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Courtesy: American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi
BOOK REVIEW


Ravinder Kumar Jain, the translator of Uttarādhyayana Sūtra in Punjabi, has made a commendable attempt to bring out the Punjabi translation of Śrī Upāsakadaśāṅga Sūtra, the seventh āṅga of the sacred Jaina canonical literature. Despite the enormous difficulties of finding exact equivalents in Punjabi, the author has successfully imbibed the true spirit of the original text in the translation coupled with critical comments and comparative study wherever necessary. This work is of utmost importance for the Punjabi speaking śrāvakas as it was difficult for them to follow the Ardhamāgadhī texts in original. The work presents the exemplary character of the ten śrāvakas whose lives, according to the author, contribute something unique for the masses to follow. This book is really indispensable for every Punjabi śrāvaka who believes, thinks, and acts according to the holy path as propounded in Lord Mahavira’s teachings.

For the benefit of the reader, the author has appended collection of gāthās and introduction to the prominent persons referred to in the present text. A critical survey of social, economic and political conditions as enunciated in Śrī Upāsakadaśāṅga Sūtra has been made in an unprejudiced manner. At the end of the book, a note on Mahā Mantra Nava-kāra has also been added.

—Sajjan Singh Lishk
A Nonpareil Ambika Image from Patian-Dai

MARUTI NANDAN PRASAD TIWARI

Yakṣas and Yakṣīs, constituting a class of semidivine beings of Jaina pantheon, are technically known as Śāsanadevatās, guardian deities of the order. According to the Jaina belief, Indra appoints a Yakṣa and a Yakṣī as attendants with every Jina. Although the pairs of Yakṣas and Yakṣīs, for the twenty-four Jinas were evolved sometime in the 8th-9th century A.D., yet their detailed individual iconography was settled only in the 11th-12th century A.D. One of the earliest instances of the collective representations of the 24 Yakṣīs, is known from the Temple No. 12 at Deogarh (Lalitpur, U. P., 862 A.D.), where their independent iconography was not yet settled, except for Ambika, a Yakṣī of longer tradition.¹ The other two instances are carved in the Barabhuji cave (Khandagiri, Puri, Orissa, 11th-12th century A.D.) and in the pari-kara of the Ambika image from Patian-Dai temple (Satna, M.P.).² The figure, fashioned in wine-coloured sandstone and measuring 1.700 × 920 metres, is now on display in the Allahabad Museum (Acc. No. AM 293).³ The image is datable to c. 11th century A.D. on account of the style and iconography both.

Ambika, traditionally associated with the 22nd Jina Neminatha, enjoyed the highest veneration in the group of the 24 Yakṣas and Yakṣīs. The Patian-Dai image of Ambika is nonpareil as well as heady in the sense that it contains the figures of other 23 Yakṣīs also along with their

¹ Tiwari, M. N. P., Elements of Jaina Iconography, Varanasi, 1983, p. 58. It is surprising that the representation of the 24 Yakṣas is not known from anywhere.
² So far only these three instances of the collective representations of the 24 Yakṣīs are known. They are all affiliated to the Digambara sect.
³ The image, bearing inscription in the characters of 10th-11th century A.D., was set up in the temple, older in date at least by 300 years, which, however, remained empty for a long time. See, Cunningham, A., Archaeological Survey of India Report (Central India), vol. IX, Varanasi, 1966 (rep.), p. 32; Amar, Gopilal, ‘Patian-Dai : Ek Guptakalain Jain Mandir’, Anekanta, year 19, No. 6, February 1967, p. 344.
names inscribed below. The figures of 18 Yakṣis are carved, in vertical rows, on two flanks of Ambika while the remaining five are portrayed, in a horizontal row, in the top parikara. The Yakṣis in the top parikara are labelled as Vahurupini, Camunda, Sarasati, Padumavati and Vijaya while those on the two flanks (from top to bottom) are Jaya, Anantamati, Vairota, Gauri, Mahakali, Kali, Pusadadhi and Prajapati (on right), and Aparajita, Mahamanusi, Anantamati, Gandhari, Manus, Jala- malini, Manuja and Vajrasamkala (on left).

The figure of four-armed Ambika, wearing a long dhoti and bejewelled in graiveyaka, necklaces, girdles (with suspended-loops), anklets, bracelets, armlets and karaṇḍa-mukuta, stands as she is in tribhanga. The goddess is provided with stellate cut halo. The small face of the goddess shows benign appearance, while other bodily features reveal sensuousness through flexions and prominent bosoms. Although the hands are damaged, yet foliage of a mango tree overhead and rendering of two sons, Subhankara and Priyankara, along with a lion mount, make the identification of the goddess with Ambika doubtless. The tiny figure of her Jina, Neminatha, the conch lāṃchana, is also carved over her head. Besides Neminātha, the figures of 12 other Jinas, two seated and all others standing in kāyotsarga-mudrā as sky-clad, are also shown in the parikara. The nudity of the Jina figures distinctly relate them with the Digambara sect. The figures of the gaja-vyāla-makara trio as throne-frame animals, are rendered on two sides. Close to the feet of Ambikā, there appear a male and a female worshippers, while another figure of a worshipper is shown on the pedestal. The representation of two-armed Sarvanubhuti (or Kubera) Yakṣa, the male counterpart of Ambika, is significant here. He is seated in lalitāsana on the pedestal and holds a mace and a mongoose-skin purse. Another point of interest here is the rendering of two-armed figures of navagrahas on the lowermost part of the pedestal. Of the navagrahas, Surya in utkāṭikāsana, holds a long-stalked lotus in each of his two hands, while other six grahas, seated in lalitāsana, show the abhaya-mudrā and a water-vessel. The ūrdhakāya figure of Rahu is followed by Ketu.

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4 The only other instance of the representation of 24 Yakṣis with their names is known from the Santinatha temple (Temple No. 12) at Deogarh.
5 The names of Ambika, Cakresvari and one other unidentified Yakṣi, are, however, not inscribed.
7 Of the two sons, one on the right is riding on a lion, the vahana of Ambika, while the other one is standing to her left.
We shall now discuss the iconographic features of each of the 23 Yakṣis in the parikara. All the four-armed Yakṣis, carved arbitrarily instead of being in traditional order, are standing in tribhaṅga with their respective vāhanas. Their names correspond with list supplied by the Digambara works, namely, the Tiloyapaṇṇatti (of Yativrsabhā, c. 8th century A.D.), the Pratiṣṭhāsārasamgraha (of Vasunandi, c.12th century A.D.) and the Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra (of Asadhara, c.1200-1250 A.D.), excepting Manuja and Sarasati. However, the name of Anatamati has been carved twice because of the engraver's mistake. The inscription, however, does not mention the names of Cakresvari, Rohini, Manovega, Manavi, Ambika and Siddhayini Yakṣis. But the figures of Cakresvari, Manovega labelled as Manuja, Ambika and Siddhayini (labelled as Sarasati) could distinctly be identified on account of their iconographic features.

The first Yakṣi Vahurupini (Bahurupini—Cunningham), accompanied by a boar as vāhana, holds a sword, a shield and a water-vessel in her three surviving hands. In the Digambara texts, Vahurupini, the Yakṣi of the 20th Jina Munisuvrata, is conceived with a sword, a shield, a fruit and the varada-mudrā in hands and riding a black cobra. Thus the present figure concurs with the Digambara tradition in respect of attributes only.

The second Yakṣi Camunda (Camura—Cunningham), accompanied by makara-vāhana, wields the varada-mudrā, a musala (or mudgara), a cup and a water-vessel. The Digambara works invariably visualize the four-armed Camunda, the Yakṣi of the 21st Jina Naminatha, as riding on a makara and holding a dāndā, a kheṭaka, a rosary and a khadga. The present figure agrees with the Digambara tradition only as to the vāhana and the attribute, mudgara (or dāndā).

