *dikṣā* scene, Mahavira is represented with a lion waist and hugely developed chest, and there are many figures where it would be difficult at first sight to distinguish the representations as those of men or women. This recalls the mannerism of the large Krisna cartoons from Jaipur (*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, I, 2, fig 1 : Indian Drawings, II, Pls. 2 & 3). We have already remarked that the representation of clouds is anything but Persian or Chinese in manner ; on the other hand, it is by no means unlike the manner of the earlier Pahari and Rajasthani paintings (17th century Jammu district and Rajputana—and not 18th century Kangra), where a narrow band of dark blue storm-cloud is constantly introduced above the high horizon. It will not be forgotten that the monsoon clouds in India are as much liked and desired as blue sky in northern Europe. Another resemblance to Rajput art (Jammu) appears in the strong red background (also in old Nepalese and late Sinhalese, etc.).

The architecture in the paintings resembles that of Gujarat where most of the miniatures must have been painted.

On the whole, the archaeological interest of Jaina painting exceeds its aesthetic significance. In most of the manuscripts the drawing is indeed very highly accomplished, but rather of a workshop character than deeply felt. Many of the miniatures are overcrowded with detail, the statement of fact rather than the expression of emotion. But in some cases the aesthetic values are much higher. The *dikṣā* scene (Tonsure of Mahavira), though it conforms to the usual type in most details of composition, attains to far greater dignity, and is comparable in passion with the noble passage of the *Kalpa Sūtra* which begins "Reverence to the Saints, and Blessed Ones...". That emotion is really expressed in the picture, which led the chief of the gods to descend from

¹ cf. *Rajatarangini* 1,216 : "The corner of their eyes were captivating and illuminated by a very thin line of antimony, which appeared to play the part of the stem to the ruby-lotuses of their ear-ornaments." (Stein)

heaven and kneel with an offering before the Wise one. As elsewhere in Indian Literature and art (the Great Renunciation of Buddha ; Arjuna's Penance, etc.), we are made to feel that the going forth of the hero-saint is an event of cosmic and more than temporal significance. Like Blake, the poet thought that "there were listners in other worlds than this"². Such examples go far to prove that there must once have existed an Indian school of Jaina painting comparable with the classic Buddhist art of Ajanta.

Within more secular limits, some of the Kalakacharya pictures have excellent qualities. The Sahi upon his throne is admirably designed ; the vertically striped robe, as well as the pose give an impression of great repose and dignity. Other pictures, such as that of the magic ass are distinctly amusing, though the humour may be quite unconscious.

The specimens of book furniture afford examples of excellent craftsmanship. The embroidery of the book covers is vigourously designed and admirably and patiently executed. The book strings are still better ; nothing could be more successful than the patterns, both geometrical and floral.

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Journal of Indian Art, No. 127, London, 1914.

² W.B. Yeats, *Poems of Willium Blake*, Introduction

Pigments used in Jaina Miniatures

MOTI CHANDRA

The majority of colours in the palette of Western Indian painting came from minerals or natural salts. Some minerals were obtained in fine powders, while others were found in stones which had to be pulverised in fine dust to obtain colours.

To separate the colours from two undesirable elements, the sand and humus, the earth is dissolved in water. Naturally, the sand is deposited at the bottom, and the peat and mould tend to float and are skimmed off. But before the coloured earth also sets at the bottom, the water is quickly drained into another vessel. This process is repeated several times, till the colour is cleansed of all impurities. After being dried in the sun, the colour is ready to be used.

White

The nature of white used in Western Indian book illustrations specially in the palm-leaf period, has not yet been ascertained by scientific analysis. It could not have been white lead or zinc-white, as these pigments are not mentioned in the medieval Sanskrit texts on painting. The *Mānasollāsa*, a work composed in 1131 A.D. by Somesvara, mentions burnt conch-shell as pure white employed by the artists. In the list of formulas for mixing colours in two stray paper-folios, obtained by Muni Punyavijayji, the use of zinc-white is ordained. The possibility is that this colour was introduced in India in the 16th century or even a little earlier, by the Muslims as the word *safedā* for zinc-white is of Persian origin. But the use of zinc-white by the Mughal painters raises an important question whether the *safedā* used in Mughal paintings of the 16th and 17th centuries was in reality zinc-white or was it white lead, as the process of making zinc-white was discovered in the 18th century.

White lead was extensively used in medieval European paintings though it has two drawbacks. Firstly, it is poisonous and thus injurious for the worker and secondly, as water-colour pigment, it may be blackened by sulphur gases in the air. But this darkening of colour is uncommon in medieval manuscript paintings of India. From the medieval painter's point of view it was a further fault of white lead that it was incompatible with verdigris and orpiment in mixtures. As orpiment was frequently used in the Western Indian miniatures with white,

it is apparent that it is not white lead but perhaps, burnt conch-shell, kaolin or chalk.

According to *Silparatna*, white used as priming was obtained from burnt conch-shell or white earth, the exudation of elephant apple and *nim* serving as binding media.

The method of preparing zinc-white for painting is as follows : the best quality of kashgar zinc-white is ground and sifted through a piece of muslin. This powder is gradually dissolved in *dhau*-gum solution in a porcelain basin, till it attains the consistency of thick milk. This mixture is slowly drained into another basin, so that the impurities deposited at the bottom are left over. This process is repeated several times, till pure zinc-white is obtained.

Black

The medieval Sanskrit texts on painting knew only of two formulas of the preparation of black pigment. The *Silparatna* gives the following methods for obtaining the lamp-black. (1) In an earthen cup filled with oil, the wick saturated with oil is lighted. Then a globular earthen pot, with the inside of its belly besmeared with dried cowdung, is placed over the flame of the lamp. The lamp black sticking inside the pot should then be scraped, kneaded in an earthen pot and allowed to dry. Then it should be mixed with *nim* water gum and pure water, levigated and then dried. (2) It may be obtained from certain mineral. A barley grain of blue metal (perhaps antimony) should be reduced to fine powder and then mixed with the *Kapittha*-juice it should be dried.

Red

Red is the favourite colour with Nature. There are red stones, clays and red limes, in which the oxide of iron is always present. In the medieval Sanskrit texts on painting various shades of red are described.

Red Ochre (*geru*). It is a colour widely used in ancient paintings and its hue is light and warm. The Venetian red stands for red ochre in the range of European colours. It is doubtful whether it was used in Western Indian miniatures. According to *Silparatna* red ochre was levigated on stone for full one day and then pure colour is obtained by the washing process.

Red Lead (*sindūra*). It was used by West Indian painters, specially in the paper period miniatures for yellowish red. The colour was prepared by roasting white lead in open air till it attained deep colour. According to *Silparatna*, the red lead was ground for half a day in water and the process was repeated for 24 hours after 5 days. Then it was kept in a suitable receptacle. The *nim* gum was used as a medium with it.

Vermilion or Crude Cinnabar (*hiṅgola*). This mineral when ground yields a bright red. The crude cinnabar is thoroughly levigated in a mortar with the help of sugarated water or lime juice which is a better substitute. Then the cinnabar is allowed to settle and the yellowish water is carefully drained off. The process is repeated fifteen times, or even more, to obtain purest cinnabar. It is again levigated with sugarated water or lime juice and gum, and, after being thoroughly mixed, it is formed into tablets and dried.

