JAINA-RUPA-MANDANA

(Jaina Iconography)

Umakant P. Shah
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The JAINA-RŪPA-MAṆḌANA Volume I is an authentic work on Jaina iconography from the pen of a well-known authority on the subject, Dr. Umakanth P. Shah, an eminent Indologist and art-historian with specialization in Jaina art and literature. Illustrated profusely with over two hundred monochrome plates, the work is a standard textbook and a very useful guide to all students of Indian art and archaeology and to Museum Curators. The work is supplemented with a large number of iconographic tables for images of all important Jaina gods and goddesses.

Dr. Shah, the author, has for the first time given solutions to various basic problems of Jaina iconography supported with ample evidence from both archaeology and literature including unpublished original texts still in manuscripts.

Two further volumes will soon follow.

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Jaina-Rūpa-Manḍana
Volume I
जैन - रूप - मण्डन
भाग १
(Jaina Iconography)

UMAKANT P. SHAH
M.A. Ph.D., Dip. Museology
Ex-Editor, Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art
Ex-Deputy Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda

Vāsudeva  Baladeva  Prati-Vāsudeva  Cakravartin

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To

My Revered Parents

&

The Jaina Samgha
First Published in 1987

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Preface

Before 1953 when I was awarded Ph.D. degree on my thesis on Elements of Jaina Iconography (North India), I had published, from 1940 onwards, some important chapters on Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Ambikā, on the Jaina Goddess Sārāvatī, on the Sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās, on Jivantavāmi, on Kapardī and Brahmaśānti Yakṣas, Kṣetrapāla, on Supernatural Beings in the Jaina Tantras, on the History of Tantra in Early Jaina Literature, on the Age of Differentiation of Digambara and Śvetāmbara images and the earliest known Śvetāmbara bronzes, Vardhamāna-Vidyā-Pātā, etc. In 1954 I gave lectures on Jaina Art in the Banaras Hindu University under the auspices of the Jaina Cultural Research Society when the late Dr. V.S. Agrawala presided. The lectures, published as Studies in Jaina Art, mainly dealt with Symbol Worship in Jainism. Since then several articles on Jaina iconography, art, and culture have been published by me, besides three books on Jaina paintings—New Documents of Jaina Paintings (jointly with Dr. Mott Chandra), More Documents of Jaina Paintings and Gujarati Paintings of the sixteenth and later centuries, and Treasures of Jaina Bhandaras. A Brief Survey of Jaina Bronzes with many illustrations was published in Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture.

Every time I tried to revise my thesis for publication I was required to postpone it and undertake works on Jaina paintings mentioned above, as well as the book on Art of the Akot Bronzes or the editing of the rare Jaina work on music entitled Sangitopaniṣad-Saroddhāra and the work of Critical Edition of the Rāmāyana of Vālmiki and so on.

The accidental discovery of the Akota Hoard of Jaina Bronzes was a landmark in the study of Jaina Iconography and Western Indian Sculpture. I was fortunate in retrieving the hoard dispersed amongst people in Baroda. The Akota Bronzes, discovered in 1951-52, helped me in getting solutions of problems like the Introduction of Śāsanadevatās in Jainism, Age of Differentiation of Śvetāmbara and Digambara Tirthākara-images, Introduction of cognizances on Tirthākara images, identification of Jivantavāmi images etc., and finalising the thesis with some satisfaction.

My work does not aim at exhausting everything in Jaina iconography. The thesis was more or less a first systematic attempt at putting the study of Jaina iconography on scientific basis. In the thesis, I had concentrated only on North Indian Jaina images, though I tried to study most of the Śvetāmbara and Digambara literary sources in Prākrit, Sanskrit, Apabhramśa and Gujarati. For the first time I could bring to light and refer to tantric Jaina texts (published as well as a majority in manuscript form). For this study good deal of material also exists in Kannada and Tamil literatures. Prof. S. Settar of Dharwar is doing good work in Karnataka, has brought to light several sources, especially of Kannada Purāṇas, and has published a valuable work on Śravana Belagola. Dr. Sarayu Doshi brought to light several rare Digambara Jaina paintings and, in Mārg, a special issue on Gommatesvara.

Before I started my studies around 1938, some important works and articles on Jaina art and iconography were published:

A. Cunningham in his Archaeological Survey Reports published valuable information about Jaina sites and noticed sculptures, inscriptions etc. from several sites like Mathura, Khajuraho, Gwalior, etc. G. Buhler published two articles on Jaina inscriptions from Mathura and a paper on Jaina sculptures from Mathura, in Ep. Indica, between 1892-94 A.D. His discussion on Nāgānēśin from Jaina and Medical
sources was remarkable. In 1887 he wrote 'On the Authenticity of Jaina traditions', in W.Z.K.M., and in 1896, a paper on 'Epigraphic Discoveries at Mathura'. His 'Legend of the Jaina Stūpa at Mathura was published in German in S.K.A.W., Wien, 1897. In 1903, Burgess translated in English Bühler's paper 'On the Indian Sect of the Jainas', appending himself an 'Outline of Jaina Mythology'. J. Anderson in his Catalogue of Archaeological collections in the Indian Museum (c. 1883) noticed a few Jaina sculptures in the Museum. He had also mentioned some Jaina bronzes, of which the bronzes from Gwalior were neglected hitherto. I have recently published these Gwalior bronzes along with other Jaina bronzes from Prof. Eilenberg's collections.

V.A. Smith (1901) published his 'The Jaina Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathura', a work of outstanding value for all later studies of Jaina antiquities from Kankali Tila, Mathura.

On the basis of some Canarese Dhyāna-ślokas obtained from South India, J. Burgess discussed 'Digambara Jaina Iconography' in Indian Antiquary, vol. 32 (1903-4), and illustrated various yakṣas and yakṣīṇīs with modern line-drawings. His Archaeological Survey Reports entitled 'Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kachchha' (1876), 'Report on the Belgaum and Kalkadji Districts' (1874) and 'A Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency (jointly with H. Cousins') noticed yakṣa and yakṣī images and shrines. Also noteworthy is his Report on the Flora Cave Temples and the Brahmanical and Jaina Caves in Western India, Archaeological Survey of Western India, vol. V (1883), as also Cave Temples of India (jointly with J. Fergusson) and Inscriptions from Cave Temples of India (with Bhagwañlal Indraji, 1881).


Bhandarkar, D.R., wrote on the now famous Jaina Caumukha Temple at Ranakpur (ASI, A.R., 1907-08). In an article on Jaina Iconography (ASI, A.R., 1905-06) he identified and described a sculpture depicting the Aśvāvakāśa-ttrtha and Śakunīka-vihāra story associated with the life of Tirthāṅkara Munisuvrata, and discussed the Jaina Samavasarana in another article on Jaina Iconography in Indian Antiquary (1911). In 1915, he discovered from excavations at Valā (ancient Valabhi) five unique Jaina bronzes assigned to C. fifth and sixth centuries A.D., now preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. As Superintendent, Western Circle, he surveyed a number of sites (Jaina as well as Hindu) in Western India.

Banerji, R.D., discussed 'New Brahmi Inscriptions of the Scythian Period' in Epigraphia Indica, X (1909-10) and described some Jaina images and pedestals. In his notes on Mangya Tungya Caves (ASI, A.R., 1921) he described some early mediaeval Jaina carvings in Maharashtra. In his Eastern School of Mediaeval Indian Sculpture he discussed Jaina images discovered from Bengal; in his Age of the Imperial Gupta he discussed some known Jaina sculptures of the Gupta Age.

In 1914, Dr. A.K. Coomaraswamy opened a new line of studies in his 'Notes on Jaina Art' wherein he discussed miniature paintings of the Kalpa-sūtra, a cosmographical chart and a canvass paṭa of Pārśvanātha. In his Catalogue of Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, vol. IV, Jaina Paintings, 1924, he described Jaina miniature paintings, Jaina Jātaka-scenes. He also discussed iconography of Tirthāṅkaras, deities like Indra, Nāgaṇeṣa and others and described the five kalyāṇakas in the life of each Tirthāṅkara. In his Boston Catalogue, vol. IV, in the Portfolio of Indian Art and in his History of Indian and Indonesian Art he published some Jaina sculptures and temples. In 1935 was published his beautiful paper on "The Conqueror's Life in Jaina Painting" (JISOA, vol. III) wherein he tried to interpret the fourteen prognostic dreams of a Jina's mother. His remarkable pioneer study of Yaksas (parts I and II) (1928-31) has been largely helpful in our study of Yaksas and Yakṣinis in Jaina art and literature.

Two monumental studies by H. Cousins, entitled 'Chalukyan Architecture' and 'Antiquities of Somnath and Kathiawad', were very useful in our study of Jaina antiquities in Karnatak and Kathiawad. His studies of shrines at Athole, published in ASI, A.R., 1907-08, were equally illuminating.
Rama Prasad Chanda made valuable advancement in the study of Jaina art and iconography by publishing ‘Notes on Jaina Remains at Rajgir, ASI, A.R., 1925-26, describing and illustrating almost all important Jaina sculptures from this ancient site. He supplemented these notes in the same report with another long article on Śvetāmbara and Digambara images of the Jainas’ wherein he discussed the age of differentiation of Śvetāmbara and Digambara Jaina images and placed it roughly in the age of king Āma (Nāgāvalokaka) and Bappabhattī sūri, in c. 750-840 A.D. In his Mediaeval Indian Sculptures in the British Museum (1936), he brought to light some beautiful Jaina sculptures.

T.N. Ramachandran was the first scholar to give a systematic account of Jaina iconography in his ‘Tiruparuttikumāram and its Temples’ (1934). The book included study of wall-paintings in Jaina temples at Jina-Kanchi, supplemented by illustrations of Jaina bronzes and sculptures in these temples, an account of Jaina Cosmography and Iconography of yakṣas and yakṣis from Hemacandra’s work and three late Kannada sources.

Publications on Jaina miniature paintings by W. Norman Brown, Coomaraswamy, Sarabhai Nawab, Moti Chandra and others were also helpful.

Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya gave, for the first time, an outline of the scope of a work on Jaina Iconography by giving lists of different types of Jaina deities for whom sādhanas were traced by him in Jaina texts. The paper on Jaina Iconography was published in Śrī Ātmānanda Śatābdī Smāraka Grantha (1935).

Brindavan C. Bhattacharya had published a study of the ‘Goddess of Learning in Jainism’ in Malaviya Commemoration Volume (1932) with the help of sources like Nirvāṇakalika and Ācāra-Dinakara. In 1939, he published a work on Jaina Iconography, which was the first work of its kind aiming at presenting iconography of various Jaina deities with the help of literary as well as archaeological sources. Unfortunately it is marred by some cases of incorrect interpretations of the text, incomplete references, vague statements and in a few cases wrong identifications. However he deserves all the credit for publishing a pioneer work on Jaina iconography.

Sankalia, H.D., in 1938, identified some Dhank sculptures as Jaina which were formerly supposed to have been Buddhist. In 1940, he published a paper on Jaina Yakṣas and Yakṣis and published two sculptures of Dharaṇendra and Padmāvatt from the Prince of Wales Museum, along with a few reliefs from the Jaina cave at Badami. His paper on Temples at Deogarh hardly added anything new to what was published in the Archaeological Reports and what was already mentioned by B.C. Bhattacharya.

Vasudev Saran Agrawala’s Catalogue of Mathura Museum (volume on Jaina sculptures) has been very useful to all students of Jaina art and culture. He wrote several articles on Jaina sculptures, for example, an article on Presiding Deity of Child Birth in Mathura art, and Brahmānical Deities in the Jaina Art at Mathura, etc.

K.P. Jayaswal’s discovery of ‘Torso of a Jaina Image of Mauryan Period’ from Lohanipur near Patna, published in JBBORS, vol. XXIII, was an epoch-making discovery in the study of Indian iconography of historical period.

J.E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw published her famous work on the Scythian Period (1949) in which she discussed several Jaina images of the Kuśāṇa period from Mathura and focused our attention on the importance of dating Mathura sculptures of c. 1st cent. B.C. to c. 4th cent. A.D. It may be pointed out here that all Mathura inscriptions—Jaina, Hindu and Buddhist—deserve to be read again.

This is not an exhaustive list of all work done before I wrote my thesis and published articles on Ambikā, Sarasvatī etc.; this is but a brief survey of the work done. Since 1949 till today many authors have made substantial contributions in the field of Jaina art and culture. In this new revised edition of my thesis I have tried to incorporate results of all such researches by various scholars. However here too I crave indulgence of scholars for all acts of omissions.

In my researches for many years I had concentrated only on North Indian Jaina images and my thesis was entitled ‘Elements of Jaina Iconography (North India)’. I am glad to note here that my friend Prof. Klaus Bruhn (now in Berlin) carried out the study of Jaina Art and Iconography further by doing exhaustive studies of the Jaina shrines at Devgadh. Only the first volume entitled the Jaina
Images of Deogarh is yet published. Prof. S. Settar of Dharwar is doing good work in the South. He has brought to light important references from Kannada literature and has published a beautiful monograph on Śravāṇa Belagola besides some important contributions on Brahmadeva Pillars, Jvalamālini, Jaina yakṣas and yakṣinis mainly from Karnataka. M.N.P. Tiwari is doing good work in North India, especially on sites like Khajuraho and has written in Hindi a book on Jaina Pratiṃā-Vijñāna besides several articles. Some of his articles are collected in his book entitled 'Elements of Jaina Iconography'. Since he had read my thesis (from Prof. Dalsukh Malavania) and used the title for his book noted above, I have changed the title of my book now and called it 'Jaina Rūpa-Maṇḍana (Jaina Iconography)'. I have also tried to include study of several Jaina sculptures from South India though this study is not exhaustive. Two or three more volumes of this work will be published as early as possible.

For my studies I am very much indebted to my guide and teacher the late Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, Ex-Director of Oriental Institute, Baroda and author of the standard text on Buddhist Iconography and editor of several original ancient works. I am also indebted to late Prof. A.N. Upadhye for his guidance in Digambara traditions and to late Muni Śrī Punyavijayaji for all his help regarding Śvetāmbara traditions. Through him I had easy access to Śvetāmbara temples as well as Bhandaras. In various ways I am indebted to several scholars like the late Dr. V.S. Agrawala, Dr. Moti Chandra, Rai Bahadur K.N. Dikshit, Dr. Amalananda Ghosh, and almost all the officers of the Archaeological Survey of India, Curators of all museums in India and abroad and many Jaina friends.

Most valuable are the blessings of my parents, the help and cooperation of my wife, brother and son, all of whom have suffered in various ways for me.

But for the great patience and sincerity of Shri Shakti Malik of Abhinav Publications this work would not have been published. I am also thankful to his proof reader.

48, Haribhakti Colony
J.P. Narayan Road
Vadodara, 390015 (India)
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Umakant P. Shah
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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

ŚVETĀMBARAS AND DIGAMBARAS

Jainism, primarily an Indian religion, hardly spread outside the borders of ancient India, unlike Buddhism which spread in almost all the countries of South and South-East Asia, and as far as Central Asia, Korea, China, and Japan. However, Buddhism almost disappeared in India during the late mediaeval period, revived only in the twentieth century, but Jainism has been a living religion throughout the course of history from the time of Pārīśva, the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara (8th century B.C.) and the last (twenty-fourth) Tīrthaṅkara Vardhamāna Mahāvīra (6th century B.C.) till today.

Buddhism and Jainism are the two ancient principal heretical sects which revolted against Vedic priestly domination and ritualism involving animal sacrifice on a large scale. Out of many other such revolting sects and beliefs only Buddhism and Jainism have survived. Gautama Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, and Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the last Tīrthaṅkara of Jaina belief, were contemporaries.

The followers of Mahāvīra were called Nrigranthhas and Mahāvīra is referred to as Nīgaṇṭha Nāṭaputta (naked scion or son of the Jātr-clan) in Buddhist texts. They are later more commonly known as Jainas, followers of the Jina or the Conqueror. One who conquers the enemies in the form of passion, attachment, jealousy, etc. resulting in karma-bondage, is a Victor—a Jina. Buddha was also called a Jina in ancient Buddhist texts, and an emancipated soul was also called a Buddha in early Jaina texts. Similarly the epithet Arhat (i.e. deserving respect and veneration) was used by both the Prabhūtṛ and the Jaina sects in ancient India, but later it came to denote a Jina or a Tīrthaṅkara. Later on, the term Buddha and Jina came to be specially used for the founders of Buddhism and Jainism respectively.

Jainism is a living faith in India and as such there are a large number of Jaina shrines still in worship in almost all the States of India. It is therefore very difficult to explore and study exhaustively all available Jaina images from all Jaina shrines and sites in India. But after a preliminary outline study of Jaina iconography and art, special studies of selected sites or regions can be undertaken by future workers.

The Jaina Conception of Time, there is an ever-revolving Wheel of Time, with twelve spokes (grōs, representing different periods or ages, aeons, of mixed and unmixed happiness and misery); six of them, when coming up, constitute the vāscarpi or evolutionary cycle, followed by a downward process of the spokes representing the avasarpini or involutionary and degenerative process. In each of these two main cycles are born, in this Bhratatra-Kṣetra (sub-continent), twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras, at different intervals. In the present avasarpini cycle twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras have already lived. The first of them was Rābhanātha or Ādinātha (the first Lord) who is said to have flourished some millions of years ago. He was born in Vinițā (Ayodhyā) and obtained Nirvāṇa on mount Aṣṭāpada (supposed to be Mt. Kailasa), where a temple and a stūpa were built in his honour by his son Bharata, the first Cakravartin. The twenty-second Jina Nemi or Ariośtanemi is regarded in Jaina traditions as a cousin brother of the Hindu Lord Krishna. The twenty-third Jina Pārśvanātha, son of king Aivasena and queen Vīmā of Varanasi, lived in about the eighth century B.C., i.e., about 250 years before Mahāvīra whose Nirvāṇa took place in 527 B.C.
J.C. Jaina writes: "It is curious to note, however, that most of the Tirthankarás have been assigned to the Ikṣvāku family and are said to have attained salvation at the mount Sammeta (modern Pārasanātha hill in the Hazaribag district, Bihar). So far no historical or archaeological evidence has come forth to warrant the historicity of the first twenty-two Tirthankarás; on the other hand, taking into consideration the long duration of their careers and the intermediate periods between each Tirthankara, they appear to be legendary figures introduced perhaps to balance the number of Jinas with the number of Buddhas."

Pārśvanātha and his disciples are referred to in various Jaina Canons. We learn from the Ācārāṅga Sūtra that the parents of Mahāvīra followed the faith of Pārśva and were adherents of the Samannas. Mahāvīra himself seems to have first followed the order of Pārśva. The Bhagavati Sūtra records a discussion between Mahāvīra and Samana (Sramana) Gāṅgèya, a follower of Pārśva. Samana Gāṅgèya gave up the Cāujīja Dāvma (Cāyūrya Dharma—the Doctrine of Four-fold Restraint) and embraced the Pañca-Mahāvīra (Five Great Vows) of Mahāvīra. It is stated in the Samantabhadra-sutta of the Buddhist Digha-Nikāya that a Nigantha is restrained with four-fold restraint (Cāyūrya-Samvara). Jacobi has shown the existence of the Niganthas before Nītaputta (Nītri-putta) Mahāvīra, on the strength of references in the Pali Literature. These Niganthas (knotless, i.e., free from bondage, attachment, etc.) were obviously followers of Pārśva. The followers of Mahāvīra also were originally known as Niganthas.

Pārśva emphasised the Doctrine of Ahimsā (non-injury) as a protest against Brahmanical sacrificial animal-slaughter, and added three more precepts, namely, abstinence from telling lies, from stealing, and from external possessions. Mahāvīra added the fifth vow of brahmacariya (celibacy) to the above four preached by Pārśva. Another important difference between the Doctrine of Pārśva and Mahāvīra was that the former allowed an under and an upper garment (santaruttara whereas the latter forbade clothing altogether (for Jaina recluses).

Mahāvīra was born in Kṣatriyaquadagrama, a suburb of Vaiśāli (modern Basarh in Bihar) in the house of King Siddhipritha by his queen Triśalā (acc. to Śvetāmbara Jaina tradition), or Priyakāriṇī (acc. to Digambara Jaina tradition). According to the Śvetāmbara tradition as recorded in the Kalpa-sūtra, Mahāvīra was first conceived in the womb of a Brāhmaṇa lady Devānandā residing in another part of Vaiśāli but his embryo was transferred to the womb of the Kṣatriya lady Triśalā by (the goat-faced) Harīṇēgūmēsin, the commander of infantry of Śakra, since the Indra thought that Tirthānkaras were never born of Brāhmaṇa ladies. The supernatural element in the account obviously lends doubt to the historicity of the incident, which, it is interesting to note, is not reported in the Digambara tradition. In the Bhagavatī-sūtra, a canonical text acknowledged by the Śvetāmbara Jaina sect, is described the meeting of the Brāhmaṇa lady Devānandī and the Tirthānkarā Mahāvīra. After the departure of the lady, Mahāvīra, when questioned, explains to his chief disciple Indrabhūti (Gautama), that the lady was his (Mahāvīra’s) mother. This further lends doubt to the historicity of this incident. A stone panel depicting Harīṇēgūmēsin seated on a throne and with some attendant ladies on one side, with one lady at the far end carrying a small baby in her hands, is obtained from the Kaśkāḷī Tilī, Mathura (Fig. 19). The stone panel is broken at one end and we do not know what figured beyond the representation of Harīṇēgūmēsin seated on the throne. Below we find inscribed Bhagava Nemesu. Surely, this cannot be taken as the scene of transfer of Mahāvīra’s embryo. As we have shown elsewhere, Harīṇēgūmēsin, as Nejamesa or Naigamesa is known to Vedic ceremony of Simantonnayana where three mantras addressed to Nejamesa are recited and in Brahmanical and ancient Indian traditions, Naigamesa is known as one of the attendants of Skanda, the Commander of God’s army. Naigamesa was propitiated by Krishna for obtaining a beautiful son, according to the Jaina text Vasudevahinī. So this panel may simply represent Harīṇēgūmēsin as a god connected with protection of children, etc. Goat-faced terracotta figurines are obtained from many other north Indian sites, not necessarily showing Jaina association. During the early centuries of the Christian era, and perhaps a few centuries before, belief in malefic and benefic deities connected with child-birth, rearing of children, diseases of children etc., was very popular as can be seen from the Buddhist account of Hīti and the references to Pūtanā, Śaśāti, Revati, Bahuputrikā yakṣī, and the Bāla-grahas obtained in ancient literature.
Introduction

Mahāvīra renounced worldly life at the age of thirty, after practising meditation and penance at home for about a year or more prior to retirement. After renunciation, he wandered from place to place suffering great hardships and molestations from people of Rādhā, etc., and practised severe penance, finally attaining Kevalajñāna on the bank of the river Ujjāvalīya near Jambyagāma. He was at that time sitting with upright knees like a milkman sitting while milking the cow (gadohikāsana).

- For thirty years Mahāvīra wandered as a preacher from place to place, and at the age of seventy-two, two hundred and fifty years after Pārśva's death, died in Pāvā in 527 B.C.¹⁵

Like Pārśva, Mahāvīra organised his community (Śangaḥ) into four orders, namely, monks (śādha), nuns (śādhvi), laymen (ārāvaka) and laywomen (ārāvikā). Gautama Indrabhūti and Candana were Mahāvīra's first male and female disciples, leaders of his orders of monks and nuns respectively. Mahāvīra had, amongst his monk disciples, eleven Ganaḍharaś (Fig. 167), i.e., heads of schools or groups of monks of whom Gautama Indrabhūti was the oldest Ganaḍhara.

The obstacles (upasarga) suffered by Mahāvīra before Kevalajñāna have been a popular theme of the miniature paintings of the Kalpa-sūtra; see, for example, Moti Chandra, Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India, Figures 159 and 160 illustrating pages from a Kalpa-sūtra from the Śiśa Āśārāma Jaina Jñānanandināra, Baroda. For more illustrations, see W. Norman Brown, Miniature Paintings of the Kalpa-Sūtra, pp. 33-38, Figs. 75, 76, 77 and 78. Another upasarga, narrated in later texts, is that from the Śukapāṇi Yaks (the trident-bearer yaks) (Fig. 171) who seems to be no other than Śiva, the Brahmanical God, and the story echoes some strong opposition, faced by Mahāvīra, from the Śaivites.

The life of Pārśva is also noteworthy for what is known as Kadampāposarga, the attack by Kamathā, again a Brāhmaṇa ascetic (ṭīpasa) practising penance with fires kindled around him. Once while wandering, Prince Pārśva saw a cobra burning in the logs of wood in the fires kindled by Kamathā and as Pārśva removed the logs, the snake came out half-burnt and died but was born as Dharanendra, the Lord of the Nāga-kumar class of semi-divine beings. Kamathā, after death, was also born as a god, Meghamālin. When after renunciation, Pārśva was standing in deep meditation, Kamathā, reborn as god, saw him and taking revenge, poured torrential rains, flooded the area, and sent his host of terrific beings to hurl rocks, etc., to disturb Pārśva's meditation. Dharanendra, remembering the obligation, rushed to the scene with his chief queen and protected Pārśva by spreading his cobra-hoods over the head of the saint, while Dharanendra's queens played music and danced in order to lessen the miseries inflicted on the saint. Unmoved by the obstacles of Kamathā or the sweet music and dance of the Nāga queens, Pārśva continued his meditation.

This incident is a very popular theme of reliefs in several Jainas sites in South India (at places like Aihol, Badami, Ellora, Kalugumalai, etc. cf. Figs. 50, frontispiece), and in paintings of the Kalpa-sūtra. No sculptures or reliefs of this scene are as yet discovered from Śvetāmbara sites.¹⁶

The attack of Kamathā reminds one of the attack of Māra in Buddha's life so often portrayed in Buddhist reliefs. Both the Jaina and the Buddhist accounts remind one of the Indra-Vītra fight of the Vedic lore. These seem to be echoes of the eternal fight between forces of good and evil, truth and un-truth, devas and asuras, light and darkness.

Sometimes after Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa in 527 B.C., schisms began occurring in the Jaina Church. According to Śvetāmbara accounts, the schism headed by Śivabhūtī, pupil of Kaśha (Kṣa) sthavira (Fig. 21), turned out to be the biggest in course of time, and resulted in two principal sects of Jainism, namely, the Śvetāmbaras or the white-robed, and the Digambaras or the sky-clad ones. The Digambaras were also called Betikas in texts of the other sect. This schism took place in 136 years after Vītram, that is, in 79 A.D. according to the Digambaras, and in 82 A.D. (609 years after Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa) according to the Śvetāmbaras. Some of the main points of difference¹⁷ between these two sects are:
(1) The Śvetāmbaras worship images showing a lower garment carved or painted on the person of the Tirthankaras and further decorate their idols with earring ornaments, glass-eyes, necklaces, armlets, crowns of gold or silver and jewels, while the Digambaras worship their Tirthankaras unadorned and showing no garment on the body.

The eyes of the Tirthankaras in the Śvetāmbaras worship are shown wide-open. Usually there are
glass-eyes attached to Jina-images in almost all temples still in worship. In the case of Digambara images, the eyes are generally shown half-closed in the original carving, and no glass eyes etc. are attached. This observation regarding eyes applies to images carved after the Gupta period, in what we call the mediaeval period.

(2) The Śvetāmbaras assert that there are twelve heavens of different groups of gods (the kalpa heavens), the Digambaras maintain that there are sixteen such types or groups.

(3) According to the Śvetāmbaras there are sixty-four Indras for various heavens or groups of gods, the other sect speaks of one hundred such Indras.

(4) According to the Digambaras, final emancipation is not possible for a woman, while the Śvetāmbaras believe that a soul can obtain salvation even when born as a woman. This is perhaps an inevitable corollary to the Digambara insistence on the nudity of monks (as well as of the Tīrthaṅkara images) which was regarded as the ideal stage of aparigraha (possessionlessness) which was not practical in the case of nuns.

(5) (as a corollary to above) The nineteenth Jina Mallinatha was a male according to the Digambaras but according to the mythology of the Śvetāmbara sect, Malli was a princess who later renounced the world and became a Tīrthaṅkara. The earliest Śvetāmbara source for this, so far known, is the canonical text Nāyādhammaṁṇakāho, which, in its present form, does not seem to be earlier than the third or the fourth century A.D.

The Digambaras do admit a nun’s order, but these nuns can reach only up to a certain spiritual stage in the hierarchy of monks and nuns. For attaining the highest stage of Kevalajñāna they have to be reborn as males.

(6) All the Śvetāmbara monks use at least two garments, one upper and another a lower one. The Digambara monks, barring a few primary stages, remain naked.

(7) The Śvetāmbaras acknowledge authenticity of the extant Aṅgas (or Scriptures, part of the Jaina Canonical or Ágama literature) and regard them as works of the immediate disciples of Mahāvira. The Digambaras think that all twelve original Aṅga texts are lost and hence regard, as authoritative, works like Mūlacāra, Dvārakā, Jayadhavāla, Mahādavāla, Bhagavati Arādhona, etc., composed by earlier leading monks, since such works are based on original tradition handed down from the ancient line of ācāryas.

(8) According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, the mother of a would-be Tīrthaṅkara sees fourteen (different objects in) dreams, while according to the Digambaras she sees sixteen such dreams at the time when the Jina is conceived in her womb. This event is the first auspicious event in the life of a Jina. It is known as the Cākṣasana Kalavaka, auspicious event of the Descent from heaven in the Mother’s womb.

(9) The lists of eight auspicious objects—the āṣamāṅgalas—are slightly different in the traditions of the two sects.

There are several other points of difference which are not quite relevant for students of iconography. However, one must note that these differences have grown gradually. Almost all the hitherto-found Tīrthaṅkara images in the standing or the kāyotsarga posture, dating before the fifth century A.D., are naked, while images of Tīrthaṅkaras in the sitting posture (in the padmāsana), dating before the fifth century, do not show the linga, but since they do not show any mark of drapery on the body we have to presume that the very posture of sitting was such that even though there was no garment, nudity could not be shown.

After the fifth century, we find standing images (of Tīrthaṅkaras) in the Śvetāmbara tradition showing a lower garment, though the Śvetāmbara-Digambara differentiation in the case of images in the sitting posture was not explicit. But still later, probably after the seventh century, we find that even in the case of seated figures, markings of garments and their ends, and, or of a girdle (holding the loin-cloth) were clearly done by the Śvetāmbaras while the Digambaras managed to show the linga even in the case of a Jina sitting in the padmāsana or the ardha-padmāsana.

Tīrthaṅkara images, of both the Jaina sects, are found in two postures only, namely, the standing or the kāyotsarga mudrā, and the sitting or the padmāsana or the ardha-padmāsana posture. The ardha-padmāsana posture is more popular in South India in the Digambara Jaina worship, where images in the padmāsana posture are hardly found.

A Tīrthaṅkara image can be differentiated from a Buddha image by noting the presence or absence of
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the upper garment or "sanghāti", since there is no upper garment shown on the person of any Tirthankara.