8 The Digambara list of the 24 Yakṣis include : Cakresvari, Rohini, Prajñapti, Vajrasrnkhala, Purusadatta, Manovega, Kali, Jvalamalini, Mahakali, Manavi, Gauri, Gandhari, Vairotya (or Vairoti), Anantamati, Manasi, Mahamanasi, Jaya, Taravati (or Vijaya), Aparajita, Bahurupini, Camunda, Ambika, Padmavati and Siddhayini.
10 The attributes here and elsewhere are reckoned clock-wise starting from the lower right hand.
12 camunda vastikhetaksasutrajhadgotaka harit/makarastharcye pancadasadandonnatesabhak—Pratishtahasarođhāra 3.175.
The third Yakṣi Sarasati, joined by the vāhana peacock, is shown with varada-mudrā, a manuscript and a viṇā in her three surviving hands. The Yakṣi is identifiable with Siddhayini, the Yakṣi of the 24th Jina Mahavira, on account of her attributes, manuscript and viṇā.\textsuperscript{13}

The fourth Yakṣi Padumavati is none else but Padmavati, the Yakṣi of the 23rd Jina Parsvanatha. The Yakṣi, accompanied by a lion as mount, shows the varada-mudrā, lotus (twice) and a water-vessel. Barring lotuses, the figure, however, does not attune to the description of Digambara texts, wherein she is conceived with kukkuṭa-sarpa (or kukkuṭa) as vāhana and holding a goad, a rosary and a lotus as distinguishing attributes.\textsuperscript{14} However, the absence of snake here either in hand or as canopy is surprising.

The fifth Yakṣi Vijaya is joined by a lion as mount with one arm in varada, and the rest holding a thunderbolt, a snake and a water-vessel. Vijaya, the Yakṣi of the 18th Jina Aranatha, is conceived with a lion as vāhana and holding, as she does, a snake, a vajra, a disc and a fruit.\textsuperscript{15} Thus the figure reveals complete concordance with the tradition, except for disc and fruit in hands.

The sixth Yakṣi Jaya rides a buffalo and holds a musala, a noose and a water-vessel in her three hands, while the remaining one rests on a flower. The Digambara works invariably see the four-armed Jaya, the Yakṣi of the 17th Jina Kunthunatha, with boar as vāhana and holding a conch, a sword, a disc and the varada-mudrā.\textsuperscript{16} The figure does not correspond the least with the textual injunctions.

The seventh Yakṣi, Anantamati by name, rides a lion and holds the varada-mudrā, a trident, a ghaṇṭā and a water-vessel. The Digambara texts, however, visualize Anantamati as the Yakṣi of the 14th Jina Anantanatha, who, on the contrary, sitting on a hamsa bears a bow, an arrow, a fruit and the varada-mudrā.\textsuperscript{17}


\textsuperscript{14} devi padmavati namna raktavarnam caturbhujapadmasanankusam dhatte aksasutram ca pankajam/athava saddhuh devi catuvrimiti saddhuh—Pratis-thasarasamgraha 5.67-68 ; yestum kurkatasarpagatripanakottamsadvisoyata sat/pasadhi sadasaṭkrte ca dhṛtasankhaspaddido astaeka—Pratisthasaroḍḍhara 3.174.

\textsuperscript{15} simhasana caturbahravajracakraphaloragah/tejovati svarnavarna namna sa viṣayamata—Aparajitaprodha 221.32.

\textsuperscript{16} jayadevi svarnabhā krnaṣukaravahana/sankhasakrahastasa varadadharmavatsala—Pratisthasarasamgraha 5.55. Also : Pratisthasaroḍḍhara 3.171.

\textsuperscript{17} tathanantamati hemavarna caiva/caturbhujapampanam phalam dhatte/varada hamsavahana—Pratisthasarasamgraha 5.49. Also : Pratisthasaroḍḍhara 3.168.
The eighth Yakṣi Vairota (Vairata—Cunningham), provided with nāga vāhana, shows the varada-mudrā, a snake, a snake and a water-vessel. Vairotya (or Vairoti), the Yakṣi of the 13th Jina Vimalanatha, in Digambara works, is likewise conceived with snake as mount and holding snakes in two hands and a bow and an arrow in the remaining ones.\(^{18}\)

The ninth Yakṣi Gauri, traditionally associated with the 11th Jina Sreyamsanatha, in conformity with the Digambara dhyānas rides a deer with one arm in varada, and the rest holding a lotus, a lotus and a water-vessel.\(^{19}\)

The 10th Yakṣi, inscribed as Mahakali, is accompanied by kūrma as vāhana with one hand in varada and the remaining carrying a mace (or mudgara), a thunderbolt and a water-vessel. The four-armed Mahakali, the Yakṣi of the ninth Jina Puspadanta, is conceived in Digambara texts, riding a kūrma and holding a vajra, a mudgara, a fruit and the varada-mudrā.\(^{20}\) According to the Aparājitapṛcchā, the Yakṣi shows a mace and the abhaya-mudrā in place of mudgara and fruit.\(^{21}\) The figures thus fully corresponds with the tradition.

The 11th Yakṣi Kali, associated with the seventh Jina Suparsvanatha, in accordance with the Digambara texts, rides a bull and shows the varada-mudrā, a trident, a ghaṇṭā and a water-vessel in hands.\(^{22}\)

The 12th Yakṣi, labelled as Pusadadhi (correct name Purusadatta), is accompanied by an elephant as vāhana with one arm in varada and the remaining bearing a disc, a vajra and a water-vessel. Purusadatta, the Yakṣi of the fifth Jina Sumatinatha, in Digambara tradition, is likewise

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\(^{18}\) vairoti namatau devi haridvarna caturbhujah/hastadayvayena sarpa dvau dhatte ghanasavahana—Pratisthasarasangraha 5.42. Also: Pratisthasasarodhara 3.167.

\(^{19}\) However, the texts envisage mudgara in place of a lotus. padmahasta suvar-nabhā gauridevi caturbhujajinendrasasane bhakta varada mrgavahana—Pratisthasarasangraha 5.38; samudgarabjakalasam varadam kanakaprabham—Pratisthasasarodhara 3.165.

\(^{20}\) devi tatha mahakali vinita kurbahavana/savajramudgara (krsna) phalahasta caturbhujha—Pratisthasarasangraha 5.34. Also: Pratisthasasarodhara 3.163.

\(^{21}\) caturbhujha krsnavarna vajra gadavarabhayah—Aparajitapṛcchā 221.23.

\(^{22}\) However, the texts envisage fruit in place of a water vessel and even trident is sometimes replaced by a spear. sitagovrsaharudha kalidevi caturbhujha/ghan-tatisulasamukthaphalahastavaprapada—Pratisthasarasangraha 5.30; sita govrsaga ghantam phalasulavarvartam—Pratisthasasarodhara 3.161.
visualized as four-armed and riding an elephant with the *varada-mudrā*, a disc, a *vajra* and a fruit in hands.\(^\text{23}\)

The 13th *Yakṣī*, Prajapati by name, is joined by *haṁsa* as *vāhana* and shows the *varada-mudrā*, a sword (?), a *parasu* and a lotus-stalk in hands. Prajapati, if taken to be Prajnapati, may be associated with the third Jina Sambhananatha, who, according to the Digambara texts, rides a bird (unspecified) and possesses either four or six arms with *ardhendu*, a *parasu*, a sword, an *idhi* (or *padma*), a fruit and the *varada-mudrā* in them.\(^\text{24}\) The figure thus appears to have at least some correspondence with the textual prescriptions.

The 14th *Yakṣī*, although not inscribed, is distinctly identifiable with Cakrevari, the *Yakṣī* of the first Jina Rsabhanatha, who, in conformity with the Digambara works is provided with *garuda* (in human form) as *vāhana* and the *varada-mudrā* and discs (twice) as attributes in three surviving hands.\(^\text{25}\)

The 15th *Yakṣī*, Aparajita by name, is joined by *sarbha* (*aṭṭapada*) as *vāhana* with *varada-mudrā* and a shield in her two surviving hands. Aparajita, the *Yakṣī* of the 19th Jina Mallinatha, in Digambara tradition is conceived with *sarbha* (or *aṭṭapada*) as mount and a fruit, a sword, a shield, and the *varada-mudrā* as attributes.\(^\text{26}\) The figure thus reveals concordance with the textual prescriptions.

The 16th *Yakṣī*, labelled as Mahamani (correct name—Mahamanasi), with one hand in *varada*, carries a mace and a lotus in her other two surviving hands. The figure of her mount is damaged. Mahamanasi, the *Yakṣī* of the 16th Jina Santinatha, in Digambara texts, is

\(^{23}\) devi purusadatta ca caturhalfagajendra/garhagavajrasastrasphalhasta varapraṣa—Pratisthasarasamgraha 5.25; gajendra/gavajrhalodyacakravaranga hasta—Pratisthasaroddha 3.160. Also: Aparajitaprecha 221.19.