Realgar or Red Arsenic (*manahsilā*). This brilliant red was very rarely used in medieval West Indian miniatures. It is a first cousin of the orpiment and is also a sulphide of arsenic. It yields as beautiful an orange yellow as the orpiment. According to *Silparatna* realgar (*manahsilā*) was reduced to fine powder and then used as colour.

Red Lake (*lāksā-rasa*). The word red lake as applied to pigments, is derived from a material known as *lacca*, from which lake pigment were prepared. What was ordinarily known as *lacca*, is, however, not known. It may, however, be surmised that the material was dark red incrustation of resin which is produced on certain kinds of trees by certain kinds of insects. This resin is the source of shellac. If the crude material is boiled in water containing a little alkali, the colouring matter is dissolved in water and sold as lac-dye. The colour which lac-dye can be made to produce are quite violet.

Pothi. A variety of Indian lake was also obtained from the dark red berries of the *poi* plant.

Kermes. The *kermes* seems to have been used on a small scale in the palm-leaf miniatures, though in the miniatures on paper its use seems to have been general. Though the Sanskrit texts on painting do not mention *kermes* as a colouring material, some very interesting information about *kṛmirāga* or Carmine is obtained from Jaina literature. Commenting on the *gāthā* 567 of the *Bhagavati Ārādhanā*, Asadhar observes that in the Sanskrit commentary and glosses, *kṛmirāga* was an

insect product and was used in dying valuable shawls. There is another interesting story of a Persian merchant in *Bṛhad Kathākośa*. In the Prakrit commentary the following story about its origin is quoted. In the country of the Carmaranga Mlecchas, it was a custom to draw out human blood with leeches and collect it in vessels. After a few days, weevils were produced which yielded the *kṛmirāga* for dying shawls. There is another interesting story of a Persian merchant in the *Bṛhad Kathākośa* in which he buys a girl, feeds her for six months and draws her blood with leeches and produces *kṛmirāga* insect thereby. From these it can be surmised that the production of carmine was a closely guarded secret and that it was not an Indian product. Probably the people of Samarkand and Persia had the monopoly of its production.

The Arabs called a red insect dyestuff *kermas*. This Arabic definition was taken over into medieval Latin in the form of the adjective *Kernasinum*, from which the Italian Cremisino, the French Cramoisie and the English Crimson.

The *kermes* is tied in a piece of cotton cloth with the *paṭhānilodh* and *bujnuk*. It is allowed to soak in water for the whole night. Afterwards, it is boiled on slow fire and then strained. When the water has evaporated the residue should be mixed with very acid curd (*dahi*). If black shaded carmine is desired, no curd should be added.

Blue

Symbolically and aesthetically, the colour blue has appealed to Indian mind. Its various shades have been extensively and beautifully used in the Indian painting.

Indigo. The medieval texts on painting acclaim indigo being the chief blue of the painter. It was extracted from a certain plant known as *Indigoferae*. It was primarily used as dye, but was also used as blue pigment. Its use is apparent in the palm-leaf manuscripts of Western India.

Ultramarine azure (*rājāvarta*, *lazvard*) There is evidence to show that blue was extracted from the lapis lazuli in quite early times. The lapis lazuli, from which ultramarine blue was extracted, is almost exclusively found in Badakhshan and Persia. The stone was imported from Persia, and perhaps, the colour was also imported from Persia ready-made as no process of its manufacture is mentioned in Sanskrit texts. In the palm-leaf period of Western Indian painting ultramarine blue

was not used but in miniatures on paper, it was however, a favourite blue.

Yellow

In the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* orpiment (*haritāla*) is mentioned as one of the colouring materials. In the medieval Indian palm-leaf manuscripts orpiment was used for correction and as a yellow pigment. Two kinds of orpiments, *dagaḍi* and *vargi*, are known and only the latter is used as a pigment. The orpiment is thoroughly levigated to the consistency of fine wheat flour and sifted. This powder is again levigated with the gum Arabic solution.

Orpiment is a sulphide of arsenic and found in nature as stone. Its colour is light, vivid yellow, sometimes pure yellow, but more often slightly inclined towards orange. In its natural state, it has a mica like sparkle which recalls the lusture of gold.

Peorī. It is certain that *peorī* was never used as yellow in the miniatures of the palm-leaf period and no Sanskrit text makes any allusion to it. It seems that the colour was introduced from Persia. It is equally favourite as orpiment in the miniature on paper after 1400 A.D. The *peorī* was obtained from urine of the cow fed on mango leaves for a few days. The urine was boiled and after the water was evaporated, the sediments was rolled into balls, which were dried at first on charcoal and then in the sun. The colour is deep yellow and very pleasing to the eye.

Green

White, black, red, blue and yellow are the basic colours according to the *Silpaśāstras*. The rest of the colour shades were obtained by admixtures. Green was used in palm-leaf paintings not as a separate colour, its shades being obtained by admixtures. After 14th century, however, several greens seem to have added to the palette of the painter.

Terraverte. The different varieties of green earth yielded rather a dull transparent green soapy in texture.

Harābhātā or *Harādhābā* seems to have malachite green. This mineral occurs in several modifications in nature.

Zangāl Verdigris is an acetate of copper prepared by pieces of copper with vinegar.

Mixed Colours

The following lists of mixed colours (*miśravarna*) are found in the *Mānasollāsa* and *Silparatna*.

Mānasollāsa list

- (1) Cinnabar mixed with conchshell lime yields a red-lotus hue.
- (2) Lac-dye mixed with conchshell lime yields the shade of the *rasa*(?) (variant *chora*) plant.
- (3) Red ochre mixed with conchshell lime powder yields the shade of smoke.
- (4) Orpiment mixed with conchshell lime yields the shade of the *chorāśva*(?) plant.
- (5) Lampblack mixed with conchshell lime also yields the shade of smoke.
- (6) Indigo mixed with conchshell lime yields the pigeon gray.
- (7) Indigo mixed with orpiment yields green.
- (8) Lampblack mixed with red ochre yields dark brown shade.
- (9) Lampblack mixed with lac dye yields the shade of the *patala* flower.
- (10) Lac-dye mixed with indigo yields the deep purple of the *Jambū* fruit.

Silparatna list

- (1) White mixed with red yields a fair-colour (*gauracchavi*).
- (2) White, lampblack and yellow mixed in equal proportion yield a speckled shade (*sāra*).
- (3) White and lampblack mixed in equal proportion yield an elephant grey.
- (4) Red and yellow mixed in equal proportion yield the shade of the *bakula* fruit or flame.
- (5) Red with yellow in proportion of 2 to 1 yields deep red (*atiraktaka*).
- (6) Yellow mixed with white in proportion of 2 to 1 yields a tawny colour (*piṅgala*).
- (7) The body colour is obtained by the following admixtures :
 - (i) Yellow mixed with lampblack in proportion of 2 to 1 ;
 - (ii) Lampblack and yellow in equal proportion.

- (8) Orpiment mixed with deep brown yields the shade of a parrot's feather.
- (9) Lac-dye mixed with vermilion yields deep red.
- (10) Lampblack mixed with lac-dye yields the deep purple of the *Jambū* fruit.
- (11) Lac-dye, *jātiliṅga*, white and vermilion mixed in equal proportion yield the body colour of the members of higher cast.
- (12) Lampblack mixed with indigo yields the shade for hair.