A dialogue between monk Keśin of the school of Pārvanātha and Gautama, the first pupil of Mahāvīra, recorded in the Uttarādhyayana sūtra, shows that the doctrine of Pārvēva allowed an under and an upper garment (santarutarnam) while that of Mahāvīra forbade clothing altogether. Gautama cleverly bridges over this difference of the two law-givers pursuing the same end by saying that the outward symbols were useful as they were useful for spiritual life and that, as a matter of fact, knowledge, faith and right conduct were the only three causes of liberation. 18

The Brhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya of Samghadāsa gani Kṣamāśramaṇa (circa 5th-6th cent. A.D.) says that the doctrine of the first and the last Tirthankaras prescribed nudity while that of the intervening pontiffs allowed the option of both nudity and wearing garments (to the Jaina monks). 19

Even this statement was only used in perpetuating the controversy between the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras so far as image-worship is concerned. We however know that Mahāvīra himself followed, in the beginning of his career as a recluse, the order of Pārvanātha. The Ācārāṅga-sūtra, regarded as the oldest preserved section of the extant Jaina Canons, says, about Mahāvīra, "for one year and a month he did not leave off his robe, thereafter he moved about naked and leaving garment became a houseless sage (ānāgāre). 20

"The Buddhist texts refer to the existence of large numbers of Niganthas (Knotless, i.e. naked, i.e. Unattached ones) who followed the cātur-yāma samvarā, the four-fold restraint that Jacobi and others have convincingly identified with the teachings of Pārvā. . . Whereas the Digambaras may reject the authenticity of the Keśi-Gautama dialogue, particularly with regard to its position on nudity, the Buddhist reference to cātur-yāma forces them to confront the "discrepancy" between the teachings of Pārvā and Mahāvīra which this dialogue seems to express." 21 The above remarks of Padmanabha Jaini are noteworthy. He says that the Buddhists have failed to make clear what the term cātur-yāma samvarā entails. The Śvetāmbara canon gives the first comprehensive definition. "Cātur-yāma is said to involve restraint from four sorts of activities: injury, non-truthfulness, taking what is not given, and possession. This list agrees with that of Mahāvīra except that it omits the fourth of his five vows, which specially prohibits sexual activity . . . Abhayadeva and Śāntyaśāra interpreted the vow of non-possession as including celibacy . . . The recent research of P.K. Modi, however, shows that this interpretation is subject to serious difficulties. First, we should expect Mahāvīra, as a follower of the tradition of Pārvā, to have initially taken the same vows as his predecessor. Yet even the Ācārāṅga-sūtra of the Śvetāmbaras has him pledging only to follow a single great restraint called sāṁyāyika-cārītra, which entails avoiding all evil actions whatsoever. Moreover, the term cātur-yāma never appears in Digambara literature; Mahāvīra is invariably said therein to have undertaken the sāṁyāyika-samyanga, which in the Bhagavati-sūtra is shown to be identical to the sāṁyāyika-cārītra. In the light of these facts Modi has suggested that cātur-yāma did not imply four vows at all, but rather the four modalities (mind, body, speech and the senses) through which evil could be expressed. Thus, he concludes, both Pārvā and Mahāvīra practised and taught the same, single, all-encompassing sāṁyāyika restraint, while the five vows that Mahāvīra set forth are no more than a specification of the main areas of conduct to which this restraint applied." 22

The Buddhist Pali texts talk of certain oka-śīraka Niganthas which is regarded as a testimony showing the clothed state of at least a few Jaina monks in Mahāvīra's time. A passage in the Ācārāṅga-sūtra states that weak men, who cannot tolerate going sky-clad but wish to practise fasting and other virtuous activities, should do so while continuing to wear clothing. 23 The Sthānāṅga-sūtra permits the use of garments under certain conditions, the Ācārāṅga provides for begging of garments, the Uttarādhyayana-sūtra refers to the worry of monks about their garments being old and torn. It would seem that even Mahāvīra did not insist on nudity, nor did he regard the use of garment as parigraha; nakedness was not insisted upon as the means to attain salvation. 24

From very early times there were two modes of conduct practised by the Jaina monks, namely, the Ṣiṇakalpa and the Śhavīrakalpa. The first enforced nudity and rigorous austerities while the second enjoined a modified living with a few bare necessities including garments, alms-bowl, etc. According to the Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi (c. 700 A.D.) Municanda, a contemporary of Mahāvīra and a follower of the school of
Pārśva, who called himself a Samuna-Śīvaṃntha, placed his disciple at the head of the gaccha, and went to practise the Jīnakaṇḍa outside the town. The ascetics of the order of Muniścandra are said to have indulged in activities which, according to the doctrines of Mahāvīra, constituted preliminary sin; they put on clothes (sapanīggaṇha) and also practised the Jīnakaṇḍa.  

Nudity was thus the highest ideal and specially those who practised Jīnakaṇḍa were required to have no parigṛha whatsoever.

In the early days both the Jīnakaṇḍa and the Sthavīrakaṇḍa monks were allowed to remain in the Jaina Samgha, and there were no strict rules about one’s wearing clothes or going about naked. The Ācarāṅga says: ‘if a naked monk thought he could bear the pricking of grass, cold and heat, stinging of flies and mosquitoes, or any other painful thing then he could leave the privies uncovered.’  But (when the number of articles in a monk’s equipment increased) and when the monks began staying more and more among people, then he could cover the privies with a kāsībandha. In later stages the kāsībandha (loincloth) was replaced by a colapatta.  

Ārya Mahāyāna, a contemporary of Sampatī (the grandson of the Mauryan emperor Āsoka), was an exponent of the Jīnakaṇḍa, while his contemporary Ārya Śūkṣita, teacher of Sampatī, followed the Sthavīrakaṇḍa. Naturally Śūkṣita had a larger following. But the Jīnakaṇḍa possibly lingered on upto the age of Ārya Rākṣita. When Ārya Rākṣita initiated his family, his father was unwilling to discard all clothes due to modesty. Later on after great persuasion he accepted a kādijapa.  

The division of the Jaina community into two sects, according to the Śvetāmbara accounts, is ascribed to Śivabhūti, a pupil of Ārya Kaṇha, in the city called Rathamāpura. Kōjinna and Koṭṭivira were Śivabhūti’s first pupils.  

The Digambaras relate another legend according to which, during the reign of Candragupta (Maurya) in Ujjain, sage Bhadrabāhu predicted a twelve years’ famine. At this Viśākhāśāra, a disciple of Bhadrabāhu, led the Jaina Samgha to the Punnāta kingdom in the south, while Bhadrabāhu and others migrated to Sindhu region. In course of time when all returned to Ujjain, famine was still raging though not so acute, and the monks were allowed to use a piece of garment (held before their privies) (ardhaphalakam purah krtvā) while going out for alms (compare Fig. 21 of the Tablet of Homage from Kankali Tila, Mathura, depicting the venerable ascetic Kaṇha; and Figs. 12, 15 showing on pedestals figures of Jaina ascetics holding such cloth-pieces). When the famine was over all the monks did not follow their elders’ advice of reverting to nudity, and some retained the piece of cloth, which brought about the schism in Jainism dividing the Samgha into the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara sects. The earliest available literary source for this Digambara legend is the Brhat-kathākoṣa of Hariṣena (v.s. 898=932 A.D.), while the earliest source for the Śvetāmbara account of the schism is the Uttarādiyavamana Nirukti (of Bhadrabāhu II, not later than c. 500 A.D.). According to the Śvetāmbaras, the origin of the Boṭikas (Digambaras) took place 609 years after Mahāvīra’s Nirvāṇa, that is, in (609-527=) 82 A.D.  

Introduction of Jainism in the South certainly dates from at least the first two centuries before the Christian era and even earlier as is evident from the Tamil Classics Maṇimekalai and Śilappadikāram, and from inscribed stone beds for monks in caves (e.g. the Sittānavāsāl Jaina cave) and caves mainly in the Tamil Nadu, the inscriptions being in what is now called Tamil-Brahmi (that is, in Brahmi script and in Tamil language). A Śvetāmbara account shows that it was the Mauryan ruler Sampatī who first patronised or facilitated the migration of the Jaina monks to the Dakṣiṇapathā, to the land of the Andhras and to other places further south. It is indeed difficult to say which of the two—the Digambara or the Śvetāmbara—legends regarding the schism is correct. In fact, the differences between the two sects grew gradually and the final separation came later. Even Hariṣena refers to a third big sect of the Jainas. The sect was known as the Yāpanīya sect which is referred as Yāpanika in the Hoakote copperplate inscription of Pallava Simhaviṣṇu. The Yāpanīyas, unlike the Digambaras, believed in the authenticity of the Śvetāmbara Canons but retained the practice of nudity. It seems that they also believed in the possibility of mukti (emancipation) for females.  

The first known archaeological evidence of the name of the Śvetāmbara sect, discovered hitherto, is the grant of the Kadamba ruler Śiva Mṛglevaonyma, who, issuing a village grant in his fourth regnal
year from his capital Vaijayanti, divides the village income into three shares, the first for the Holy Arhat, the second for the congregation of the eminent ascetics called the Śvetapātas (Śvetapāta-Mahāśramana-sangha), who were intent on practising the true religion declared by the Arhat, and the third for the enjoyment of the congregation of the eminent ascetics called the Nirgranthas.\(^{39}\) What is noteworthy in this record is the fact that the same image of the Holy Arhat in the village seems to have been respected and worshipped by followers of both sects, even though they lived in different quarters and differed in certain beliefs.

The same practice is evident from the finds at a large number of sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa period from the Kankali Tila, Mathura. The names of the monks and the branches (gāṇa, kula, and śākhā) to which they belonged, mentioned in the inscriptions on the pedestals of these sculptures, are available in the Śvetāmbara tradition of the Kalpa-sūtra Sthāvīravāla while all the Tirthankaras represented here show no trace of any garment on their person.\(^{40}\) The standing images are all nude, while those shown in the padmāsana posture show neither the mark of nudity nor of any garment. It is therefore quite certain that during the Kuṣāṇa period both the sects worshipped naked images of the Tirthankaras.

Hitherto known Jaina sculptures of Tirthankaras up to the fourth and early fifth centuries A.D. (Gupta period), obtained from Rāgir (Fig. 26), Mathura (Figs. 13, 14, 23), and Vidiṣā (Fig. 27), though limited in number, show no trace of a garment on the person of the Tirthankara.\(^{41}\) But the standing Adinātha image, in brass or bronze, from Akota, with silver studded eyes, datable to the last quarter of the fifth century A.D., is the earliest hitherto known image with a lower garment on the person of a Tirthankara (Fig. 22).

The Mathura finds include a stone plaque representing Kanha Samana (Krśna Śramaṇa) by name, holding on his forearm a piece of cloth to cover his nudity which suggests the existence of the ardha-phālakas (monks with partial covering!) in the second century A.D.\(^{42}\) This Tablet with the figure of Kanha (Fig. 21) bears an inscription dated in the year 95, and is noteworthy because this ascetic Kanha is very likely the same as the teacher of Śīvabhūti, the leader of the Digambara-Śvetāmbara schism.\(^ {43}\)

These ardha-phālakas are seen on pedestals of Tirthankara images, on one side of the dharma-cakra, in sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa period obtained from Mathura (Figs. 12, 13, 21). These pedestals deserve more critical attention than what they have received so far.\(^{44}\) Usually there is, in the centre, a dharma-cakra (Wheel of Law) sometimes with the rim facing us and mounted on top of a pillar, or sometimes the Wheel is mounted on a tri-ratna symbol. To the right of the Wheel, the first figure or sometimes the first two figures represent a Jaina monk holding a piece of cloth on forearm to cover his privies from front view. Obviously the monks follow what in later literature is called the ardha-phālaka tradition.\(^ {45}\)

The earliest known Jaina sculpture was obtained from Lohanipur near Patna (ancient Pataliputra) which is a continuation of the ancient site of Kumrahara (site of Pataliputra). The sculpture is assigned to the Mauryan age on account of the high Mauryan polish on it and represents a Tirthankara standing in the kāyotsarga mudrā and having no garment on his person (Fig. 2). The head and lower parts of legs are lost but the position of the arms and the legs sufficiently warrant the inference that the figure stood in the kāyotsarga mudrā which is a peculiarity of Tirthankara images in the standing attitude. The modelling of the torso is in the best traditions of ancient Yakṣa statues and the Harappa torso (a surface find). It has been argued that this torso need not be assigned to the Mauryan age as this type of polish continued even up to the first or second century A.D. We may add that some people have been able to produce similar polish on stone sculptures even in our age. This type of reasoning is not valid in the case of the torso under consideration. The ‘Mauryan polish’ did exist in the Mauryan age though of course it continued for a long time. So there is a possibility of existence of a Tirthankara image carved in the Mauryan age and having what is known as Mauryan polish on it. There was no prohibition about image worship in Jainism as it was regarding the worship of the Buddha image in early Buddhism. Samprati, the grandson of Asoka, is known in Jaina traditions to have patronised Jainism in different ways including installation of Jina images. The Hathi-gumpha inscription of Kharavela refers to the Kalinga-Jina image carried away by the Nanda king which was brought back by Kharavela. The Lohanipur excavations revealed foundations of a brick structure with bricks of the size known to have existed in the Mauryan age. A few
punch-marked coins were obtained. This torso was obtained from near these foundations. From all these considerations it is advisable to assign this image to the Mauryan age, probably to the age of Samprati.

The earliest known image showing any garment on the person of the Jina, discovered so far, is the bronze image of a standing Tirthaṅkara, identified as Rṣabhanātha, obtained in the Akota hoard and assigned to the latter half of the fifth century A.D. (Fig. 22).46 All standing metal images of Tirthaṅkaras, from the Chaussa (Bihar) hoard, now in the Patna hoard, dating from a period c. 1st cent. B.C.-A.D. to c. 4th cent. A.D., show no garment on the person of the Jina (Figs. 4, 8).

Varāhamihira, who lived in c. 492-551 A.D., prescribes in his Brhat-Samhitā that the god of the followers of Arhats is to be represented as young, naked, peaceful and beautiful in appearance, with arms reaching his knees and with the Śrīvatsa mark on his chest.47 Varāhamihira's silence over the Śvetāmbara type of the Tirthaṅkara-image is significant, especially when in the Jaina traditions Varāhamihira is regarded as brother of Bhadrabāhu, the author of the Niryuktis. It is quite obvious that the Śvetāmbara type of the Jina-image, though existed, had not become popular enough to obtain recognition in the Brhat-Samhitā.

The Śvetāmbara traditions speak of a dispute over the ownership of the Jaina temples at Mt. Girnar, which took place in the times of Bappabhaṭṭi sūri (c. 743-838 A.D.).48 The case was decided, with the help of supernatural elements, in favour of the Śvetāmaras and against the Digambaras. From that time onwards, in order to avoid future disputes, the Śvetāmaras started the practice of showing an uñcaḷa or the end of the garment of the Tirthaṅkara on images of the Jinas. Obviously this refers to the Tirthaṅkara images in the sitting posture. The Digambaras also clearly showed the līṅga of the Jina even when he was sitting in the padmāsana or the ardha-padmāsana posture.

The account of this dispute, given by writers of the fourteenth and later centuries, containing some supernatural element, may not be wholly correct, but one fact emerges that there was a dispute over the ownership of the Girnar temples in the age of Bappabhaṭṭi sūri. The dispute could arise only in the case of images of the Jinas in the sitting posture which hitherto left the matter ambiguous (so far as nudity was concerned), while on the other hand, so far as the ancient images at Lohanipur (Pataliputra), Mathura, Rajgir and other places were concerned, these clearly represented the Tirthaṅkaras as naked, and from fifth century A.D. the Śvetāmaras started showing a lower garment on the person of a standing Tirthaṅkara image.49

THE JAINA CONCEPTION OF THE DEITY

According to Jaina philosophy, the substances are real, characterised by existence, and are six in number. They can be broadly divided into the living (jīva) and the non-living (ajīva). Jīva means the soul or the spirit. It is essentially a unit of consciousness and there are infinite souls. The class of non-living substances is made up of infinite matter (pudgala), principles of motion and rest (dharma and adharma), space (okāśa) and time (kāla). These substances are eternally existing, uncreated, with no beginning in time. As substances they are eternal and unchanging, but their modifications are passing through a flux of changes. Their mutual cooperation and interaction explains all that is implied by the term “creation”, and Jainism admits of no intelligent Creator who can be credited with the creation of this Universe. There is thus no place in Jainism for a Supreme God-head, a Creator-God.

Consciousness (cetanā) is the very essence of the soul. The soul is inherently endowed with infinite vision (ananta-darśana), infinite knowledge (ananta-jñāna), and infinite power (ananta-virya). These original faculties or characteristics of the soul are suppressed in the case of mundane souls because they are bound by subtle matter called karma. This bondage results in the cycle of birth and death, happiness and misery. By cultivating pure thoughts and actions the influx of karma-matter (clinging to and binding the soul), both good and bad, must be stopped, and the already binding stock of karma must be consumed by rigorous religious austerities. When the karmas are completely destroyed the soul becomes liberated manifesting all qualities of ananta-jñāna, ananta-virya, etc. This liberated and perfect (siddha) soul is the
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embodying of infinite power, knowledge and bliss. He is freed from all bondages of attachment and aversion (rāga and dveṣa) etc. and does not frown upon nor favour anybody. He then becomes a Jina (who has conquered enemies like rāga and dveṣa) and an Ārhat deserving respect and adoration and when he establishes and organises the Samgha (Tīrtha), he is a Tīrthankara. When he leaves the last bondage of the human body he is completely liberated and perfect, a Siddha.

The ultimate goal of every follower of the Jaina Faith is the attainment of Nirvāṇa or Mokṣa which consists in completely liberating the soul from the bondage of and defilement by the karmas. Right Knowledge (sanyāk-jñāna), Right Faith (sanyāk-darśana), and Right Conduct (sanyāk-cāritra) collectively constitute the path of liberation. These are known as the Three Jewels—Ratna-traya or Tri-ratna.

There is thus no place in Jainism for God as the Supreme Being, Creator and distributor of happiness and misery, of fruits of action, worship and devotion. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that in the beginning there might not have been any Jaina worship of cult images in temples. But human mind needs some support and resort (āśraya) and as such, out of respect for the liberated souls and Tīrthankaras, worship of the Jina (Tīrthankara) image was started at an early stage. By God Jainism understands a liberated soul (siddha) as well as the Tīrthankara (who is also a siddha and) who is the highest spiritual ideal to which any soul can aspire; the God is, therefore, an example to inspire and guide. And by worshipping the God (i.e. the siddha or the Jina) a person is reminded of the God’s highest qualities which the pious Jaina worshipper tries to develop in one’s own self. The Jaina Conception of the Deity and His worship are therefore different from those of the Brahmanical faith.

The Jaina ideal of worship was for the sublimation of human thoughts and instincts and not for obtaining any material rewards. But this highest ideal, though acknowledged in theory to this day, was in practice never strictly adhered to by the Jaina masses, and, even in the age of Mahāvīra, propitiation of Yakṣas, Nāgas, Harīnagamesin and others for obtaining children etc., was not unusual with the laity. It is this tendency which led to the eulogising of the Paśca-Paramesthi mantra or the Navakāra mantra as potent enough to save the worshipper from all calamities.

In its purer form Jaina worship is based on the conception of bhakti of an ideal, or an apostle representing an ideal, not for reward but for self-purification. In essence it is more psychic than material and it is for this reason that, in both the Jaina sects, Bhāva-pūjā is said to be always superior to Dravya-pūjā. Kundakunda, an early Digambara śeṣāya, strongly supported Bhāva-pūjā in preference to Dravya-pūjā.

JAINA WORSHIP—BEGINNINGS

Evidence of Jaina sculptures from the Kankali Tila, Mathura, and adjoining sites has shown the prevalence of Stūpa-worship in Jainism, from at least c. first century B.C. A Stūpa of Muni-Suvrata at Viśāla is referred to in one of the Niryuktis. This Muni-Suvrata may be the twentieth Tīrthankara of Jaina belief or the sage (Rṣi) Suvrata referred to in Brahmanical literature. The Jaina stūpa, which once existed on the site of the Kankali Tila, is regarded as a stūpa of Supārśvanātha, the seventh Tīrthankara in some late Jaina accounts, but, as we have shown elsewhere, it was very probably the stūpa of Pārśvanātha who flourished 250 years before Mahāvīra, in circa eighth century B.C., according to Jaina traditions. The antiquities from the site, discovered so far, with a few perhaps dating from c. first century B.C. (Fig. 18) and almost all others dating from c. first century A.D. to the end of the Kuṣāṇa period, suggest that the stūpa was enlarged, repaired or perhaps rebuilt and adorned with sculptures in the beginning of the Christian era. Svetāmbara Jaina traditions speak of repairs to the Jaina stūpa of Supārśvanātha in the age of Bappabhaṭṭa surī in the eighth century A.D. Antiquities from the Kankali Tila show no repairs of the eighth century A.D.

These antiquities from Kankali Tila, Mathura, attest to the existence, amongst the Jains, of the worship of the Stūpa (cf. Fig. 21), the Cattya-tree, the Dharmarākṣa, the Avigupta (Figs. 10, 11, 16, 17), the asta-mahāgala (eight auspicious symbols) like the Śravastika, the Nandyāvarta diagram, the Vardhamānaka (powder-box), the Śrī-vata takṣa, Mina-yugala (pair of fishes), the Paubha (lotus), the Darppana (mirror), and Sthāpanā (cross-stand for holding a book) (Figs. 10, 11). Images of Tīrthankaras, represented both
in the standing (Figs. 9, 14) and the sitting (Figs. 10, 12, 23) attitudes, show no trace of drapery which clearly suggests that even though the Śvetāmbara-Digambara schism had come into being in the second century A.D., the final crisis in the differentiation of Tīrthankara icons of the two sects had not yet taken place. Hence the evidence of art from Mathura refers to Jaina worship prevalent in and common amongst both the sects in the first three or four centuries of the Christian era and not restricted to the Digambara or the Śvetāmbara sect alone.

From Mathura are found a special type of sculptures, called pratimā-sarvato-bhadrikā in the inscriptions on their pedestals, which show a Tīrthankara image on each of its four sides, facing each different direction (Fig. 14). These four-fold images, later more popular as Cauṇḍikha-pratimās in account of their facing four directions, have remained popular in Jaina worship of both the sects. The sarvato-bhadra-pratimās from Kankali Tila, Mathura, date from the Kuśan period. It must however be remembered that not all the four-fold images from the Kankali Tila have inscriptions calling them pratimā-sarvato-bhadrikā.

An image of Sarasvati, installed in this period, is also found from the Kankali Tila (Fig. 20). Reliefs showing harināmas from the lives of Tīrthankaras and other scenes from Jaina mythology seem to have existed in Jaina art at Mathura as is evident from Fig. 18 depicting the scene of Dance of Nīlākanṭa and the consequent retirement of Rājñānātha. The relief dates from c. late first century B.C. We also have a panel showing Harinameshin on throne attended by some figures (Fig. 19).

The full parikāra obtained on Tīrthankara images of the mediaeval period is not yet evolved in the Kuśan age, and only the halo, the Caitya-tree, the flying Vidyādharas or heavenly garland-bearers, heavenly musicians etc., all together or in different groupings are depicted in relief. During the Kuśan period one does not find any cognizance (lāṭākhanā) on the pedestal of a Jina or an attendant Chowrie-bearer (cāmāradhara) with the figure of a Tīrthankara at Mathura. Instead of the attendant cāmāradhara yakṣa on each side of the Jina, we obtain, in the early stages of Tīrthankara iconography, a donor and his wife (e.g. no. J.7 in Lucknow Museum), or more generally a monk and a nun (Fig. 9), or two monks or, in the case of Tīrthankara Neminātha, figures of Kuśa and Balarāma, on the two sides of the Jina. The Tīrthankara is represented either standing in the kāyotsarga posture on a pedestal or meditating while sitting in padmāsana on a simhasana (lion-throne). The pedestal or the simhasana shows lions on two ends and the dharma-cakra (Wheel of Law) in the centre, sometimes placed on a pillar, and flanked by figures of śādhu (monk), śādhi (nuns), śrāvakas (Jaina laymen), and śrāvikās (Jaina laywomen) (Figs. 12, 13).

The Tablets of Homage called āyāagarātas in the inscriptions on them, obtained from the Kankali Tila, Mathura, offer an interesting study. In the inscription on the Tablet dedicated by Vasu, the daughter of Lomaśobhikā, the Tablet is called a Śilāpata. In the Jaina canonical literature, we find, in the stock description of the yaksyāvatana (caitya, explained by commentators as Yaksā shrine), reference to Śilāpata worshipped on a simhasana placed adjacent to the trunk of a Caitya-tree. The Jaina āyāgarātas of Mathura have for their prototypes these Śilāpatas of ancient worship, as is evident from the inscription on the Tablet dedicated by Vasu, referred to above. The Buddhists also worshipped Śilāpatas as shown in the reliefs from the Bharhut stūpa. A study of some of these Jaina āyāgarātas or silāpatas shows that in each of them one of the mahāgāta (auspicious) symbols is prominently displayed in the centre. Ācārya Hemacandra in his Trisāṣṭiśālakāpuravacaritā refers to Boli-patās with astamangala marks which are thus the same as the āyāgarātas of the older tradition at Mathura. Now-a-days we find, in Jaina temples, plaques of metal with reliefs of all the eight auspicious symbols on them (Fig. 153).

In the āyāgarāta illustrated in Fig. 10 we find on one end a pillar surmounted by the Dharma-cakra and on the other end a pillar surmounted by a lion. In the āyāgarāta illustrated in Fig. 11 we find on one end a pillar surmounted by the Wheel of Law while on the other end we find a pillar surmounted by an elephant. Since the lion and the elephant are the cognizances of Mahāvīra and Ajītanātha respectively and since Ācārya Hemacandra lists such cognizances as Dvajas of the different Jinas in his Abhidhāna-Cintāmaṇi-kośa, we should identify the pillars with the lion and the elephant as the Dvaja-Stambhhas or Dvaja-pillars in front of temples of Mahāvīra and Ajītanātha supposed to have existed in the Kuśa period at Mathura. The Jinas also erected Dharma-cakra pillars. We find such pillars in the centre of the simhāsanas of some of the Jaina images from the Kankali Tila (Figs. 12, 15). Figure 164 from Kankali.
Introduction

Tila, Mathura, shows worship by circumambulation of a Dhvaja-Stambha by a Jaina couple.57 It seems that Jainas adored another type of pillars from fairly early times, at least from the Kuśāṇa period if not earlier. The Kahaon pillar (in U.P.) with an inscription of the Gupta period is perhaps the oldest extant Jaina pillar of this type so far discovered. It has on top four Jina figures facing four different directions and one Jina figure at the base.58 This is the type known as the Mānastambha or the Mānuvakeshastambha in early Jaina texts of both the sects.59 Some of the four-fold sculptures obtained from Kankali Tila, Mathura, seem to have been either on the top or at the bottom of such Mānastambhas since a careful examination has shown that there are sockets either at the top or at the bottom of these sculptures for joining another stone. This proves the existence of the practice of erecting Mānastambhas in front of Jaina shrines in the Kuśāṇa period.

The practice of erecting pillars or votive columns is very old in India. The pillars not only remind us of votive columns one of whose early types was the wooden sthāna of the Vedic age, but also the Yūpa of Vedic sacrifices.60 Coomaraswamy drew our attention to the reliefs of Amaravati61 where the Buddha is represented as a fiery pillar with wheel-marked feet below supported by a lotus, and with a ‘triśula-head’, and has remarked that they “represent the survival of a purely Vedic formula in which Agni is represented as the axis of the universe, extending as a pillar between the Earth and Heaven.”62 The worship of Agni as Skanibha (or a sthāna) should, according to Coomaraswamy, be regarded as the origin of later practice of erecting pillars dedicated to different deities and surmounted by their vihaṇas (dhvajas) or by symbols like the Dharma-cakra.

(According to the Jvājāvahigama-sūtra, a Jaina canonical text, there was a big maṇipithakā in the centre of the Sudharma Sabhā of Indra. On it was a Caitya-Stambha called Mānava, in the central part of which were gold and silver boards with pegs (nāga-danta, of ivory) with hangers (sikkaka) attached to the latter. In these hangers were round boxes of vajra (diamonds) with bones of many Jinas preserved therein, worshipped by gods and goddesses. On the Mānava-Caitya-Stambhas were placed asa-maṅgolas and umbrellas.)

The Digambara text Ādipurāṇa describes a type of pillars known as the Mānastambha, in the first rampart of the Samavasarana (congregation hall or theatre, erected by gods, in which the Tirthankara delivers his sermon). At the base of these pillars on four sides were placed four golden images of the Jinas. The pillars were lofty and adorned with bells, fly-whisks, etc.63 They were placed on triple platforms and on top were triple umbrellas. Being erected by Indra, they were called Indra-Dhvajas. They are also described by the Digambara text Tiloyapanatattvi which says that the Jina images were on top of such pillars.64 The pillars found in front of Pārśvanātha Basti on Candragiri, Cānana Basti on Vindhya-giri and Bhāndāri Basti in Śravaṇa Belagola are Mānastambhas.

The Indra-dhvaja is perhaps an ancient dhvaja-pillar associated with the Indra-maha65 referred to in Jaina canons, and reminiscent of the worship of the ancient Vedic god Indra. It may be noted that even today, when a Jina image is taken out in procession in a car (raha), in front of the procession is an Indra-dhvaja, with flags on all sides, also carried in a car.

The Bhagavati-sūtra discusses supernatural powers of certain classes of Jaina monks who can fly to the mythical Nandisvara-dūpa and worship the Caityas (Cetiya-dīn) thereon.66 Obviously these Caityas are the Śākata-Jina-āyatana situated on the different mountains and also referred to as Siddhāyatanas in different texts.

The Jaina texts refer to maḍagaya-caitya (maṭaka-caitya), i.e., funeral caityas, maḍaya-thubhīya (maṭaka-stūpa), i.e., funeral stūpa and devaya-caitya (daiva-caitya), i.e., caitya (image as well as edifice) dedicated to gods (for worship).67 Caityas existed in the pre-Buddhist epoch, at least in the sixth century B.C., or, say in the latter part of the Śrīṣuka period. These caityas were sanctuaries, holysteads, both with or without an icon, including the dhāṭa-caityas (funeral relics, memorial structures) referred to in Buddhist texts.

The description of the Pārśnabhadra Caitya (which is the Jaina canonical stock description of a Caitya—a Jakkha-āyatana, a Yakṣa shrine) in the Aupapatinca-sūtra does not refer to any image of the yakṣa worshipped therein and describes only the Pṛthvi-silā-pāja on a simhasana at the stem of the Afoka tree

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in the forest-grove (yanakhaṇḍa) of the Caitya. This Śīlā-paṭa was possibly meant to represent the Pūrṇabhadra Yakṣa. Mahāvīra visited and stayed in such shrines. Nowhere is it said that he visited a Jaina shrine or worshipped a Jina image. Obviously shrines dedicated to Tīrthankaras seem to post-date Mahāvīra⁹⁹ and the canonical passages referring to Śāsūta-Jina-Pratimās and Śāsūta-Jina-āyatana must be regarded as later than the epoch suggested by the description of the Pūrṇabhadra-Caitya. The stock description (vāraṇaka) of such Caityas, explained as Yakṣa-Caityas by commentators, is as under.