\(^{24}\) prajnapirdevata sveta sadbhujapaksivahana/ardhendupararsam dhatte phalasristavara/pratisthasarasamgraha 5.20; paksishardenduparasuphalasidhivara/sita—Pratisthasarodhha 3.158; abhayavaradaphalacandram parasurutpalam—Aparajitaprecha 221.17.

\(^{25}\) The Digambara works, however, envisages *matulīga* in one other hand. Vame cakrevari devi sthapya/dawasasadbhuja / dhatte hastadvaevajre cakrani ca tathastus/ekena bijapuram tu varada kamalasana/caturbujathava cakram dvayorguruda vahanam—Pratisthasarasamgraha 5. 15-16. Also: Pratisthasarodhha 3.156.

\(^{26}\) astapadam samarudhā devi nammaprājita / phalasikhetahastasau haridvarna caturbhuja—Pratisthasarasamgraha 5.59; sarabhasaharcye khetaphalasivarayuk harit—Pratisthasarodhha 3.173.
provided with a peacock as vāhana and a fruit, a snake (or a mace), a cakra and the varada-mudrā as attributes.27

The 17th Yakṣī Anantamati is provided with peacock as vāhana, and the varada-mudrā and a manuscript as attributes in her two surviving hands. The name of the Yakṣī, however, is repeated here but the iconography is completely different from the earlier Anantamati (seventh Yakṣī). The iconography here too does not reveal any traditional feature as envisaged for Anantamati, the Yakṣī of Anantanatha. The peacock vāhana brings her closer to Mahamanasi, the Yakṣī of the 16th Jina Santinatha, who likewise rides a peacock, whereas the manuscript is suggestive of her affiliation with Nirvani, the Yakṣī of Santinatha in Svetambara tradition.28 Thus the iconography of Nirvani and Mahamanasi seem to have some bearing on the figure of Anantamati.

The 18th Yakṣī Gandhari is endowed with makara as vāhana and the varada-mudrā and a musala as attributes in her surviving hands. The figure appears to have followed the Digambara dhyānas wherein Gandhari, the Yakṣī of the 12th Jina Vasupujya, is conceived, as riding a makara and holding a musala, a lotus, the varada-mudrā and a lotus.29

The 19th Yakṣī Manusi (Manasi—Cunningham) is accompanied by a boar (?) as vāhana with the varada-mudrā and a lotus in her two surviving hands. In Digambara tradition, the six-armed Manasi is invoked as the Yakṣī of the 15th Jina Dharmanatha, who invariably rides a vyāghra and carries lotuses in two hands and a bow, the varada-mudrā, a goad and an arrow in the remaining four.30 The figure thus concurs with the tradition only in respect of lotus and the varada-mudrā.

The 20th Yakṣī Jalomalini (correct appellation Jvalamalini) is joined by the vāhana buffalo (?) with the varada-mudrā and the trident in her two surviving hands. Jvalini or Jvalamalini, in Digambara tradition,

27 sumahamanasi devi hemavarna caturbhuja / phalahicakrahastasau varada sikhi-vahana—Pratisthasarasamgraha 5.53 ; cakrathedhirankitakaram mahamana-sim suvarnabbam—Pratisthasarooddhara 3.170.
28 Pratisthasarasamgraha 5.53; nirvaniṃ devim gauravaram padmasanam caturbhujam pustakotpalayuktadaksinakaram kamandalukamalayuta vamahastam ceti—Nirvanakalika 18.16.
29 sapdamanusalambojadanaka maharagha harit—Pratisthasarooddhara 3.166.
30 devata manasi namna saddbhujavidumaprabha/vyaghravanamarudha nityam dharmanuraginī—Pratisthasarasamgraha 5.51 ; sambujadhananamkusasarotpala vyaghraga pravalanibha—Pratisthasarooddhara 3.169.
is known as the \textit{Yakṣī} of the eighth Jina Candraprabha. She is visualized as eight-armed and riding a buffalo with an arrow, a disc, a trident, a noose, a bow, a fish, a sword and the \textit{carma} in her hands.\textsuperscript{31}

The 21st \textit{Yakṣī} Manuja (Manuji—Cunningham) is provided with horse as \textit{vāhana} and shows the \textit{varada-mudrā}, a sword and a shield in her three surviving hands. However, in the Digambara tradition there is no \textit{Yakṣī} with this name. The \textit{Yakṣī} of the 10th Jina Sitalanatha, in Digambara tradition, though called Manavi, rides, on the contrary, a boar and holds a fruit, the \textit{varada-mudrā}, a fish and a noose.\textsuperscript{32} However, another \textit{Yakṣī} Manovega, associated with the sixth Jina Padmaprabha, although differs in name, but has at least some concurrence with Manuja in respect of iconography. Like Manuja she is conceived with horse as \textit{vāhana} and the \textit{varada-mudrā}, a sword, a shield and a fruit as attributes.\textsuperscript{33}

The 22nd \textit{Yakṣī}, without her name being inscribed, is accompanied by \textit{gaja-vyāla} as \textit{vāhana} and shows the \textit{varada-mudrā} in one of her surviving hands. However, the identification of the \textit{Yakṣī} is not possible.

The 23rd \textit{Yakṣī} Vajrasamkala (Vrijamsakala—Cunningham) is joined by a \textit{hanśa} as \textit{vāhana} with the \textit{varadamudrā} and a manuscript in her two surviving hands. The \textit{Yakṣī} is identifiable with Vajrasrnkhala, the \textit{Yakṣī} of the fourth Jina Abhinandana, who, likewise, rides a \textit{hanśa} with one hand in \textit{varada} and the rest holding a \textit{nāgapāśa}, a rosary and a fruit.\textsuperscript{34}

It is hence apparent from the foregoing description that the figures of the \textit{Yakṣīs}, in most of the cases, concur with the injunctions as envisaged by the Digambara texts, such as the \textit{Pratīṣṭhāsārasamgraha}, the \textit{Pratīṣṭhāsāroddhāra} and sometimes also the \textit{Aparājitaprechchā}, as to their names and distinct iconicographic features. However, in other two identical instances of the collective renderings of the 24 \textit{Yakṣīs}, known from Deogarh (Temple No. 12) and Khandagiri (Barabhuji cave), we do not find

\textsuperscript{31} jvalini mahisarudha devi sveta bhujastaka / kandamacakramtrisulam ca dhatte pasam ca mu(ka)sam—\textit{Pratīṣṭhāsārasamgraha} 5.32 ; candrojvalam cakrasarasapa carmatrisulesujhasasihasam—\textit{Pratīṣṭhāsāroddhāra} 3.162.

\textsuperscript{32} manavi ca haridvarna jhasahastacaturbhujah / krnasukarayanastha phalahastavaranpada—\textit{Pratīṣṭhāsārasamgraha} 5.36.

\textsuperscript{33} turangavahana devi manovega caturbhujah / varada kancana chaya siddhaphalakayudha—\textit{Pratīṣṭhāsārasamgraha} 5.28 ; manovega saphalakahaphalakhadgavararcyate—\textit{Pratīṣṭhāsāroddhāra} 3.161.

\textsuperscript{34} varada hansamarudha devata vajrasrnkhala / nagapasa saksa sutrorupalahasta caturbhujah—\textit{Pratīṣṭhāsārasamgraha} 5.22-23. Also : \textit{Pratīṣṭhāsāroddhāra} 3.159 ; \textit{Aparājitaprechchā} 221.18.
that much of concordance with the tradition. Of the 24 Yakṣis, 14 in
the image under discussion fully agree with the textual prescriptions in
respect of their names, vāhanas and distinguishing attributes.35 The
names of Manasi, Mahamanasi, Jaya, Padmavati and Anantamati
although correspond with the traditional list, yet their iconography differ
from the known dhyānas, e.g. Padmavati and Anantamati ride respec-
tively a lion and a peacock (and lion) instead of kukkuṭa-sarpa and haṁsa.
It, thus, appears that these figures were probably carved on the basis of
some such tradition which is now lost to us. Siddhayika (or Siddhayini),
on account of her closeness with Sarasvati, is called Sarasati, and hence
rides a peacock, in place of a lion. Prajnapati, although labelled as Pra-
japati agrees with the tradition in respect of paraśu only. The rendering
of haṁsa with Prajapati is suggestive of her association with Brahma by
virtue of her name. Another Yakṣi Manuja may be identified with Manove-
ega on the testimony of horse vāhana and sword and shield in hands.
The figure of a Yakṣi with gaja-vaḷa-vāhana, however, remains unidenti-
fied. Thus the unidentified Yakṣi and Anantamati, carved twice, leave
Rohini and Manavi, respectively the second and the tenth Yakṣis,
unrepresented.