Gold

In the Western Indian miniatures of the paper period, gold is extensively used as colour. It was very favourite with the painters as it suggested power and grandeur and as its gleaming lustre appealed to the eyes.

In the *Mānasollāsa*, a detailed description of how to prepare gold powder is given. It seems that the *virāṇa* grass with short pointed tips mixed with gold-leaf was levigated slowly with the pestle on a stone slab. Then the powder was put in a bronze vessel mixed with water ; it was washed several times till the sand and dust were completely eliminated. After this the gold powder (*hemakalka*) was ready to be used mixed with the size (*vajralepa*) in very small quantities. While applying gold to a painting, only the tip of the brush was dipped in the colour and only golden ornaments were painted with it. When the gold had dried, it was burnished with boar's tusk in order to impart gloss to the colour.

From the above description of gold powder, an interesting point emerges. It is emphasised that gold was to be used in very small quantities. Apparently it was considered too precious to be wasted and only ornaments were to be painted with it. This injunction apparently explains the absence of gold in the 12th and 13th century palm-leaf miniatures and its cautious use in the 14th century miniatures and cloth paintings. In the 15th century however, gold is profusely used and that may be due to cheapening of gold price.

Abridged from Moti Chandra, *Jaina Miniature Paintings from Western India*, Ahmedabad, 1949.

Lives of the Jinas and other Stories*

Mahavira

At the close of his allotted period of existence in heaven, Mahavira, the last of the *Tirthankaras*, took conception in the womb of Devananda, the wife of *Brāhmaṇa* Risabhadatta, in the town of Kundagrama near Vaisali, capital of Vedeha.

That night the *Brāhmaṇi* Devananda lay in fitful slumber, between sleeping and waking, and she dreamed fourteen auspicious and blessed dreams, to wit : of an elephant, a bull, a lion, the anointing (of the goddess Sri), a garland, the moon, the sun, a flag, a vase, a lotus lake, an ocean, a celestial abode, a heap of jewels and a flame. She awoke from these dreams happy and contented ; and having firmly fixed the dreams in her mind, she sought the *Brāhmaṇa* Risabhadatta and related to him the dreams. Risabhadatta saw that they foretold a son, beautiful and perfect and clever, who would become acquainted with all branches of scripture, grammar and science.

Meanwhile, Sakra (Indra) sat on his throne in the council hall Sudharma in heaven. He was then enjoying the divine pleasures like music, playing and story-telling. He likewise surveyed the whole land of Jambudvīpa with his all-embracing gaze, and he saw that Mahavira was conceived in the womb of Devananda. Trembling with delight, he arose from his throne and advanced in the direction of the Holy One. Then from there he paid his respects.

It immediately occurred to him that it never had happened nor ever could happen that any *Arhat*, *Cakravartī*, or *Vāsudeva* had taken birth in a low or degraded or in any *Brāhmaṇa* family, but only in noble families of pure descent. 'This is the first time that an *Arhat* has taken conception in an unworthy family ; however, it has not yet happened that one has ever been born in such a family I shall therefore cause the venerable ascetic Mahavira to be removed from Brahmanical quarter Kundagrama and from the womb of the *Brāhmaṇi* Devavananda, and to be placed as an embryo in the womb of the *Kṣatriyāṇi* Trisala, wife of *Kṣatriya* Siddhartha ; and the embryo of the *Kṣatriyāṇi* Trisala to be

* These biographical sketches and stories have references to the Jaina miniature paintings reproduced in this journal.

placed in the womb of the *Brāhmaṇi* Devananda.' Thus reflecting, he called Harinegamesi, the commander of his infantry and instructed him to exchange the embryos, and to return and report the execution of the command.

Harinegamesi descended from heaven and reached the town of Kundagrama and the house of the *Brāhmaṇa* Risabhadatta. There he bowed eight times to Mahavira, and cast the *Brāhmaṇi* Devananda into a deep sleep, and all her retinue ; removing all that was unclean, he brought forth what was clean, and placed the embryo of the venerable ascetic Mahavira in the womb of the *Kṣatriyāṇi* Trisala, and the embryo of the *Kṣatriyāṇi* in the womb of the *Brāhmaṇi* Devananda. And having so done, he returned whence he came. This befell on the eighty-third day after conception, in the middle of the night.

On that night the *Kṣatriyāṇi* Trisala lay on her couch, twixt sleeping and waking, in her bower. Then there came to her the fourteen auspicious and delightful dreams that the *Brāhmaṇi* Devananda had formerly dreamed.

From these auspicious and happy dreams the *Kṣatriyāṇi* Trisala awoke. She then sought the couch of the *Kṣatriya* Siddhartha, and related to him the fourteen dreams, and asked her lord what they might portend. He foretold that she would give birth to a son, who would establish the fame of their family.

At daybreak, Siddhartha called for his servants, and ordered them to prepare the hall of audience. He himself went to the royal gymnasium and practised exercises, such as jumping, wrestling, fencing, and fighting, till he was wearied. Then he was well shampooed ; and when he was refreshed, he entered the bath-room. He bathed himself with pure scented water. Then he dried himself and donned a new and costly robe. A royal umbrella was held above him as he proceeded from his bath and took his seat in the hall of audience, surrounded by chiefs and vassals, ministers, merchants and masters of guilds. On the one side of the throne he had set eight chairs of state ; and on the other a curtain was drawn and behind this curtain was placed a jewelled chair of state for the *Kṣatriyāṇi* Trisala.

Then Siddhartha sent for the interpreters of dreams ; and they came from their houses and took their seats on the chairs of state. Meanwhile Trisala took her seat behind the curtain. Siddhartha recounted the dreams to the interpreters, and they, after consideration and

discussion, replied : “O beloved of the gods, there are thirty Great Dreams enumerated in our books, and of these, those who dream fourteen dreams are the mothers either of Universal Emperors or of *Arhats* ; and hence the *Kṣatriyāṇi*, having seen fourteen, will be the mother either of a *Cakravartī* or of a *Jina*.

The king Siddhartha gladly accepted this interpretation and dismissed the interpreters with gifts.

After the lapse of nine months and seven and a half days, in the middle of the night, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Uttaraphalguni, Trisala, perfectly healthy herself, gave birth to a perfectly healthy boy.

That night was an occasion of great rejoicing ; the universe was resplendent with one light, as the gods and goddesses descended and ascended, and great was the noise and confusion of the assembly of gods. These gods appeared to celebrate the feast of anointment (*abhiṣeka*) of the *Tirthankara*'s birth-day. Siddhartha proclaimed a ten days' festival in his city, with remission of taxes, alms-giving, and so forth. On the twelfth day there took place a royal banquet, and it was announced that the boy's name would be Vardhamana.

Mahavira dwelt in Videha thirty years, before his parents departed to the world of the gods ; and then only, with the permission of his elder brother and the great men of the kingdom, he fulfilled his vow. He made a suitable distribution of all his wealth. This distribution of gifts occupied a whole year, at the end of which time, Sakra with four order of gods came to Ksatriya Kundapura. He created by magic a divine pedestal (*deva chamda*) with a throne and footstool. Then placing Mahavira on the throne he bathed him with pure water and precious oils and robed him in the lightest of figured muslins. Then the gods again created by magic a splendid palanquin called Candraprabha provided with a throne.