The Pūrṇabhadra Caitya was in the uḍyāna (park) called Āmraśālavana, situated to the N.E. of the city of Campā. It was very old in age (ciṛtāṭīta), recognised by people as old, ancient (porāṇa), famous, praised everywhere and Jhāta (of the Jhāṭr-people ?). It was decorated with an umbrella (or umbrellas), banners, bells, flags, atipatākās (flags surmounted on flags), whisks or bunches of peacock-feathers (lomahattaha) and having a railing (vitardikā, vedikā, according to Abhayadeva, which would also mean 'containing a sacrificial altar'), its inside floor was coated with cow-dung and the wall-surfaces were polished by rubbing with cowries; it bore palm-impressions in red gosīrṣa or darāḍara sandal, was adorned with ānandavāgīsas (auspicious jars), and on its entrance gates were toranas (arches) with candanaghaṇṭa decorations. It was sprinkled all over with perfumed water and garlands were hung; it was fragranced with flowers of five colours, and with burning incense of kālāgaru, kundūrūka and turūkka. It was haunted by actors, dancers, rope-walkers (jalla), wrestlers, boxers, experts in mimics (vidambaka), ballad-singers, story-tellers, pole-dancers (ḷāsaka), picture-showmen (mānkha), pipe-players, lute-players and minstrels. Many people visited the shrine which deserved praise, offerings, worship with sandal-paste, etc., gifts, adoration and respect, and which like a benefic, auspicious divine (devayam) ceam (caityam, image according to commentators), desired to be propitiated with due respect, and which when worshipped with desire did not fail to fulfil it (ṣaccopāye), and which was attended upon by divine pṛāṭhāryas. It deserved a gift of a share from sacrifices (Aupapāṭika sūtra, sūtra 2).

The above description shows that this Pūrṇabhadra Caitya, which according to the explanation of commentators, was a Yakṣa-āyatana, a Yakṣa-shrine, was situated in a big park called Āmraśālavana (a forest of mango and śāla trees) and was ancient even in the days of Mahāvīra. It had a Vītarākā (Vēdkā) or railing around. The wall-surfaces were polished. It had entrance gates with toranas (arches). This would suggest that the shrine had walls as well as a railing. Does it mean that its compound or courtyard had a railing with four entrance gates (on four sides and) adorned with arches?

There is no mention of the image worshipped and the sanctum (garbhaṇgha) in which it might have been installed. The fact that it was visited by actors, dancers, showmen and the like shows that it had a big compound around in which these people could perform dancing etc. But where was the Caitya in this uḍyāna? Was it in the centre of the uḍyāna?

In the next sūtra we are told that on all sides of it (i.e., on all sides of the Caitya or shrine) was a big forest grove (vansasanda) with a central big Aśoka-tree (obviously a Caitya-vṛksa). Attached to its stem and under the tree was a Prithvi-Śīlā-paṭa placed on a simhāṣana. This Śīlā-paṭa had a very smooth surface and was soft to touch like butter, etc. Its surface was shining like a mirror. Thus this plaque (śīlā-paṭa) made of earth (Prithvi), that is, the terracotta plaque, was a highly polished one, what we know as N.B.P. ware. This was not unknown in the age of Buddha and Mahāvīra as is proved by the discovery of such ware of different colours obtained in excavation of the foundations of the Ghoṣitārma at Kāṇsāmbi. We find, in the reliefs of Bharhut, scenes of worship of Śīlā-paṭas placed on a simhāṣana under a Caitya-tree. Obviously such scenes represent continuation of such traditions from the age of Buddha and Mahāvīra and even still earlier. The Śīlā-paṭa was placed under the tree reciprocating a little against its stem (isim khandhasamallīne) and deposited on a simhamose (sthānasamsthīne) obviously because it was an object of worship. It rested on the lion-throne, not vertically but horizontally, either slightly raised on the trunk side or with its one end probably slightly thrust into the stem of the tree. This was possibly meant by the expression isim khandhasamallīne. That the paṭa was horizontally placed obtains confirmation from representations of the Bodhi-shrine at Bharhut.

The description of the Pūrṇabhadra Caitya ends with the description of the Aśoka tree and the Śīlā-paṭa. So what was the object of worship in the Pūrṇabhadra shrine? We are told in this text sūtra 2,
translated above, that the Caiīya was in the ādyāna called Āmrāśālavana. And then later the text says in stūras 3-5 that in the centre of this forest-grove was the Aśoka-tree. So where was the walled Caiīya of stūra 27

It is reasonable to suppose that in the different vāccanas of the Jainas canon some portions of the original texts might have been lost and some were not understood or misunderstood. To us it appears that two stages in the evolution of the Pūrṇabhadra Caiīya are here mixed up. In the first stage, there was no walled structure around the object of worship which was none else than the Prthvī-Śīla-Pāta under the Caiīya-tree. It was open all around and at the most there was a railing around as we see a caitya-tree with a railing in the Ayāgapātas set up by an unknown donor (Smith, Jaina Stupa ... , pl. IX, p. 16 and Shah, U.P., Studies in Jaina Art, fig. 11, pp. 81-82). In the next stage perhaps there was a big platform around the tree and the simhāsana with the pata was on the platform (Coomaraswamy, HIIA, fgs. 41, 46, 51; Barua, B.M., Book of Bharhut, III, fgs. 26, 28, 30, 31).

The Mahābhārata (Śāntiparva 69.42) forbids even the falling of leaves of trees that are known as Caiīyas. Mr. Kane (History of Dharmaśāstra, II, p. 895) here interprets Caiīya as “trees like the Āśraya that have a platform (caitya) built for them.” Coomaraswamy cites a case where, in explaining the Suciloma Sutta of Samyutta Nikāya, II.5, a stone dipti, stone, or platform (tankite maṁca) is stated to have been Yakkha’s haunt (bhavanan).70 Coomaraswamy writes, “most of the Yakkhacetiya referred to in Buddhist and Jaina literature may have been sacred trees.”71 The Vasudevahindi (c. 400-450 A.D.) supplies definite evidence in support of the above inference. According to this text, there was, in Sāligīmā in the Magadha Janapada, an udāya called Manorāma. Therein was the Jakkha Sumanī, whose stone-plaque or platform (śīla = śīla) was placed there under an Aśoka tree, the śīla was known as Sumanī. There the people worshipped this Yakkha (tattha Sumanī nījā Jakkha tassā Asagopāvasamsiṣyā Śīla Sumanī tattha nam jānā putvantī—Vasudevahindi, p. 85). A certain person, Sātya by name, is further said to have spent a night in meditation in this area (śīlapāse, ibid., p. 88) of the Sumanasīlā, standing in the kāyotsarga pose, to propitiate this Yakkha.

The Śīla-pāta, placed on the simhāsana, became a spot for laying offerings to the spirit of the tree. Nay, it also became the pitha for representation of a spirit (or deity) or of a symbol as can be inferred from a relief of a Dhamma-cakka shrine from Bharhut, illustrated by Coomaraswamy (HIIA, fig. 41). At some stage the object of worship was carved on the Šīla itself and offerings placed on it, e.g. the Ayāgapātas illustrated in Figs. 10 and 11 which have in each a figure of a Tirthāṅkara in its centre.

These Yakkas-caityas were open on all sides but at some stage stone umbrellas supported by a staff in the centre were introduced to serve as roofs over these Šīla-pātas or images of deities placed on such Šīla-pātas. At some stage images of Yakkas or other deities were worshipped under such Caiīya trees and walls were built on all the four sides and there were entrance gates with toranas, as described in the Aupapātiaka stūra, stūra 2, noted above. It would mean that still the shrine could be visited from any of the four directions on account of entrance gates facing the four directions.

Another stage in the worship of the Caiīya-ṛkṣa can be imagined in the erection of a pitha or platform with a Šīla-pāta or an image on each of the four sides of the tree.73 This served as the basis of the conception of a Caturmukha shrine. Such an inference is confirmed by the elaborate account of Caiīya-ṛkṣas in the Samavasarana of Ādinītha described by Jinasa in his Ādivarīna. According to this text, they are Caiīya-ṛkṣas because at their roots are placed on four sides four images of the Jinas.74

In Jaina canons the stock description of a Jaina temple is that of the Siddhāhāthin. The Siddhāhāthin to the N.E. of the Sudhamma Sāhā of Vijayadava was 1½ yojanas in length and six yojanas and one kroša (about half of the length) in breadth and nine yojanas in height. It had on it, above the entrance doorway, the veṭṭā-pāna motif and an arch, surmounted by śilabhaṃjikā, it had beautiful pillars of Vaidūrya gems, its floor inlaid with gems and gold and silver, its walls decorated with figures of mythical animals (īṭāṅgara), oxen, kinnaras (half-men and half-horses or birds), crocodiles, birds, dragons, winged-deer (sarabha), yaks (eyyanā, elephants, creapers and lotus-ribosomes. The abacus of columns had crowning figures of veṭṭā-pāna-pairs, with mechanisms to show them moving. The shrine was adorned with thousands of sculptures or reliefs and with many domes (ṭhūḷātya), the tops decorated with
bells, flags, etc. white, lustrous, adorned with palm-impressions of sandal; its gates were adorned with auspicious pictures and arches surmounted by candana-ghotas; there were flowers, garlands, perfumes and incenses. It was adorned with figures of apsarasas.

The shrine had three entrances. In front of each entrance was a portico (mukhamandapa) adorned with the asthamangala-motifs. In front of these were preksaghamandapas or assembly halls (theatres). In front of each preksaghamanda was a Caitya-stūpa on a maniplitikā (jewelled platform). The Caitya-stūpas were white and shining. Each two yojanas in area (āśāma = circumference or length × breadth) and more than two yojanas in height, its surface covered with jewels, and surmounted by astaamangalas, black crowies and flags. On four sides of each stūpa were maniplitikās, each platform surmounted by jina figures sitting in the paryankā-āsana and facing the stūpa.

In front of each Caitya-stūpa was a maniplitikā with a Caitya-vṛkṣa on it. In front of each Caitya-vṛkṣa was a maniplitikā surmounted by a Mahendra-dhvaja (Indra-dhvaja) with a round staff and adorned with thousands of flags, astaamangalas, etc. In front of each Mahendra-dhvaja was a Nandā-Puṣkaraṇi, an artificial reservoir or tank.

In the centre of the Siddāhyatana was a maniplitikā, two yojanas in length and breadth and six yojanas in height on which was a big Devachandaka, two yojanas in length and breadth and a little more than two yojanas in height, all made of jewels. In this Devachandaka were installed 108 life-size images of Tirthaṅkaras. On top of the Siddāhyatana were astaamangalas, flags etc.

It seems that the Devachandaka was a sort of miniature shrine with pillars and arches in front, and containing only the sanctum. It is something like the Gandhāraṇi on top of a Stūpa. In the Jaina account noted above, there was a row of such miniature shrines or ornamental niches, each with an image of a Tirthaṅkara.

The above account from the Jīvājīvabhīgama Sūtra, 3.2.13ff includes all types of Jaina worship practised in ancient times. The Caitya-stūpas, Caitya-vṛkṣas, and the Mahendra-dhvajas described here do not form part of the main structure of the Siddāhyatana. It seems that the Jaina temple of the age of composition of this passage consisted of a sanctum, an adjacent hall (or rather a portico only) and a preksaghamanda. This last mentioned hall was possibly a little separated from the main structure though the Jaina texts do not explicitly say so. The plan of the shrine would suggest that the passage dates from the early Gupta age. Though the plan of the shrine can be assigned to this age, it must be remembered that the general description of decorative motifs, pillars etc. is of a much earlier tradition reaching back to at least the Kuśāṇa period and sometimes to the age of the Sanchi and Bharhut Stūpas. We have little evidence of shrines of the Kuśāṇa and Sāṅgā periods, but it is not unlikely that the plan of the Siddāhyatana noted by the passage may refer to plan of Jaina shrines of the Kuśāṇa age. Most of the text of the Śvetāmbara Jaina canon preserved for us seems to be the text of the Mathura Council of c. early fourth century A.D. The descriptions of Caitya-Śūpas, Caitya-vṛkṣas as apart from the main shrine suggest that there were in worship such separate cult-objects, analogous to those in reliefs from Bharhut, compare Coomaraswamy, HIJA, figs. 41, 55, 70 (Bodhi tree), fig. 45 (Dharmacakra shrine), fig. 42 (Caitya-stūpa), also from Amaravati illustrated in HIJA, figs. 142 and 144-146.

**ORIGIN OF STŪPAS AND CAITYAS**

Both the Śvetāmbaras and the Dīgambaras believe that the first person to erect on this earth the temples of the twenty-four Jinas of this age was Bharata Cakravartin, the son of the first Tirthaṅkara Rāshbahānātha. Referring to the nirvāṇa of Rāshbah, the Avalokiteṣvara-grōte, caitya 435, says:

**Haribhadra sûri** commenting on the above caitya, says that Bharata erected in honour of the Lord.
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a Stūpa and a Temple called Simhamūrdyā+yatana, one yojana in area and three gavyutis in height and installed therein life-size images of the twenty-four Jinas, as also images of the hundred sons of Rṣabha including himself and in order to protect these from violation by others, he placed as gatekeepers mechanical figures made of iron (lohanayān yantarapuruṣn).76 This he did on the Mt. Aśṭāpada, identified in Jain traditions with the Mt. Kaśyapa, which is the site of Rṣabha’s Nirvāṇa. This tradition of Bharata erecting the first Jina shrine is also found in the Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi and in the Mūla-Bhāṣya gāthā based on the above Niryukti gāthā. The same belief is expressed in the Vasudevahindū in its account of Rṣabha’s Nirvāṇa and the mount Aśṭāpada.77

Jaina canonical literature shows the existence of the worship of (1) Bones of Tirthāṅkaras, ashes or relics, (2) Caitya-trees and Caitya-Stūpas, (3) Caityas or images, e.g. the Śāśvata-Jina-Pratīmās, (4) Stambhas or Pillars and Symbols like the Śilāpātas.

The existence of several Caityas in the different places visited by Mahāvira is noteworthy. For example, there was Kośhaka Caitya at Śrāvasti, Candrāvataraṇa Caitya at Kauśambi, Pāṇabhadra Caitya at Cēmā, Gunaśilā-Caitya at Rājagha, Bahuputrika-Caitya at Viśāla, and so on. Commentators explain these Caityas as Yaksāyatana. Besides, we hear of temples of Śulapāṇi Yakṣa, Surapriya Yakṣa and so on. These suggest the existence even in the age of Mahāvira of image-worship amongst followers of the Yakṣa Cult, and amongst the Indian masses, for, the Jaina Āgamas speak of ladies propitiating such deities for obtaining children. Also, the Āgamas speak of festivals and worship of Indra, Rudra, Skanda, Vaiśravana, Nāga, Yakṣa, Bhūta, Vāsudeva and others. A temple of Skanda is said to have existed at Śrīvatthī in the time of Mahāvira according to the Śāśvata Jina-Pratīmā. Thus, according to the Jaina evidence, image worship was already popular amongst the Indian masses in the age of Mahāvira. The Pāṇabhadra shrine visited by Mahāvira was ancient (parāne) even when Mahāvira visited it. Of course the Aupapatiśa śūtra makes no mention of the image of Pāṇabhadra yakṣa. A sort of hero-worship could be easily introduced even though there is no Creator-God according to Jaina Doctrine. Bhakti predominated amongst the masses who worshipped the Yakṣas, Nāgas, Bhūtas, Indra, Rudra, Skanda, Vaiśravana, Vāsudeva and even Trees, Tanks, etc. Representation of the Jina figure was never spoken of as an act of sacrilege and was not disliked as was done by the Buddha regarding worship of the Buddha-image and hence the Jina-image-worship seems to have started early, at least during the Mauryan age. We have referred to the Kalinga-Jina image carried off by the Nanda king and brought back by Kharavela. T.N. Ramachandran has identified a frieze on the Mañcapuri Cave, Udayagiri. Orissa, as a representation of worship of the Jina image, the frieze is assignable to first century B.C. The existence of a Jina shrine (pāśūda), as early as the middle of the second century B.C., at Mathura, is proved by an inscription recording the dedication of a pāśūda-torana by a śravaka named Uttaradāvaka.77 In the inscription on the Āyāgapāṭa donated by Vāsa, the words used for a Jina shrine are Devakula and Nirgranthā-Arhatāyatana.

The Jaina account of the cremation of a Tirthāṅkara and the consequent collection of bone relics by Indra and other gods, including erection of the stūpas on the cremation site by the gods, given in the Jambudvipaprajñapti78 is noteworthy since it gives us an insight into contemporary methods of cremation and because it obtains an interesting parallel with cremation in Buddhist accounts.

Detailed descriptions of a Jaina stūpa are not traced in the Jaina accounts but the conception of a Samavasarana bronze or a stone sculpture showing the three ramparts of a Samavasarana vertically is reminiscent of the conceptions of a Jaina stūpa. This will be obvious on a comparison of fig. 182 with figs. 10A and 21 in this book as also figs. 14B and 76 in the Studies in Jaina Art. It seems that the popularity of representations of the Samavasarana ultimately replaced the Stūpa symbolism in Jaina worship.

The pedestal of a Jina image said to refer to Arhat Nandyāvarta (but referring to Munisuvrata according to K.D. Bajpai’s corrected reading) obtained from Kankali Tila, Mathura, was installed in the so called Vodva stūpa which is said to be Devanīrmita79 according to the inscription on it dated in the year 49 or 79. Due to a slight mistake in separating the words of the inscription inscribed in a line, the stūpa was called Vodva Stūpa by scholars. Lüders in his unpublished revised readings and notes had corrected the
relevant reading as pratimāv dve thupe devanirmite instead of the earlier reading pratimā vode thupe etc. Often when two images were donated or cast or fashioned at the same place one had the inscription on one of the two images only but referring to both the images. We have a similar instance of the two big standing Jina bronzes cast by the artist Śivanāga and installed in Samvat 744, obtained from the Vasantagadha hoard, now in worship in a Jina shrine at Pindwada, published in Lalita Kala, nos. 1-2. I am thankful to Prof. Alsdorf for informing me about Lüders’s correction.

The origin of this Stūpa of Kankali Tila, Mathura was forgotten and it was supposed to be Devanirmita, built by gods. Haribhadra sūri in c. early seventh century A.D. also called it Devanirmita. The expression may also mean erected by or gift of a person named Deva or it could have been regarded as work of Deva school of art. Taranatha in his history of Buddhism speaks of Deva and Nāga artists. As we have shown in Studies in Jaina Art, p. 12, it is better to regard this stūpa as a stūpa of Pārśvanātha rather than of Supārśvanātha.

Digambara texts like the Bṛhat-kathā-kośa of Harīsena (932 A.D.) give a story of the origin of Five Stūpas at Mathura, all built by gods, during a controversy with the Buddhists. Śrīvatsa, the author of Yaśastilaka-campū, gives a similar account but refers to only one Devanirmita stūpa at Mathura. Rājamaila in his Jambhūvāmicarita refers to the repair of Mathura Stūpas. A Pañcaśṭūpyāvaya or a Pañcaśṭūpyānikāya is connected with the locality of Mathura and Jainsena, the author of Jayadhavala, says that he belonged to this lineage of Jaina monks.

The Paharpur copper-plate, dated in the year 159 (478 A.D.) refers to Pañca-stūpa-nikāya. It is therefore certain that in and around Mathura Five Jaina Stūpas existed.

The Āyāgaṇaṭa dedicated by Vāsu, the daughter of courtesan Lonaśobhikā (Fig. 14B in Studies in Jaina Art) may be acknowledged as representing at least one type of Jaina stūpa. The stūpa-drum, standing on a high platform, was reached by a long flight of steps. In front of this platform, all around perhaps, were niches with images. The flight of steps led to the circumambulatory which had, at its entrance near the top of the flight of steps, a torana-gateway. Perhaps there were such flights of steps and torana-gateways facing all the four directions. All around the circumambulatory path there was a stone or wooden railing and the various aparasas or yaksis and coping stones found from Kankali Tila came from such a railing. The triple-arch of the gateway is reminiscent of the Sanchi gateway. From the middle of it hangs a vandana-mālā, an auspicious garland. The drum seems to be in three tiers. High above the pradaksinā path is another railing, then a band of decorative motif and then perhaps another railing or a band with lotus (?) motif demarcating the third tier from where the rounding off of the anda begins. The stūpa-drum is perhaps straight in height till this point.

Perhaps the big platform was square in plan and had huge pillars on four corners. Two huge pillars of Persepolitan style are shown on two sides of the drum, at two ends, in the Āyāgaṇaṭa set up by Vāsu. The pillar on the right in this plaque is surmounted by the dharmacakra. The capital and top of the pillar on the left are partly worn out and indistinct. On the analogy of the āyāgaṇaṭa donated by Sihanāḍika (Smith’s Jaina Stupa, pl. III, no. J.249 in Lucknow Museum) this other pillar was surmounted by some animal in the Tablet gifted by Vāsu (no. Q.2 in the Mathura Museum). Almost of the same type was the representation of the Jaina stūpa on the mutilated Āyāgaṇaṭa donated by Śivayaśas (Smith, Jaina Stupa, pl. XII, Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, fig. 1 on plate opp. page 74). Here the torana-gateway is surmounted by two triṇaṭa symbols, one on each end, while the Jaina technical name for the honey-suckle like symbol in the centre is yet unknown. This tablet dates from the 1st century B.C. both from the style of the two dancing female figures and from the paleography of the inscription incised on it. It is certainly earlier than the āyāgaṇaṭa donated by Vāsu.

A stone panel, a frieze or a Torana-beam, from the Kankali Tila, no. J.535 in the Lucknow Museum, illustrated here as Fig. 10A, depicts the worship of a Stūpa by two Suparṇas and at least five Kinnaras. The mutilated and lost right end of the beam possibly showed a sixth Kinnara. Here also it seems that the Stūpa is of a high cylindrical type with three tiers clearly marked by three railings. The platform is not shown but perhaps it is taken for granted. About this scene Smith remarked that the beam "may have belonged to the ancient Stūpa which was believed to have been built by gods . . . and is certainly

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an early work probably to be dated about 100 B.C. or 50 B.C. This evidence, along with the frieze depicting the dance of Nilānjanā and the retirement of Rśabha, illustrated here in Fig. 18, and the representation of a Lion-Pillar being circumambulated by a male and a female illustrated here in Fig. 164 prove that the original Stūpa on the Kankali Tīla site was decorated with reliefs etc. in the first century B.C. and it was perhaps enlarged and repaired during the Kuśaṇa age and embellished richly with decorative sculpture as well as cult-images and plaques etc. meant for worship.

**SYMBOL WORSHIP IN JAINISM**

Worship of symbols like the Dharmaçakra, Pillars like the Mūraṇaṇika, and the Indradhvaja, Caitya-trees, the Śīlāpaṭa later known and worshipped as Āyāgapaṭas, and the Stūpas, is discussed above. Worship of some other symbols may be briefly noted here. We have elaborately discussed Symbol Worship in Jainism in our Studies in Jaina Art.

The most highly venerated in Jainism are the Paṇca-Parmeṣṭhis or the Five Highest Dignitaries, who came to be worshipped in a Diagram (Mandula or Yantra) known as the Siddha-Cakra (Śvetāmbara) or the Nava-Pada (Digambara) diagram. These will be discussed in Chapter Three.

During the Kuśaṇa period at Mathura we find worship of symbols like the Stūpa, the Caitya-tree, the various Stambhas, the Aṣṭa-Maṅgalas, the Dharma-Cakra, the Āyāgapaṭa, the Tri-Ratna, etc. Later, during the medioeval period we find representations of the Fourteen or Sixteen Dreams seen by a Jina’s Mother, models in stone and metal, as also diagrams in paintings, of the Jaina conception of the Soma-vasaraṇa, the Nandīvara-dīpā, the Paṇca-Merus (the Five Meru mountains), the Aṣṭāpadā, the Sthibanā-cārya, and the Ĉāraṇa-pādukās or the Foot-prints and the Nisidhas or the Memorial structures of great monks and nuns.

**1. Auspicious Dreams**

Belief in auspicious dreams and omens is very old in India. The Chāndogya Upaniṣad, V.2.7.8 speaks of the prosperity that would come if a woman is seen in dream. Belief in dreams and omens dates from pre-Mahāvīra epochs and Nimitta-pāthakas or sooth-sayers were called by Siddhārthā to interpret the dreams seen by Triśalā, the mother of Mahāvīra. Nimittaśāstra was very popular with the Ājivikas from whom Kālakācārya mastered it in the second-first century B.C. The Angaviśā is a very early Jaina text on Nimitta and dates from the fourth century A.D.

Whenever a Tīrthankara descends from one of the heavens into the womb of his mother, she sees fourteen dreams according to the Śvetāmbara tradition and sixteen according to the Digambara sect. The fourteen dreams seen by Triśalā, the Mother of Mahāvīra, as noted in the Kalpa-Sūtra88 are: (1) a white elephant, (2) a white bull, (3) a sportive lion, (4) the goddess Śrī, four-armed and carrying lotuses and lustrated by two celestal elephants, (5) a garland of various flowers, (6) the Full-Moon, (7) the Sun, (8) a wondrous beautiful banner fastened to a golden staff with a lion at the top, (9) a full vase filled with water and lotuses, the abode of fortune, (10) a large lake full of lotuses, (11) the Ocean of Milk, (12) the Deśavimāna (celestial palace), (13) the jewel-heap (rājula-rēṣi) and (14) smokeless fire with constantly moving flame.89

Kalpa-sūtra miniatures show representations of these dreams, either in a group as in Fig. 180 (also fig. 19 in Brown’s Miniature Paintings of the Kalpa-sūtra) or singly as in Brown’s op. cit., figs. 20-33, pp. 19-22. The most common type of miniature (cf. Brown’s figs. 6, 18) represents the Mother of a Jina lying on a cot in the lowest panel and in the two or three upper panels are shown, in different rows, smaller figures of the fourteen dreams.90 Dreams are also represented in stone reliefs of the lives of different Jinas (Fig. 82) or in paintings on wooden book-covers of palm-leaf manuscripts showing lives of Tīrthankaras as also above the door-lintel of Jaina shrines91 (see also Studies in Jaina Art, figs. 83, 87). In modern times they are generally shown in reliefs on wooden or metal stools and plasters used for placing offerings in Jaina shrines of both the sects.
According to the Digambara tradition, the sixteen dreams are: (1) *Airāvata*, the elephant of Indra, (2) the best of bulls, (3) the lion, white in colour and with red manes, (4) the goddess *Padmā* (same as Śrī noted above), illuminated by elephants and seated on lotuses, (5) pair of garlands of best flowers, (6) the Moon, (7) the Sun, rising from the *Udayānāla* mountain, (8) pair of full-vases with lotuses placed on their mouths, (9) pair of fishes, (10) celestial lake, (11) agitated ocean, (12) a lofty golden lion-throne, (13) a celestial car (*vimāna*), (14) a palace of the king of snakes (*Nāgendra-bhavana*), (15) heap of jewels, (16) smokeless fire.

Representations of the sixteen dreams are also popular amongst the Digambaras and are often carved on door-lintels of Jaina temples as for example in the Śāntinātha temple and other shrines at Khajuraho.

According to Jaina traditions, mothers of other Śaṅkāpurusas like the Baladevas, Vāsudevas and Cakrapartins also see a certain number of dreams at the time of conception. According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, the Mother of a Vāsudeva (Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu) sees the following seven dreams: (1) Young lion, (2) Padmā (Śrī) seated on a lotus, and being sprinkled with water by two elephants, (3) Sun, (4) a pitcher filled with water and with its mouth adorned with white lotuses, (5) an ocean filled with aquatic animals etc., (6) a heap of jewels, and (7) smokeless fire. According to the Dīsambaras, they are: (1) the Sun, (2) the Moon, (3) Śrī, (4) *Vimāna*, (5) Fire, (6) Celestial banner, (7) *Dīrgha*: made of jewels.

The Mother of a Baladeva sees the following four dreams: (1) Elephant with four tusks, (2) bull, (3) Moon, (4) a pond filled with lotuses. According to the Digambara tradition they are: (1) Moon, (2) elephant, (3) ocean, (4) Sun.

The Mother of a Cakrapartin sees fourteen dreams like the Mother of a Tīrthaṅkarā, according to the Śvetāmbara tradition. According to the other sect, she sees five dreams: (1) Earth, (2) Sumeru mountain, (3) Sun and Moon, (4) lake with swans, and (5) ocean with surging waves.

DREAMS MAY BE AUSPICIOUS OR INAUSPICIOUS. Mahāvīra in his itineraries, before attaining Kevalajñāna, saw ten dreams which are described along with their meaning by the Sthānāṅga Sūtra.

Belief in dreams and their effects is an ancient superstition. It is difficult to say when the section on dreams was introduced in the life of Mahāvīra in the Kalpasūtra account. At least the detailed descriptions of each of the fourteen dreams seem to have been added later as shown by Muni Punyavijaya in his critical edition of the *Pavitra Kalpa-sūtra*. It may be noted that the ornament *dīnāra-mālā* in the description of Śrī in these dreams (*Kalpa-sūtra*, sūtra 37) supports the inference that this section is added later after the *dīnāra* coin became popular in India.

Belief in dreams is common to all sects. The science of Sāvita-Sakuna was very popular in the age of the Purāṇas and even medical works like the *Aṣṭāṅgaḥṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa refer to such dreams in detail.

II. Aṣṭamangalas

The Aṣṭamangalas or Eight Auspicious symbols are familiar to both the sects and are known to Jaina worship from ancient times. They are: *Svastiika*, Śrī-vaiśa, Nandyāvara, Vardhamānaka (powder-flask), Bhadrāsana (a particular type of seat), Kalāśa (the full vase), Darpaṇa (mirror), and Matsya-yugma (pair of fishes), and are often referred to in the Jaina texts, including canonical works, as decorating tops of architraves or ramparts or placed on cliffs or painted on walls and so on.

Hemacandra ācārya further notes that eight auspicious symbols were represented on *Bali-pattas* or offering-stands. The offering-stand is a platter with low legs, made of wood or metal, used to hold offering in temple worship. It has eight auspicious signs carved or wrought in high relief. Such stools, often made of wood with silver plate studded all over them, or made of silver or brass, and with reliefs of the eight auspicious symbols or the 14 or 16 auspicious dreams, are even today used for placing offerings in Jaina shrines. Often Jaina ladies prepare such signs with uncooked rice on wooden or metal platters placed in the mandapa in front of the deity. Small sized platters with the *uṣmangala* symbols are often worshipped in the sanctums along with metal images of Tīrthaṅkaras.