35 Cakresvari, Vajrasrnkhala, Purusadatta, Kali, Jvalamalini, Mahakali, Gauri.
Gandhari, Vairotya, Vijaya, Aparajita, Bahurupini, Camunda and Ambika.
Though the name of Cakresvari is not inscribed, yet the features make her identi-
Fication doubtless. The names of Yakṣis, which in most of the cases are erro-
neous, suggest that the engraver was an illiterate person.
Kautilya—A Follower of Jainism

BINOD KUMAR TIWARY

The end of Nanda dynasty and installation of Mauryas on the political scene of ancient India may be credited to Kautilya, who uprooted the rule of the former and succeeded in making Candragupta Maurya the ruler of Magadha. Kautilya\(^1\) was one of the strongest prime minister in ancient India, who not only framed certain rules and regulations for the coming generations, but laid them down in his famous book the \textit{Arthasastra}. So far the religious belief and leanings of Kautilya is concerned, both Buddhist and Jainas take him in their own fold. But if we go through all aspects of his life, it would be clear to us that he was more attached to Jainism than any other cult prevailing in Northern India during the 4th century B.C.

The ancient Jaina text \textit{Avatyakacūrṇi} not only regards Kautilya as a Jaina follower, but preserves his life in detail as well. According to it, he was born in a devout Jaina Brahmin family in B.C. 472. The name of his father was Canaka or Cani and his mother was Canesvari\(^2\) who lived in a village called Canaya\(^3\) in the \textit{Vīṭaya} or district known as Golla.\(^4\) They ancestrally belonged to Brahmin caste, but were Jaina \textit{śrāvakas} from the religious side.\(^5\) Even today, we find several families in South India, who are Brahmins by caste but traditionally are followers of Jaina cult.\(^6\)

The Buddhists give a very interesting legend regarding the birth of Kautilya. It has been narrated that he was born with all his teeth in his mouth.\(^7\) As his father was a Jaina \textit{śrāvaka}, many Jaina \textit{tīramanas} used

\(^1\) He is also known as Canakya and Visnugupta in contemporary and other texts.
\(^2\) \textit{Avasyakacūrṇi}, p. 563.
\(^3\) \textit{Avasyakasutra vr̄tti}, p. 433 ; \textit{Paristaparvana}, 8. 194.
\(^5\) \textit{Paristaparvana}, chap. VIII, verse 105.
\(^7\) \textit{Mahavansa}, \textit{gathas} 68-69.
to come to his house and at the time of his birth, they were present in
the house of Cani. He asked the śramaṇas to forecast the future of the
boy. They told him that the newly born child would be a distinguished
and famous person. Later on when he became the prime minister of
Candragupta Maurya, their forecast came to be true. Acarya Haribhadra Suri has given more attention to the life of Canakya. He says
that the presence of the Jaina śramaṇas at Canakya’s house at the time of
his birth indicates that his parents were followers of the same cult. The
Avaśyakacūrti, while narrating his life shows that he was given
fourteen types of education and became a śrāvaka during his youth.
Hemacandra, the author of Parisiṣṭaparvāna has mentioned the Jaina
pontiff Sambhutavijaya calling Kautilya ‘saṅghopāsaka’. He honours
Canakya with the title like ‘pravacanopahāsa bhīru’, ‘saṅghapuruśa’ and
‘nirjarodyāta’, which are generally used for a member of śravaka saṅgha.
He further says that it was Cankaṇa, who converted Candragupta Maurya
to Jainism and before accepting this new faith, there was a discussion
between the king and the prime minister and Canakya convinced Candragupta of the Jaina principles and ethics which he then gladly
accepted.

A story of the last days of Canakya throws some light also on his
religious belief. It is said that during the ripe old age of his life, Kautilya
was falsely charged of murdering the king’s mother. When he felt that
he has fallen in disrespect in the palace, he passed on his post to his
disciple Radhagupta, took munidikṣā and started starving himself to
death like a true Jaina. The Bhutta Paṇṇa, Santhāra Paṇṇa and Maraṇa Paṇṇa confirm this event of Kautilya’s life.

Tradition represents the ‘wicked minister’ as having repented and
returned to Sukula śīrtha on the banks of the river Narmada, where he
breathed his last and Candragupta is also supposed to have followed
him in his last days. Sukula śīrtha is the exact equivalent of Belgola,

8 Kautilya lived with Candragupta Maurya for about twenty-five years, (J.S.B.
9 Upadesapada, v. 9.
10 Parisiṣṭaparvāna, chapter VIII, verse 405.
11 Ibid., verse 411.
12 Ibid., verse 458.
13 Ibid., verse 434.
14 Upadesapada, gathas 151-172.
15 gatha, 162.
16 gatha, 73-75.
17 gatha, 569.
which in Kanarese means ‘white pond’. In the inscriptions found there, the place has been called Dhavalasarasa, which also means ‘white lake’.\textsuperscript{18}

The famous book of Kautilya \textit{Arthāṣāstra} also shows the inclination of its writer to the Jaina faith. The text mentions gods like Aparajita, Apratihata, Jayanta and Vaijyant,\textsuperscript{19} which remind us of the four gods Aparajita, Vijaya, Jayanta and Vaijyanta of the Jaina text \textit{Samavāyaṅga}. Kautilya is also shown as advising the king to prohibit the slaughter of animals for all four months of the rainy seasons during the period of \textit{Cāturmāśya}.\textsuperscript{20} The four months\textsuperscript{21} are the same in which the Jaina monks keep themselves confined to certain place to avoid any type of \textit{himsā}. Prohibiting animal slaughter during \textit{Cāturmāśya} by Kautilya also shows his inclination towards the religion of the Jinas. Besides, it is natural that if Candragupta Maurya accepted, followed and propagated Jainism, his prime minister might be a follower of the same religion. The ancient Indian history is full of examples of other dynasties and periods.

\textsuperscript{18} C. J. Shah, \textit{Jainism in Northern India}, p. 138.
\textsuperscript{19} \textit{Arthasastra}, II, 4.17.
\textsuperscript{20} \textit{Ibid.}, XIII, 5.
\textsuperscript{21} These four months are almost covered by the Christian months of July, August, September and October.
Yatis and Vratyas

J. C. SIKDAR

(from the previous issue)

Classification of the Vṛatyas

The Pancavimsa Brāhmaṇa makes mention of the following classes of the Vratyas, viz. Kanisthas\(^{50}\) or Hinas, the libidinous class who did not observe brahmacarya (continence), or carried on agriculture or trade,\(^{51}\) but deteriorated \(^{52}\) by staying in Vrati settlement.\(^{52}\) They were further sub-divided into two classes, viz. the Arhantas (saints) and Yaudhas (warriors) probably corresponding to the Sramanas and Kṣatriyas.\(^{53}\) The Arhart class of the Vratyas consisted of the Sadhakas and Sadhus (practiser of austerity and ascetics) as is clearly indicated by the connotation of the word ‘Arhart’. It is to be noted that the word ‘Arhart’ is used for the Jaina Tirthankaras or the Buddha of the Sramanic tradition to which the Jainas and the Baudhas belong. So it can be suggested that there was a close relation of the Sadhakavarga (ascetic class) of the Vratyas with the Sramanic tradition as is indicated by this word ‘Arhart’. The Yaudha class of the Vratyas was the Rajanyavarga corresponding to the ruling caste of the Aryan community. Another class of the Vratyas was the Garagira (swallowers of poison) \(^{54}\) to whom commoners’ victuals taste like Brahmana’s food, who though not consecrated, speak the tongue of the consecrated and yet call what is easy of utterance difficult to utter.”\(^{54}\) That is to say, Sanskrit was not their dilet, so it appeared difficult for them to pronounce Sanskrit learnt by them under the influence of the Vedic Aryans. This particularity is not only marked in the case of the Garagira Vratyas but is found in the case of the general class of the Vratyas. Another class of the Vratyas was represented

\(^{50}\) Pancavimsa Brahmana, XVII. 3.2.