After completing a three days' fast, Mahavira ascended the throne and took his seat in the palanquin ; in front it was borne by men, by the gods behind. It proceeded from the Ksatriya quarter of Kundapura along the highway toward the park called Jnatrisanda. Just at nightfall the palanquin came to rest upon a little hillock beside an *Aśoka* tree ; Mahavira descended and took his seat beneath the tree, with his face toward the east. He removed his ornaments and fine clothes and tearing out his hair in five handfuls, he obtained *dikṣā*, vowing to commit

no sin. At the same time he donned a divine garment, which he accepted from Sakra who received the rejected ornaments and fine clothes and removed them to the Ocean of Milk.

Mahavira obtained the degree of knowledge called *Manahaparyāya* and he resolved to neglect the care of his body for twelve years, bearing with equanimity all pleasures and pains, whether arising from divine powers, from men or from animals. The twelve years duly passed and it was in the thirteenth year that Mahavira, seated in deep meditation beside a *Sāla* tree, near the town Grimbhikagrama, attained *kevala-jñāna*, infinite and supreme knowledge and intuition.

Now the time had come for him to teach the doctrine of the *Jinas*. To this end the gods prepared for him a *samavasaraṇa* or preaching hall, and entering this by the eastern gate, he took his seat upon the throne, and taught the Divine Law to gods and men.

During a period of nearly thirty years following, Mahavira wandered to and fro, spending the rainy season in different cities, founding a great community of monks and lay votaries, and teaching the five great vows, the doctrine of six classes of living beings, and so forth. At the end of that time, in the town of Pava, the venerable ascetic Mahavira entered *nirvāṇa*, cutting asunder the ties of birth, old age and death, becoming a *Siddha*, a *Buddha*, a *Mukta*, one who is finally released, never more to return, entering the paradise of perfected souls.

Parsvanatha

Parsvanatha was born at Varanasi. His father's name was Asvasena and mother's Bama. Below we give certain episodes peculiar to Parsva from *Pārsvanāthacarita* which relates the story of nine prebirths of Parsvanatha and Katha (originally the brothers Marubhuti and Kamatha in each of which the former is slain by the latter, but dies forgivingly. When Marubhuti is reborn as Parsva, Kamatha is reborn first as Katha or Kamatha, who becomes an ascetic and later as the *Asura* Meghamali.

One day Parsva saw Katha surrounded by a great concourse of people, performing the severe five-fire-penance (*pañcāgnitapa*). And he saw that Katha had thrown a great serpent into a fire-pan which stands upon the fagots of the fire. He asked the reason for this pitiless practice, inconsistent with Katha's own austerities. Katha replied that kings might understand elephants and horses, but that sages alone understood religion. Parsva had the fire put out, the agonised serpent

died and was reborn as Dharana, king of the *Nāgas* in the subterranean home of the serpents. Katha, as the result of his false practice, was reborn as an *Asura* by name of Meghamali.

Parsva, happening to see on the wall of his palace a picture of the *Arhat*, Nemi, who had taken the vow early in life, decided to do the same. At the foot of an *Aśoka* tree he renounced power and wealth, plucked out his hair, and at the age of thirty, obtained *kevala* knowledge. He wandered from place to place, instructing, and acclaimed as a *Tirthankara*. In course of his wanderings, Lord Parsva was attacked by the *Asura* Meghamali (the soul of Kamatha) with tigers, elephants, and scorpions, but, when he showed no fear, they slunk off, as though ashamed. Meghamali then tried to submerge him in the waters produced by a fearful thunderstorm ; even then the Lord did not budge from his place and his pious meditations. Dharana finding out by superior insight that Kamatha was attacking the Lord, fashioned by means of his serpent hoods an umbrella over his head : the Lord stood there submerged in a deep trance, retaining his equanimity in the face of both Kamatha's attacks and Dharana's devotion. Dharana then excoriated Meghamali's hatred of the Lord, pointing out that he had done him no injury, but on the contrary, had saved him from the sin of burning up Dharana on the occasion of his uncanny practice. Meghamali then repented, took resort to the Lord, and went home, determined to devote himself to piety. Thus ended the drama of the persecution of the soul of Marubhuti by the soul of Kamatha, carried on through ten existences.

Aristanemi

At Sauripura, Siva, the wife of Samudravijaya, dreamt at dawn the fourteen great dreams. Then at midnight of the 5th of Sravana *śuklā* she gave birth to a child of dark colour with the mark of a conch. The child was given the name of Aristanemi. He grew up at Dvaraka into a young man.

Indra once described the peculiar virtues of Nemi to the gods. The latter unbelieving assumed human forms and waged war upon Dvaraka ; Balarama and Krisna were defeated and made prisoners. Then Krisna's wives went to their brother-in-law Nemi and said humbly that he, being a *Jina*, a *Tirthankara*, was of unlimited power, and that though his brothers had been carried off he was unmoved and his valour would be of no account unless it was shown now. Nemi considered for a while, then proceeded against the enemy. He completely defeated the gods and brought back Andhakavrisni, Balarama and Krisna.

Here is another episode. His cousin Krisna was also of super-human strength, and was able to blow a large conch from which it was believed no other person could produce a blast. One day Nemi saw it lying on the ground, and asking why that toy was lying there, he took, it up and blew such a blast upon it as quite alarmed Krisna ; who began to enquire who it was that could blow upon his conch. On finding it was his cousin, he became jealous of him as a rival, and accordingly directed his hundred *gopis* to excite amorous thoughts in Neminatha and shame him into marriage, thinking this the only way to put down his strength. The *gopis* began to tease him and tell him as he was grown up to manhood he ought to marry. At first he refused, but after a deal of reviling and reproaching he consented, and Krisna selected for him Rajimati the daughter of Ugrasena of Girnar. When the wedding day came and Neminatha approached Junagadh, he saw a flock of sheep and herds of cattle collected to be sacrificed for the people that had assembled to celebrate the wedding : the sheep were bleating piteously, and, struck with pity for them and the vanity of human happiness, and to save the lives of so many animals, he resolved to become an ascetic, gave up the world and retired into the Girnar hills. Rajimati also renounced the world.

Risabhanatha

Risabha was a Kosalan *Kṣatriya* of the Kasyapa *gotra*. He was born at Vinata (modern Ayodhya) towards the end of the period of *Yugalins*. His father's name was Navi and mother's Maru. He bore the five epithets representing him as Risabha, the first king, the first mendicant, the first *Jina*, and the first *Tīrthankara*.

As the wish-yielding (*kalpa-vṛkṣa*) trees began to disappear, people became very much quarrelsome and lost respect for one another. So they elected Risabha as their king. Thus he became the first king. It was he who, again, first taught men and women different arts and industries. He taught seventy-two sciences of which writing was the first, arithmetic the most important, and the knowledge of omens the last, the sixty-four accomplishments of women, hundred arts and three occupations of men. The arts as those of potter, blacksmith, painter, weaver and barbar, (each of the five principal arts was subdivided into twenty branches,) were taught while the occupations such as agriculture, trade etc., developed everywhere. Dancing, singing, music, etc., were the accomplishments of women.