Hemacandra’s reference to *Bali-pattas* with marks of the eight auspicious symbols is interesting since
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such symbols are seen on some of the Jaina Āyāgapaṭas of the Kusāna period, obtained from Mathura. The Table of Homage (Āyāgapaṭa) set up by Acala (no. J.252, State Museum, Lucknow), illustrated here in Fig. 10, shows a line of four symbols in the uppermost panel and another of eight at base. In the lower panel, the first symbol from right end, partly mutilated, was probably the Śrīvatsa. The second symbol is Svastika, the third a lotus-bud, half open, fourth a pair of fishes, fifth a water-jar with a handle, sixth is either an offering of sweets or better a crude representation of Ratna-rēśi (heaps of gems). The seventh is probably the Sihpadā (a cross-stand with a manuscript on it), the eighth is an inverted Tri-ratna looking like the so-called hill on ancient coins. The uppermost central rectangular panel, which contains four symbols, shows the Śrīvatsa, another type of Svastika with bent ends and two more symbols which cannot be properly identified. A better preserved set of eight symbols is obtained on the Āyāgapatā set up by Sihaṃdi (no. J.249, Lucknow Museum, see Fig. 11) with inscription in characters which seem to be earlier than those of Kaniska. Here in the lower panel are shown the Tri-ratna, the full-blown lotus, the Sihpadā (or is it Bhadrāvara?) and the Mangala-klāśa. In the panel at the top are Mina-yugala, an unidentified symbol, the Śrīvatsa and the Vardhamānaka (powder-box).

It is thus reasonable to infer that in the Kusāna period the Jaina set of the aṣṭamangalas was not finally settled. In this older tradition as represented by the Mathura Āyāgapaṭas, the Nandyāvarta and the Darpāna are omitted and the full-blown lotus and an unidentified symbol are used. The Mathura finds represent a stage anterior to the tradition recorded in the Jaina canons like the Rayapāṣānaiya sutta. Such facts confirm our inference that most of the Jaina canons as available today follow the edition of the Mathura council of c. 300–313 A.D. under Ārya Skandila.

Aṣṭamangalas are represented in miniature paintings of manuscripts, in paintings on canvas of different paṭas, both tantric and non-tantric, and in scroll paintings of the Vijñaptipatras. They are often represented as decorative motifs in different parts of a temple.

The Digambara sect gives the following set of Aṣṭamangalas: Bhṛṅgāra (a type of vessel), Kalaśa, Darpāna, Cāmara (fly-whisk), Dhvaja (banner), Vyajana (fan), Chatra (umbrella) and Supratiṣṭha (a seat).

Some of these symbols like the Svastika are of very ancient origin, common to different ancient civilizations and races of the world and their exact significance is not always easy to comprehend. The full-vase or the Pūrṇa-Kalaśa, the Pūrṇa-Kumbha, of Vedic literature, is the Indian symbol of fullness of life, of plenty, of immortality.

The Śvetāmbara Jaina text Ācāra-Dinakara explains the significance of these symbols which may or may not represent the original conceptions. According to this text, the Kalaśa is worshipped as a symbol for the Jina as he is verily like a Kalaśa in the family. The Darpāna (mirror) is for seeing one's true self; the Bhadrāvara is worshipped as it is sanctified by the feet of the Blessed Lord; the Vardhamānaka is suggestive of increase of wealth, fame, merit, etc., due to the grace of the Lord. The highest knowledge is said to have manifested itself, from the heart of the Jina, in the form of the Śrīvatsa mark on his chest. Svastika, according to this text, signifies Svasti, i.e., Śanti or peace. The Nandyāvarta diagram with its nine points stands for the Nine Niches. The pair of fishes of the Mina-yugala is the symbol of Cupid's banners come to worship after the defeat of the God of Love.

Belief in auspicious objects is very old, common to all sects. V.S. Agrawala has referred to Mangalamalā (garland of the auspicious symbols) amongst Sanchi reliefs. The Mahābharata, Droṇaparvan, 82.20-22 mentions numerous objects which Arjuna looked at and touched as auspicious before starting for battle. Amongst these auspicious maidens are also mentioned. The Vimana Purāṇa, 14.35-36 mentions several objects which are auspicious. The Brahmanav ātman Purāṇa also gives lists of animate and inanimate objects regarded as auspicious. Belief in Mangalas and Mangalashrayes is also known to the Rāmāyana.

III. Sihpadā or Sthīpadēcārya

This is a symbolic representation of one's ēcārya or teacher which a Jaina monk keeps in front while giving a discourse. It marks the presence of the elder, used as a corrective witness, a precaution against
misinterpretation, but especially as a mark of reverence for the teacher. Literally it means installation of the figure or symbol (of the ācārya or any other elderly person including deities) when one is not personally present.117

It is a crossed wooden stand, made of two or more crossed wooden sticks which can be folded and carried easily. The sticks are tied with a string in the centre and when the stand is placed in position, a nice piece of cloth, often a costly ornamental one, is placed as a cover on its top. Under it were placed aksa and varāṭaka. A scripture was usually placed on it as a sthāpanā. The sticks are often made of ivory or sandal-wood with beautiful carvings at the ends. The sthāpanā is an old practice amongst monks of both the sects and can be seen on stone sculptures, especially depicting figures of monks, in various Jaina sites like Devgadi, Khajuraho, Abu, Kumbharia, etc. (Studies in Jaina Art, figs. 43, 77; Treasures of Jaina Bhandaras, figs. 16, 22, 24, 33, and colour figs. C and F; and Figs. 36, 37, 167 in this book). Whether the motif existed or not in art of the Kuśāna age at Mathura is not known, but the symbol preceding the Mangala-Kalasha, in the lower panel of the Áyāgapāta dedicated by Sihanādika (Coomaraswamy, HILA, fig. 70; Studies in Jaina Art, fig. 13), illustrated here as Fig. 11, corresponds very near to this conception.

Sthāpanā is a pretty old conception, referred to by Jinabhadrā gani Kṣamāśramaṇa as shown above, and by the Anuyogadāra cūro which mentions the accessories of a sādhu in the practice of Dharma. They are jhavanā (sthāpanā), muhappati (mukhapattikā), danda-paučhanam (danda-prauchanaka), and javamāli (japamalikā). The sthāpanā is for the practice of the virtue of vinaya or showing respect to and being obedient to the elders.

The Muhappati is a piece of cloth held in front of the mouth by a Jaina monk while speaking. Prescribed for preventing insects from entering the mouth and being killed, the Mukhapattikā is also a symbol of samyana or control of speech. The Mukhapattikā is a very old accessory used by Gautama, a gaṇadhara of Mahāvira, as suggested by the canonical text Vipāka sūtra, adhyayana I.

The Danda-paučhanaka, also called Rajoharaṇa, is a broom with a stick-handle, used to sweep dust particles and small insects. According to the Bṛhat-Kalpa-sūtra-bhāṣya it was made of any one of the following five fibres—wool, hair of camels, jute (śānaka), fibres of vākala, or strings prepared by twisting the muñja grass. In the Digambara tradition broom made of peacock’s feathers is known.

The muhappati, rajoharaṇa and the japamalikā (rosary of beads) carried by a Jaina monk can be seen in a sculpture of Nanna-sūtra, now in worship in a shrine in Sadādi and installed in v.s. 1393. It is illustrated in Studies in Jaina Art, fig. 48.

IV. Dharmacakra or the Wheel of Law

Representations of the Dharmacakra on Jaina pedestals from Kankali Tila, Mathura, show that the Wheel was placed on a platform or a pillar, often with the rim to front, and worshipped on both sides by the members of the Jaina Samgha (śrāvaka, śrāvītika, sādhu, and sādhvi). A Wheel on a pillar is shown in Áyāgapatas illustrated in Figs. 10 and 11, also circumambulation of such Dharmacakra-pillars is suggested in a relief illustrated in Figs. 164. It seems that formerly the Dharmacakra was separately installed as an object of worship in Jaina shrines. This is inferred from the find of a Dharmacakra of brass or bronze obtained with the Chausa hoard of Jaina bronzes, illustrated in Fig. 16. This Dharmacakra belongs to the Kuśāna age. A separate brass or bronze Ciṭṭya-tree of the same age was also obtained in this hoard (Fig. 17). An Áyāgapata from Mathura with a big Dharmacakra in centre is illustrated by us in Studies in Jaina Art, fig. 14.

V. Asṭāpada, Somneta Śikhara and Pańca-Meru

Ṛṣabha obtained Nirvāṇa on the Asṭāpada mountain. Near his cremation ground Bharata erected a temple, of jewelled slabs, and named it Simhanisadāyā-āyatanā (possibly from its architecture?) with statues of the Śāśvata Tirthankaras and the twenty-four Tirthankaras of this age. Bharata also installed statues of his ninety-nine brothers who obtained Nirvāṇa on this mountain, along with Ṛṣabhānātha, besides
he placed a statue of himself listening attentively like a faithful devotee. Bharata raised the Blessed One's Śīfa and those of his 99 brothers outside the shrine. To save these from future damage at the hands of mortals, he placed mechanical iron guardsmen, and cutting off the projections of the mountain, he made it steep and straight and impossible for men to climb. He then made eight (aśṭa) steps (pada) around it in the form of terraces impossible for men to cross and each step or terrace (pada) was one yojana apart from the next one. From that time the mountain was called Aśṭāpada. Among people it was also known Harāḍri, Kailāsa, and Śphaṭikādri.

Such is the origin of the name of the mount Aśṭāpada according to Hemacandra. The Vasudeva-hindi tells how Aśṭāpada came to be regarded as a tīrtha, how Bharata erected stūpas and shrines and installed the different images but gives no explanation of the name Aśṭāpada. Aśṭāpada is an old Jaina tīrtha since it is referred to by the Śambūvipaprajñapti and the Āvaśyaka-Nīryukti.

Gautama, the first Gaṇadhara of Mahāvīra, was told by his Master that whoever is able to reach the top of this mountain and worship the Caityas thereon will obtain emancipation. Gautama, with his supernatural power, climbed it like a flash of light. Some tāpasas (Brahmanical monks?) were attempting to do so but could not go beyond the third terrace. At the sight of Gautama they got enlightenment and obtained moksa. Gautama reached the top and entering the Simhanāsāya-Caitya by the South gate, he first saw images of the four Jinas beginning with Sambhava and worshipped them. At the West-entrance he worshipped the eight Tirthankaras beginning with Supārśva, entering by the Northern gate, he worshipped the ten Jinas beginning with Dharmanātha. From the Eastern gateway of the shrine he worshipped the first two Jinas—Ṛṣabha and Ajitanātha.

Obviously, Simhanāṣāya is a Caturmukha shrine with four doorways and having in the centre a platform on which the Jina images are represented in the order described above and worshipped by Gautama. In Śvetāmbara Jaina temples, sometimes, a cell is dedicated to Aśṭāpada represented in the way described above. A representation of Aśṭāpada of this type, with Gautama gaṇadhara shown climbing, and the tāpasas on the way, is seen in a shrine on the mount Śatrūṭjaya in Surashtra, Gujarat. Fig. 181 is supposed to represent Aśṭāpada. Smaller representations, only of the Jinas, in the above order, on four sides of a pitha, are more common and one such may be seen in a Jaina shrine in Surat. All these are later mediaeval representations and earlier ones are not traced hitherto. Cita-patas mapping tīrthas like Śatrūṭjaya, Girnāra, Sammeta-Śīkhara, Aśṭāpada etc., singly or in groups, are frequently installed in front halls of Jaina shrines and scroll paintings on canvas or paper were in use. A Pañcatīrthī-pata painted at Champaner in Gujarat in early fifteenth century a.d. was published long ago by N.C. Mehta and was again discussed by Motichandra with better illustrations in colour.

The acaśāri on Śamavesarānātāvāra refers to pājas representing the Samavasarāna structure. Fig. 182 is a small representation of Śamavaśarana in stone, under worship in Vimala Vasahi, Abu.

The Digambara sect also believes that Ṛṣabha obtained Nirvāṇa on the Aśṭāpada mountain and that Bharata erected a memorial shrine on the cremation. But representations—in plaques, paintings, sculptures—are not yet traced, though a proper search is likely to disclose some kind of representation of the Aśṭāpada and other tīrthas amongst the Digambaras as well.

Similarly, representations of the Sammeta-Śīkhara (see Fig. 180 from Kumbhārīa) are also worshipped in Śvetāmbara Jaina shrines, a famous example of which is available int he triple-shrine built by Vastupala and Tejipala on the Mt. Girnar. Such representation is known as avarāra or uddhaara of a particular tīrtha. A stone-plaque representing avarāra of the Śatrūṭjaya and Girnāra tīrthas, now in worship in a shrine in Varakhānā, Rajasthan, is illustrated here in Fig. 186.

Representations of Pañca-Meru mountains, showing a Siddhāyatana on each tier (on each side as in a four-fold or Caumukha image), one above the other, represented in five tiers surmounted by a finial, are more common amongst the Digambaras. One such Pañca-Meru obtained in a Digambara shrine in Surat, installed in v.s. 1514–a.d. 1456, is illustrated here in Fig. 184. One such Pañca-Meru is also obtained in a Śvetāmbara shrine, in the Hastisāla of the Luṣa-Vasahi, Delvada, Mt. Abu. The five Merus are: Sudarśana in the midst of Jambūdvipa, Vijaya in eastern Dīhātkikhaṇḍa-dvīpa, Acala in western Dīhātkikhaṇḍa-dvīpa, Mandara in eastern Puṣkarārda-dvīpa, and Vidyunmālī in the western Puṣkarārda-dvīpa.
According to the Digambara belief, in all there are eighty Siddhāyatanaṣ on the five Meru.

VI. Nandīśvara-Dvīpa

_Nandīśvara-dvīpa_ is known to both the sects.²²³ It is the last of the numerous island-continents of Jaina cosmography, the first or the central one being the Jambū-dvīpa. The Nandīśvara is a land of delight of the gods with gardens of manifold designs, adorned and honoured by visits of gods devoted to the worship of the Tirthāṅkaraṣ. In its central parts are four Ajāna mountains of black colour, situated in the four directions—Devarāmanā in the east, Nityodyota in the south, Svayamprabha and Ramaniya in the north. On their tops are temples of the Arhatṣ, each shrine having four doors. The shrines are 100 yojanas long, 50 yojanas wide and 70 yojanas in height. Within the shrines are jewelled platforms (manipūrakha) on which are diases (devacchandaka) on whom are one hundred and eight eternal statues (Śāsvata-bimbā) of the four Eternal Arhats (Śāsvata-Jina), named Ṛṣabha, Vardhamāna, Candrānanda and Vārīṣṭa, made of jewels, in the parījāna posture and attended each by a beautiful retinue consisting of two Nāgaṣ, two Yaksas, two Bhūtas and two Kumadharaṣ (pitcher-carriers), while behind each statue is a figure of an umbrella-bearer. On the diases are incense-burners, wreaths, bells, the aṣṭa-mangalas, banners, festoons, baskets, boxes, seats as well as sixteen ornaments such as full-pitchers etc.

There are gleaming entrance-pavilions (mukha-mandapa), theatre-pavilions (prekṣā-mandapa), arenas (akṣavātaka), jewelled platforms, beautiful stūpas, statues, fair caitya-trees, Indra-dhvajas and divine lotus-lakes in succession.

In the four directions from each of the Ajāna mountains there are big square lotus-lakes, Nandīśaṇa, Amoghā, Gostupa, etc., and beyond them are great gardens named Aśoka, Saptaparṇa, Campaka and Cūta. With the sixteen lotus-lakes are the crystal Dahirumukha mountains, each having a Śāsvata-Jinālaya with images of Śāsvata-Jinaṣ noted above. Between each two lakes are two Ratikara mountains making a total of thirty-two Ratikara mountains. These again have thirty-two Śāsvata-Jinālayas on them. This makes a total of fifty-two such eternal temples of the Arhatṣ on the Nandīśvara-dvīpa. Here and elsewhere on the Nandīśvara-dvīpa Indra and other gods celebrate Eight-days’ Festival (Aṣṭāṅkika Mahotsava) on different holy (parva) days.

Works on cosmography like the Laghuśektrasamāsa of Ratnaśekhara expressly state that there are fifty-two Śāsvata-Caityālayas, thirteen in each of the four directions, on the Nandīśvara-dvīpa.²²⁴ A diagrammatic representation of it generally shows in a circle a group of thirteen miniature shrines in each of the four directions, with a mountain in the centre.

In various temples and palaces of the Nandīśvara-dvīpa, gods together with their retinue celebrate the Aṣṭāṅkika Mahotsava on holy days of the holy Arhatṣ. After celebrating the Kalyāṇaka ceremony (or the festival of any of the five chief events in the life of every Jina) gods retire to this dvīpa, worship the Caityas thereon and then return to their respective abodes.²²⁵

Plaques or Paṭaṣ representing the fifty-two shrines on the Nandīśvara are very popular amongst both the sects. The Digambaras represent fifty-two small figures of the Jinaṣ (suggesting shrines) on a four-tiered platform, or in a miniature shrine, both the types being four-faced, as illustrated by T.N. Ramachandran in his Tiruparuttikuranam and its Temples, pl. xxxi, figs. 3-4, p. 181. The Śvetāmbaraṣ represent miniature shrines in four groups of thirteen each, carved in relief on a stone plaque, and arranged in different artistic ways. A beautiful Śvetāmbara plaque, worshipped in the famous Caumukha shrine at Ranaakpur, is illustrated here in Fig. 179. Another paṭa of this dvīpa, installed by one Dhanaḍhala in v.s. 1287 (1230 A.D.), is preserved in a cell in the main shrine on Mt. Girnar but the number of shrines on the plaque exceeds the usual figure 52. It is impossible to list here all the available representations of Nandīśvara from the whole of India nor is it necessary in a work of iconography to do so even with regard to images of different deities nor does this author claim to have made an exhaustive study from each and every shrine of the Jaina faith which is still a living religion in India.

The _Nandīśvara-dvīpa_ has been held very sacred by both the sects who install stone and metal sculptures or plaques in their shrines. T.N. Ramachandran (op. cit.) has published a metal sculpture of N.-
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dvipa, pyramidal in shape, rising in four tiers and with a finial top. On each side thirteen Jinas are sitting in padmāsana. He has also published a bigger stone sculpture of the N-dvipa, shaped like a vimāna, superimposed on a square base, the sides of which reveal Jinas seated in meditation. The vimāna has on each side niche surmounted by an arch with a figure of a Jina sitting in it. A finial surmounts the whole giving it a dignified appearance. Figure 63 in Studies in Jaina Art, illustrated by us, represents a modern N-dvipa bronze from a Jaina shrine in Kolhapur. Since the N-dvipa with its 52 Śāśvata-śīlāyās has been a favourite resort of gods for festivals and worship, it has naturally become a favourite symbol of worship of the Eternal Jina images, by the pious Jinās. The figure 52 became so popular that a group of smaller shrines 52 in number were often erected round a Jaina shrine. One of the penances practised by them is known as Nandīśvara-pankti-vrata in the Digambara tradition; a similar N-tapa practised by the Śvetāmbaras along with pūjā of the Nandīśvara-para is referred to by the Pravacanasāroddhāra.125

VII. Samavasarana

Samavasarana126 literally means assemblage and refers to the Sermon-hall constructed by gods, where heavenly beings, human beings and the animal world assemble, take their apportioned seats, and attend to the sermon delivered by a Tirthankara after enlightenment. According to Śvetāmbara sect, Vyantara gods erect it at the bidding of Indra, while the Digambara traditions say that Indra himself was the architect.

It is a special structure usually an elaborate circular theatre with three fortifications around, erected by gods, for beings to sit and listen to the discourse.127 In representations in Jaina miniature paintings it is generally circular in plan while in some cases it is square in plan.

Detailed descriptions of such assembly halls are obtained in works of both the sects, especially the Jaina Purāṇas in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramśa, Kannada, Tamil, etc.128

The Kalpa-sūtra does not refer to the Samavasarāna or the festival celebrated by the gods at the time of the Kevalajñāna of Mahāvīra.129 Even the negative evidence of Kalpa-sūtra is sometimes significant as it is an early text already commented upon by Agastyaśimha sūri in c. third century A.D.130 It may also be noted that not a single representation of the Samavasarāṇa has yet been discovered from Kankali Tila, Mathura. But the Āvaśyaka-Niryukti does describe it.131 The terms Samavasarāṇa, for such an elaborate conception, seems to have originated from canonical expressions like samavasthrān used in Jaina canons for Mahāvīra staying and holding meetings in different places and from texts like the Aupapātika sūtra 10, where Mahāvīra is said to have arrived at the Pārśvabhadra Caitya near Cāmpā with a view to hold a congregation (samavasthrāṃ kāme).

According to Hemacandra (Trisastī, op. cit.), when Rāṣṭhā obtained Kevalajñāna, Indra ordained Vyantara gods to erect a Samavasarāṇa. The Vāyukumāras first cleaned the ground for one yojana, the Meghakumāras then sprinkled it with fragrant water, the Vānayantarās spread flowers on it. The Vyantarās covering the surface with shining mosaics, erected, in four directions arches (torana), of jewels, gold etc., having on their tops tall figures of śāla-bhaṭṭikās with reflecting surfaces. Makara ornaments (of glistening sapphire) shone on the arches.132 The arches, adorned with flags and white umbrellas above and eight auspicious symbols below, looked like those on offering slabs (Balipaṭas).

The Vimānāvāsī gods made the uppermost rampart of jewels (ratna) with battlements (kapiśīrṣa). In the middle part, the Jyotiśka gods made a rampart (paṭra) of gold with battlements of jewels on it. The third and the outermost fortification wall, constructed by Bhavanāvāsī gods, was made of silver and decorated on top with extensive coping stones of golden lotuses.

Each of these ramparts had four ornamental gateways (goṣṭhā). At each gate, jars of incense were placed. Besides at each gate the gods made a reservoir or step-well (vipi) with golden lotuses and having four gates like those of the rampart.

To the north-east, inside the second wall, they made a dais (devacchandā) for the Master to rest on. On both sides of the east gate of the first rampart stood two gold-coloured Vaimānika gods as gate-keepers. At its south gate stood two white Vyantara gods, at the west gate two Jyotiśka gods of red
colour and at the north gate two Bhavanēdhipatis black like clouds. At four gates of the second wall, in the same order, stood the goddesses Jāyā, Vījāyā, Ajītā and Aparājītā, each with one hand in the abhaya-mudrā and the other three hands carrying the noose, the goad and the hammer. On the last rampart, at each gate, stood a Tumburu as door-keeper, carrying a skull-crowned club (khaṭṭavāha), wearing a garland of skulls, and adorned with matted hair.\textsuperscript{133}

In the midst of the Samavasarana, a Caitya-tree was raised by the Vyantarās, beneath it a platform (piṭha) of jewels, on the latter a diya (chandaka) of gems. In the centre of it, to the east was placed a jewelled lion-throne with foot-stool. Above the throne shone the white triple-umbrella, on both sides Yaksas held two white fly-whisks. At the gate of the Samavasarana, they placed, on a golden lotus, the Dharma-cakra of remarkable luster.

Gods use nine lotuses for the master to step on while reaching the congregation. Entering the Samavasarana by the east-gate, the Jina makes pradaksīṇa (circumambulation) of the Caitya-tree and bowing to the congregation (tīrtha) takes his seat on the lion-throne. Vyantarā-gods make three life-size images of the Lord and place them in the other three directions so that everyone in the assembly finds himself facing the Lord.\textsuperscript{134} Behind the Jina appears a halo (bhūmāsāla), a drum is sounded in the skies (devadāmbhī), and a jewelled banner blazes in front of the Lord.

In the first rampart is the place for monks and nuns. Gods, men and women, and animals have their own places in different ramparts.

In the interesting account given by Jinasena in the Ādipurāṇa,\textsuperscript{135} Samavasarana is circular in plan, surrounded by a dhuli-sāla (mud-wall) of dust particles of various gems producing effect of rainbow colours. A little inside the dhuli-sāla, in the midst of roads were tall Mānasastambhas on platforms reached by flights of steps, and situated in the midst of a Jagati, surrounded by three walls and four gopuras. At their bases were golden images of the Jinendra worshipped with waters of the Kṣīra-sāgara. Music and dancing continued before these Jina images. The pillars, erected by Indra, also called Indra-dhāvajas had triple umbrellas on tops. Near the pillars were step-wells in four directions and by their sides small kundas for washing one’s feet.

A little away from these vāpis was a moat filled with water, full of lotuses and encircling the Samavasarana area.

Near each gateway, of the first rampart, were nine-nidhis (treasures). On each side of the highways starting from these gateways were two nātya-sālās. Further inside were incense-burner jars, still further, on the byways by the side of highroads, were four forest groves with square or triangular vāpis for heavenly damsels to bathe. At some places were lotus ponds, at others kriḍāmaṇḍapas, artificial hillocks, mansions (harīva), prekhā-grhas, citra-sālās (picture-galleries), ekā-sālās, dvi-sālās (single-roomed or double-roomed houses), or big palaces (mahā-prāśāda). In the Aśoka-vana was a big Aśoka-tree on a three-tiered platform, and adorned with flags, bells etc. At its root were four images of the Jinendra worshipped by gods and human beings. Similarly the other three forests had the Caitya-trees called Saptaparana, the Campaka, and the Āmra-tree.

At the ends of these forests were Vana-vedikās with tall gateways with flagstaffs in front.

In the description of the second rampart, and its area, the forests are of the Kalpa-vyakṣas and in the list of buildings etc. we find additional mention of Candrasālās and Kūṭāgāras. In the centre of each of the highways were nine lofty stūpas adorned on all sides with images of the Siddhas and the Arhats.

In the centre of third rampart area, three stūpas stood, one above the other. On the third, Kubera erected a square Gandhakuti on which was placed the lion-throne on which sat the Lord, with triple umbrellas overhead, halo (bhūmāsāla) behind, nearby and attended upon by Yaksas waving fly-whisks. In the sky rose the sound of the celestial drums beaten by gods.

Descriptions in traditions of both the sects agree in broad outline, viz., a central pavilion (Gandhakuti) for the Jina, placed on a big platform, and surrounded by three fortifications, each with four archways in four different directions. Originally the conception of the samavasarana seems to be circular in plan and the square plan seems to be a later one. But it shows that the samavasarana has for its prototype the big stūpa (the harīva of stūpa may be compared with the gandhakuti or devacandaka for the
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Jina) surrounded by a flight of steps. At a lower level or on the ground level, running around this central structure and at some distance from it is the bigger railing (a rampart) with ornamental torana-gateways. There is a third rampart which can be compared with the third railing seen on the frieze of worship from Kankali Tila, illustrated in Fig 10A.

But the elaborate Digambara description, in the Ādipurāṇa of Jinasena, includes in it the various constituent elements of a big city and may have incorporated in it an ideal description of a contemporary city-site with three fortifications, a surrounding moat, pleasure resorts, stepwells, theatres, lawns, lakes, palaces etc., and having in its centre the royal palace. Viewed in this light, such accounts are of special value as providing us with architectural and other cultural data.

In Kalpa-sūtra miniatures Samavasarāṇa is generally represented as circular and occasionally square in plan. Brown’s pl. 23, fig. 80 shows Mahāvīra sitting in the padmaśāna in the centre of the samavasarāṇa, with a yakṣa attendant standing on either side. Four highways lead to the Jina in the centre. The ornamental concentric bands around the Jina represent the usual fortifications. The whole is enclosed in rectangular panāl, at four corners of which stand pairs of animals who have forgotten their natural animosities under the spiritual influence of the Jina whose main teaching is ahimsā. Brown’s figures 113 and 126 are of a similar composition. His figure 99 represents the second type, here a samavasarāṇa of Pārśvanātha.136

The fresco paintings of Sittanavasal, of c. 9th-10th century, contain in the ceiling, a scene of a big lotus pond with animals such as elephants and bulls, birds, and fishes frolicking about and men gathering lotus flowers, which has been identified by Ramachandran as khāṭikābhūmi or the tank region, with the faithful (bhavyas) gathering lotus flowers.

The wall and ceiling paintings at Tirumalai, N. Arcot district, the ceiling at Tiruparuttikunram, at Śravana Belagola etc., also contain representations of Samavasarāṇas in circular form.

Representations of Samavasarāṇa are available in reliefs showing lives of different Jinas, for example, in the life of Śantinātha in a ceiling in the Vimāla vasahī, Abu, bhāva no. 19, and in another elaborate ceiling in a shrine at Kumbhārī. Loose sculptures, mostly circular, showing three ramparts, one above the other, surmounted by a square pavement showing the Jina sitting on each side are also obtained, a beautiful example of which from the Vimāla vasahī cell 20 has been discussed by D.R. Bhandarkar. A big sized beautiful bronze structure of a similar plan, installed in the eleventh century, brought from Sirohi and now in worship in a Jaina shrine in Surat, is illustrated here.137 Examples of such loose stone and metal sculptures and reliefs are scattered in Jaina shrines all over India. The upper part of Samavasarāṇas, the pavilion or the Gandhakuti, with the Jina facing each side, has been a subject of representation by itself as the Caumukha (Caturmukha pratimā) called Pratimā-Sarvatothhadriksā in Mathura inscriptions. In further elaboration of this concept we find such four-sided sculptures and bronzes with several Tīrthaṅkaras on each face. But the practice of installing Caturmukha sculptures is an old one common to the Caitya and Yakṣa worship and these were installed and worshipped on four sides of a Caitya, a pillar or a stūpa, as also in the pavilion or gandhakuti on top of a stūpa.

The square or circular Samavasarāṇa has for its prototype the square or circular funeral mounds or structures referred to by the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and called Daiva and Āśura Pṛśaṇa respectively. Being associated with śmaśāna, symbolising funeral memorials, the Jainas unlike the Buddhists did not like to install miniature stūpa representations in their shrines and at the same time could not omit such a very popular symbol from the Jaina worship. The evolution of the Samavasarāṇa concept gave an excellent substitute for the stūpa symbol. So far as the concept is concerned Samavasarāṇa has nothing to do with funeral rites.

The original conception of a Caturmukha-pratimā so far as a samavasarāṇa or the gandhakuti on top of a stūpa is concerned, shows that figures of one and the same Jina should be shown on each of the four sides. But the Pratimā-Sarvatothhadriksās from Kankali Tila, Mathura, show figures of four different Tīrthaṅkaras on the four sides, two of them can be identified as Rṣabhanātha and Pārśvanātha and the other two possibly represented Mahāvīra and Neminātha. Thus the Pratimā-Sarvatothhadriksā of Kuśāra age do not always seem to imply the Samavasarāṇa concept and some of them were certainly on the top or at the base of a kind of Jaina pillars, like the Kahan Pillar, called Manastambaḥs. This is quite evident in
cases where, amongst the Pratimā-sarvatobhadrikā or Caturmukha images from Kankali Tila, Mathura, we find tenon or socket on top or bottom.

The conception of the Samavasaraṇa is not later than the Gupta age since neither the Āvaśyaka Niryukti nor the Vasudevahāndi referring to it can be assigned to a date later than the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.