\(^{51}\) Ibid., XVII. 1.2.

\(^{52}\) Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture, p. 39.

\(^{53}\) See Pancavimsa Brahmana, XVII. 52-53 ; cf. XVII. 1.2.

\(^{54}\) Pancavimsa Brahmana, XVII. 1.9.
by the *sama-nica-mēḍhra*\(^55\) or Jyesthas, “those whose *mēḍhra* (penis) hangs low through control of (sexual ?) passion.”\(^56\) They also lived in the Vrati settlement. They may be the worshippers of *sama-nica-mēḍhra* and the practisers of Yoga, according to A. P. Karmakar.\(^57\)

The *Latyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*\(^58\) explains *samanica-mēḍhra* in this manner that “*sama-nica meḍhras* are those who through old age have lost the power of procreation”. But the natural explanation may be that these Vratyas were divided into two main classes, viz. “those who worshipped their nude gods with the male organs hanging down (*nica meḍhra*) as in the case of the Gudimallam icon and those whose god was portrayed with his organ upraised (*urdhva-mēḍhra*) as in the case of Laukilisa.”\(^59\)

**Home of the Vṛātyas**

It is difficult to determine the original home of the Vratyas with certainty, but it is suggestive by their wandering habits that they were possibly western tribes beyond Sarasvati.\(^60\) According to the literary evidences, it is possible to locate their settlement in the east particularly in Magadhā\(^81\) because of their association with its people. The Magadhans have been mentioned in the *Sūtras*\(^82\) as a people, the wandering bands of which had a tendency to go to western lands from the east. The *Kausitaki Aranyaka*\(^83\) states that Madhyama Pratibodhiputra is a resident of Magadhā (Magadhavasin), while in the *Atharvaveda*\(^84\) Magadhā is stated to be related with the Vratyas.

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55. *Pancavimsa Brahmana*, XVII. 4.1.
59. *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture*, p. 44.
60. Dr. Radhakrishna Choudhury, *Vratyas in Ancient India*, p. 16.
62. *BDS-I, 12; BSS-XX; 13; ASS-XXIV; 6. 18; HSS-XVIII-6; ZDMG-56. 553; AA-ii. 1.1.; Keith, AA-200, S4 46 note 4. Vide *Vratyas in Ancient India*, p. 16, f.n. 34.
64. *sraddha pumscali motro magadho vijnanavasaharusnism*, AV. 15. 2.5.
Magadha is regarded by both Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra⁵⁵ and Lātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra⁶⁸ as the main centre of the Vratyas and their culture. But this region was held in contempt by the Vedic Aryans. According to them, Magadha,⁶⁷ Anga, etc. were considered as impure lands of the Non-Aryans lying at the outer land of the Aryan territory (i.e. old Aryavarta).

It should be noted in this connection that Magadha was intimately associated with the Ajivikas,⁶⁸ the Baudhas⁶⁹ and the Jainas⁷⁰ and their sramanic culture at a certain period of ancient India as it is evidenced by the ascetic life and activity of Gosala Mankhaliputra, the Ajivika leader, and Ajivika caves of Barbar hills, the Buddha’s attainment of Bodhi and his religious activity and that of Mahavira in this region.

No Vedic followers liked to maintain the relation with the Vrata culture at later periods of Indian civilization when they consolidated their position in the social life of Aryavarta, probably due to its anti-Vedic Sramanic aspect prevailing in a land beyond the Aryandom among the non-Vedic people, as is clearly indicated by the Viṣṇu-purāṇa⁷¹ in its reference to Magadha’s association with the Vrata culture.

The Cult of the Vrātyas

It appears from the study of the evidences regarding the identity of the Vrātyas that they were racially a different people from the Vedic Aryans.⁷² Actually speaking, Vrata is the name of a tribe representing

⁵⁵ KSS, XII. 4.24.
⁶⁶ LSS, VII. 6.28.
⁶⁸ See Bhagavati, 15th Satakā; Ajivika caves at Barbara Hills donated by King Dasaratha.
⁶⁹ The Buddha attained Bodhi at Gaya which is in Magadha. Rajagragha and Nalanda, the two main centres of the religious activities of the Buddhists are lying in Magadha.
⁷⁰ Mahavira passed some parts of his ascetic life at Nalanda in Magadha. His religious activities centred much at Rajagragha in Magadha as evidenced by the Bhagavati Sutra that he appeared there more than 60 times to deliver his religious sermons to the people.
⁷¹ magadhayam visvaphatika-samjho’anyany varnan karisyati...saurastravanti sudranavuda marubhumī—visayamsca vratya dvijabhira-sudradyah bhokṣayanti sindha tatadarvikovim-candrabhaga kashmira-visayan vratyo’ mlecchadayah sudra bhokṣayanti, Visnupurana, 4. 24. 18, p. 585.
⁷² Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture, pp. 41-42.
a well-organized human society of eastern India with a distinct lan-
guage, culture, civilization, customs and behaviour which were, different
from those of the Vedic Aryans. They were the non-Vedic people having
their own religion and philosophy. The religious sect of the Vratyas
might have been related to the Indus Valley Civilization as is suggested
by some archaeological evidences, such as seals having the image of a god
seated in an attitude of yoga and with urdhva meghra ; it is come across
that the ancient people was unfamiliar with the Agnihotra cult of the
Vedic tradition when the Brahmanas used to practise this cult prior to
the sunrise every day.

It is known from all works on the Vratyas that they were entirely
inexperienced in the observance of the Agnihotra cult.

The Vratyas were the opposers of Vedic customs of religion, etc.
and were the renouncers of the rules of violent sacrificial performances
of the Vedic followers as is indicated in the Atharvaveda. In the pra-
snopaniṣad the Vratyas have no doubt been praised. As pointed out,
the Vratyas were uninitiated and unreformed by the Vedic customs,
for they had no Brahmanical discipline.

In the beginning the Vratyas had no Vaisya class among them as is
suggested by the reference to two groups of them, viz. Arhant and Yaudha.
But later on it appears that they were divided as Vrata Brahmana
Vrata Ksatriya, and Vrata Vaisya and they appeared to have mixed
up with different elements of the society.

73 Ibid, p. 44. ; Pamcavimsa Brahmana (XVII. 4.1.) mentions soma-nica-mehhra
as one of the sect of the Vratyas.
74 Atharvaveda, 15. 2.
75 athahah sayanamnam pratardanamantaramagnhotramityacaksate yavadvai puruso
bhasate na tatvat pranitum saknoti pranain tada vaci juhoti yavadvai purusah
pranit....purve vidvamso agnihotram juhavmacuhru-Kaustitaki Upanisad, 2.5.
76 JBORS, XXIV, Pt. 3, pp.107-8. Vide Vratyas in Ancient India, p. 27.
77 Atharvaveda, 15th Kanda.
78 vrataystvak pranaikaspattva visvasya satpatih, Prasnopaniṣad, 2. 11.
79 vijatayah suvarnasu janayamnavatamtyaun tansavitriparibhastan vratyamiti
vinirdiseta, Manusambita, X-20. savarnasu ca esam (varnasam) acaritavratebhkyo
jata vrata iti anulomah. Cf Kautilya. Vide Vratyas in Ancient India p. 29.
80 vrata tu jayate vipratpapaitma bhujakantakah
avanya vatadhanauccha pursapayah saika eva ca-Manu X. 21.
vaisya tu jayate vratyaustdhanacarya eva ca
karusasca vijamna ca maitryah satvata eva ca-Manu X. 23.
atah..urdhve trayo'apayete yathakalam samskrtaḥ
savitri pattia vrata bhavantarya vigarhitah —Manu II 39.
It is to be noted that the names of the Mallas and Licchavis are come across in the Manuśmṛti among the Ksatriyas who have been regarded as Vratyas.\footnote{Jhalla mallasca rajanyad vratya licchavirevaca natsca karanaascaita khasau dravida eva ca—Manu X. 22.}

As already observed, the eulogy and glorification of Ekavratya\footnote{Vratya asidiyama eva sa prajapatim samairayat sa ekavratyo abhavat, etc. AV, 15th Kanda, 1-6.} have been made throughout the entire fifteenth kanda of the Atharvaveda. This Ekavratya was infused with a serenity and loftiness and had later on, according to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, developed into Rudra-Siva\footnote{Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture, pp. 40-48.} who “had a close connection with the Vratyas”\footnote{Bhandarkar, Collected Works, IV, 147-76. Vide Vratyas in Ancient India, p. 38.} as is indicated by the attributes given to him, such as Mahādeva Isana,\footnote{So avardhata sa mahanabhavat sa mahadevo abhavat sa devanamisam paryat sa isano abhavat etc. AV, 15th Kanda 1-15.} etc.