Due to disappearance of *kalpa-vrkṣas*, men used to live on leaves and vegetables, but they could not digest them. At this time fire broke out by means of constant striking of trees against one another on account of heavy storm. The people were astonished at this new phenomenon and were advised by Risabha to keep the fire burning by adding fuel to it. He then taught them the preparation of earthen wares and advised them to take cooked food only. The people were cured of indigestion by following his advice. But they felt the necessity of protecting the earthen wares from being broken by wild animals. Risabha taught them the art of building huts and art of painting for adorning the rooms. He then taught them the art of weaving cloth.

During his reign he caused several palaces to be built and big markets opened. He had the town encircled by big walls. The people were taught to tend cattle. They began to cultivate land with the help of cattle. Land yielded abundant crops and the people started business on an exchange basis. To teach people the practice of piety he gave gold coins in charity for a year, gave separate kingdoms to his sons.

Risabha ruled his kingdom with equity and wisdom and at last gave up his sovereignty in favour of his eldest son Bharata. He went to Purimatala (modern Prayaga) and initiated himself as a wandering ascetic. Emaciated by his austerities he was reduced to a collection of skin and fibres. In course of his wanderings he came to the house of Sreyamsa Kumara and drank sugar-cane juice offered by him. He travelled far and wide and at last acquired *kevala*-knowledge.

Story of Kalaka

There was a town in Bharatavarsha, named Dharavasa. The king of that town was Vajrasimha and his chief queen was Surasundari. They had a son expert in every science, named Kalakakumara. One day he was returning from a drive, and saw Gunakara, a Jaina priest, preaching in the mango park. He approached the monk, bowed, and listened; and was converted and joined the order. When he had completed his religious studies, his teacher established him as head of the order in his stead. With five hundred monks he proceeded to Ujjayini, and there remained for some days, preaching. Meanwhile there also arrived a party of pious nuns, amongst whom was beautiful and devout Sarasvati, Kalakacarya's younger sister.

Gardhabhilla, king of Ujjayini, passed that way, and seeing Sarasvati, desired her, and carried her off against her will. Kalakacarya

remonstrated with the king but in vain. Kalakacarya summoned the fourfold Synod ; but that also in vain, and Kalakacarya made a vow, 'either to drive the king out of his kingdom, or himself to go the way of those who are the enemies of the faith and destroy piety'. So saying the Wise One reflected that he must have recourse to cunning, since the king was brave and powerful, and expert in ass-magic. He dressed himself as a madman, and frequented cross roads and market places calling out 'If Gardhavilla is king, what of that ? If I go on begging, what of that ?' When the townsfolk heard the Wise One crying out in this way, they blamed the king. When the ministers heard that all the folk of the city blamed the king, they said to him, 'Sire, do not do so, but set free the nun.' But the king was wroth.

Now the Wise One left Ujjayini and went to the land of Sakas. The princes there were called Sahis and their overlord the Sahansahi. Kalakacarya remained at the court of one of the Sahis, and brought him under his power. One day when the Sahi was talking with the Wise One, the doorkeeper announced the messenger of the Sahansahi. He was brought in and gave the king a present, a sword sent by his master. Thereat the Sahi's face darkened. When the messenger had departed, the Wise One asked the Sahi why he was thus downcast at receiving a mark of favour from his master. 'Honourable sir,' he replied, 'that was not a sign of favour, but of anger. When he is wroth with us he sends a sword, and we must slay ourselves therewith, and since he is mighty, his commands must be obeyed.' The Wise One enquired, 'Is he angry only with thee, or with others also ?' The Sahi answered, 'He is angry also with the ninetyfive other Sahis, since the sword bears the number 96.' The Wise One said, 'If so, do not slay thyself. Send a messenger to the other Sahis to say that we shall set out for Hindusthan.'

So they did and came to Saurastra. Kalakacarya urged them to capture Ujjayini as there they would find good living. They said, 'With a good will, but we have no resources.' So the Wise One with magic powder changed all the potter's stuff to gold, and said, 'Take this for your needs.'

When Gardhabhilla heard of the enemy's approach, he marched forth and met them on the borders of his country and joined battle. He was defeated and his army dispersed. He drew back into his city with the remnants of the army. The victors laid siege, and made daily assaults. One day they saw the fort empty. The Wise One said, 'Today is the Eighth, when Gardhabhilla fasts and practises his ass-magic ; go see if there be a she-ass anywhere upon the walls.' They saw that there was

one on the wall. The Wise One said, 'When she makes a great outcry, on the accomplishment of Gardhabhilla's rites, immediately every creature two or four-footed in our army will fall to the ground with blood pouring from his mouth. Withdraw, therefore, two miles from the walls but give me a hundred and eight accomplished bowmen.' So did they.

The Wise One said, to the bowmen, 'When the ass opens her mouth to cry, stop her mouth with arrows before she utters a sound.' They stopped the ass's mouth with a hail of arrows, so that it could not utter any sound ; and the magic beast fell dead outright. After this they stormed the walls and entered Ujjayini. Gardhabhilla was captured and banished. Then the princes appointed him as Sahi whom the Wise One chose. Since they were of the Saka race, they were called Sakas, and thus began the Saka dynasty.

Kalaka in Pratisthana

Balamitra and Bhanumitra, nephews of Kalakacarya, were king and crown prince of Bhrigukaccha. Their sister Bhanusri had a son named Balabhanu. The two brothers hearing of their uncle's residence in Ujjayini sent an ambassador, with whom Kalakacarya returned. In Bhrigukaccha he preached to his nephews, their sister and her son. The latter was converted, and so too were many nobles and townspeople. The household priest of Balamitra making objections, begging was forbidden. Kalakacarya departed to Pratisthana where the pious king Salibahana (Satabahana) ruled.

Salibahana was a devoted lay follower. When he learned that the Suri was coming he came out to him with his retinue and brought him into the city with great pomp and settled him there. In due course the *Paryūṣaṇa* season arrived. There in the land of Maharastra on the fifth of the bright half of the month of Bhādrapada, a festival of Indra took place. So the king made representation to the Suri to shift the date on the sixth. Kalakacarya said that was impossible but it could be shifted on the fourth.

The king said, 'If that is so, then let it come on the fourth.'

The king returned with joy and asked his wives to observe the new-moon fast so that at the time of breaking the fast afterwards they might give the monks breakfast.

It was thus with reason that the master Kalaka transferred the *Paryūṣaṇa* to the fourth and the entire Congregation concurred ; and

for that reason the *pākṣika* rites etc., were fixed for the fourteenth, otherwise directed by the Scripture to be on the full-moon day.

Story of Salibhadra

The saintly youth Samgama, son of the poor widow Dhanya, grew up in the village of Saligrama in Magadha. One day he asked his mother for a dish of sweet rice-milk. She could not afford to buy the materials, but her neighbours made her a present of them, and Dhanya gave the dish of rice-milk to her son. Just then a great ascetic, about to break a month's fast, arrived. Samgama, with profound devotion, handed his dish of rice-milk ; and received the blessing of the ascetic. He was reborn as Salibhadra, the son of the merchant prince Gobhadra and his wife Bhadra, in the city of Rajagriha. When grown up, Gobhadra married his son to thirty-two beautiful women and proposed to retire from the world. Meanwhile Mahavira arrived and Gobhadra took his vows at the Lord's hands. Subsequently he died by fasting and was reborn as a god. Thence he descended to visit his son and bestowed upon him rare treasures.