The conception of a Caturmukha shrine, evolved from the cult of Caitya-vṛksa and the Yakṣa cult as shown before, and the allied concept of Caturmukha Pratimā led further to the creation of interesting sculptures and bronzes, as, for example, the Nandiśvara images at Jina-Kāśchi or Tiruparuttikūram illustrated by Ramachandran, op. cit., pl. XXI, fig. 3 and pl. XXXI, fig. 4. Four-sided bronze and stone images having in all 72, 108, or 1008 miniature Jina images were also evolved. A beautiful Caumukha shrine from Guṇḍa, Madhya Pradesh, is a gem of its kind.138

VIII. Tree-Worship

We have already referred to Caitya trees before. Tree-worship, popular from ancient times, noticed on Indus seals and in Vedic and later Brahmanical literature, formed an important aspect of the religious cult of the masses with whom Buddha and Mahāvīra were mainly concerned. The Caitya tree had to be introduced on relief sculpture of a Tīrthāṅkara by showing its foliage spread over his head, because of the great popular appeal the Tree had in ancient India.139 Originally perhaps the Jina image was placed under a Caitya-Tree. The bronze figure of a Caitya-tree obtained in the Chauṣa hoard (Fig. 17) was perhaps worshipped in such a way with a separate small Jina figure placed near its trunk. Even today the Caitya-tree of Rṣabhanātha (Rāvana tree in Gujarati) is held sacred and worshipped on the mountain Śatrūṇjaya.

The earliest reference to the Caitya-tree of Mahāvīra is in the Ācārāṅga sūtra, book II which is regarded as later than book I. Though incorporating much earlier material, the Samavāyaṇa sūtra (samavāya 159, p. 152) is obviously a later compilation. It gives a list of Past, Present and Future Tīrthāṅkaras and records a list of Caitya-vṛkṣas of all the 24 Tīrthāṅkaras of this age in the Bharata kṣetra.

Spirits connected with trees are assigned by the Jainas to the class of Vyantarā gods. The Vyantarās are subdivided into eight groups, namely, Piśācas, Bhūtas, Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Kinnaras, Kimpurūpas, Mahoragas (Nāgas), and Gandharvas. Each group has on its crest the symbol of a tree in the following order—the kadamba, sulasa, vaṭa, khāṭvāṅga, asoka, nāga and tumbaru according to the Śvetāmbara tradition while the Digambaras substitute the badari tree for the khāṭvāṅga. In the Śvetāmbara list khāṭvāṅga alone does not seem to be the name of a tree.

The Sthānāṅga sūtra (10.3, sū. 766) gives a list of trees worshipped by the ten classes of Bhavanavāśi gods. A different list is supplied by the Tiloyapaṇḍati, 4.913ff.

Along with the conception of Caitya trees may be noted the conceptions of the Tree of Life and the Wish-fulfilling Trees (kalpa-drums) in Brahmanical and Buddhist texts. Jaina texts also speak of ten kalpa-drums, described in detail in the Jambudvīpa-prajñapti, 20, pp. 99ff, Harivamsa of Jinasena, I, pp. 146-47, Trīṣaṭṭisalākā-puruṣācarita (Parva 1, transl. op. cit., pp. 29-30), etc.

REFERENCES

2. Varāhamihira in his Bṛhat-Samhitā refers to the Arhats, i.e., followers of Arhats. By his time the term Arhat (worthy of veneration) seems to have been used especially for a Jina or a Tīrthāṅkara.
3. As in Amarakośa, cf. सर्वेऽपि एको इति महायज्ञकृतिविविधवांः.
4. A Jina is called an Arhat, cf. Abhayadeva’s Comm. on Sthānāṅga sūtra, p. 191, and Āvaśyaka Niryukti, gāthā 1087; Mālācāra, 7.4; Jaini, Padmanabha, op. cit., pp. 1-2 and notes.
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5. A remarkable study of the Jaina shrines at Devgadh is made by Klaus Brunn in his The Jina-Images of Deoghar (Leiden, 1961). S. Settar has studied Sravana Belagola Monuments. I understand his work will be published soon. Of course, an abridged book entitled Sravana Belagola by S. Settar was published in 1981 from Dharmar. M.A. Dinkar is engaged in a special study of all the Jaina monuments at Satrunjaya while Haribhadra Singh has made a special study of the Jaina shrines at Kumbhārā.

6. Jaini, J.C., Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jaina Canon, p. 19, and n. 2.


8. Bhāṣavatī sūtra, 9.32.


11. Cf. Uttarādhyayana sūtra, 26.29. For rules of conduct of Keśin, a follower of Pāśupatīśāla, see Rāmapāsomeya sūtra, 147, and for disciples of Mahāvīra, Aṣāpāṭhakī sūtra, 16, p. 61.

12. Modern scholars do not believe in the legend of Transfer of Mahāvīra's Embryo. It seems that he was born of a Brāhmāni lady. Also see Jaini, Padmanabha, op. cit., pp. 6-9 and notes; Malavania, Dalukh D., Mahāvīra's Life, Journ. of the O. I., Baroda, vol. XXIV, pp. 11ff.


14. The Digambara sect does not believe in the Transfer episode nor do they give the name of Mahāvīra's mother as Trīśalā. They call her Priyākārīṇī.

15. For the date of Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa, see Muni Kalyanavijaya, Vīra Nirvāṇa Samvat Aur Jaina Kīlāganand (Hindi), Nāgarī Pracarini Patrika, vols. X-XI; and Muni Nagaraj, op. cit.


19. Bhāra-Kalpa-Sūtra with Bhāṣya (ed. by Muni Punnyavijaya, Bhavanagar), vol. VI, gāthā 6396, p. 1681: वर्णको दामो पुर्वस्य व पत्रिकास्य व निष्प्लास्वमम्।

20. The Śvetāmbaras writers tried to explain the term acela by saying that even with tattered worn out garment a person can be generally called acela, see also ibid., p. 1680, gāthās 6260ff and p. 1688, gāthās 6402ff.


25. Śīhāndāga, II.171, p. 137 (Aṣāmocāna Samitī ed.); Açarāṅga, II.5.1.2, SBE, XII, pp. 157-166; Uttarādhyayana, II.12, SBE, XLV, p. 11. Also see Muni Uttam Kumaṇa Jain, Jain Samsāra and Schools (Delhi, 1975), pp. 39-45.


27. For details about ānkalapā, see Bhāra-Kalpa-Sūtra with Bhāṣya, III, gāthās 3962ff about the Śīhāndāga monks, see Açarāṅga sūtra, 7.4.20ff; also see Schüring, Die Lehre Der Jinas (Berlin and Leipzig, 1935), pp. 162ff. Muni Kalyanavijaya, Śīhāndāga Bhagavān Mahāvīra (Hindi, Jalor, v.s. 1998), pp. 285ff. For the Digambara view, see Jaini, Kamta Prasad in Jaina Antiquity (Arrah), vol. ix, no. II.


32. Uttarādhyayana sūtra, pp. 152-178; Uttarādhyayana Nīryukti, gāthās 164-178; Aśvaṇyaka Nīryukti, gāthās 778-783.

33. Viśēṣānīyaka-Mahā-Bhāṣya, gāthās 301ff, (Ratlam ed.). pp. 729-34. The Digambara writer Devasena in his Dārśanāsara, v. II, says that this schism arose 136 years after Vikrama, i.e., in 79 A.D. For Pundit Nathuram Premi's remarks on above, see Jaini Hitaśī (Hindi), vol. XIII, pp. 252ff, 260ff.

34. For the age of Nīryukti, Muni Punnyavijaya's Introduction to Bhāra-Kalpa-Sūtra with Bhāṣya, vi; Charpentier’s intro. to the Uttarādhyayana-sūtra (Upasala, 1922), pp. 49ff places Bhadrabāhu, the author of the Nīryukti in c. 4th cent. A.D. According to Leumann the Nīryukti were compiled in c. 80 A.D.; also see Schüring, op. cit., p. 60; Ghasga, A.M., Daśāvākālīka Nīryukti, IIHQ, vol. XI, p. 629. Alsdorf, A.L., in Mahāvīra and His Teachings (Ahmedabad, 1976).


36. For detailed information of sites and illustrations, see R. Champakulaṃkṛti, South India, Jaina Art and Architecture, cliq: 9, pp. 92-103 and plates.

37. Bhāra-Kalpa-Sūtra, gāthās 3275-3289, vol. III, pp. 917-931. Compare gāthā 3289 which is famous (the same gāthās are also available in the Nīṣṭhā ċūrī, vol. IV, pp. 128-131, gāthās 5744-5758, given in both the texts as Bhāṣya gāthās).
Jainu-Rūpa-Maṇḍana

Mathura, pl. xvii, fig. 2, discussed by Chanda, R.P., op. cit., p. 179; Epl. Ind., X, p. 117; Jaina Art and Architecture, I, chp. 6, pl. 3, p. 57. For the Ardhaḥpālakas, see Jainas, K.P., Ardhaḥpālaka Sampradāya (in Hindi), Jaina Siddhānta Bhadakara, VIII, no. 2, pp. 63-66.

43. The date in the inscription is generally read as 95, Ep. Ind., I, no. 22. Loders' List no. 75. Loders says that the reading of the first two signs of the date is uncertain.

In Jaina Art and Architecture, I, p. 57, Debala Mitra has given year 99 as the date.

It seems that the date 95 or 99 may not be in the era of 78 A.D. since that would be equal to 173 or 177 A.D. But if the date is in the era of 57 B.C. then the date would be equal to 38 or 42 A.D. which is reasonable since Kapha or Kṣapa Śramaṇa is the teacher of Śivabhūti and since Śivabhūti's schism arose in 79 or 83 A.D.

If we accept Jacob's date of Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa around 467 B.C., the date of the schism of Śivakoji or Śivabhūti would be 142 A.D. In that case the era used for the date in this Tablet of Kapha Samaṇa can be the era of 78 A.D.

44. Also see Shah, U.P., Evolution of Jaina Iconography and Symbolism, Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, paper no. 6, pp. 49-74, and figs. 16-21.

45. The inscriptions on the pedestals of these images from Mathura refer to gogas, śākhās, kulas, etc., found in the Śvetāmbara Śhaviravālī of the Kalpa-sūtra whereas the monks represented on pedestals are naked and often hold a piece of cloth on the elbow in such a way that the linga is covered from view. Whom they called ardhaḥpālakas in their times? They seem to be Jina-kalpi monks who might be holding such a piece of cloth when they come out of seclusion into the society. Or, are they Vajrayanas? It is difficult to draw any definite conclusion. It is very likely that these sculptures from the Kankali Tila, Mathura are of an age when the Digambara-Śvetāmbara schism had either not surfaced or at least had not reached Mathura. Otherwise we would have found figures of Jaina monks dressed as Śvetāmbara monks, with at least one lower garment. The problem needs further investigation since names of some monks and most of the gogas, śākhās, kulas etc. figure in Śve. accepted Shaviravālī of the Kalpa-sūtra.


47. जानवरुलयाज्यां भीत्तलाङ्कः प्रधात्सङ्गुष्ठिकः

दिव्यततार्किकी कांडांपूर्वः कृपाय देवः।

—Bhṛṣṭ-Saṁhitā of Varāhamihira, 58.45.

The Pancaśīdūhāntika of Varāhamihira is dated in 327 Śaka year according to S.K. Dikshit in Indian Culture, vol. VI, no. 2, pp. 191ff. Dikshit takes vedā-3 in saptaśivveda-samkhya etc. Others take vedā-4. Dikshit says that in those days only three Vedas were recognised.

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Mns. 1883-84, by Bhandarkar, p. 146.


51. Árayāya Niruykṣa, gāthis 949-51, Árayāya Cārī, p. 567, Árayāya Vṛtī of Haritabhra, p. 437.

52. Siddhārtha Shastri Citrāva, Prācitā Caturī Kośa (Marathi, Poona, 1932), p. 635.


55. Caumukha images are also found on tops of Samavastisa icons, for Samavastisa, see ibid., pp. 85-95, fig. 76. For Caumukha sculptures, ibid., fig. 28 (from Som Bhandara cave, Raigarh), fig. 74 (from Terahi, M.P.), fig. 84 (from Surat); Jaina Art and Architecture, I, pl. 18 (from Mathura); ibid., II, pl. 159 A and B (from Deolia and Purulia respectively), pl. 257B (from Madubidri), etc. For discussion of four-fold sculptures on top or bottom of pillars—Maṇḍastambhas—and allied matters, see Shah, U.P., Jaina Anustulis etc. . . . Motichandra Memorial Lecture, Journal of Indian Museums, vol. XXXIV (1978), pp. 1-34, esp. pp. 18-22.


58. See Fiece, Gupta Inscriptions, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, III, pp. 66-68.

59. The practice has remained popular with the Digambaras. At Devagāḍ is a number of pillars which show variations in and elaboration of Maṇḍastambhas, see Devagāḍ ki Jaina Kalā (in Hindi) (Delhi, 1974), by Bhagchandra Jaina, figs. 28, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48.

In Southern India there are so-called Bharmadeva pillars and other pillars in front of Jain shrines. S. Settar has explained that these pillars do not show figures of Brahma Yakṣa or Bharmadeva but the pillars have figures of Savarnabhūti Yakṣa. He has shown their origin in the Maṇḍastambhas. Cf. S. Settar, The Bharmadeva Pillars, Artibus Asiae, vol. XXXIII, nos. 1-2, pp. 17 ff.

60. Also see Bannerji, J.N., Development of Hindu Iconography (first ed.), p. 114 and note.

61. Coomaraswamy, A.K., Elements of Buddhist Iconography, figs. 4-10, and pp. 10 ff.

62. Cf. Roveka, VI.16.13; I.59.1-2; IV.13.5; V.29.4; X.5.6. According to Coomaraswamy, op. cit., p. 66, "the axis of the Universe is coincident also with the fiery Śiva-linga set up, according to the Devadārūvīla legend, in the foundations of the Earth and extending upwards to Heaven. The Jyotiśinga were originally perhaps such fiery lingas. One such linga with flames exists in the Bhrata Kaḷa Bhavan, Varanasi."

63. Adīpurāṇa of Jinasena, 22.92-102, pp. 515-16. The name Maṇḍastambha is explained as follows:

64. Tīlayopapangatti, 4.782, gives another explanation:


66. Indra was the most prominent of all the mahās (festivals) in ancient days. Bhrata is said to have celebrated eight days' festival in honour of Indra (Avalyaka Cārī, p. 213). Indramahā was also mentioned by Bhāsa (Putalkara, Bhāsa, A Study, chp. 19, p. 440), also in the MBH, I.64.33, and Kathāsaritgāra, etc. According to Rāmāyana, IV.16.36, it was celebrated on the full-moon of the Āśvin in Gaṇḍa-daśa. Indrāta (Indra-yaś, the same as the Indraśāla) is mentioned in the Nāyādhammakkāhā, I, Bhagavati sūtra, 9.6; also in the Mahābhārata, VII.49.12. Also see Bṛhat-Kalpa-Sūtra, vol. IV, gāthis 5153.


67. Bhagavati sūtra, 20.9, su. 684. 794. For the Nandisvaradvipa, festival thereon and representations of Nandisvaradvipa, see Studies in Jaina Art, pp. 119-121, figs. 63, 89.

68. For a detailed discussion on the origin and conception of Cāitya, see Shah, U.P., Studies in Jaina Art, pp. 39-75 where conceptions of Cāityas, Cāitya-stūpas, Cāityastambhas, Cāitya-yakṣas, etc. are discussed with Jaina and other sources.


70. Ibid., p. 53, note 4.

71. Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art (HIA), p. 47. Also see Odette Viennot, Le Culte De L'Arbre Dans L'Inde Ancienne, pl. VIII, fig. D from Amaravati Stūpa.
1. Coomaraswamy, HIA, p. 47.
विधित्वमुग्धसन्धाय विन वाचेत सर्वेऽपि।
शाच प्रभलाश्रय प्रसिद्ध दिग्गुस्ती।
विशेषतत्वप्रतिक्रिया: समसामितवर्तमान:।
वैयासतिष्ठत्वमुग्धसन्धा प्रयासशः।
शाचिकोभी विनाशत तन बलान्ति: प्रासाद्यत:।
Also cf.: शाश्वमुग्धसन्धाय बनेवाणिज्यति वीर्यासिण्यः।
पीड़ितत्वप्रकटते रमाय अत्यूप वेष्टुमा।
द्वारवित्वसत्तुमा चंद्रावलिष्ठकार्तव्यजाः।
अर्हतिण्यायनं श्रीवर्मामृत्युमय सरस्वतिक वयम्यम्।
कौमुदिसत्तुमा होम्य निविष्ट्याय स्वेतम्।
वेशान्तरं तुतुमम् वयम्यम् श्रीलंकसुत्तमः।
कौमुदिसत्तुमा होम्य निविष्ट्याय स्वेतम्।
श्रीलंकसुत्तमः होम्य निविष्ट्याय स्वेतम्।
यशोभिनितबिठ्ठि गायनश्रीमयादिभिः।
5. Digambara writers share the same belief, compare: कौमुदी भवायणं भवायणं भवायणं।
शाश्वेष राक्षसेशाय राक्षसेशाय राक्षसेशाय।
—Vasubindu-Prativottamakha, v. 17, p. 6.
6. Ávalyaka-vyāti, p. 169. The Māla-Bhāṣja-gāthā on the Nīryukti verse is:
सर्वभाषाय कालपाण्डितयशि सहायिते।
—Ávalyaka-Vyāti, p. 169.
Also see Ávalyaka Cārī, pp. 223ff.
7. Vatsudevāhadi, p. 169 and pp. 300-303. Cf.: कौमुदी भवायणं भवायणं भवायणं।
शाश्वेष राक्षसेशाय राक्षसेशाय राक्षसेशाय।
—Fasdevahadi, p. 301.
9. Lüders, List no. 47. For K.D. Bajpai’s corrected reading, see Mahāśīra Conmemoration Volume (Āgra, I, pp. 189-190.
10. Ávalyaka Nīryukti with Haribhadra’s Vṛtti, p. 453. Also see Vyasahāra-Bhāṣya, 5.27-28; Bhūt-Kalpa-Bhāṣya, V.5874, V.6275.
11. For some explanation, see Studies in Jain Art, pp. 63-64.
13. Handiqui, K.K., Yaśastīloka Cāmpa and Indian Culture, pp. 418ff.
18. Kalpa-sūtra, sū. 31-46. Jacob’s translation in SBE, pp. 229-238; also see Kalpa-sūtra, sū. 3. and Jacob’s translation, op. cit., p. 219.
21. Representations of Śrī amongst such miniatures are of special iconographic interest.
22. In the Kharavattakshi Caumukha shrine at Devīgā, Mt. Abu, they are represented on an architrave in the hall in front of the main shrine, a photograph of which is published in Muni Jayanatāvijaya’s Tīrvaharāja Abā (Gujarati), 5th edition.
23. The dreams are painted on a wooden-book cover depicting the life of Pārvatīnātha, now preserved in the L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, see JISOA, vol. V, pp. 2-12, and plates. Also see Jeshir Natwir Ītarī (Gujarati), edited by Muni Punyāvijaya. For paintings on dreams on walls, see Nirayacālā, 2.1, p. 51.
25. The belief is common to both the sects but the differences in the lists and the numbers would suggest a relatively later growth.
27. Harivamśa, 35, vv. 11-12, vol. II, pp. 451-452. Padmacārīta, 25.3, p. 506 notes a different tradition according to which she the Lion and the Moon only.
29. Harivamśa, 32.1-2; Padmacārīta, 25.12-15 gives a different tradition.
100. Muni Śrī Puṇya-vijaya, in his Introduction to his ed. of Pārśva-Kalpa-sūtra, p. 10, says that the detailed description of the fourteen dreams in the KS is not referred to in Agastya Śīla's Cūṇi on the same and that therefore it is difficult to say whether the portion in question is genuine or not. According to him, the Nīṣīkhy as well as the Cūṇi on the Daśāśrutakānda (of which the Kalpa-sūtra is the eighth adhyāyana) seem to date from c. 350 A.D. or earlier.

101. See Śabdakalpadruma-Kōsa under Śvapaṇa.

102. Anupāsita-sūtra, sū. 31. Śivathīya (or Sāthīya), Śivadeva, Nandaśiva, Bhādāśana, Kalasa, Makha, Doppaka and Vadhālomānaga.

103. Trisāṭī, I (translation in GOS, vol. LI), pp. 119, 120. Jinasena's Adīpūrṇa, pata 27, vv. 143, 185, 210 etc. Compare:


105. Smith, V.A., Jaina Śīrṣa ... pl. XI. Studies in Jaina Art, fig. 10. Some of these symbols occur on other Ayāgāpas also, cf., for example, Smith, Jaina Śīrṣa ... pl. IX, Studies in Jaina Art, figure 11.

106. Smith, JS ... pl. VII, Studies in Jaina Art, fig. 13.

107. Especially see Agravala, V.S., Harvacarita, Eka Śīmāśīkā Ayadhvīya (Hindi), p. 120, where he has referred to Āṣṭamangalamālā from Sanchi reliefs. The Mangalakas are more than eight at Sanchi. Gradually the number was fixed as eight.

108. On a red sand-stone umbrella (c. 2nd cent. A.D.) from Mathura, the following eight auspicious symbols are carved: Nandipada (same as the Triśisīla), Matsya-yugma, Svarakṣa, Puṣpa-diva, Puraṇa-gaṇa, Ratna-patra, Śīrṣa-khaṇḍa-Nidhi ... Agravala, V.S., A New Stone Umbrella from Mathura, JUPLS, vol. XX (1947), pp. 65-67. For the Jaina evidence and description of such Umbrellas, from Prasnaśādhyāyaśūtra, see Shah, U.P., A Further Note on Stone Umbrellas from Mathura, JUPLS, vol. XXIV.


110. For illustration see Helen Johnson's translation of the Trisāṭīśīkāsūtraśūtra, I, in the GOS, vol. LI, p. IV.


The Vardhamāna and the Śri-vattra symbols are treated by Coomaraswamy in Ostasiatische Zeitschrif (1927-28), pp. 181ff.; and by Johnson, F.H., JRAS, 1931, pp. 558ff.; ibid., 1932, pp. 193ff. Agravala, P.K., Śri-vattra, the . . . of Śri (New Delhi). For Śvarakṣa, see Brown, W. Norman, The Śvarakṣa.

113. Ācāraya-Dinakara, pp. 197-198.

114. Also see Kane, P.V., History of Dharmaśāstra, vol. II, p. 311. He quotes the following verse from a manuscript of Śvānaka-kārika:

—Devasya graha jatā sukalakasa bhūta-kāra

115. Brahmacarīvatā Purṇa, Ganapati Khaṇḍa, adhyāya 16 and Kṛṣṇa-Janma Khaṇḍa, adhyāya 70, both quoted in Śabdakalpadruma, III, p. 564. Also see Agni Purṇa, adhyāya 58, v. 31 (Anandaśrama ed.), p. 72. The label 'Khaṇḍa' is missing, as is the name of the author.


—Rāmḥyaṇa, II.23.29.

117. Jina-bhadrā gani Kṣamāśīkamārga (c. 500-610 A.D.) explaining it as:

—Vivekāntakā-Mahābhāṣya.

Devedra sūri in his Sanghaśāstra-jīka, section called Gurusvāmanda-bhāṣya, says:

—Kumāra-gaṇapati, dhātra puruṣottama-śiva.

The following from Pingaliniyukti explains the Sīhapanī:

—Pingaliniyukti (DLPH no. 44, Bombay, A.D. 1918), pp. 3-7.


119. Vatsudevaśānti, p. 301.

120. Jambudvīpaṇītī, sūtra 33.

121. Cf.: Abhimatuvațakasāvatāra, p. 17.

—Ācāraya Niyukti.

122. Aṣṭapadagiri-kalpa in the Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa of Jamprabhā suri, published in the Singhī Series, pp. 91-93. Also see ibid., p. 31 for an Aṣṭapadakarātīrtha-kalpa by Dharmaṇīghoṣa suri. Abhidhāna-Rajendra-Kōsa on Astapada.

122a. Miniature Paintings from Western India, figs. 177-185.

124. Also see *Jivāṭīvēdhigama sātra*, 3.2, sū. 183, pp. 356f, for an account of the Nandīvara-dvipa.


127. भव्यवृण्या कुवृत्तैं तीर्थस्नान्यायः।


129. *Kalpa-sātra*, sū. 120-121, Jacobis transl. (SBE). Brown thinks that it is implied in the K.S., 120-121, see p. 38 of his *Miniature Paintings of the Jaina Kalpa-sātra*.


131. *Āvatauka-Niryuktī*, gāthās 539-569; *Āvatauka-Vṛtta* of Haribhadra, pp. 229-235. This Niryuktī in its extant form is certainly not the work of Bhadrabahu I, as traditions would have us believe, since there are references in it to schisms much later than the age of Bhadrabahu.

132. Also compare *Avatāra Niryuktī* in *Avatāra Vṛtta*, pp. 230-231.

133. The *Avatāra Niryuktī* and the *Vasudevahindī* do not refer to gate-keepers.


135. *Ādigrūpa*, parva 22. We have noted here only main points of description, including some additional details supplied by Jinasena.

136. Also see Brown, Norman, *A Ms. of the Sthānāṅga sātra illustrated in the Early Western Indian Style, New Indian Antiquity*, vol. I, no. 2, pp. 127ff, fig. 2.

137. *Studies in Jaina Art*, fig. 76. Figure 83 in the same book represents the Samavasaraṇa of Pārvanātha in the Life Story of Pārvanātha carved in relief in this ceiling.


CHAPTER TWO

Origin of the Jina-Image and the Jīvantasvāmī-pratimā

Prehistoric sites in India have not as yet yielded any definite clue to the existence of Jainism. A few seals from Mohen-Jo-Daro showing human figures standing in a posture closely analogous to the free-standing meditative pose (kāyotsarga mudrā) of the Tīrthaṅkara, or the seals with a figure generally identified as Śīva-Paśupati as Yogi (in a meditative sitting posture) cannot, in the present state of uncertainty of the meaning of the writing on the Indus-Valley Seals, be definitely used to attest to the antiquity of Jaina image or ritual. The standing figures seem to have some extra appendage on the head while the sitting figures have no resemblance with the known Tīrthaṅkara images in the padmāsana or the ardha-padmāsana posture.

Jaina traditions ascribe the first twenty-two Tīrthaṅkaras of this (avasarpini) age to a period covering millions of years before Chirist, but modern scholarship accepts only the last two, namely, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra, as real historical personages. The possibility of the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha, cousin brother of Kṛṣṇa of Brahmanical purāṇas, being a historical personage, depends on the historicity of Kṛṣṇa.

The mutilated red-stone statuette from Harappa (Fig. 1), though surprisingly analogous to the Mauryan polished stone torso of a Jina (Fig. 2) obtained from Lohanipur near Patna, Bihar, has, in addition, two circular depressions on shoulder fronts which are not seen on any other Tīrthaṅkara image known hitherto, hence the Harappan torso should better be regarded as representing an ancient Yaksā. Being a surface find, it is difficult to assign it with confidence to the age of the Harappan culture.

The origin of Image-Worship in Jainism may, on the basis of available archaeological evidence, be assigned to at least the Mauryan age, circa 3rd century B.C., the age of Samprati, the grandson of Aśoka. Samprati is reputed in Jaina traditions to have been converted to Jainism and is said to have given much royal support to the monks of this faith. He seems to have installed many Jina images and even today pious Jainas ascribe all old images to Samprati’s patronage. The evidence of the Lohanipur statue does lend support to Jaina traditions.

Line 12 of the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela, as read by different scholars, refers to the recovery and reinstallation of the statue of Kalinga-Jina, formerly carried away to Magadha by the Nanda-king.

So far as literary evidence is concerned, we have to weigh it with great caution since available texts of the Jaina canonical works are said to have been finally edited at the second council at Valabhi (Valabhi viśeṣā) which met in the latter half of the fifth century A.D. There are a few references to worship of images, relics, and shrines of Arhats (Tīrthaṅkaras) by gods and men, and these references may be at least as old as the Mathura council (which met in the beginning of the fourth century A.D.) and may be even somewhat older. Most of the art evidence obtained in Jaina canonical texts as available today speaks of motifs etc. found in the art of the Śunga and Kuśāna periods.

But there are reasons to believe that attempts were made to worship an image (verify a portrait-statue) of Mahāvīra, even during his life-time. This portrait statue of sandal-wood (gośira-candana) was supposed to have been prepared when Mahāvīra was standing in meditation in his own palace, about a year or two prior to his final renunciation and dikṣā. So this statue showed a crown, some ornaments and a lower
garment on the person of Mahāvira. Being a life-time portrait statue it was known as Jīvantasaṇī-pratīmā, that is, the “image fashioned during the life-time of the Lord”. All later images of this iconographic type then came to be known as Jīvantasaṇī-pratīmās.

The original portrait statue was worshipped by the queen of Uddāyana, the king of Vitabhaya-Pattana (Rūruka ?) in the Sindhū-Sauvitra region. The earliest available reference to an image of Jīvantasaṇī is from the Vasudevahinī of Vācaka Samghadhāsa gani who took the Bhāt-kathā of Guṇḍāyā as the model or prototype for his Jaina version of such stories. A critical study of the subject matter and the language of the work has led scholars to conclude that it is a work of c. early fifth century A.D. or a little earlier. In this work, a certain lady, Vāsavadattā by name, seeks company of a caravan going to the city of Ujjain. In this caravan was also travelling a certain Jaina nun, followed by a retinue of female pupils, with the object of paying respects to Jīvantasaṇī (Jīvantasaṇī) (image at Ujjain). Kṣemākṛti, a somewhat later writer, of c. 6th cent. A.D., composed his Bhāṣya on the Bhāt-Kalpa-sūtra and its Nīyuktā wherein he refers to the visit to Ujjain by Ārya Suhasti and the conversion by him to Jaina Faith of emperor Samprati, the grandson of Aśoka. The Nīyuktā and Bhāṣya verses often use only catch-words to refer to legends etc. which are elaborately explained by later commentators. Kṣemākṛti, commenting on the Bhāt-Kalpa-sūtra Bhāṣya and Nīyuktā, says that Ārya Suhasti visited Ujjain for adoring the image of Jīvantasaṇī. Kṣemākṛti (v.s. 1332=A.D. 1256), commenting on the Bhāt-Kalpa-sūtra-Bhāṣya, verse 2753, explained a reference to pūrva caityas as under:

(by pūrva caityas are meant ancient idols like the image of Jīvantasaṇī etc.).

The Āvaśyaka-curnī of Jinadās (676 A.D.), giving an account of the origin of the city of Daśapura (modern Mandasar) narrates also the origin of the first image of Mahāvira, when the Lord was alive (Jīvantā Svāmī). According to this account, in a festival of Nandīvara, Vidyumālī, a demi-god, was advised by his friend Acuyata, another god, to worship an image of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the last Jina. Vidyumālī fashioned an image of Mahāvīra out of a kind of sandal-wood (goṣṭiṣa candana) from the Mahā-Himavanta mountain. This image was later on given by Vidyumālī to a certain individual from whom it was taken by King Uddāyana, a contemporary of Mahāvīra, ruling over Vitabhaya-pattana in the Sindhū-Sauvitra land. Both Uddāyana and his queen Prabhāvatī worshipped the image with great devotion. After the death of his queen, the king entrusted his slave-girl Devadattā with the worship of the image. But Devadattā, in love with Pradyota, the king of Ujjain (Avanti), managed to elope with her lover, carrying with her the original image of Mahāvīra but only after depositing in its place a copy of it prepared by Pradyota for the purpose. The theft was soon discovered and Uddāyana rushed after them with an army, overtook Pradyota before he reached Ujjain and defeated him with the help of ten confederate kings. Uddāyana tried to remove the original image but the image would not move and a supernatural warning was heard that the Vitabhaya-pattana was destined to perish in a terrific sandstorm. Uddāyana later on forgave Pradyota and released him on the Pañcusaṇā day. This happened when both were encamped at Daśapura. Uddāyana had to maintain a camp here and erect a temporary mud-fortress as the rainy season had set in before he could return to his capital. Haribhadra sūri, in his Āvaśyaka-vr̥tti, gives the same account.