The God Siva shown on the seal illustrated in plate XII of “Mahanjodaro and the Indus Civilization” is, according to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, doubtless a prototype of the historic Siva with his three faces, seated in an attitude of yoga and with urdhva-medhāra clearly exhibited.\footnote{Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture, p. 41.} In the Sivamūdra of Mahanjodaro the pair of horns which is found meeting in a tall head dress on the head of Siva crowning his head may be the representation of uṣṇīsa of Ekavratya-Rudra-Siva in another form as mentioned in the Atharvaveda.\footnote{Ibid., p. 42.}

Pumscali (harlot), Magadha,\footnote{Sraddha pumscali matro magadho vijnanam... pravarlan kahmalirmahih, AV, 15.2.5.} etc. also are found to be associated with the Vratyadeva. But no relation of the Vratyas has developed with the Vedic God. Therefore, it may be accepted that the form of worship of the Vratyas has perhaps originated from the Vrata cult on the basis of the thoughts and ideas conceived by the Vratyas themselves.

It seems that the Brāhmaṇas did not first accept the Atharvaveda in the list of the Vedas because of its relation with the Vratyas as it is clearly indicated by the evidence that the Vedas were counted by mentioning Vedaṛayam—the Rk, Yaju and Sama,\footnote{Ara iva-rathanaḥbhu prane sarvam pratīṣṭhitam rco yajumśi samani yajnar ksatram, brahma ca—Prasnopanisad 116.} leaving aside the
Atharvaveda. It was after a good deal of struggle that the *Atharvaveda* came to be recognised as the fourth *Veda.*

The Non-Aryan gods Rudra-Siva, etc. were not accepted by the Vedic Aryans as the Vedic gods for a long period but with the passage of time the forces of racial and cultural synthesis between the Non-Aryans and the Vedic Aryans compelled the latter to admit them to the larger Vedic religious fold, as is evidenced in the 15th *kāndā* of the *Atharvaveda.*

As already pointed out, one class of the Vratyas, viz. Garagira (poison swallowers) may be associated with the Saivites directly,—as Siva is known as Nilakantha. According to the Puranic tradition, poison which emerged from the mouth of Vasuki in the course of churning of the sea by the gods and the asuras for nectar was swallowed by Siva to save the world from the poisonous effect as a result of which his throat became bluish. Thus it may be inferred that these Vratyas had inseparable relation with the Saiva *paramparā.*

It seems that Saiva *paramparā* and Sramanic *paramparā* of the Arhants of the Vratyas had mutually some similar features in the early stage of their culture because the spirit of both the *paramparās* appears to be one and the same. Both the sects are mainly based on the vows of austerity, non-violence, *yoga*, nudity, etc.

According to my revered teacher, Dr. H. L. Jain there is possibility of the identification of Rsabhadeva, the first Tirthankara with Siva and they appear to be one and the same divine personality. Therefore, a close relationship of the Vratyas with the Sramanas is indicated on the basis of the culture of the Vratyas on the one hand and that of the Vedic Aryans on the other.

Dr. H. L. Jain holds the view that the Vratyas were the monks and householders of Sramanic tradition who became the object of wrath of

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* Atharvaveda is called after particular priest.
  (a) *Atharvanangirasah-TB.* III 12 ; 9.1 ; *PB* XVI 10-10, *SB*-XVI 1. 10.10
  (b) *Bhrigu anigirasah Kausika* 63.3 ; 94.2-4 ; 137, 25 ; 139, 6, *Gopatha B*, 1.1.39; 2-18 ; 3.1.2.4 ; *AV.* V. 19.1.2. (*Bhrugum himstiva etc.*)
  (c) *Ksrteveda-SB*-XIV, 8-14, 1-4 ; *Brh. Upn.* V. 18.1.4 ; *Parsnopanisad,* II.6.
  (d) *Brahmadeva,* Sgs-1.16.3., vide *Vratyas in Ancient India,* p. 32.

* Siva Purana.

* Bharatiya Samskrtimen Jainadharma ka Yogdan,* pp. 16-17.


the Vedic followers because of their being anti-Vedic. The five principles of Jaina dharma, viz. non-violence, truthfulness non-stealing, continence, and non-possession, are called pāñcamaḥāvratas (five great vows). The Sravakas are called deśavirata or anuvratin (followers of lesser vows) and Munis are mahāvratins (followers of great vows). The Vratadhars of this type seem to have been designated as Vratyas because they are the renouncers of violent sacrificial rules.\textsuperscript{95} For this reason their praise is also found at some places in the Upaniṣads.\textsuperscript{96} In the Sankarabhāṣya the meaning of Vrata is given as "svabhāvataḥ ekaśuddha ityabhī-prāyah."\textsuperscript{97} In this way the tradition of Sramana sādhanā is come across in all the Vedic literature, Rgveda, Atharvaveda, etc. with clear reference to it.\textsuperscript{98}

\textsuperscript{95} Ibid., p. 19.
\textsuperscript{96} vratyasvam pranaika rsiratta visvasya satpathik, Prasnopanisad, 2. 11.
\textsuperscript{97} Vide Bharatiya Sanskritim Jainadharma ka Yogdan, p. 19.
\textsuperscript{98} Ibid.
A Note on
Vasunandi And His Date

HAMPA NAGARAJAYYA,

Srāvakācāra of Vasunandi is a famous Parkrit text which explains the six-fold duties of the pious Jaina house-holder viz, deva-sevā (or pūjā, worship of divinity), gurūpāsti (devotion to guru), svādhyāya (study of scriptures), samyama (self-restraint), tapas (penance) and dāna (religious donation); and the well-known eleven classes (pratimā).

Srāvakācāra which is also known as Upāsakādhyayana, contains 546 gāthās in all. In the concluding colophon the author mentions the genealogy of his gurus (Kundakundanvaya) : Srinandi, Nayanandi, Nemicandra and Vasunandi. Vasunandi says that with the blessings of his revered teacher Nemicandra he is writing Upāsakādhyayana, for the benefit of the worthy ones, which has been handed over to him by the regular unbroken tradition of Jaina teachers. Hence it is but natural that we come across parallels; gāthās from No. 295-301, and some more, are similar to those found in Srāvaka Pratikramana Sūtra. A comparative study reveals that many of the gāthās here are based on Devasenagani’s Bhāvasangrah, whose date is known definitely as 933. Asadhara-suri (1239) has clearly mentioned the very name of Vasunandi in his work Sāgāra-Dharmāṁta Tikā. Hence, in fixing up the date of Vasunandi, who has not mentioned his date, we have both the lower and upper limits clearly established; that the upper limit is 1239 and the lower limit is 933. With the help of available evidences that we had on hand, Dr. H. L. Jain, puts the date of Vasunandi as roughly between these two limits 933-1239, as mostly around 11th or 12th Century (Bahāriya Samskṛtiye Jaindharm kā Yodān, 1962 ; a Kannada Version of this book is also published in 1971 by Jivaraj Jain Granthmala, Sholapur).

Now it is left for the scholars working in the field of Jainology to find out the exact date of Vasunandi. As an humble student working in the same field of Jainology since last 25 years, I had the occasion recently of laying my hands on this problem. Luckily for me, I have two valid grounds, with the help of which the date of Vasunandi can be clarified.