Merchants now came from abroad with rare and magnificent shawls which they offered to king Srenika. He, however, thought that he could not afford to purchase them. Salibhadra's mother then bought the eight shawls, cut each into four pieces and presented them to Salibhadra's wives, who in turn placed them at his feet. Cellana, king Srenika's queen, hearing of the shawls, begged him to take the shawls from the merchants by force. He found that Salibhadra's mother had secured them and repenting of his previous parsimony, offered to buy them from her. She, however, could do nothing as she had already given away the shawls. The king's messenger reported these matters to the king, who wondered what sort of man this wealthy Salibhadra must be. The king sent his messenger to invite Salibhadra to visit him. But Bhadra instead invited the king to visit Salibhadra. He agreed and was received in state. The occasion of the king's visit was the means of Salibhadra's enlightenment for he reflected he was not his own master.

Bhadra prepared a great shampoo for the king. As he was being rinsed his signet ring fell into the water, and was lost, but when the water was poured away, it was discovered in the jewelled bath, where, however, its glory was dimmed by the splendour of its surroundings. The king was somewhat cast down by this but recognised

Salibhadra's spiritual superiority. He returned to his palace. Salibhadra now proposed to abandon the household life. Bhadra endeavoured to dissuade him, but the only compromise he would make was to abandon his wives one by one on successive days.

In the same city lived Salibhadra's sister subhadra, whose husband was called Dhanya. She told him in tears that Salibhadra was daily abandoning his wives. Dhanya remarked that such a gradual process of renunciation was far from admirable. Dhanya's seven other wives protested against this criticism on Dhanya's part, as he was making no renunciation whatever himself. On hearing this he renounced the world then and there.

Salibhadra heard of this and followed his footsteps. Dhanya and Salibhadra received ordination from the hands of Mahavira.

Dhanya and Salibhadra entered upon a life of severe asceticism. At the end of twelve years they returned to Rajagrha in the following of Mahavira. They were about to break a month's fast and visited Bhadra's palace. But Bhadra failed to recognise them in their changed guise. They received food from a woman named Mathataharika who had in the former birth been Salibhadra's mother in Saligrama.

Salibhadra and Dhanya now determined to pursue their path to the end, practised more severe asceticism, and attained to death by starvation. They were reborn in the Sarvarthasiddha heaven where they enjoyed the highest bliss.

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Notes Illustrating Paintings

- Fig. 1 *Lord Parsvanatha, the twentythird Tirthankara.*
Palm-leaf, 1150 A.D.
Lord Parsvanatha with his usual seven-fold serpent hood.
- Fig. 2 *A page from Kalpa Sūtra.*
Kalpa Sūtra folio from Devasano Pado Bhandar, c. 1475 A.D.
Brilliant text written in gold and decorated with dancing *apsarās*.
- Fig. 3 *Sakra enjoying divine pleasures.*
Kalpa Sūtra folio, c. 1550 A.D.
Sakra is seated on a throne of honour, over him is honorific parasol. He has four arms, with *ankuśa* and *vajra* as usual. Behind him stands a male attendant with a fly-whisk. Before him stands a girl holding some offering (or another parasol). At the right there are four figures in two registers. In the upper register there are two males representing the entire court. In the lower a female dancer and a drummer.
- Fig. 4 *Sakra on throne with thirtytwo dancing figures.*
Kalpa Sūtra folio from Devasano Pado Bhandar, c. 1475 A.D.
In the centre, Sakra is seated in *bhadrāsana*. Round and behind him in all the three panels and on both the margins are represented thirtytwo dancers in different poses.
- Fig. 5 *Sakra commands Harinaigamesi to transfer the embryo.*
Kalpa Sūtra folio, c. 1550 A.D.
At the left is Sakra seated on his throne. Facing him at the right, is Harinaigamesi, with hands in a gesture of obedience.
- Fig. 6 *Vajra in his cradle nursed by a nun.*
Kalpa Sūtra folio, c. 1550 A.D.
The layman Dhanagiri having vowed to leave the world did so as soon as his son was born. The child, shortly after being born, overheard the conversation of some women attending his mother at her lying in, and learned that his father had become a monk. Desiring to share his father's life, the child determined to tire out his mother's patience by his bad behavior, and no device could appease him. About that time

the father Dhanagiri came there with his spiritual preceptor, who allowed Dhanagiri to go to visit his former family and told him to accept whatever was offered him. When Dhanagiri arrived, the mother, at the instigation of some relatives, extended to him the child. Dhanagiri accepted it and left. The child was preternaturally heavy to carry and therefore received the name Vajra (thunderbolt). Dhanagiri handed it over to his guru who in turn handed it over to the nuns, and these last entrusted it to women at their lodging house. The boy then became a perfectly behaved child. The mother, seeing the change, wanted the child back, but the women refused to surrender it. However, they allowed her to come to the house and nurse it. Once again when the child was three years old, she claimed it. Dhanagiri would not surrender it. The case was referred to the King and he said the child should go with whichever one it would heed. The mother tried first and offered it playthings but the child ignored them. Then the father told him to take up the broom if it wished to become a monk, and Vajra took it.

Vajra is seen here in a swinging cradle, attended by a nun. The subject of this episode comes in *Sthavirāvalī* and not in *Jinacaritra*. It appears that folios are wrongly pasted.

- Fig. 7 *Harinaigamesi removes the embryo from Devananda's womb.*
Kalpa Sūtra folio, c. 1500 A.D.
 Devananda is lying on her bed. At the right is Harinaigamesi leaving with the embryo.
- Fig. 8 *Trisala and the fourteen lucky dreams.*
Kalpa Sūtra folio, c. 1500 A.D.
 At the bottom of the scene Trisala lies on her couch. Above her the fourteen dreams appear in three registers : (1) an elephant, (2) a bull, (3) a lion, (4) goddess Sri, (5), garlands, (6) the moon, (7) the sun, (8) the banner, (9) jar, (10) lotus lake, (11) ocean of milk, (12) the celestial palace, (13) the jewel heap and (14) smokeless fire.
- Fig. 9 *Siddhartha at his gymnastic exercise.*
Kalpa Sūtra folio, c. 1500 A.D.
 Both in the upper and lower registers Siddhartha is represented with objects on his hand that resembles boxing gloves.

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- Fig. 10 *The interpreters of the dreams.*
Kalpa Sūtra folio, c. 1500 A.D.
 Four greybeard interpreters appear in two registers. Three hold books or rolls and two are dipping pens into ink-pots.
- Fig. 11 *Birth of Mahavira.*
Kalpa Sūtra folio, c. 1600 A.D.
 Trisala lies upon her bed, the babe Mahavira held in her right arm. A maid is standing behind.
- Fig. 12 *Celebration of Mahavira's birth festival.*
Kalpa Sūtra folio, c. 1550 A.D.
 Music, dance and gaiety all around.
- Fig. 13 *Youthful Mahavira and the jealous god.*
Kalpa Sūtra folio from Devasano Pado Bhandar, c. 1475 A.D.
 The story does not occur in *Kalpa Sūtra*. It is related by Hemacandra. When Mahavira was not yet eight years old he used to play games becoming his age. One day Sakra praised Mahavira's steadfastness in his court. One of the gods did not like it and came down to earth to test his courage. The god assumed the form of a serpent and appeared at the foot of a tree where Mahavira and his companions were playing. All the other boys fled in terror but Mahavira picked up the serpent as though it were a rope and threw it to the ground. The other boys then came back and resumed the play. The god also took the form of a boy and began to play with them. At this time the boys were climbing a tree. Mahavira got to the top first. The wager had been that the winner should mount the back of the vanquished and ride them about. He therefore got on the back of the other boys, he mounted the back even of the god. Then the god with wicked intent took the form of a terrifying demon and began to increase in size. He had not even stopped growing when the Lord struck him on the back with his fist and that blow reduced him to a dwarf. The god now took his usual form and acknowledging his mistake returned to his residence.