The above account is repeated with many additional details by Hemacandrācārya in his Triṣaṭiśālakāpurusacarita where it is said Pradyota dedicated the city of Daśapura for the worship of the Vitabhaya-image before he returned to Avantipuri. Once upon a time Pradyota went to Vidiśā and gave a grant of 12,000 villages for the worship of the image fashioned by Vidyumālī. Uddāyana himself turned a Jaina monk after dedicating villages, mines and cities for the worship of the (new) Jīvantasaṇī image left with him. The image remaining at Vitabhaya-pattana was the copy deposited by Pradyota, which, on the evidence of Hemacandra, was fashioned out of śrī-khaṇḍa wood and was originally consecrated by a Śvetāmbara sage named Kapila.
Origin of the Jina-Image and the Jivantasvāmī-pratimā

Hemacandra informs us that the image at the buried (in sandstorm) city of Vitabhaya was recovered by the Chalukya king Kumārapāla after excavation by his specially appointed officers. Along with the image was recovered the inscribed grant given by Uḍḍāyana. Kumārapāla erected a temple at Patan (his capital, north Gujarat) and installed the image therein. Thus the Jīvāt-svāmī or Jivanta-svāmī image represents an image of Mahāvīra, fashioned as a portrait in his lifetime before the great Jina teacher took to monk-hood. The image, therefore, should show the ornaments of a Prince. Strictly speaking, the title Jivantasvāmī can only be applied to a portrait carved in the lifetime of a Jina. At a later stage, images modelled after the original life-time portrait sculpture of sandalwood, showing the same iconography, came to be known as Jivantasvāmī images. The Akota bronzes (Figs. 29, 30) are Jivantasvāmī images in this sense.

Hemacandra further notes that Pradyota and Devadatta, engrossed in sensual pleasures, gave the original sandalwood image of Jivantasvāmī to a merchant Bhrājīla residing in the city called Vidiṣā, for worship and care. The snake-god Dharaṇendra gave a boon to this Bhrājīlasvāmī that Pradyota would found a city commemorating Bhrājīla’s name. Dharaṇendra further predicted that this Jina image would in course of time be concealed under a new cover by followers of false faith who would proclaim it as an image of the Sun-god known as Bhrājīlasvāmī. We are further told by Hemacandra that after release from the captivity of Uḍḍāyana, once Pradyota went to Vidiṣā and founded a divine city there. Hemacandra’s account thus states that the original image of Jivantasvāmī was preserved at Vidiṣā. But the Vasudevahindi and Kṣemakirti’s commentary on the Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya speak of a Jivantasvāmī image at Ujjain. The Bṛhat-Kalpa-Cūrpi, which is earlier than the comm. of Kṣemakirti, also states that Ārya Suhasti went to Ujjain for adoration of the Jiyasamī in the city. There while he was walking in the ratha-yāatra (procession of the Jina-image placed in a chariot) he was seen by king Samprati watching the yātra from his palace-window. The puzzle is solved by a reference from the Āvaśyaka-cūrpi where it is said that both Ārya Mahāgiri and Ārya Suhasti went to Vidiṣā to worship the Jityapadmī. From this place Mahāgiri went to a place called Eḍakakṣa (formerly called Daśāṇapura) where he died on a mountain called Gajārapada. Ārya Suhasti then went to Ujjain for adoration of the Jivitasvāmī image in that city.

Evidently another image of Jivantasvāmī was installed at Ujjain sometime after the Pradyota incident narrated above.

That the original image was installed at Vidiṣā (modern Besnagar near Bhilsa, M.P.) is further supported by the Niśitha-Cūrpi which says that Ārya Suhasti went to Vidiṣā, to worship the Jivanta-svāmī, where the ratha-yāatra festival took place. According to this text the first meeting of Suhasti and Samprati also took place here on this occasion.

It seems that with the passage of time many more copies of the original portrait sculpture, that is, the Jivantasvāmī image, were made and installed at different Jina tirthas. The tikā on a gāthā of the Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya (vol. V, p. 1536) speaks of a Jivantasvāmī image at Kośalā.

In the Akota hoard of Jina bronzes was found an inscribed image of Jivantasvāmī (Fig. 29). The inscription on the pedestal of the bronze, incised in characters of middle sixth century A.D., reads:

L. 1. Om Devadharmoyam Jivantasāmī
L. 2. pratimā Candralkulikasya

The bronze represents Mahāvīra in a standing attitude (kāyotsarga mudrā) and wearing a dhoti held with a girdle. The right arm is mutilated and lost but the left arm shows a bracelet and an armband. The Jina wears a crown, ear-rings and a necklace. A more beautiful bronze (Fig. 30), partly mutilated and with the pedestal lost, also found in the Akota hoard, dates from c. late fifth century A.D. A bigger bronze of Jivantasvāmī, from a Jina temple in Jodhpur (Fig. 31), dates from c. 8th cent. A.D. Two stone sculptures of Jivantasvāmī from a temple in Sirohi, published earlier by us, date from c. 10th
cent. A.D. R.C. Agrawala published a beautiful sculpture of Jivantsvāmi, originally from Khimvasar in Rajasthan, now preserved in the Jodhpur Museum. Dhaky brought to light Jivantsvāmi images from Nδdol, Scvadi and Ahad. Maruti Nandan Prasad Tiwari discovered two stone sculptures of eleventh century lying in a room in the Jaina temple complex at Osiā, Rajasthan. On the pillars of the torana, in front of the Jaina shrine at Osiā, dated in v.s. 1035 (A.D. 978), were carved in all eight figures of Jivantsvāmi in the kāyotsarga pose. Two more dated sculptures of Jivantsvāmi, brought from Osiā, dated in the tenth century, are now preserved in the museum at Jodhpur. They are described by M.N.P. Tiwari. Recently Devendra Handa has discussed all the Jivantsvāmi images from Osiā. It seems that the Jivantsvāmi images remained more popular in Western India.

Like the crowned Tirthaṅkara Mahāvīra (in the Jivantsvāmi image) we have images of the crowned Buddha in both the sitting and the standing attitudes. Such a practice of showing the crowned Buddha might have been influenced by the Jivantsvāmi images.

In an earlier paper entitled Side-lights on the life-time sandal-wood image of Mahāvīra, published in Journal of the Oriental Institute, vol. 1, no. 4 (June 1952), pp. 358-368, this writer had referred to certain Buddhist parallels to the Jaina belief in a sandalwood portrait of Mahāvīra carved in his life-time. The Buddhist accounts also speak of such an image of Buddha carved in Buddha’s life-time.

A. Ghosh writes: “Leaving the standing figures on a Mohen-Jo-Daro seal out of consideration, the Lohanipur Tirthaṅkara images of Mauryan age show that in all probability Jainism had the lead in carving of images for veneration over Buddhism and Brahmanism; no image of Buddha or any Brahmanical deity of that antiquity have been found, though there are contemporary or near-contemporary Yakṣa-statues, after the stylistic model of which the Lohanipur images are carved. That the practice was prevalent at the time of Mahāvīra himself is not established: the legend of the queen of Uddāyena of Vatabhayapatana (unknown from any other source), a contemporary of Mahāvīra himself, having worshipped a sandalwood statue of the Tirthaṅkara has its counterpart in the legend of Buddha’s contemporary Udayana of Kauśāmbi having installed an image of Buddha out of the same material. (Even the similarity of the names of the two rulers may not be an accidental coincidence.)

The tradition of Jivantsvāmi images in Jainism is fairly old and known from such early texts like the Vasudevahāṇḍī assigned to the fourth/fifth century A.D. The evidence of Cūṇīs and the Bṛhat-Kalpabhāṣya is based upon traditions and the Niryuktī gāthās. The Niryuktīs usually give a catch-word for a whole story or incident which is elaborately described by the Cūṇīs. The Niryuktīs cited above are not later than the fourth century A.D. and contain much earlier matter.

A. Ghosh has accepted the view that the Lohanipur torso is of Mauryan age and that it is of a Tirthaṅkara image standing in the kāyotsarga posture. Thus he believes that the Jainas probably are earlier than the Buddhists in starting image worship. He is right because we all know that Buddha had advised not to worship his images. Mahāvīra did not issue such a prohibitive order.

The tradition of Jivantsvāmi images in Jainism is fairly old and available literary evidence is at least as old as the fourth century A.D. It is not impossible that one or more portrait sculptures or paintings of both Mahāvīra and Buddha were done during their life-time. That does not mean that regular worship of their images or paintings was started in shrines as cult-objects, during their life-time. Regular worship of images and shrines of Tirthaṅkaras seems to have started sometime after Mahāvīra’s Nirvāṇa, though not later than the age of Mauryan ruler Sāmpati who in Jaina traditions is known to have installed Jaina images and provided facilities for Jaina monks to visit the Deccan and Andhra and Dravida countries. Udaiy (the same as Udayabhadhra), another ancient ruler of Magadha and successor of Ajataśatru, is reported to have set up a Jaina shrine in his newly founded capital of Pataliputra, according to the Āvāyaka-cūṇī.

Nowhere in the Jaina canons it is stated that Mahāvīra visited a Jaina shrine or worshipped images of earlier Tirthaṅkaras like Pārvanātha or Rāṭhāhanātha. Mahāvīra’s parents were followers of Pārvanātha and Mahāvīra himself in the beginning followed the faith of Pārvanātha. He never visited any Jaina shrine or stayed in Jaina shrines. He stayed in Coityas like the Guṇaśila caitya, etc., which the commentators explain as Yakṣa-dāyatanaś, Yakṣa shrines. Nor are any of his chief disciples—the Gaṇa-
dharas—or other disciples said to have visited any shrine of any earlier Tirthaūkara or of Mahāvīra.

The Jina image, as suggested elsewhere by us, has for its model or prototype the ancient Yakṣa statues. Most of these ancient Yakṣa statues were of wood and we find in Jaina canonical legends that these were painted annually. There might have been terracotta images also of the ancient Yakṣas and Yakṣīṇis, and perhaps rarely in bronze but hardly in stone. One has to await future archaeological evidence for definite conclusions. It was also suggested by us that the mode of worship of the ancient Yakṣa-Nāga cult has largely influenced the mode of worship in Jainism. Since Mahāvīra stayed in Yakṣa shrines and preached the masses visiting and worshipping in such shrines, it is but natural that the Jaina converts from these masses adopted as models the images and the rituals of the Yakṣa cult.

Jayawal's discovery of Mauryan torso of a standing Jina figure from Lohanipur supports, on the one hand, the authenticity of Jaina traditions about Sampratī and image worship, and, on the other hand, the existence in Magadhā of an earlier model for the Jina and Budha images of early Christian centuries. The Jina-image is a cult object.

Lohanipur is a continuation of the Mauryan sites at Kumrahar and Bulandibag near Patna. Along with this highly polished torso were revealed the foundations of a square (śānpī) structure (8 ft 10 in. x 8 ft 10 in.), one more nude stone torso, the lower portion of a head and a large quantity of bricks of the same size used in the Mauryan age. From the plinth of this brick structure was obtained a worn-out silver punch-marked coin. The foundations should be noted for the earliest known plan of a Jaina temple, assignable to the Mauryan age.

It is necessary to consider the reliability of the tradition of Mahāvīra's sandalwood image carved in his life-time. If ācārya Hemacandra gives report of the discovery of a Jivantavāmi image from the ruins of Vīrabhayapatatana buried in a sandstorm, especially from special excavation carried out by specially appointed officers under orders of Kumārapāla with the blessings of Hemacandra, then it is a contemporary account since Hemacandra and Kumaraśāla were contemporaries. Hemacandra further reported that the copper plate charter of donations for the worship of this image (the copy left at Vīrabhayapatatana by Pradypota) was also recovered along with this image. It is further reported by Hemacandra in his Trīśaṭṭhiśālākāpurāṇa that the image was brought to Patan and installed in a temple. Sauvīra country is identified as close to lower Sindh. Sindhu and Sauvīra are spoken together and Sauvīra, possibly the area around Thar-Parkar and Gujarat and Marvad's modern border with Pakistan, was under Kumārapāla's control. What is more important to note is that Hemacandra also reports that the copper plate grant given by Udayāna to the image was also recovered. If Hemacandra has not bluff before his contemporaries then we have to accept the Jivantavāmi account as fairly reliable. Would a person of Hemacandra's status make false statements about recovery of the image before his own contemporaries?

Huien-Tsang remarks about Kausambi, the capital city of the famous lyricist king Udayana: "In the city, within an old palace, there is a large vihāra, about 60 feet high; in it is a figure of Buddha, carved out of sandalwood, above which is a stone canopy. It is the work of the king U-to-yen-na (Udayana) . . . The princes of various countries have used their power to carry off this statue, but although many people have tried, not all the number could move it. They therefore worship copies of it, and they pretend that the likeness is a true one, and this is the origin of all such figures . . ." Huien-Tsang further writes: "When Tathāgata first arrived at complete enlightenment, he ascended up to heaven to preach the law for the benefit of his mother . . . This king (i.e. Udayana), thinking of him with affection, desired to have an image of his person; therefore he asked Mudgalyāyanaputra, by his spiritual power, to transport an artist to the heavenly mansions to observe the excellent marks of Buddha's body, and carve a sandalwood statue. When Tathāgata returned from the heavenly place, the carved figure of sandalwood rose and saluted the lord of the world . . ." In his account of a city called Pima (Pi-mo), in the district of Khotan, the Chinese traveller Huien-Tsang writes: "Here there is a figure of Buddha in a standing position made of sandalwood. The figure is about twenty feet high . . . the natives say: This image in old days when Buddha was alive was made by Udayana (U-to-yen-na), king of Kausambi (Kiao-shang-mi). When Buddha left the world, it mounted of its own accord into the air and came to the north of this kingdom, to the town of Ho-lo-lo-kia.
The men of this city were ... attached to heretical learning ... no one paid it respect. Afterwards there was an Arhat who bowed and saluted the image ... the king issued a decree that the stranger should be covered with sand and earth ... A man who had himself honoured the image with worship, secretly gave food to the Arhat ... buried up to the neck. The Arhat ... said: Seven days hence there will be a rain of sand and earth which will fill this city full, and there will in a brief space be none left alive ... This man escaped and went to the east ... (and) the statue appeared behind him ..."43

But Fa-Hien, who visited India in c. 400 A.D., giving an account about a sandalwood image of the Tathāgata being carved and installed when the Buddha went to heaven to preach his mother, lays the scene in Śrāvastī rather than in Kauśāmbī in the account given by Hiuen-Tsang. This image was installed by King Prasenajit of Kośala. It was carved out of a sandalwood called gośhrṣucandana. Says Fa-Hien, "When Buddha returned and entered the vihāra, the image, immediately quitting its place, went forward to meet him. On this Buddha addressed these words to it: Return, I pray you, to Your seat. After my Nirvāṇa you will be the model from which my followers ... shall carve their images ... This image, as it was the very first made of all the figures of Buddha, is the one which all subsequent ages have followed as a model ..."44

We are thus faced with two similar accounts, one Jaina and the other Buddhist. Both speak of sandalwood images of their leaders carved in their life-time. At least one of the two traditions must be reliable even if one sect borrowed the account from the other. Since the Mahāyāna Buddhists had to account for image worship it would seem that they are the borrowers. Again, because Samprati was converted to Jainism by Ārya Subasti at Vidiśā (according to another tradition at Ujjain) during the ratha-yātra of the Jvanta-svāmi image, it is well nigh certain that the tradition of the sandalwood image in Jainism is as old as and even somewhat earlier than the age of Samprati, the grandson of Aśoka. So far as the Śrāvastī image of Buddha is concerned, the tradition is certainly older than the visit of Fa-Hien who reports about it. Actually there is a relief sculpture from Gandhara depicting the incident of the Śrāvastī image and the Buddha returning from the heaven. This means that for the Gandhara artists the first Buddha image was carved and installed at Śrāvastī. There is nothing unreasonable in believing that during the life-time of both Buddha and Mahāvīra attempts were made to carve out their portraits and to worship them. Even portrait painting might also have been attempted.45 The fact that Buddha asked his followers not to install his image as a cult object shows that such attempts were indeed made during Buddha's life-time.

As already suggested before, at least one of the two legends—namely, the Jaina and the Buddhist—must have behind it some historical background or core around which other legendary and supernatural elements are woven. These remarks apply also to the story of Udrāyana or Rudrāyana of Roruka (in Sauvīra) obtained in the Rudrāyanaśāstra chapter of the Divyāvadāna and in the Avadānakalpaṭa of Kṣemendra. P.S. Jaini has further brought to our notice a Pali version entitled Viṣṇugūḍhā Jātaka from a collection known as the Pannāsa Jātaka "which probably originated in the 13th or 14th century in northern Chieng-Mai."46

REFERENCES

1. Marshall, Sir John, Mohen-Jo-Daro and the Indus Valley Civilisation, vol. I, pl. xii, figs. 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 22; Jaina, Kamta Prasad in Modern Review, August, 1932, pp. 152ff.; regards some of these as representing Jina figures.
2. Marshall, ibid., xii, 17, pp. 52ff.
3. The Jainas believe that 24 Tīrthankaras lived in this āvasāraṇī era (āra), and an equal number lived in the preceding utṣarpīś (evolutionary) era, and the same number will be born in the forthcoming utṣarpīś āra.
5. B.M. Barua's revised readings in Indian Historical
Origin of the Jina-Image and the Jivantavāmi-pratimā


9. Ibid., p. 776.


11. Ibid., p. 398.


13. व्योमेश्वरी सौन्दर्यविधार्यां संरक्षिप्ते

14. वासनेन देशमेव देशविद्युतत्वमात्रां

15. व्योमेश्वरी सौन्दर्यविधार्यां संरक्षिप्ते

16. वासनेन देशमेव देशविद्युतत्वमात्रां

17. व्योमेश्वरी सौन्दर्यविधार्यां संरक्षिप्ते

18. वासनेन देशमेव देशविद्युतत्वमात्रां

19. व्योमेश्वरी सौन्दर्यविधार्यां संरक्षिप्ते

20. .................................


23. ब्रह्मस्थानीय दृष्टिसंगम में जीवन-न्योग यथा गृहितसूत्र अविभाज्य.

24. ब्रह्मस्थानीय दृष्टिसंगम में जीवन-न्योग यथा गृहितसूत्र अविभाज्य.


27. देवेन मुनि कालयाविजया.


33. Studies in Jaina Art, fig. 53; Devendra Handa, Jivantavāmi Images from Osian, Punjab University Research Bulletin (Arts), vol. XII, no. 1 (April, 1982), pp. 11-14, figs. 1, 2.


35. For example, see Gairola, C.K., Two Buddhist Sculptures in the Völkerkunde Museum of Munich, JIO, vol. XIV, p. 397 and plates.


42. Ibid., pp. 235-236.
43. Ibid., vol. II, pp. 322-324.
45. In the Divyavadana, account of Rudrāyaṇa, king of Ruruka, we hear that Binibisara had sent a painting of the Lord Buddha to Rudrāyaṇa—Divyavadana (ed. by Cowell and Neil), chp. 27, pp. 544-586.

P.S. M.N.P. Tiwari has criticised me for not having noticed the loose inscribed Jivantavāmi images at Osia. He has himself said that he could not photograph them. When I visited Osia in 1938 I was not even shown the images which were reported later to be lying in some room. The walls of the temple and the Devakutis were thickly coated with white lime. The coating was made almost every year. It was difficult to identify symbols of most of the images on walls. M.N.P. Tiwari has made similar criticism about me for not noting certain images. Mine was a pioneer attempt at a standard work on "Elements of Jaina Iconography (North India)") which was the title of my thesis. It was not necessary then to make exhaustive studies of every Jaina site.
CHAPTER THREE

Pañca-Parameśṭhis

The Pañca-Parameśṭhis or the Five Supreme Ones are: 1. Arhat, 2. Siddha, 3. Ācārya, 4. Upādhyāya and 5. Sādhu. These are superior to all other objects of worship in Jainism. From very early times throughout the history of the Jaina Church they have been invoked in the famous mantra—Namo Arahantānām. Namo Siddhānām. Namo Āyatiśānām. Namo Uvājihāyānām. Namo Loe Savvasāhānām. Eso Pañca-Namukkāro, Savva-pāva-panāsaṇo Mangalānām Ca Suvvesim Paḍhamam Havai Mangalam.

The Mahānīśītha calls it Pañcamangala-Mahāsrutaskandha. It is variously known as Pañca-Namaskāra. Pañca-Parameśṭhi Namaskāra or simply Namokkāra (Navakāra-mantra) and so on.1

It is to be muttered on all occasions and is regarded as potent in protecting a person from all calamities.2

The Mantra came to be employed for Tantrik rites and Hemacandra has prescribed it for dhyāna in his Yogaprakāsa.3 Muttering of this mantra at the time of death leads one to better life hereafter and a number of stories in the literature of both the sects demonstrate this power of the mantra.

The mantra is obtained in the beginning verses of the Bhagavati-sūtra and the Kalpa-sūtra, and in the Mahānīśītha, 3rd Adhyayana.4 Bhadrabahu has discussed the five padas of the mantra in his Āvaśyaka Niruykti (Namaskāra-Niruykti), it is also discussed by Jinabhadra gani Kṣamāśramaṇa in the Viśeśavaśyaka-Mahābhāṣya.

This special sanctity attached to the mantra from olden times is due to the fact that the Five Supreme Ones are the Devādhidevas, the highest of objects of veneration for a pious Jaina.

But this worship is impersonal. It is the aggregate of qualities of these souls that is remembered and venerated rather than the individuals. The Siddhas or Arhats are souls who are freed from the bondages of matter or karma and as such do not confer any boons on the worshipper. They are indifferent to praise or abuse. By saluting any of the Parameśthins a worshipper suggests to his own mind the qualities of the Arhat, Siddha, Ācārya, Upādhyāya or Sādhu, which the mind would gradually begin to follow and ultimately achieve the stage reached by the Siddhas. Hence the belief in the practice of using the mantra against Śākīnīs etc. is all due to Tantrik influence. But fundamentally, this is the mantra to lead a person to self-realisation, the Kevala-jñāna, Omniscience. When the matter binding a soul is entirely subjugated or removed the soul is said to have been liberated or attained perfection, a condition in which the soul "enjoys its true and eternal character, whereof the characteristic is the four infinites—infinte perception or faith, infinite knowledge, infinite power and infinite bliss." And such a soul is called Siddha.

Siddhas5 The Siddhas are divided into fifteen classes by the Prajñāpanā sūtra6 according as a person obtains Right knowledge himself or after initiation by a Guru, or according as the person is a male (purusalinga-siddha) or a female (strī-linga-siddha) and so on. But the two main divisions noteworthy for us are: Tirthāṅkara siddhas and Sāmāṇya-siddhas.7 All the Siddha souls after nirvāṇa live in a disembodied state at the summit of the Universe on the Siddha-Śilā in the Iṣatprāgbhāra Pṛthvī. The Sāmāṇya Siddhas, like the Tirthāṅkara Siddhas, enjoy the same state of unending bliss but the latter are so called because during their life-time, they had
established the Tirtha, the four-fold Jain order, whereas the former did not do so. There were 24 Tirthaṅkaras Siddhas of this avasarpini in the Bharata-kṣetra.

Tirthaṅkaras or Arhats and the Siddhas are separately invoked only because while the former as Arhat are worshipped as embodied souls, the Siddhas are worshipped in their disembodied stage when even the last bondage of the material body does not remain. A Siddha is endowed with the following 8 chief qualities: Anantajñāna, Anantadarśana (infinite-faith), Anantacārita, A vyābādha Ananta-sukha, Akaśāya-sthitī, Arūpitva, A-guru-laghu tva, and Anantavīrya.8

Late representations of the Siddhas are sometimes obtained in Jain temples. Being disembodied, his body is not shown and the metal plaque is made like a stencil, the whole standing figure of the Siddha being cut away9 (Fig. 185). Such images are found in Digambara shrines.

Arhats

Qualities of the Arhats are described in detail in Jain texts and their total comes to 46.10 These and could be increased to 12 qualities: 1-8. Prātihāryas, mentioned before. 9. Apāyāpagamātiśaya, complete freedom from injury. 10. Jñānātīśaya, perfect knowledge. 11. Piṭatiśaya, worship by everyone. 12. Vacanātīśaya, supernatural characteristics of speech which are 35. Nos. 9-12 are known as mulatāisayas.

They are called Arhats because they deserve the worship by celestials with mahāprātiḥāryas etc., or because they kill (hantā) the enemy (ari) in the form of rajās (binding matter), or because they have nothing to conceal. They are Jinas because they conquer attachment, dislike, infatuation etc.11

Ācāryas

Ācāryas are those who practise (āyaramāna) the five-fold ācāra,12 and instruct others in the rules of conduct (ācāra), constituted of darśana, jñāna, tapa, and vīrya. They are endowed with 36 qualities. The ācāryas are heads of groups of Jaina monks (gacchas), and include the ganadhāras and so on. The detailed list of qualities need not be enumerated here.

Upādhyāyas

Upādhyāyas are those who teach the scriptures, consisting of the eleven āgās and the fourteen pūrvvās (now lost). They are endowed with 25 chief qualities.13

Sādhus

All ascetics are sādhus. A Jaina sādhu has 28 chief qualities besides other subsidiary ones, according to Digambaras and 27 according to the Śvetāmbara lists.14

Separate representations of the Paramesthins are obtained. In sculpture, there is no marked difference in the representations of Ācāryas, Upādhyāyas and Sādhus. The Śvetāmbara saints are shown with an upper and a lower garment and carrying a rajōharaṇa (Fig. 177), and a mukha-pattikā. Sometimes a rosary is placed in the hand held in Vyūkhāya mudrā. The earliest known representation of an ācārya (Ganadhara) is on two sides of the figure of Pārśvanātha in the Āyāgapaṭa, set up by an inhabitant from Mathura, No. 248, Lucknow Museum. Two ganadhāras of Pārśvanātha stand on two sides of the Jina and are without any garment.14a

Jaina monks are represented also on pedestals of images obtained from Kankali Tila, Mathura. Here on the pedestals are generally shown all the four constituents of the Jaina Samgha: Sādhu, Sādhvi, Śvāvaka and Śrāvikā. A study of pedestals Nos. J.32, J.3, J.11, in the Lucknow Museum, the pedestal of the image of Vardhamāna, No. J.10, in the same Museum, and No. J.16 of Vardhamāna dedicated in Samvat 35, etc., has shown the following noteworthy points:

(1) Sādhus are naked but they carry on the left forearm a piece of cloth held in such a way as to cover the nudity. The right arm holds a rajōharaṇa.

(2) Sādhvīs wear an undergarment, carry a rojāharaṇa. But they also wear a long coat or gown and in one case at least, on J.108, Lucknow Museum, a caddara seems to have been used as an upper cover.

(3) Sādhvīs can be easily differentiated from Šrāvikās on pedestals since the latter wear anklets, neck ornaments and carry thick money-bags.
(4) Sādhus have shaven heads; hair are suspected on some figures of sādhvīs, but probably they covered their heads with a scarf (odhanī).

(5) Water-vessel is not carried by either sādhus or sādhvīs.

(6) The coat of sādhvīs is a gown-like thing whose border’s lines are clearly marked.

(7) Especially noteworthy, and our unrolling guide is No. 1.8 of a standing Jina with head lost, and having on two sides as attendants, not the usual Yakṣas, but a sādhu on the right and a sādhvī on the left. Such a representation of the Tirthankara image is singular. The sādhvī’s two garments—a lower one and a gown or coat—are clearly visible. Here she has a shaven head.

(8) The tablet representing ascetic Kanha, Fig. 21, No. J.623, Lucknow Museum (Smith’s Jaina Stūpa, pl. xvii, p. 24), shows the same accessories for the Jaina monk—a piece of cloth held on left forearm, and a rajohara, but no garment. The tablet is dated in Samvat 95, i.e. 173 A.D. but the same types of figures of monks are available on pedestals dated in first two decades of the era noted on these sculptures, i.e. in the last two decades of the first century A.D. Modern scholars recognise this practice of holding the cloth-piece as the Ardha-fālaka-saṃpradāyaka.16

Figure 212 illustrates a much later sculpture of Ādinātha (belonging to the Digambara sect) from a Temple at Khajuraho. In the central panel, below the Jina, sit the Ācārya and his disciple facing each other with the Sthūpadhi between them. The pupil carries a scripture. A small thin broom of peacock’s tail sometimes accompanies figures of Dig. Jaina monks as in Devagāth Tempic 4. Wooden vessels used by these monks are also shown.

In a Jaina temple in Sevāḍi, Rajasthan, is worshipped a figure of a Śvetāmbara ācārya sitting on a raised seat with the right foot hanging, the left tucked up and a yogapāṭa running across the right leg. He carries a book in the left hand while the right one carrying a rosary is held in the vyākhyāna mudrā. The broom is shown behind him, and a mukha-vastrikā piece rests on his right shoulder. The figure was installed in Samvat 1242 (or 1243) and is at present preserved in a shrine at Sevāḍi, old Jodhpur State. The monk wears a lower garment, while the mark of the Cuddara above is worn out, but it can be inferred from a miniature painting of Sudharmā and Jambusvāmi from a palm-leaf MS16 in Cambay Bhanḍāra.

Figure 214 represents a rare sculpture of a Śvetāmbara Sādhvī now preserved in a shrine in Patan. She sits like the Ācārya in Sevāḍi image discussed above and wears an under and an upper garment. The right arm is mutilated, the left one holds a book. Figure 213 represents a Dig. Jaina nun figure worshipped in a shrine at Surat.

Figures of Gaṇḍharas in miniature paintings of the Kalpa sūtra are well known, cf. Brown, K.P., pl. 39, figs. 130-34. Also see Figs. 170 and 167 illustrated here.

The Five Supreme Ones are worshipped collectively also, by representing them on one plaque, along with symbols of four other essentials of the Jaina religion. Such plaques are known as the Siddha-Cakra (Śve.) or the Navadevata (Dig.).