Ramacandra Mumuksu (RM) the author of Puṇyāśrava Kathākosa (PKK) also mentions Vasunandi, and describes him as a versatile in Jainology, a māsopavāsin (a person who could fast for a month), who was prominent among the learned, and for whom virtues were ornaments
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(verse 6, Granthakāra Praśasti, RM, PKK, 2nd. ed. 1978, p. 338). Late Dr. A. N. Upadhye, has very rightly pointed out in his useful introduction to PKK that:

1. “Vasunandi who was an expert in siddhāntaśāstra reminds us of Vasunandi Siddhanta, the author of the commentary on the Mūlācāra, who is more than once referred to by Asadhara (1243). But it is not safe to identify any of these authors merely from the similarity of names, because the same name was borne by a number of Jaina teachers at different times and even at the same time.” (p. 31) and

2. “If Vasunandi’s identity proposed above turns out to be valid, then Ramacandra (RM) is earlier than Asadhara.” (p. 32)

Fortunately we have strong authentic evidences to prove that Vasunandi is the same person whom PKK’s author refers to. Camundaraya responsible for erecting 58 feet monolith colossal of Gommatesvara at Sravanabelgola, (Hassan District, Karnatak) was three in one; a minister, chief of the army and an author. He has completed his famous prose work Triṣaṭi-Lakṣaṇa-Mahāpurāṇa, which is popularly known as Cāmūṇḍarāyapurāṇa (CP) in the year 978. He has quoted the following gāthā from Vasunandi’s Sravakācāra in his CP:

\[
padigahamucatthanam pādedayamaceṣaṇamca paṇamam ca
maṇavayana kāyasuddhi esanassuddhi ya danavīhi
\]

This is a clear cut evidence, which is almost going to clinch the issue and solve the problem. Evidently the date of Vasunandi and the date of RM would be earlier than what is assigned to them now; Vasunandi’s date would be either earlier or contemporary to 978, and as a consequence of this the date of RM would be the middle of 12th century or still earlier.

In addition to this, I can venture to make one more proposition. Vasunandi respectfully mentions the name of Nemicandra as his guru. One can easily equate this Nemicandra with that of Nemicandra Siddhanta Cakravarti, who was the philosopher and guide of Camundaraya (978), in which case Vasunandi and Camundaraya are contemporaries. Available evidences also go to prove this.

One more evidence is there in support of this conclusion. Vaddaradnane (VA), an anthology of 19 stories, is a popular Jaina prose work.
in Kannada (1949, 6th edition 1978). Still nothing is known definitely about the name, date and place of the author. Again it is Dr. A. N. Upadhye, who first brought to lime light almost all important aspects of Kannada VA, even before it was published in a book form (1949), in his learned introduction to Brhat Kathākośa (1943). He aptly took up the correct approach to Kannada VA, in finding out the sources for Sanskrit and Prakrit verses quoted in VA. He is of the opinion that VA is later to CP (978), but not later than 11th century. In the course of these 40 years, many books and articles had been published, but it has not been possible to dislodge his suggestion.

It is in this VA, that we find the same gāthā No. 225 of Vasunandi’s Srāvakācāra quoted in the very first story (p.7) of Sukumarasvami, quoted by CP. This also goes to prove the fact that the date of Vasunandi is not later than 11th century.

It may not be out of context to mention the acknowledged fact by RM, that PKK was composed on the basis of Arādhana Karṇāṭ Tīkā of Brajīnsu; which means that RM, Vasunandi, Nemicandra all belong to Karnataka. This again reminds that the contribution of Kannada (Jain) Literature to the Jain Literature as a whole is remarkable. On the basis of data and evidences available here we can solve some of the problems and remove the knots.

It should be said to the credit of Dr. A. N. Upadhye that some of the salient points of Kannada Literature, with special reference to Sanskrit and Prakrit works, both published and unpublished, has been explored and brought to the notice of research scholars, particularly working in the field of Jainology.

Any way, with the help of Kannada works I have tried to fix the date of Vasunandi as 970, and the date of RM as the middle of 12th century I leave it to the wise descrition of the scholars to verify the validity of this suggestion.
Jaina Sculptures From Anai-Jambad

PRATIP KUMAR MITRA

Anai-Jambad,1 or more popularly Mahadev-Beda,2 is a place situated under the Purulia (Mofussil) P. S. of the Purulia district of West Bengal. To approach the site one has to travel around ten kilometres from Purulia town along the Purulia-Hura Road to a point called Bhangra Mod (crossing) and then turn right and traverse another six or seven kilometres through unmetalled and bumpy track.3 Here, in this remote and desolate place Sri Sarak Jaina Samiti of Kharkhari, Dhanbad, has constructed a modern temple over the ruins of an ancient Jaina settlement, as a part of their commendable programme to preserve Jaina antiquities and monuments in Purulia.4 This temple houses five5 unique images of Tirthankaras. These images6 were allegedly discovered from the mounds in and around here,7 and as a result of long non-exposure are in a fairly good state of preservation.8 They are made of the usual variety of bluish/greenish chlorite stone ubiquitous as medium of sculptures found from this region, but rendered blackish beyond recognition by regular application of ghee. The five Tirthankara images are placed on a high cemented platform and set up in a cemented wall. The images in order from left to right are:

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1 Anai-Jambad is situated at 23°18’ North (latitude) and 86°2’ (longitude). Cf. Suphal Mondal, Pululia Puriciti (in Bengali), Purulua, 1981, p. 59.
2 The place is also known as Paresnath or Paresnath Mahadev-Beda.
3 For alternative and shorter routes see, Subhas Mukhopadhyay, “Anai-Jambader Jaina Puraksetra” (in Bengali), Sramon, 4th year, 2nd number, Calcutta, 1383 B.S., p. 43; Idem, “Puruliar Purakirti-12 : Anai-Jambad/Mahadev-Beda” (in Bengali), Chitrak, 7th year, 1st number, Purulia, 1383 B.S., pp. 5-6.
4 The author is informed that the Sri Sarak Jaina Samiti of Kharkhari, district Dhanbad, Bihar, has restored an old Jaina temple at village Bhangra on the Purulia-Hura Road which houses a fine caturmukha shrine, and also preserved three Jaina images at village Polma on the Purulia-Manbazar Road.
5 During the author’s second visit to Anai-Jambad in December, 1982, he noticed a further Jaina sculpture being added to the collection. This is an image of Pani-catirthika variety having representations of four Jinas in kayasargsa besides Rsabhanatha, the mula-nayaka.
6 Brief but excellent notices of these sculptures are provided by Mukhopadhyay in his two articles, supra, but these are not accompanied by the photographs of the images.
7 Mukhopadhyay, Sramon, op. cit., p. 42.
8 Except the image of Candraprabha described in the text infra.
1. Tirthankara Candraprabha, 44cm × 24cm (fig. 1)

This image, one of the few seated icons of Tirthankara discovered from Purulia district, was found in damaged condition and subsequently restored. The Jina sits in padmāsana with his hands in dhyāna-mudrā on a full blown mahāmbujapīṭha having a base comprising of five squat supports on which are carved indistinct objects. Crescent, the lāñchana of the Jina is depicted on the centre of the lotus seat. The back of the throne is cut roughly along the torso of the central figure and consists of vertical panels topped by horizontal mouldings relieved with short pilasters. Enclosed within these panels, one on either side of the Tirthankara, stand male caurī-bearers wearing short lower garments and plain jewellery. The Jina sits under a projected trilinear chakra slightly damaged at the front. He has elongated ear-lobes and his hair is arranged in schematic curls with an uṣṭiṇa. A semi-circular śīraścakra gracefully rimmed with rows of leaves and pear-like beads surrounds his head. The prabhāvali is generously decorated with floral scrolls and creepers, and includes the usual garland bearing Vidyādhara couple on the edges. Pairs of heavenly hands playing on drums and cymbals are seen flanking the chakra.

2. Tirthankara Rsabhanatha, 66.5cm × 29cm (fig. 2)

The Jina, in kayotsarga posture, stands on a double-petalled lotus placed on a triratha pedestal which has a bull, the lāñchana of the Jina, in the centre flanked by crouching lions. On the left facet of the pedestal is a pair of devotees with their arms joined in adoration, while on the right are vocative offerings. The saviour is nude, the hair is dressed in a tall jaṭāmukuta with curls falling down the sides of the head and over the shoulders. On either side stand male caurī-bearers wearing lower garments and simple ornaments. The edge of the back slab contains the representation of seven planets (graḥadeviṭa) with Ganesa, arranged in four on either side of the Jina. A plain circular śīraścakra adorns the head of the Jina, which is surmounted by a trilinear chakra. Garland bearing Vidyādhharas can be seen at the top corners of the stele hovering in the conventional representation of clouds, and also a drum and a pair of cymbals struck by disembodied hands.