The painting shows at the right top Mahavira carrying a long stick. In front of him around a tree is coiled a snake (the god in disguise). Right bottom is a companion of Mahavira. At the left is the god with Mahavira on his shoulder.

Fig. 14 *Mahavira plucks out his hair.*

Kalpa Sūtra folio, c. 1400 A.D.

Under *Asoka* tree is Mahavira, dressed only in a lower garment. As he plucks out his hair, Sakra catches it. He is on a seat, so too is Mahavira. Below are mountain peaks in exaggerated conformity with the statement that the palanquin carrying Mahavira stopped on slightly raised ground. At the top are clouds.

Fig. 15 *Mahavira's austerities.*

Kalpa Sūtra folio, c. 1500 A.D.

The various specific episodes of his austerities illustrated in the paintings are found in Hemacandra's version. These are assault of the cowherd, austerities in the country of Ladha, attack by the serpent Candakausika, Sangamaka's attacks upon Mahavira, etc. The story chiefly illustrated in this painting is that of Mahavira and the cowherd who drove the spikes in his ears. Other is that of Sangamaka's attack.

Sangamaka on hearing Sakra praise Mahavira for fortitude in meditation, set out to interrupt it and attacked him with dust, storm, ants, gnats, etc ; finally he showed beautiful women. The trials lasted six months but Mahavira stood unheeding.

The story of the cowherd is as follows : A cowherd let his bulls loose outside the village while he went to milk the cows. The bulls wandered away. The cowherd came seeking the bulls and chanced upon Mahavira. He asked if he had seen the bull but Mahavira was too deeply absorbed in meditation to hear him. He asked again and when Mahavira still did not reply the cowherd in a blind fury took two spikes and drove them into his ears until they met inside his head. Then he cut off the protruding ends that no one might see them and draw them out, and left.

When Mahavira had finished his meditation he went to a near by village and entered the house of a merchant named Siddhartha to break his fast. A physician named Kharaka was there who by his unusual insight understood what had happened. While the two were discussing the matter, Mahavira went outside the village. Siddhartha and Kharaka hastened after him with medical appurtenances. They bathed Mahavira with a vessel of oil and had powerful shampooers rub him.

Under the shampooing Mahavira's joints were all loosened and with them the spikes fell apart inside his head and out they dropped from his earholes with blood. The pain was so great that Mahavira emitted a mighty cry.

In the painting Mahavira is standing between two trees, which represent the forests where the various events took place. The lion and the bird are some of the trials inflicted by Sangamaka. Two male figures stand beside Mahavira, one in the left being the physician Kharaka who is ladling oil out of a receptacle, the other, in an attitude of reverence presumably being Siddhartha.

Fig. 16 *Mahavira's Samavasarana.*
Kalpa Sūtra folio, c. 1500 A.D.

When a *Tirthankara* obtains *kevala*-knowledge, the gods prepare his *samavasarana*. The earth is cleansed for a space *yojana* around, scented and ornamented. Three walls are erected, the innermost of jewels, the middle of gold, and the outermost of silver. There are four jewelled gates to each wall. In the centre is a pedestal with a tree and under the tree are four lion thrones. The throne on the east is occupied by the *Jina*, the three others by reproductions of him. There he preaches to gods, men, birds and beasts. In the painting Mahavira sits within the *Samavasarana* with two *yakṣas* as attendants. He is not in monk's garment but is ornamented as a perfected being (*siddha*).

Fig. 17 *Parsva sporting with his wife Prabhavati, Parsva going to see the five-fire penance of Kamatha.*
Kalpa Sūtra folio, c. 1500 A.D.

In the upper register Prince Parsva is seen sporting with his wife Prabhavati on a terrace from where he sees men and women of the city going outside in haste. Being told where they are going, he also leaves with his retinue to see the show. In the lower register Prince Parsva is seen on the back of an elephant.

Fig. 18 *Kamatha performing the five-fire penance, Parsva rescuing the snakes.*
Kalpa Sūtra folio, c. 1500 A. D.

In the upper register sits Kamatha amid the five fires, the four wood fires flame about him, the sun, the fifth, is above

his head. His costume differs from that of a Jaina monk. In the lower register is Prince Parsva. In front of him stands a servant holding an axe, with which, at Parsva's command, he has split the wood. At the extreme left is the log itself from which emerges the serpent.

Fig. 19 *Aristanemi blows Krisna's conch, Krisna tries to bend Aristanemi's arm.*

Kalpa Sūtra folio, 1520 A. D.

In the upper register, at the left, the conch is on its throne, and at the right, Nemi blowing it. This alarms Krisna. He challenges Nemi to a test of strength in a fist fight. Nemi then extends his arm saying to Krisna that if he can bend down the arm he will be considered the victor. Krisna tries but fails. In the lower register Nemi stands with his left arm outstretched. Below the arm is Krisna, four-armed, trying with two of his arms to bend down Nemi's arm. From top to bottom on the right are *cakra* (discus), *saṅkha* (conch), *gadā* (mace) and Padma (lotus) all attributes of Visnu, hence of Krisna.

Fig. 20 *Krisna and his wives urge Aristanemi to marry.*

Kalpa Sūtra folio, c. 1600 A.D.

The painting shows a bathing ghat with two men standing on steps that lead down into the water. The one at the left is Nemi. Krisna faces him. Krisna is trying to convince him while Nemi is counter-arguing. Behind them on the top steps stands a female.

Fig. 21 *Aristanemi riding to the bridal pavilion, Aristanemi decides to leave the world.*

Kalpa Sūtra folio, c. 1550 A.D.

At the extreme left, in a pavilion is Rajimati. Coming towards the pavilion is the elephant, intricately adorned and painted bearing richly embroidered trappings. Two persons sit on its back. The first is Nemi. Behind him is a fly-whisk bearer. Behind the elephant are two horsemen representing the entire procession. At the bottom, on the left, is the pen containing beasts for banquet. In the centre is Nemi, first on the ground, then in a chariot, next deserting the bride, as his charioteer urges on the horses. Vegetation and flower scrolls appear in between the legs of elephant and horses to fill in the composition.

Fig. 22 *Risabha invents pottery.*

Kalpa Sūtra folio, c. 1550 A.D.

The early citizens suffered from indigestion because they ate their food raw. Risabha invented a pot (*kumbha*) for them to cook in moulding the first piece over the boss (*kumbha*). In the painting Risabha sits upon his elephant which is fully decorated and has its trunk upraised ; on its trunk is the first vessel which he has just moulded on the boss of the elephant's forehead.