Figure 38 is a representation in stone, from Nādal, Rajasthan, of the Five Paramesṭhisins. Instead of the last four Padas of the Navapada diagram (called the Siddha-Cakra amongst the Śvetāmbaras), only four double-lotuses are carved. A Śvetāmbara Siddha-Cakra-Yantra is illustrated in Fig. 39, where the additional four padas are shown in four corners as Om Hrim Namo Tavassa, Om Hrim Namo Dāṃsaqasswa, Om Hrim Namo Nāqasswa, and Om Hrim Namo Cārtītasswa. It will be seen that here invocations are offered to the abstract qualities and not to anthropomorphic deities. The whole diagram of the Siddha-Cakra is in the form of an eight-petalled lotus with different warranties arranged as follows: The Arhat is in the centre, the Siddha just above, the Ācārya to the left and the Sādhu to the right of the central figure. The Upādhyāya is just below the figure of the Arhat. The Arhat and the Siddha sit in the padmāsana showing the dhyāna mudrā while the remaining three Paramesṭhisins sitting in the padmāsana carry some object in one hand while the other hand rests on the lap. As figures are not quite distinct in this bronze it is not possible to identify the symbols held by them. However, paintings of the Siddha-Cakra are also popular in Jaina worship. In paintings, each of these three dignitaries (excluding the Arhat and the Siddha) lets his left hand rest on the lap while the right hand, held in the vyākhyāna mudrā, carries the muha-patti, or the mouth-piece.
In paintings of this diagram (illustrated by us in the paper on Varadhamāna-Vidyā-Paṭa, Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, vol. IX (1941, fig. 1 on pl. facing page 44), each of the Five Paramesṭhis has a particular complexion, necessary for his dhyāna in the Tantrik sādhana of the Siddha-Cakra-Yantra. Thus the Arhat, the Siddha, the Ācārya, the Upādhyāya and the Sādhu are of white, red, yellow, greenish and blue-black complexion respectively. The colour of the four remaining members of the Nava-Pada is to be visualised, in meditation, as white according to the Nava-Pada-Ārādhana-Vidhi (also see Sirī-Sirīvālā-Kahā, verses 1185-1191).

The Digambara diagram of the Nava-Pada, also called Nava-Devatā, is illustrated here in Fig. 36 (stone) and in Fig. 37 (bronze). The first Five Dignitaries are the same in both the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara traditions, namely, the Arhat, the Siddha, the Ācārya, the Upādhyāya and the Sādhu. But in the Digambara tradition the remaining four dignitaries or Padas are: the Ācārya or the Jina-image, the Ācārya-laya or the temple of the Jina, the Dharma-Cakra or the Wheel of the Sacred Law, and the Śruti or the Speech of the Tirthākara represented by Jina Scriptures. Figure 36 is a rare early specimen of the Digambara Jina-cvāra, hailing from Tamil Nadu, now preserved in the Madras Museum and dating from c. fifteenth century A.D. The Nava-Devatā bronze illustrated in Fig. 37 is in worship in a Jaina shrine in Śravāna Belagola. T.N. Ramachandran had illustrated one such bronze from Jina-Kāṭch, Tamil Nadu in his Tiruparuttikyunram and its Temples, pl. XXXVI, fig. 2.

The Digambara Nava-Devatā diagram forms the central eight-petalled lotus of the elaborate Pratiṣṭhā-vidhi-maṇḍala described by Nemicandra (c. 15th cent. A.D.) in his Pratiṣṭhā-tilaka; Pandit Āsādhara in his Pratiṣṭhā-sūroddhāra seems to suggest the same thing. The Nava-Devatās are also invoked in the Nitya-Sandhyā-śrīvālā-vidhi of the Jina-Samhitā (in ms. still unpublished) ascribed to Indranandi, the well-known Digambara Tantrik writer of c. tenth century A.D. The Yantra-Mantra-vidhi section of the Pratiṣṭhā-kalpa-tippanam (in ms.) of Vāḍi Kumudacandra (c. 1275 v.s.) which mentions different Digambara Yantras, also describes an elaborate Paṇcā-Maṇḍala called Nava-Devatā, the central eight-petalled lotus of which is reserved for the worship of the Five Paramesṭhis, the Jina-temple, the Jina-image, the Jina scripture and the Dharma-cakra. Obviously the Arhat amongst these is worshipped in the centre of the eight-petalled lotus.

The Jina-Samhitā of Ekasandhi (c. 1250 A.D.) prescribes in the Devārāvati-vidhi section a big maṇḍala with an eight-petalled lotus in the centre, wherein are invoked the Five Paramesṭhis and (the symbols (?) of) samyak-jñāna, samyak-dāraṇa, samyak-cārītra; tapa, however, is omitted, possibly through the scribe’s oversight. The maṇḍala contains moreover invocations to the goddesses of the Jayā and the Jambhā groups, the sixteen Vidyādevs, the yaksins, and others. According to the author of this work, the maṇḍala followed the tradition of Indranandi. Thus the central part of this elaborate diagram completely corresponds to the still existing type of the Śvetāmbara-Cakra illustrated here in Fig. 39. Again in the Pratiṣṭhā-vidhi section, the same writer, following Indranandi, gives a bigger maṇḍala including all the above-mentioned deities and many more, and invokes the Paṇcā-Paramesṭhis and the four Padas, namely, Jñāna, Dāraṇa, Cārītra and Tapa in the central eight-petalled lotus. But what the Digambaras worshipped as the Siddha-Cakra-Yantra was quite different from the Śvetāmbara one of the same name as also from the Digambara Nava-Devatā and this fact is quite evident from the descriptions of the Laghu-Siddha-Cakra and the Bhāṣa-Siddha-Cakra Yantras given by Āsādhara (Pratiṣṭhā-sūroddhāra, chp. 6), Ekasandhi (Jinasamhitā, Ms., chp. 9), and Vāḍi Kumuda-Candra (Pratiṣṭhā-Kalpa-Tippanam, Ms., Yantra-Mantra-vidhi section).

Amongst the Śvetāmbaras, the Nine Worthies were also the first group of deities invoked in the elaborate Nandyāvarta-maṇḍala prescribed for consecratory rites by the Ācāra-Dinakara (1468 v.s. = 1411 A.D.). The Nirvāṇa-kālīka (c. eleventh century A.D.) refers to the same maṇḍala but in the invocation mantras Tapas or the Right Penance is replaced by Śuci-vidyā. Hemacandra, in his Yogāśṭhāra, chp. 8, describes a yantra with Five Paramesṭhis but, instead of adding the four Padas noted above (Jñāna, Dāraṇa etc.), the four Padas of the Namaskāra-yantra giving the fala-śruti (namely, eso Paṇcā-Namukkāra, savapāppanāsa, mangalānam ca svavēsim, padhamam havai mangalam) are prescribed in the intervening quarters (vidik-patras of the eight-petalled lotus). Thus the Yantra of Hemacandra, partly different from the Siddha-Cakra worshipped today, proves that the older Nava-Pada-Yantra was composed mainly of the
various parts of the *Navakāra-Mantra*. And perhaps still earlier the Siddha-Cakra cult included only the Five-Parameśṭhins. And it is interesting to note that Hemacandra in his description noted above did not specify it as the Siddha-Chakra. The same writer however refers to the Siddha-Cakra as a diagram brought to light by Vajrasvāmi (c. 57 B.C.-57 A.D.) from the lost Vidyānupravāda-pūrva text, in the early centuries of the Christian era. Unfortunately, the yantra is not described in this context (Yogaśāstra, chp. 8, verses 74-75) and the disciple is invited to learn it from his preceptor. Very probably, the Siddha-Cakra was originally based on the Pañca-Parameśthi-Namaskāra-mantra without its phala-śruti.

It seems that in the earlier stage, the Siddha-Cakra-Yantra included the worship of the Five Paramāṇu only and that the four Padas of Jhāna, Darśana, Cāritra and Tapā were added later. Siddhasena, commenting on the Pravacanasāroddhāra, verses 78-79 dealing with the Pañca-Parameśthi-mantra, refers to older texts like the Namaskāra-valaya, where a vyākhyā (explanation) of the Pañca-Paramaśṭhi-Namaskāra is given. As is quite obvious, the Siddha-Cakra is none else than the Namaskāra-valaya elaborated at some later stage. But it is also certain that the diagram of Siddha-Cakra, probably in its earlier form, was already well-known in the age of Hemacandra, even though no earlier references to Siddha-Cakra-Yantra could be traced in the extant Śvetāmbara literature, for, Hemacandra refers to it as *samayā-prasiddha-cakra-viśeṣa* in his Bhānuyāsa on his own Śabdānusāsana.

The Siddha-Cakra-Yantra attained great popularity and was highly regarded as its worship brought great rewards. The story of king Śṛipāla, who had been famous for his devotion to the Siddha-Cakra and who is supposed to have been highly rewarded for his meritorious worship of this diagram, forms the subject matter of Śrīrāva-kahā of Ratnamandira gaṇi (1362 A.D.). A Gujarati ballad known as Śṛipāla-rāsu, composed in 1738 A.D., is very popular amongst the Śvetāmbaras of Gujarat and profusely illustrated manuscripts of this work are available in some Jaina bhandāras.

Ratnamandira gaṇi describes the Siddha-Cakra-yantra in every detail. However, according to his version, the yantra is larger than the one commonly worshipped and includes worship of several other deities. According to this author, the presiding deity or guardian of this mystic diagram is Śrī Vimalasvānti, but the Nine Padas of course form a nucleus around which other deities find a place in the yantra.

As noted above, Tantrik texts like the *Namaskāra-valaya* were known to Siddhasena (1191 A.D.), the commentator of Pravacanasāroddhāra. His remarks are noteworthy in as much as he says that in works of this class is given a vyākhyā of the Pañca-Parameśthi-Namaskāra. This Pañca-Paramaśṭhi-mantra is also said to be the origin of all mantras (spells, charms etc.), the essence of all Pārva-texts and the Wishing-tree (kalpa-druma) for attainment of all desired objects. Its power is great in as much as it can be used against poisons, snakes, supernatural beings like Śākini, Dākini, Yākini and the like grahas and has powers of Vaśya, Åkṛṣṭi, etc. over the whole world.

Thus the Siddha-cakra-yantra, made up of the worship of mainly the Pañca-Paramaśṭhins, came to be employed in various Tantrik rites—the sat-karmas, such as Śāṅtika, Pauṣṭika, Vaśya, Åkāraṣaṇa, Mohana, Ucchāna and Māraṇa, at least in the eleventh century A.D., a century or two preceding the age of the commentary of Siddhasena. Originally the Siddha-cakra or the Namaskāra-valaya must have been employed in pure rites like the Śāṅtiaka and Pauṣṭika, but the growing Tantrik influence in India, from c. seventh century A.D. if not earlier, which resulted in the composition of various Buddhist Sādhanas and expansion of the pantheon, and in a similar activity in the Brahmical Tantra, also led the Jainas not only to elaborate their pantheon, but also to include a number of Tantrik rites and practices originally prohibited to Jaina monks and which were against the very principles of Jainism.

Later Digambara manuscripts of the Pañca-Namaskāra-kalpa, and Śvetāmbara manuscripts of the Pañca-Paramaśṭhi-kalpa etc. are still available in the Jaina bhandāras. This class of small Tantrik texts await special critical study.
REFERENCES

2. Sādhana-paścā-śūmiṣṭhāniḥ ḥṛṣṭatmaḥātiḥśrūṇaḥ samabhāni
   —Upadeśatarangī
dāyikāvaraṃ kareṇa śatēṣu śrūṣṭeṣu śrutānām samārthaḥ
   —Upadeśatarangī
dhīyate maṇḍūkānāṃ bhavati mahāvyūhāṃ kāraṇānām
   —Vṛddha-Namaskāraphala-sūtra
   (Quoted in Pratikramaṇa-sūtra-Prabodhika-Tikā, 1, pp. 25ff)
3. Tama prakaśaṃ Sarva pravajitamanaḥ
   umāṃ 1293958-dharmakāraṁ hitamhitam
   dīrgha vimuktesvaraḥ brata-dvatārātāt
   yuṣmānīnām kathayeṣu kūtryānām phalam
   evan eva maṇḍūkānāṃ śamāraḥsaḥ kāratām
   dhīṣāyānām mahāvyūhaḥ kāmatām
   evam eva maṇḍūkānāṃ śamāraḥsaḥ kāratām
   abhumaḥ sarva-pravajitamanaḥ pravajitamanaḥ
   —Yogaprakāśa, 8th prakāśa
4. The unpublished Mahānīśitha sūtra deals at length with the import of this mantra. Long ago Schubring discussed the contents in German and later published some parts.
5. For an explanation of the title cf.: bhaiṣajyaṃ naḥ pravahyaḥ
   vijayaṃ bhāveti vijayaṃ bhāveti
   —Vīṣṇu-vāyāka-bhāṣya, v. 3029
   Also see Tattvārthā-sūtra, 10:7; Pravacanikāya of Kunda-kunda, v. 35; Nyamāsāra, v. 72; Āvāyaka Niyuktī, vv. 953-961.
6. Prajñāpāramitā sūtra, sū. 8; Viṣṇu-vāyāka-bhāṣya, vv. 2950ff.
   Also see Āvāyaka-Vṛtti of Hariḥadra, pp. 438ff.
8. See also Jaini, J.L., Outline of Jainism, pp. 130-131;
   Triṣṣūṭi, I (GOS), Appendix V, p. 450.
9. Sometimes a figure without Prāthībāyas is regarded as a representation of Siddha.
    Also Jaini, op. cit., pp. 128-29.
11. Āvāyaka Cāryā, II, pp. 8-9; Yogasūtra, 3, pp. 216ff
    —Āvāyaka Nīr., v. 1076
    With above, cf. Mūlācāra of Vaiṣṇakera, 7.64, vol. I,
    p. 432, which is almost identical with the Āv. Nīr.
    Gāthā quoted above. Also see Mūlācāra, 7.4-5, p. 394.
    Pravacana-sāroddhāra, vv. 541-49; Jaini, op. cit., pp. 131ff,
    Triṣṣūṭi, I (GOS) p. 452; Nyamāsāra, v. 73; Āvāyaka Vṛtti of Hariḥadra, pp. 448ff.
13. Viṣṇu-vāyāka, vv. 3196-3200. Upadhyaya is explained by Āvāyaka Niyuktī, v. 997. Also see Triṣṣūṭi, I
    (GOS), p. 452. Jaini, op. cit., p. 133; Pravacana-
14. Āvāyaka Niyuktī, v. 1002; Triṣṣūṭi, I (GOS), pp. 454-
16. Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara (Jaina Antiquary), vol. VIII,
17. Shah, U.P., Treasures of Jaina Bhandāras (Ahmedabad,
    1978), fig. 18.
CHAPTER FOUR

Parents of the Tirthaṅkaras

The parents of the Tirthaṅkaras have been paid due respect by followers of both the main Jaina sects, who have taken special care to record their names in the aśvaghoṣa records of the lives of Tirthaṅkaras of this Avasarpini age. Table I, appended at the end of this chapter, gives their names according to both the traditions. Worship of the parents of the Tirthaṅkaras appears to be of ancient origin. They are invoked in various rites, especially in the pratisñāhāvidhi, and it is interesting to note that even here the mothers are more frequently invoked than the fathers. In painting as well as sculpture, the mother is more often represented. Āryavatī in the Amohini Votive Tablet from Mathura, dated in the 42nd year of Šoñasa, is one of the earliest such specimens (Studies in Jaina Art, Fig. 14A). It belongs to the early Kuṣāṇa period, and depicts a standing lady (Āryavatī) adored and worshipped by attendant figures one of whom holds a parasol over her. The lady represents the mother of a Tirthaṅkara, probably Mahāvīra. Several stone pañjas or plaques representing in relief all the twenty-four mothers—each in a separate compartment and carrying the son on her lap—are known to have been installed in Jaina temples during the mediaeval period. The earliest of these known hitherto is preserved in a Śvētāmbara Jaina temple at Ośia in the former Jodhpur State, Rajasthan, and is dated v.s. 1075/A.D. 1018. I know of similar pañjas from Paṭan, Ābu and Mt. Girnār, and many more exist in different Jaina temples.

The mothers of the Jaina saviours were widely worshipped both in groups of twenty-four and singly. When single, the mother is shown reclining on a cot with the child lying beside her, both attended by maids and/or the Dik-kumāris of Jaina mythology. Such representations form part of the numerous scenes depicting the whole life of a Jina as we find in some ceilings of Vimala Vasahi, Ābu and in shrines of Śāntinātha and others at Kumbhāra, but such scenes are generally without the Dik-kumāris as in the miniatures of the Kalpa-sūtra. Of the latter type may be seen the miniatures illustrated by Brown, Miniature Paintings of the Jaina Kalpa-sūtra, pl. 17, figs. 58, 59 where Triśalā is lying on a cot with Mahāvīra by her side and attended upon by a maid-servant, or figs. 90, 91 from the life of Pāśivanātha, fig. 103 from the life of Āriṣṭanemi and figs. 118, 119 depicting the birth of Rśabha. It will be seen that all such representations are of the same type. Another type represents the Mother of a Jina lying on a cot in a lower section of the miniature, while the two upper sections show the various dreams (14 according to the Śvētāmbaras) seen by the Mother when the Tirthaṅkara is conceived in her womb, compare Brown's fig. 18 representing Triśalā, the Mother of Mahāvīra.

In the case of the Mother of Mahāvīra, however, some more types of miniatures are available, one shows the Brāhmaṇī Devānandā seeing the fourteen dreams, when Mahāvīra first enters her womb (Brown, fig. 6), a second shows Devānandā sleeping on a cot and Harīnegamesīn carrying away the foetus of Mahāvīra (Brown, fig. 14), while a third type shows Triśalā lying on a cot and Harīnegamesīn standing beside her with the foetus of Mahāvīra (Brown, fig. 16).

On a pillar of the famous Dharaṇa-vihāra shrine, Ranakpur, old Jodhpur State, Marwar (now Rajasthan), is found a figure of a Mother lying on a cot which represents the Nativity of a Jina. An older big sculpture of the Mother resting on a cot and shampooed by a maid is preserved in temple No. 4 at Devgadh.
fort, Jhansi District, Madhya Bharata. The sculpture (dated v.s. 107 (?), c. 1020 A.D.) includes representations of the twenty-four Jinas on all the three sides of the Mother (Studies in Jaina Art, Fig. 39), which shows that the image represents "The Mother of the Jina".

The Nativity figures are not unknown to other sects in ancient Indian sculpture. The Nativity of Buddha, found at the site of his birth, near the Lumbini Garden as also at Nalanda are well-known. The Nativity of Kṛṣṇa is represented on the outer wall of the first Paścāyatan temple at Osia, assignable to the post-Gupta age. Similar representations are known from Eastern India, including representations showing the birth of Sādāśiva.

The famous sculpture from Pathari, old Gwalior State, of a Mother lying on a cot with a child beside her, and attended upon by four maidens standing behind and holding the fan, the chowrie—a money bag (?) etc. in their hands, is especially noteworthy since the Jaina traditions speak of Dīk-kumāris serving the Mother at the time of the birth of a Jina. This sculpture can be identified as representing the Mother of a Jina and the identification is likely, especially when an old Jaina temple still exists at Pathari. It may be remembered that in Buddhist mythology, the Buddha is attended upon, not by females, but by Brahmas and other four male deities, while a similar group is not known in Hinduism. It will be seen that in Fig. 82 from a ceiling slab in the Neminath shrine at Kumbhaira (North Gujarat), which relates to the life of Parśvanath, King Aśvasena and Queen Vāmā (parents of Parśva) are represented as seated side by side in the first row. The second and the third rows contain in separate sections parents of all the twenty-four Tirthankaras. As, however, the photograph shows only a part of the big slab, only a few of them, each completely labelled by the artist, can be seen in the plate. In each section are seated, side by side, on small seats, the Mother and Father of a Jina, with the child on the Mother's lap. The sculpture is assignable to c. 12th century A.D.

With this type may be considered a group of miniature paintings of the Kalpa sūtra. Figure 35 of Brown shows King Siddhārtha and Queen Triśālā (Parents of Mahāvīra) seated beside each other, the king on a somewhat bigger seat, and with a chatra above each. Here Triśālā narrated her dreams to Siddhārtha who tells her that the dreams are a very auspicious omen. Of a similar type is fig. 117 of Brown, representing parents of Rṣabha, the patriarch Nābhi and his Queen Marudevi. Figure 48 of Brown's KSP shows Siddhārtha and Triśālā, listening to the interpreters of dreams (svapnapāthaka) shown in a lower panel (also cf. figs. 40, 50 of Brown).

But this type of representation of the Parents of a Jina (seated side by side), on stone at Kumbhāriā or in the miniatures noted above, leads us to the examination of yet another group of sculptures which were lying unidentified. This type of sculpture generally shows a male and a female in princely attire, sitting under a tree, with a child on the female's lap. In almost all such cases, there is a seated Jina figure on the top of the tree (Figs. 80, 81, 85A). Sometimes both the male and the female hold a child each. In some cases the male holds a lotus or a citron in one of his hands. Below the princely pair, in a lower panel, are found several seated or standing figures (Figs. 80, 81) and in some cases figures riding on horses are also seen. Again, in some sculptures, a group of children are shown near the feet of the male and the female. Sometimes, a small dwarfish figure is seen climbing the stem of the tree just above and in a sculpture in the Devgadh fort, a figure like this is represented on the branch of a tree.

In this connection, two sculptures from Khajuraho deserve special notice. In one (Fig. 85A) a small figure of a bull is placed between the pair, near their legs. In another (Fig. 81) are seen, at two ends below, representations of a Yakṣa and Yakṣī. Again, the chowrie–bearers to the right and the left of the male and the female may be noted.

Such representations are known to have been found in old Digambara shrines and old Jain sites in the Gwalior State, Madhya Bharata, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. A few are also known from Bengal. They seem to have been gradually less popular in the Moghul period while older sites like Khajuraho, Devgadh, Budhlī Canderi etc., abound in them.

Now, the presence of a Yakṣa and a Yakṣī, as subordinate figures in Fig. 81, as also of fly-whisk bearers and the bull-cognizance (in Fig. 85A) shows that such a pair does not represent the Yakṣa and Yakṣī of a Tirthaṅkara. Besides there are different kinds of trees in different sculptures which fact suggests that
Parents of the Tirthankaras

the pairs are concerned with different Tirthāṅkaras. The presence of a child on the lap of the Mother is of utmost importance, for it shows that, in view of all peculiarities noted above, the pair must be taken to represent the Mother and the Father of the Tirthāṅkara. Moreover, both the male and the female are dressed like King and Queen in all sculptures. Above all, we have the evidence of a similar tradition amongst the Śvetāmbaras (in c. 11th-12th century) of the ceiling slab from Kumbhārā, discussed above (Fig. 82), which actually represents them seated side by side with the son on the Mother’s lap. The labels inscribed below the panels at Kumbhārā leave no doubt about their identifications.

Another alternative is to take the pair as representing the Kulakara and his queen, or the happy twins (Yugalika) who lived in those days. But in the case of at least the two sculptures from Khajuraho, discussed above in Figs. 81 and 85A, the presence of the bull cognizance and the Yakṣa and Yakṣī would remain unexplained. But it would be easier to identify the pair in Fig. 85A as representing the Parents of Rasabhanātha, whose cognizance is the bull. The Yakṣa and Yakṣī in Fig. 81 represented at two ends of the lower panel are already noted. Besides, there are five more figures (both male and female) in the centre of the pedestal, who seem to be worshippers. A figure of a standing cāmara-dhara to the right of the male is noteworthy. The male seems to have held in his left mutilated hand a lotus with a long stalk (also in Fig. 85A with the bull symbol). It is therefore impossible to regard this pair as the Yugalikas, and if we take them as Parents the presence of a child is better explained than in the case of a Kulakara. Besides, the almost invariable presence of a Jina figure on the top of the tree in such sculptures would not be necessary if different Kulakaras are represented.

Another alternative would be to regard them as representing a Yakṣa and a Yakṣī probably as a Jaina version of the Buddhist Jambhala and Hārti. If Fig. 81 above with another Yakṣa and Yakṣī at the two ends of the pedestal be regarded as our guide to the understanding of these types of sculptures, then we need not take the Male and Female as a Yakṣa and Yakṣī. The presence of horse riders on pedestals of some sculptures is not explicable under any of the above-mentioned alternatives. The Mathura Museum sculpture No. 278, illustrated here in Fig. 178, shows a male and a female seated side by side in lahitāsana under a tree, on the trunk of the tree is an ascending lizard. On the pedestal is carved another figure seated with the left leg drawn up and flanked by two butting rams and a group of frolicking some children. No. 111 is another relief of this group in the Mathura Museum. Here both the principal figures, two-armed, hold a brimming cup in right hand. No. 1578 in this museum, again, shows, on the pedestal, a group of seven miniature figurines in aphā mudrā. A sculpture from Devgadh, showing the male and the female in a standing attitude, and carrying the citron in their right hands and the child in their left hands, was identified by Shri Brindābana Bhattacharya as the Yakṣa Gomēdha and Ambikā Yakṣī of Neminātha. A sculpture from Chanderi in the Gwalior State shows on the pedestal a group of horse riders with galloping horses. Now the presence of galloping horses cannot be explained under any of the other identifications suggested by B.C. Bhattacharya, V.S. Agrawala and others while the frolicking children can very well be expected in a sculpture based on the Buddhist Jambhala and Hārti group. A better specimen of this type is preserved at Devgadh, temple no. 12, which shows three more standing infants, not on the pedestal, but beside the legs of the male and female sitting in lahitāsana under a tree. The brimming cup held by the principal figures in some sculptures, or the citron shown in others, or again the lotus held by the male in some figures would suggest that the pair represents some Yakṣa and Yakṣī. But in the last case from Khajuraho Museum the bull symbol would prevent us from doing so and in fig. 117 from Khajuraho where again the male carries a lotus, a yakṣa and yakṣī figure on the pedestal. Under all these circumstances, it is difficult to find out a final satisfactory solution of this group of sculptures, almost all of whom belong to the mediaeval age, with a few assignable to the early mediaeval age but none earlier than c. 7th century A.D. All the sculptures of this group post-date the introduction of a Yakṣa pair as attendants in Tirthāṅkara images. It is therefore likely that this group of Jaina sculptures was modelled after the Buddhist Jambhala and Hārti, to attract the laity, and worshipped as Parents of the Jinas, but the correspondence being so great and the canonical injunctions being still not fixed up, the artist could take liberties in representations on pedestals and other minor figures. It may be that a few figures were possibly intended to represent a yakṣa pair in cases where the pair carries the brimming
cup or the citron, but even in the case of the sculpture discussed by Brindabana Bhattacharya, the lion vehicle of Ambikā is absent (the partly mutilated figure to the left of Ambikā represented some worshipper and not an animal) and the five figures on the pedestal seem to represent five planets or some minor deities. The sculpture was carved in an age (c. 13th century A.D.) when the iconography of Ambikā was so well known that she would carry mango-bunch, rather than a citron, and would be shown as standing under a mango-tree only. And no other yakṣi carries a child with her in Jaina iconography.

Unfortunately almost all available sculptures of this type bear no inscriptions and in a few cases of short inscriptions on pedestals (as in a bronze in the Nagpur Museum or in No. A(C)2.329 in the Rajshahi Museum, from Deopara, district Rajshahi) the inscriptions do not help us in identifying this pair. But the short inscription on No. 278 in the Mathura Museum is read as Priyati Siddhā. If this has any connection with Priyakārini and Siddhārtha, the Mother and Father of Mahāvīra, according to Dig. tradition, then the riddle of identification of this group is solved. We are not quite sure about it and in the absence of any other labelled sculptures of this group, the identification of this group, as representing the Parents of the various Tirthaṅkaras suggested here, is to be regarded as tentative only, and in this the panel at Kumāri, and Figs. 81 and 83A from Khajuraho are our only guides.

### TABLE I

#### Parents of Jinas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Tirthaṅkara</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rṣabhanātha</td>
<td>Nābhi</td>
<td>Marudevi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ajītaṅkāha</td>
<td>Jitaśatru</td>
<td>Vijayā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sambhavanātha</td>
<td>Jitari</td>
<td>Senā (Śve.); Suṣenā (Dig.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Abhinandana</td>
<td>Samvara</td>
<td>Siddhartha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Sumatinātha</td>
<td>Megha (Śve.)</td>
<td>Mangalā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Meghaprabha (Dig.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Padmaprabha</td>
<td>Dhara or Dharaṇa (Dig.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Supārśvanātha</td>
<td>Pratistha or Supratistha (Dig.)</td>
<td>Sūsimā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Candraprabha</td>
<td>Mahāśena</td>
<td>Prthvī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Puspadanta</td>
<td>Sugrīva</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Śālanātha</td>
<td>Drīḍharatha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Śreyāmsanātha</td>
<td>Viṣṇu</td>
<td>Vṛṣṇu or Vepudevi (Dig.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Vāsuvijyā</td>
<td>Vasuvijyā</td>
<td>Jayā or Vijayā (Dig.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Vimalanātha</td>
<td>Kṛtvārma</td>
<td>Śyāma or Jayaśāmā (Dig.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Anantanātha</td>
<td>Simhasena</td>
<td>Suyaśā or Sarvayasā (Dig.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Dharmanātha</td>
<td>Bhānu</td>
<td>Suvatā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Śāntinātha</td>
<td>Viśvasena</td>
<td>Acirā or Airā (Dig.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Kunthunātha</td>
<td>Sūra or Sūryasena (Dig.)</td>
<td>Śri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Aranātha</td>
<td>Sudarśana</td>
<td>Devi or Mitrā (Dig.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Mallinātha</td>
<td>Kumbha</td>
<td>Prabhāvatī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Munisuvrata</td>
<td>Sumitra</td>
<td>Padmā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Nāminātha</td>
<td>Vijaya</td>
<td>Vuprā or Vipritā (Dig.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Neminātha</td>
<td>Samudravijaya</td>
<td>Śivādevi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Pārśvanātha</td>
<td>Aśvasena</td>
<td>Vāmā or Varmilā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Mahāvīra</td>
<td>Siddhartha</td>
<td>Trīśāla or Priyakārī (Dig.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Parents of the Tirthaṅkaras

A sculpture of a male and a female seated in lalitāsana on a common seat, with haloes behind (obviously showing that they are objects of worship, gods or great souls) seated in a sort of a heavenly vimāna, or a shrine with a śikhara, and a Jina seated to front on top, but without the tree (met with in all the sculptures discussed above), is preserved in the British Museum, London. Again, neither the male nor the female carries a child and the pair possibly held lotus in their right hands. The female carries the citron in her left hand. The pedestal shows three dwarfs lifting the vimāna, and four standing males who seem to be musicians. On the pedestal is carved Anantavirya in early Nāgarī characters, of c. 10th or 11th century A.D. No Yakṣa is known as Anantavirya in Jaina literature. But Anantavirya is the name of the twenty-fourth future Jina according to the Digambaras and of the twenty-third according to the Śvetāmbaras. Even then it is difficult to identify this pair, it is just possible that Anantavirya merely signifies the name of the donor. One must await future discoveries to obtain a final solution of all such sculptures.

In order to identify the different pairs as parents of the different Tirthaṅkaras, a table of caitya-trees of these Jinas is appended below. It will be seen that the tree under which the pair sits is different in different sculptures, and often there is a tree with the Jina figure on top.