3. Tirthankara Parsvanatha, 140cm × 57cm (fig. 3)

This is the largest and the most graceful sculpture among the group and is befittingly placed in the centre of the podium. The Jina stands in

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kāyotsarga on a small lotus seat under the canopy of a seven-hooded snake, which is surmounted by a trilinear chatra. A nāga couple with their hands folded and tails inter-coiled springs gracefully and rhythmically from the central projection of a tríratha pedestal to just beside the feet of the saviour. A pair of kneeling devotees with their hands joined in añjali-mudrā is seen on the plane of the pedestal, which bears the representation of crouching lions on the remaining facets. The Jina is flanked by two male caūrī-bearers standing in graceful abhanga pose wearing lower garments and bedecked with jewelleries. On the edge of the rectangular back slab are the twenty-four tirthankaras arranged in pairs, one above the other. The lāṇchanas of the Jinas are carved on their pedestals and quite a number of them are recognizable. Flying Vidyādhara couple holding garlands is seen high up on the stele, and also heavenly hands beating on tammata and Jayaghāta.

4. Pancatirthika of Parsvanatha, 34cm × 34cm (fig. 4)

Parsvanatha, the múla-nāyaka stands in kāyotsarga on a double-petalled lotus under the usual canopy of a seven-hooded serpent. He wears curly hair with uṣṇīṣa and is accompanied on either side by gracefully adorned caūrī-bearers. A nāga couple with their tails entwined, the male with arms folded in namaskāra-mudrā and the female holding a musical instrument, is shown beside the attendants of the Jina. On the back slab are carved four images of Tirthankaras in kāyotsarga two in each side of the múla-nāyaka with their respective lāṇchanas depicted on a slightly raised pedestal below them. From their cognizances these Tirthankaras can be identified as Vasupuṣya and Padmaprabha to the right of the múla-nāyaka, and Neminatha and Mahavira to his left. The upper part of the stele contains the usual Vidyādhara couple, the prāthāryas of heavenly hands playing on musical instruments and a projected three-tiered chatra surmounting the snake hoods. The face and the torso of the Jina are slightly abraded. The tríratha pedestal reveals crouching lions, a female devotee, and naivedya offerings.

5. Tirthankara Candraprabha, 35cm × 18cm (fig. 5)

This sculpture is strikingly bare, devoid of embellishments, and almost certainly left unfinished. The figure of Tirthankara is carved on a recessed portion of the back-slab. The Jina stands in kāyotsarga on a double-lotus under a multi-tiered chatra. He has elongated ears and his hair is arranged in stylized curls with an uṣṇīṣa. The back-slab reveals male caūrī-bearers flanking curls on the upper—four carved on a raised background. The central pro-
jection of the *triratha* pedestal bears the *lānchana*, crescent of the Tirthankara.

The icons under discussion could be grouped into four broad categories. Of these, the image of Parsvanath placed against a rectangular back-slab with twentyfour Tirthankaras (No. 3 *supra*) could be considered as the most finished and accomplished example of sculptural form. This sculpture with the other image of Parsvanatha with four Tirthankaras (No. 4 *supra*) form a visually identifiable group. In both of these examples the modelling of the torso is done with meticulous care. This is most noticable in the delineation of the upper portion of the breast and the orientation of the lower abdomen the suppleness of which is beautifully expressed through the treatment of the soft fold of flesh around the naval region combined with the lyrical grace of the unadorned legs. Among these figures the face of the first icon is unbroken and depicts a type of modelling which successfully reveals the spiritual serenity of the subject through well placed eyes, nose, and the lips balanced by a sharp symmetry which is mellowed by soft inward curves at the corners of the mouth and below the comparatively thicker lower lip ending in hard core of the chin and proceeds downwards to show us the soft parallel conch-shell like marks on the neck. The central figure, in each case is nicely matched by the delineation of the seven-fooed *nāga* enclosing the body of the Tirthankara by a series of stylized *nāga* coils. It seems that in both examples the artist lavished more care on the main figures while the minor miniature depiction and decorations—figural or otherwise—remained more or less decorative elements or accessories of the icon as a whole. Chronologically speaking, the sculptural style of this group may be assigned to a period between the end of the tenth century to the middle of the eleventh century A.D.

The enthroned Candraprabha (No. 1 *supra*), a fragmented piece of sculpture subsequently restored brings before us a torso which betrays a kind of stiffness and lack of proportion. This aspect is most noticable in the representation of the shoulders, particularly the region where it meets with the upper-arms. The facial expression in this is marred by deeper indentations around the eyes and the stiffer representation of the bases of the nose, lips, and chin. In spite of these drawbacks from the stand point of modelling the piece of sculpture is judiciously placed as the pivotal figure adorned by the semicircular *śiraśakra*, garland bearing *gandharvas*, heavenly musicians, the *caurī*-bearers, and the decorated lotus seat below. Stylistically speaking, this sculpture represents an age reminiscent of a peak period but devoid of its aesthetic mastery over the
bodily form. It seems that it belongs to a period co-terminus with the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century A.D.

The standing Rsabhanatha image (No. 2 supra) with a pronounced $jaṭāmukūṭa$ is singular in the most expressive beauty of its modelling. It is true here the torso is not refined or sophisticated like the Parsvanatha figure (No. 3 supra) described above but otherwise it is both supple and forceful in its total aesthetic effect. The region of the face though partly damaged convincingly reveals a compassionate but inwardly resolute mind absorbed in its own realisation visually made clear by a masterly depiction of the upper-face and eyes. Whatever it lacks in respect of a finely modelled neck and a elongated and sophisticated treatment of the body is amply compensated by the artists' attempt to conceive and re-present a superman based on his experience of a highly sensitive men of the world. On the ground of style this piece of sculpture may well be assigned to the middle of the tenth century A.D.

As is well known in the indigenous technique of icon carving the highest planes to be modelled are traditionally carved at the first instance. From this standpoint the sculpture of standing Candraprabha (No. 5 supra) is an unfinished one. In it we see the central figure flanked by twin Vidyādhara on the upper corners and similar caurī-bearers on the lower corners—all four placed on raised backgrounds which were to be carved by the artist at a subsequent stage. Stylistically speaking, this piece of sculpture, though not fully finished, unmistakably reveals a work of comparatively later date as pronounced in the more or less simplistic treatment of the body which is correct only in respect of iconic details like kāyotsarga posture, the $uṣṭiṇa$, the stylized curls of hair, the elongated ears, etc., but otherwise not attempting either at aesthetic beauty or spiritual quality. Evidently it belongs to a late period, later than the seated Candraprabha image (No. 1 supra) discussed above. The date in this case will probably come down to the end of the twelfth or well into the thirteenth century A.D.

The sculptural wealth of South-West Bengal as represented or expressed in by the examples of early mediaeval sculptures recovered from this area requires to be treated as a separate entity. The region roughly covering the erstwhile district of Manbhum, the district of Bankura,

10 Dating roughly between 800 A.D. and 1200 A.D.
11 Paresh Chandra Dasgupta, “Pasaner Phul” (in Bengali), Sramaṇa, 7th year, 2nd number, Calcutta, 1386 B.S., pp. 35-41.
12 Presently divided into the districts of Purulia (West Bengal), and Dhanbad (Bihar).
the north-western part of Midnapore, with extensions into the districts of Singhbhum and Ranchi of the Chhotanagpur Division of Bihar, represents a characteristically common trait in the icono-plastic art, which is somewhat removed from the main-stream of the Pala art. Here, the stone is more coarse grained and occasionally porous offering little scope for metallic sharpness as usually found in the more well known examples of Pala art. In respect of modelling of the body these sculptures are in general more robust and forceful than merely graceful or lyrical. Stylistically, the specimens of this region betrays quite a distinct idiom, a strong remnant of classical tradition mingled with migrating art forms of Varendra, Magadha, and Khiching, held together and inspired by the canonical tradition of the Nirgranthas.

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Sri P. C. Dasgupta has made a comparison between two Parvati images preserved in the State Archaeological Museum, West Bengal, one hailing from Ambankanagar, Bankura, and the other from West Dinajpur, which illustrate the point well. See Dasgupta, op. cit., p. 39.
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