Fig. 23 *A Jaina monk preaching to his disciples.*

Kalpa Sūtra folio, c. 1550 A.D.

On the left is the monk. Before him is *sthāpana* or representation of his *Guru*. At the right top is a lay disciple and at the bottom a monk disciple with folded hands. This piece also seems to be wrongly pasted as the episode is not from *Jinacaritra*.

Fig. 24 *Marudevi's omniscience.*

Kalpa Sūtra folio, c. 1600 A.D.

Risabha's mother, Marudevi, grieved by the separation from her son and the contemplation of his sufferings as an ascetic, wept herself blind. When Risabha had come into his *sama-vasarana*, his son Bharata went to inform Marudevi and took her on an elephant to see Risabha. At the sight her blindness vanished, washed away with tears of joy. She attained to omniscience on the spot and immediately died, thus achieving salvation, the first person in this *avasarpini* to do so. Her funeral rites were the first in the world and became a model for the future.

In the painting Risabha is seated at the left in a spired shrine. At the right is Marudevi on an elephant come to worship him, holding an offering in her two hands. Above the upraised trunk of the elephant is a water pitcher.

Fig. 25 *Sthulabhadra as a lion in a cave with his sisters, Sthulabhadra's sisters with Bhadrabahu (or Sthulabhadra).*

Kalpa Sūtra folio, c. 1500 A.D.

Before conversion Sthulabhadra had lived in Pataliputra for twelve years with a courtesan named Kosa. After his conversion, he once undertook as a penance, during the four months of the rainy season when monks must not wander

about, to live in the house of his former mistress. Despite her seductions he maintained his vows, although another monk who later undertook to imitate him was easily led astray.

A twelve year famine now came upon the land of Magadha. During this period of confusion the Jaina canon was in danger of being lost. When the famine was over, the Sangha reassembled in Pataliputra and collected as much of the canon as the monks happened to remember, being the eleven *Āṅgas*. To recover the twelfth *Āṅga*, *Dṛṣṭivāda*, the monks sent two of their numbers to Bhadrabahu, who was then in Nepal commanding him to join the council at Pataliputra and impart this *Āṅga*. Bhadrabahu could not come because he was engaged in a vow that would require 12 years of austerity. Eventually the Sangha sent to him 500 monks headed by Sthulabhadra to learn the *Dṛṣṭivāda*. All but Sthulabhadra became discouraged by the slowness of their progress.

Sthulabhadra's seven sisters, who had become nuns, went to pay their respects to Bhadrabahu and asked him where to find their brother. Bhadrabahu directed them to the cave. When the seven sisters approached, Sthulabhadra thought to gratify them with a miracle and transformed himself into a lion. They ran back to Bhadrabahu in fright reporting that a lion had devoured Sthulabhadra. Bhadrabahu told them the truth and they returned. They told Sthulabhadra their various adventures. When his sisters had left him Sthulabhadra went to Bhadrabahu to continue his lessons. But Bhadrabahu declared that Sthulabhadra performing a miracle had shown himself an unworthy receptacle of the holy knowledge.

In the upper register is Sthulabhadra as a lion. Before him stand two nuns who typify all seven sisters. The lower register represents either the seven sisters asking Bhadrabahu where to find Sthulabhadra or, the sisters telling their adventures to Sthulabhadra.

Fig. 26 *Kalaka riding his horse, Kalaka hears Gunakara preach. Kālakācāryakathā folio Sultanate style, c. 1400 A.D.*

In the lower register Kalaka rides on his horseback attended by his three followers. In the upper register Gunakara preaches in the mango-grove to the prince Kalaka.

Fig. 27 *Kalaka and the Sahi.*

Kālakācāryakathā folio Sultanate style, c. 1400 A.D.

At the right on lion-throne sits the Sahi dressed in an elaborately ornamented costume. His face is shown almost from the full front without the protruding eye, and the face itself has a Mongolian cast. Before him sits Kalaka also in an architectural setting. Two honorific parasols appear at the top of the picture. Above Kalaka is a cluster of military standards. In between them is the messenger who has come from the Sahi's overlord, bringing the sword with which the Sahi is to cut off his own head and the bowl in which he is to send it to the overlord.

Fig. 28 *Kalaka converts the bricks to gold.*

Kālakācāryakathā folio, c. 1400 A.D.

In the upper register is Kalaka standing before the flaming brick kiln, his right hand outstretched to sprinkle upon it the magic powder that converts the bricks to gold. Behind him is a Saka with Mongolian face, carrying away two bricks on his head. In the lower register is the Sahi seated on his horse watching another Saka carry away two bricks. The armour of the Sahi consists of a long coat of linked mail.

Fig. 29 *The siege of Ujjayini and defeat of she-ass magic.*

Kālakācāryakathā folio, c. 1400 A.D.

The city wall of Ujjayini appears with a towered gate. Gardhabhilla sits within weaving his spells and the she-ass magic appears before him standing upon one of the towers. Its mouth is wide open to bray. Above king Gardhabhilla is the captive nun Sarasvati, who observes a fast. Outside the city wall are the besiegers, three Saka bowmen on foot with drawn bows and Kalaka on horseback, also with drawn bow.

Fig. 30 *King of Pratisthana with his family.*

Kālakācāryakathā folio Sultanate style, c. 1400 A.D.

King Salibahana of Pratisthana was a devoted lay follower. Here he is seen with his family. Lower register depicts horses and elephants with an attendant.

Fig. 31 *Salibahana asks his wives to observe new-moon fast.*

Kālakācāryakathā folio Sultanate style, c. 1400 A.D.

Salibahana is seated on the throne. In front of him is his chief queen. Other queens are on the upper register.

Fig. 32 *Marriage of Salibhadra.*

Sālibhadra Mahāmuni Coupāi, 1826 V.S. (1769 A.D.)

Bride and bridegroom are seated in the centre with thirtyone other brides in the right. A music party is in the extreme left.

Fig. 33 *Lord Risabhanatha, the first Tīrthankara.*

Vijñaptipatra, 1866 V.S. (1809 A.D.)

This Letter of Solicitations was sent by the Jaina Community of Merta to Sri Vijayajinendra Suri of Bhavnagar to come and visit their city.

A portion from an illustrated roll depicting many scenes.

Cover *A Tīrthankara, presumably Lord Padmaprabha.*

Palm-leaf Manuscript of *Niśītha Cūṇṇī*, Santinath Temple Bhandr, 1127 A.D.



A FRIENDLY TIP... (NO. 1)



MY DEAR, WHY YOU LOOK SO DULL?
DON'T YOU GET GOOD SLEEP?

STRANGE!.... HOW DID YOU KNOW!!
BUT YOU LOOK SO FRESH.....
SO RELAXED,
HOW?

AH! IT'S SO SIMPLE!
I SLEEP WELL.....
SLEEP ON 'RILAXON'
YOU TOO SHOULD.
SUGGEST FOR
IMMEDIATE CHANGE
IN YOUR HOME
TO-DAY

BE
REST
ASSURED
RILAXON
MATTRESSES & CUSHIONS
GIVE
REFRESHING
COMFORT !

Mrs. HASTINGS MILL, LTD., CALCUTTA-1.