### TABLE II

**Caitya-Trees of Tirthaṅkaras**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Tirthaṅkara</th>
<th>Śvetāmbara</th>
<th>Digambara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rṣabhanātha</td>
<td>Nyagrodha</td>
<td>Same as Śve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ajitānātha</td>
<td>Saptaparnāna</td>
<td>Śaptaparnāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sambhāvanātha</td>
<td>Śāla (Shorea Robusta)</td>
<td>Saralā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Abhinandana</td>
<td>Piyaka or Priyaka</td>
<td>Prayāla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Sumatinātha</td>
<td>Priyaṅgu (Panicum italicum)</td>
<td>Priyaṅgu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Padmaprabha</td>
<td>Caturābha (Anethum Sava)</td>
<td>Chatrā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Supārśvanātha</td>
<td>Śirisa (Acacia Sirisha)</td>
<td>Śirisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Candraprabha</td>
<td>Nāga</td>
<td>Nāga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Puṣpadanta (Suvidhinātha)</td>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>Aṣka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Śīlānātha</td>
<td>Pilaṅkhū (Plakṣa)</td>
<td>Dhitulī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Śreyāmsanātha</td>
<td>Tinduga</td>
<td>Palāśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Vāsupūjya</td>
<td>Pātalū (Bignonia Suaveolens)</td>
<td>Tenduvā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Vimalanātha</td>
<td>Jambū (Eugenia Jambulana)</td>
<td>Pātalā-Jambū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Amantanātha</td>
<td>Asvatthā</td>
<td>Asvatthā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Dharmanātha</td>
<td>Dadhiparṇā</td>
<td>Dadhiparṇā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Śaṅtānātha</td>
<td>Nandi (Cedrecha-Toona)</td>
<td>Nandi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Kunthūnātha</td>
<td>Tilaka</td>
<td>Tilaka</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Aranātha</td>
<td>Āmrā</td>
<td>Āmrā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Mallinātha</td>
<td>Aśoka</td>
<td>Aśoka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Munisuvrata</td>
<td>Campaka (Michelia Champaka)</td>
<td>Campaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Neminātha</td>
<td>Bakula (Minusops Elongi)</td>
<td>Bakula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Nemīnātha</td>
<td>Vētāsa</td>
<td>Meśāṅγa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Pārśvanātha</td>
<td>Dhātaki (Grislea Tomentosa)</td>
<td>Dhāva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Mahāvira</td>
<td>Śālā</td>
<td>Śālā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
REFERENCES

2. Pavitra-Kalpa-Sūtra, fig. 23 coloured plate representing Triśalā and Mahāvira on a cot; fig. 30 is a palm-leaf miniature showing Triśalā with an attendant maid and two Dik-Kumāris in an upper corner, also cf. fig. 85 where the Dik-Kumāris are in a lower register. Fig. 100 depicts the birth of Rādha, only a maid-servant or probably only one Dik-Kumāri is shown. Also see Brown, W. Norman, Miniature Paintings of the Jaina Kalpa Sūtra (KSP), figs. 58, 59, 90, 91.
3. Cf. fig. 98 colour plate representing Devānandā seeing the fourteen dreams, in Pavitra Kalpa Sūtra, ed. by Muni Pumāṇavijaya.
4. Pavitra-kalpa sūtra, figs. 77 and 82 representing ‘gairhā- pahāra’ and ‘gairhā-samkramaṇa’ respectively.
5. Kramrisch, Stella, Indian Sculpture, fig. 98, also figs. 21-23 for dream of Māyā Devī.
6. Annual Report, Arch. Surv. of India, for 1908-09, pp. 100ff where Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar describes the temples at Osiya. The present writer has seen the sculpture on the temple.
8. History of Indian and Indonesian Art, fig. 178.
9. The four male deities are the four Maharajas, the quarter-guardians, Dhiṭarāṣṭra, Vīḍūrānaha, and others. The Pathārī sculpture, because of the four standing attendant females (not known to Buddhist or Hindu mythologies), must be identified as representing the birth of a Jina, probably the Nativity of Mahāvira.
10. From Khajurāho Museum.
11. From Deogarh. Also see fig. A(c)2,329, from Deopara in the Museum of the V.R.S., Rajshahi.
13. Negative no. 1263, Dept. of Archaeology, Gwalior State showing 3 sculptures of such pairs.
14. On pedestals of all the three images noted above in note 13. See note 20.
15. From Deogarh Fort.
16. The Pratīṣṭhā-tīlaka of Nemicandra admits as valid representations of the Mother and Father seated side by side, in the following verse:

'व्यापकः भविष्यवादिनविवेकी
संस्कारां गृहान्तिगतोऽऽस्मिन्
युगलान्तः सति नामम् सुभवति
'।

—Pratīṣṭhā-tīlaka, p. 422.

17. For Kulakaras, see a separate discussion under Kulakaras in this book. Also see Tīrīyakapāṇi, 4.320ff, vol. I, pp. 185ff, for Yugalikas. The text specially says:

'ते युगलकारणे पाणिया नरिसम्बले
'।

which excludes the possibility of this group being identified as Yugaliku-images. For Kulakaras, ibid., 4.423-510, pp. 195-206.
20. Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India for 1924-25, pl. 42, fig. (2). A sculpture from Chandera shows horsemen at the bottom portion of the image.
CHAPTER FIVE

Notes on the Jaina Pantheon

(1) BACKGROUND OF JAINA COSMOGRAPHY\(^1\)

According to Jainism, the shape of the Cosmos is fixed and unchangeable. Fourteen rajjus\(^2\) in height, it is not uniform in breadth—broadest at the bottom, narrowest at the centre, broader still above and at the top narrower once again. The shape of the cosmos (loka) is best compared with a man standing in the vaisākha position,\(^3\) with arms akimbo, at the bottom resembling a vetrāsana (cane-stand), in the middle a jhālari (circular flat symbol or gong) and at the top a muraja (mrdanga). It is filled with three worlds—lower, middle and upper. The terms being used with reference to Rucaka. The centre of the cosmos comprises the madhya-loka—middle world—with the abodes of human and lower beings, and extending nine hundred yojanas above and below Rucaka.\(^4\)

The lower world or adho-loka is made up of seven earths, one below the other, in which are terrifying abodes of hell inhabitants: Ratnaprabhā, Śārkarāprabhā, Vālukaprabhā, Pānkaprabhā, Dhūmaprabhā, Tamahprabhā and Mahātamaḥprabhā.\(^5\) The Ratnaprabhā is divided into three parts; the uppermost, called the khara-bhāga, has in its central regions abodes of all the classes of the Bhavanavāsi-devas except the Asurakumāras, and of the various classes of the Vyantara gods except the Rākṣasas. The middle part of the Ratnaprabhā is called the panka-bhāga wherein stay the Asurakumāras and the Rākṣasas. Remaining parts of the lower world contain hells\(^6\) wherein live the nārakas or hellish beings, ugly and grotesque in appearance and tortured mercilessly by the Asurakumāras and fifteen other classes of celestial beings known as amba, ambaras, sama, śabala, rudra, mahārudra, kāla, mahākāla, asipatra, dhanu, kumbha, vālu, vetarani, kharasvari and mahābhoṣa.

The middle world, a rather circular body, consists of numerous concentric dvāpa or island continents with intervening oceans separating any two of them. In its centre is the Mount Meru, golden and surrounded by the Jambū-dvāpa, the latter being encircled by the lavanoda ocean. Then comes the Dhātaki-khaṇḍa-dvāpa followed by kāloda-samudra, then the Puṣkaravara-dvāpa and the puṣkara-samudra, the Vārunivara-dvāpa and the vārunivara-samudra, the Kṣravara and the kṣrada, the Gṛhtavara and the gṛhtoda, the Ḫkuvar and the Ḫkuvaroda, the Nandīvara and the nandīvara. Human beings are found only in the first two dvāpa and the first half of the third one. At the end of countless continents and oceans is the great ocean known as the Svaṃbhuramanā.

The Jambū-dvāpa, placed in the centre of the middle world, is the most important of all the continents. Six ranges of mountains divide this Jambū-dvāpa into seven regions (kṣetras): Bharata, Haimavata, Hari, Videha, Ramyaka, Hariṇīvātara and Airāvata. The six mountain ranges known as vṛṣadhara-parvatas are: Himavat, Mahāhimavat, Niṣadha, Nila, Rukmin and Śīkharin.\(^7\) On their tops are six lakes, namely, Padma, Mahāpadma, Tīgha, Kesari, Mahāpuṇḍarika and Puṇḍarika respectively, each having a big lotus-island (padma-hrada, full-blown lotus, rooted ten yojanas in water) in its centre. In these islands live the six goddesses Śrī, Hṛiti, Dṛiti, Kirti, Buddhi and Lakṣmi respectively,\(^8\) attended by sāmānikas, gods of councils, bodyguards, and armies.

In each of the seven kṣetras is a pair of chief rivers—Gangā and Sindhu, Rohit and Rohitāṣṭya (or
Rohitāmāḷa, Harit and Harikānta, Sitā and Sitodā, Nāri and Narakānta, Suvarṇakūṭa and Rūpyakūṭa, Rakta and Raktodā.  

To the north of the Niṣadha Mts. and to the south of Meru are the Vidyutprabha and Saumanasa Mts. in the west and in the east. Between them are the bhogabhūmis or enjoyment-lands known as Devakurus. In the Devakurus, on the east and west banks of the river Sitodā are the mountains Citrakūṭa and Vicirakūṭa, on which are temples of the Jinas. To the north of the Meru and to the south of the Nila Mts. are Gandhamadāna and Mālyavat Mts. between which is another bhogabhūmi known as the Uttarakurus, where, on the banks of the river Sitā, are two Mts. known as Yamaka.

To the east of the Deva and Uttarakurus are the regions known as the East Videhas, while to the west are the West Videhas, each of the Videhas being divided into sixteen provinces.

In the centre of the Bharata, parallel to the Himavān, is the M. Vaitāḍhya or Vijayārdha, dividing the Bharata kṣetra into northern and southern regions. The northern one is peopled by the Mlecchas, the southern region is divided into western, middle and eastern parts, the Mlecchas again live in the extreme east and west sections, the middle section, peopled by the Āryas (noble, worthy, respectable ones), is known as the Ārya-khanḍa.

On the northern and southern slopes of the Mt. Vaitāḍhya are cities of the Vidyādharas. Fifty in the south and sixty in the north. At ten yojanas above the abodes of the Vidyādharas are two rows adorned with abodes of the Vyantarās. Above these again are nine peaks. There are two caves on the Vaitāḍhya, known as the Tamisra-guhā and the Khandaprapāta-guhā. Kṛtamālaka a Vyantara god is the superintending deity of the first while Narttamālaka, another Vyantara god, rules over the second. There are similar Vidyādharā cities in the Airavata and Videha kṣetras.

In the Bharata and the Airavata kṣetras, in the extreme south and north of the Jambū continent, there is an increase and decrease of age, height, bliss, etc., of their inhabitants, in the two chief Eras of Time—utṣarpini and avasarpini—while in the other five kṣetras there is no increase and decrease of any sort.

In the centre of the Jambū-dvipa is the Mt. Meru, golden and having the shape of a truncated cone. At the base of Meru is a grove Bhadrāśāla resembling a surrounding wall. At five hundred yojanas from Bhadrāśāla, on a terrace, is the grove called Nandana. On a second terrace, at a certain distance above Nandana is the grove Saumanasa, while the Sundara-vana (grove) is on a third terrace. On the peak of Meru is the garden Puṇḍarīka. In the last grove is performed the Janmabhīṣeka kalyāṇaka (birth-bath ceremony) of the Tirthaṅkaras. Each of the above-mentioned groves has four Śāvata-Jina-Bhavanas.

The continent of Jambū-dvipa has a fortification wall (ṭagati) of diamond, with a lattice work above it which latter is surmounted by a beautiful terrace (vedikā) named Padmavāra, the pleasure ground of gods. In the fortification wall are four gates in the four cardinal points. They are: Vijaya, Vijayanta, Jayanta and Aparājita with gods of the same name superintending over them. Over each gate is a dvāraprāsāda, with various pavements, excellent vāranakas, shining with jewel lamps, having pillars adorned with various śālāhantarikās, jewelled minarets and flags. It appears beautiful with various sculptures and paintings and excellent curtains. On these gates are the images of Jinas sitting on lion-seats and adorned with haloes, umbrellas, fly-whisks etc.

The cities of Mahoraga gods situated in the vedi have costly palaces of square and rectangular plans, and of white, ruby, golden or various colours. These mansions contain various apartments, such as the olagāśāla (?), mantra-sālā, bhūsana-sālā, abhiśeka-sālā etc. The Tiloyapраpratī further says that Vyantara cities of the Jambūdvipa have various types of ghṛas, namely, sāmānya-grha, citra or caitya-grha, kaṭāli-grha, gṛha-grha, lata-grha, nāḍa-grha, and āsana-grha. In the beautiful palaces of the city are various types of seats, of the shape of elephants, lions, parrots, peacocks, crocodiles, eagles, swans, etc.

The Lord of the Jambūdvipa is a Vyantara god called Anāḍra or Anāḍara. Similarly there are lords of kṣetras, samudras and mountains.

Besides the seven mountain ranges (varṣadhara-parvatās) noted above, there are other similar but smaller mountains in different kṣetras. All the mountains have various peaks (kūṭas). The Vaitāḍhya, for example, has nine peaks known as siddhāyatanaka-kūta, daksinārdhabharata-kūta, khandaprapāta-kūta, mani-bhadra-kūta, vaitāḍhya-kūta, pūrabhadra-kūta, tamisraguhā-kūta, uttarabharatardha-kūta, and vaśramagna-kūta, the
last eight derive names from gods of the same name superintending over them, while the first one is so called from the Siddhāyatana or Temples of the Siddhas situated on it. Such shrines are also known as Śāśvata-Jina-Bhavanas with images of Śāśvata-Jinas installed in them.¹⁹

Next to Jambū-dvīpa is the Lavanoda ocean, then the Dhataki khanda, then the Kāloda ocean and following it is Puṣkara-vara-dvīpa. Half of the Puṣkara-vara is inhabited by human beings. The human world, therefore, is made up of two-and-a-half continents, two oceans, thirty-five zones in all and a number of mountains, rivers etc.

Beyond it is the Mānuṣottara, a mountain range, round like a city-wall, surrounding the human world. Situated half-way in the Puṣkara-vara-dvīpa and golden, Mānuṣottara is so called because ‘man is not born except on this side of it’, which is the ultimate limit of regions inhabited by human beings.

Surrounding the Puṣkara-vara-dvīpa is the Puṣkara ocean, followed by continents and oceans called the Varunāvara, the Kṣatravara etc., the eighth from Jambū being the Nandivara-dvīpa, which resembles a heaven.

The Nandivara-dvīpa²⁰ is a land of delight of the gods with gardens of manifold designs, adorned and honoured by the visits of gods devoted to the worship of the Tirthānakaras. In its central part are four Aṇjana mountains of black colour, situated in the four directions; Devaramana in the east, Nityodyata in the south, Svayamprabha in the west, and Ramanya in the north. On their tops are temples of the Arhats (Tirthānakaras), one hundred yojanas long, half as wide and seventy yojanas high, each shrine having four doors. Within the temples are jewelled platforms, sixteen yojanas long and wide, and eight yojanas high. On the platforms (manipūrhikā) are diases (devacandaka) of jewels whose length and width exceed the platforms, and on them are one hundred and eight eternal statues (Śāśvata-bimba) of each of the Arhats named Rṣabha, Vardhamāna, Cakravarta and Veṇiśvara in the paravakā posture, made of jewels, attended each by a beautiful retinue consisting of two Nāgas, two Yakṣas, two Bhūtas, and two pitcher-carriers while behind each statue is a figure of an umbrella-bearer. On the diases are incense-jars, wreaths, bells, the eight auspicious marks, banners, umbrellas, festoons, baskets, boxes and seats as well as sixteen ornaments such as full pitchers etc.

There are gleaming entrance-pavilions (mukhā-mandapa), arenas (akṣa-viṭaka), jewelled platforms, beautiful stūpas, and statues, fair cayīya-trees, indradhāras, and divine lotus lakes in succession.

In the four directions from each of the Mt. Aṇjana there are big square lotus-lakes, Nandīṣṭhā, Amogha, Gostūpa etc., and beyond them are great gardens named Aśoka, Saḍaparnā, Campaka and Cūta. Within the sixteen lotus-lakes are the crystal Dādamukha mountains, each having a Śāśvata-Jina-laya with images of Śāśvata-Jinas described above.²¹ Between each two lakes are two Ratikara mountains thus making a total of thirty-two Ratikara Mts. These mountains have again thirty-two Śāśvata-Jina-layas on them. This makes a total of fifty-two such Eternal Temples of Arhats on the Nandivara-dvīpa (4 on Aṇjana Mts. + 16 on Dādamukha Mts. + 32 on Ratikara Mts.).²²

In the eight directions on the two southern Ratikara Mts. are the palaces of the eight queens of Śakra and on the two northern mountains are those of the queens of Isāνendra, all these being adorned with the temples of the Jinas. Here and elsewhere on the Nandivara-dvīpa, Indra and other gods celebrate eight days festival (vaśyāhīka-mahotsava) every year on different holy (parva) days.

Next follows the Nandivara ocean, then the Arunavaradhipa, the Arunoda ocean, and the ocean and dvīpa called the Arunāha, then the Kuḍala dvīpa with four Jina temples, the Kuḍaloda ocean followed by the Rucaka-dvīpa. In the centre of the Rucaka-dvīpa is the Rucaka-giri (mountain) with four Eternal Temples. On all sides of these temples, on different mountain tops, stay the thirty-six Dik-kumāris of the upper Rucaka-giri while four more Dik-kumāris stay on tops in the centre of the mountain. The last in the series of oceans and continents is the Svaṃbhuramanau ocean.

In this continent of Jambū-dvīpa there always flourish four each of Tirthakrtas, Cakrins, Viṣṇus (Vāsu-devas) and Bāladevas at the minimum. At the maximum, there are thirty-four Jinas and thirty kings, and twice as many in Dhataki and the inhabited half of Puṣkara-dvīpa.²³

Mount Himavata bounds the Bharata-kṣetra, while there is another Mt. called Vaitāḍhya, parallel to
the Himavân which divides the Bharata-ksetra into a Northern and Southern region. The Northern one is peopled by the Mlecchas or barbarians. Human beings living in the Jambū, Dhātaki and half Puṣkara dvipa (together forming what in modern usage is known as Adhāi or Dhai dvāpas—patas or paintings of which are still popular) regions are of two kinds, Ārya and Mleccha. The divisions of these people and the lists of Mlecchas given by Jain texts form an interesting subject for students of ancient Indian culture.\textsuperscript{24}

To the north of the Niśadha Mt. and south of Meru are the Vidyutprabha and Saumanasa mountains in the east and west respectively. Between them is the bhogabhūmi or enjoyment land known as Devakurus. To the north of the Meru and to the south of the Niḷa are Gandhimadāna and Mālyavat mountains. Between them is another bhogabhūmi called the Uttarakurus. East of the Deva and Uttarakurus, the region is called Pūrva-Videha and to the west the Uttara-Videha. In each there are 16 provinces called Kaccha, Sukaccha etc.\textsuperscript{25}

In the Bharata-kṣetra, on the southern and northern slopes of the Vijayārddha mountain are cities of Vidyādharas, 50 in the south and 60 in the north. There is also a similar number of Vidyādhara cities in the Airavata-kṣetra and 55 for each slope in the Videha-kṣetra. The Moun or Vaitāṇḍhya is in the centre of Bharata dividing it into north and south.

At 790 yojanas above the surface of the earth (middle world) is the lower level of the Jyotiśkas, divided into Ādīyas (suns), Candras (moons), Grahas (planets) and Nakṣatras (asterisms).

The Upper World or Urdhva-loka is above Mount Meru. Starting from below, this world can be divided into the following heavens: (i) Kalpas, (ii) Graiveyakas, (iii) Anudīsas, (iv) Anuttaras and (v) Siddha-kṣetra. The Śvetāmbaras do not acknowledge the (iv) class. The Kalpas are 16, according to the Digambaras, and situated in eight superimposed pairs which are compared to the ribs of a man. They are: Saudharma, Aśāna, Saṇatkumāra, Māhendra, Brahma, Brahmatattva, Lāntaka, Kāpiṣṭha, Śūkra, Mahāśukra, Śatāra, Sahasrā, Anāta, Prāṇa, Ārama and Acyuta.

The heavens of (ii), (iii) and (iv) groups are also known as Kalpātita heavens. According to the Śvetāmbaras the Kalpa heavens are 12 in number, omitting Brahmottara, Kāpiṣṭha, Mahāśukra, and Śatāra of the Digambara list.

The nine Graiveyakas, according to both the sects, are arranged in three rows one above the other—(i) Sudarśana, Suprabuddha and Manoroma; (ii) Sarvabhadra, Suviśāla and Sumanas; (iii) Saumanasa, Pritikara and Ādīya.

The Anuddīsas (Digambara only) are nine: Arocī, Arcimāli, Vaira, Vairocana, Soma, Somarūpa, Aśka, Śphāti, and Ādīya.

The five Anuttaras are: Vijaya in the east, Vaijayanta in the south, Jayanta in the west, Aparājita in the north and Sarvarthasiddhi in the centre, according to both the sects.

Twelve yojanas above Sarvarthasiddhi, at the summit of the universe, is the Siddha-kṣetra, the land of liberated souls, in the world called Isapragbhūra. In its middle, radiant like silver is the Siddha-kṣetra, shaped like a parasol or canopy, tapering up towards the top. Here the Siddhas live "in the Blissful possession of their infinite quarterary".\textsuperscript{26}

Saudharma and Aśāna are round like the moon, in the southern direction is Śūkra, the Indra of Saudharma kalpa, and in the northern direction, Iśāna; similarly are situated Saṇatkumāra and Māhendra.

Beyond them is the place corresponding the elbow of the man representing the universe, in the centre of the universe is the Brahmaloka with Brahma Indra as its lord. At the end are the Lokaṇṭikadevas: Śarasvatas, Ādīyas, Agnis, Arunas, Gardantoys, Tusitas, Ayyābhādhas, Maruts and Riṣṭas. Above Brahma-loka are the Lāntaka and other heavens.

The ten divisions of gods are: Indras or lords of all the gods of the following other nine divisions, Sāmānīkas are the same as Indras but lack Indraship, Trāyastriṁśas or the ministers and priests of Indras, Parsadyas or companions of Indras, Rākṣasas who are bodyguards, Lokapālas or Quarter-guardians who work as spies of Indras, Anikas forming the armies, Prakīrṇas constituting the villagers and townsmen, Abhiyoṅgikas who work like slaves and Kiliṅgaṅkṣas who are regarded as the lowest castes. The Jyotiśkas and Vyantaras have no Lokapālas.
Notes on the Jaina Pantheon

(2) CLASSIFICATION OF JAINA DEITIES

The Sthānāṅgā and other Jaina canons classify gods into four main groups, namely, the Bhavanavāsī, the Vjvantaras or Varaṇantaras, the Jyotiskas and the Vimanavāsī. These are again sub-divided into several groups with Indra, Lokapālas, Queens of these and so on.

The classification is acknowledged by both the sects and is a very old tradition, but they are after all deities of a secondary nature in the Jaina Pantheon.

1. The Bhavanavāsī Gods

The abodes of Bhavanapatis, situated in the Ratnaprabha earth, are like two rows, in the north and south, of shops on a highway. The ten classes of Bhavanapatis are the same according to both the sects. Each group has its own recognising mark, usually shown in front of their crowns. The following tables give the iconography of ten classes of Bhavanavāsīs, according to both sects (TP = Tīlovapāṇatī, Digambara and Śve. = Jaina canons of Śvetāmbara tradition).28

### Bhavanavāsī—Digambara

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Cātya-Vīksaśa</th>
<th>Mark on Crown</th>
<th>Complexion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Asura-kumāras</td>
<td>Ásvattha</td>
<td>Cudāmāni</td>
<td>Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Nāga-kumāras</td>
<td>Saptaparna</td>
<td>Snake</td>
<td>Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Suparnā-kumāras</td>
<td>Šālmali</td>
<td>Eagle</td>
<td>Blackish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Dvipa-kumāras</td>
<td>Jambū</td>
<td>Elephant</td>
<td>Blackish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Udadhī-kumāras</td>
<td>Vetasā</td>
<td>Crocodile</td>
<td>Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Stanita-kumāras</td>
<td>Kadamba</td>
<td>Svastika</td>
<td>Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Vidyut-kumāras</td>
<td>Priyangu</td>
<td>Vajra</td>
<td>Lightning-like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Dīk-kumāras</td>
<td>Śīriṣa</td>
<td>Lion</td>
<td>Light-black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Agni-kumāras</td>
<td>Palāsha</td>
<td>Kalaśa</td>
<td>Flame-like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Vāyu-kumāras</td>
<td>Rāja-druma</td>
<td>Horse</td>
<td>Blue-lotus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Bhavanavāsī—Śvetāmbara29

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Mark on Crown</th>
<th>Complexion</th>
<th>Garments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Asura-kumāras</td>
<td>Cudāmāni</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Nāga-kumāras</td>
<td>Snake</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Bluish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Suparnā-kumāras</td>
<td>Eagle</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Dvipa-kumāras</td>
<td>Lion</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>Blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Udadhī-kumāras</td>
<td>Horse</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Stanita-kumāras</td>
<td>Vardhamānaka</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>Blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Vidyut-kumāras</td>
<td>Vajra</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>Red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Dīk-kumāras</td>
<td>Elephant</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>Blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Vāyu-kumāras</td>
<td>Mukara</td>
<td>Blackish</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Caitya Trees of Ten Bhavanavasīs (Śve.)—Aśvattha, Saptarṣaṇa, Umbara, Vappotatta (?), Palāśa, Vanjula, Śālmali, Karpikāra, Śirīṣa, Dadhipara.\footnote{50}

According to the Prajñāpānā, all the Asurakumāras are black, have red lips, white teeth, black hair, earrings on left ears (vānayeṇyakṣuṇḍaladāhara), their bodies are besmeared with sandal paste, they put on red garments, they are in the prime of age (pañhanam vayam ca somaiśkānta) or youth, their breasts are adorned with mani-ratna-hārās, their arms are adorned with talabhangaka and truṣṭa ornaments, having rings on all the ten fingers (of hands), and cādāmaṇi on (in front of) their crown. Beautiful in appearance, they are said to have long straight prominent noses.\footnote{51}

The canons name the parsadas (council halls or assembly halls or durbar halls) of the Indras\footnote{32} of different classes, and such other details which need not detain us.

II. The Vānamantarās or Vyantarās

The Vyantarās\footnote{33} living in the Ratnaprabhā earth are divided into eight chief classes by both the sects. They are: (1) Piśacās, (2) Bhūtas, (3) Yakṣās, (4) Rākṣasas, (5) Kinnarās, (6) Śimpuṇḍas, (7) Mahoragas, (8) Gandharvas.

(1) Piśacās: The are sub-divided into 14 classes by the Dig. Tiloyapanṇatti: Kūsmānda, Yakṣa, Rākṣasa, Sammohā, Tāraka, Aśucināmaka, Kāla, Mahākāla, Śuci, Satālaka, Deha, Mahādeha, Tuṇśika, Pravacana.

All the Piśca gods are black and the two Indras of Piśacās are Kāla and Mahākāla. According to the Śvetāmbaras, the Piśacās are blackish, but beautiful in appearance and adorned with ornaments of various jewels. Kadamba tree is the symbol on the Dhvajas of the Piśacās, according to the Śvetāmbaras,\footnote{34} who divide the Piśacās into sixteen classes: Kūsmānda, Pālaka, Sujoṣa, Āhnika, Kāla, Mahākāla, Cokṣa, Acokṣa, Tālāpiśca, Mṛkharapiśca, Adhastāraka, Deha, Videha, Mahādeha, Tuṇśika and Vanapiśca.

(2) Bhūtas: They are divided into seven classes: Svarūpa, Pratirūpa, Bhūtottama, Mahābhūta, Praticchanna, Ākāśabhūta (Dig.). The Tulasī-plant is their Caitya-tree. All Bhūtas are black according to both the sects. According to Śvetāmbara traditions there are nine classes of Bhūtas: Surūpa, Pratirūpa, Atirūpa, Bhūtottama, Skanda, Mahāskanda, Mahāvega, Praticchanna, Ākāśaga. They are said to be beautiful though black and are peaceful in appearance (saunyita), adorned with paste marks of various motifs (bhakti-citra). Their flags bear the mark of a Sulasa tree.

(3) Yakṣas: According to the Tiloyapanṇatti, they are divided into 12 kinds: Manibhadra, Pūrṇabhadra, Śailabhadra, Manobhadra, Bhadraka, Subhadra, Sarvakhadra, Manuṣa, Dhanapala, Sarūpa, Yakṣottama, and Manoharaṇa. Their Caitya-tree is the Banyan tree. According to the Śvetāmbaras, they are divided into 13 groups: Pūrṇabhadra, Manibhadra, Śvetabhadra, Haritabhadra, Sumanobhadra, Vyātipāṭikabhadra, Subhadra, Sarvakhadra, Manuṣyapakṣa, Vanāhāra, Rāpayakṣa, Yakṣottama, Vanādhipats (Dhanādhipats in Samgrahani). They are beautiful to look at and possess well-proportioned limbs, serene in appearance, wearing shining Kirtanamukṣus, and other ornaments. Black in complexion, they have the Banyan-tree on their dhvajas.\footnote{55}

Pūrṇabhadra and Manibhadra are their Indras according to both the sects. According to Tiloyapanṇatti, each Indra has four chief queens called Tārā, Bahuputrā, Kundā and Uttamā. According to Śvetāmbara traditions they are called Pāṇḍa, Bahuputrikā, Utta and Tārakā.\footnote{36}

(4) Rākṣasas: They are of seven classes according to the Tiloyapanṇatti: Bhīma, Mahābhīma, Vināyaka, Udaka, Rākṣasa, Rākṣasa-rākṣasa, and Brahmārākṣasa. All Rākṣasas are black. Their Indras are Bhīma and Mahābhīma, having four chief queens each called Padmā, Vasumitrā, Ratnadhyā and Kānca-naprabhā. Kaṇṭaka is the Caitya-tree of Rākṣasas. The Śvetāmbaras also acknowledge seven classes, namely, Bhīma, Mahābhīma, Vignīna, Vināyaka, Jalā-rākṣasa, Rākṣasa-rākṣasa, Brahmarākṣasa. Their Indras are Bhīma and Mahābhīma. The Rākṣasas are white, adorned with golden ornaments and having fierce appearances with long red lower lips. Their flags have the mark of Khatvāṅga.\footnote{37}

(5) Kinnaras: According to the Tiloyapanṇatti they are divided into nine classes: Kinnara, Kimpuruṣa, Hṛdayangama, Rūpapāli, Kinnarkinnara, Anindita, Manorāma, Kinnarottama and Ratipriya. They
are all black. Āśoka is the Caitya-tree of these gods. According to Śvetāmbaras, they are of ten kinds: Kinnara, Kipuruṣa, Kipuruṣottama, Kinnarottama, Ṣādayangama, Rūpaśāli, Anindita, Manorama, Ratipriya, Ratīṣreṣṭha. Black in complexion, they have especially charming faces, they wear crowns and have a peaceful appearance. Āśoka tree is their flag mark.

(6) Kipuruṣas: They are of ten kinds, according to Tiloyapaṇṇattī: Puruṣa, Puruṣottama, Satpuruṣa, Mahāpuruṣa, Puruṣaprabha, Atipuruṣa, Maru, Marudeva, Maruprabha and Yaṭyasvān. Their two Indras are Satpuruṣa and Mahāpuruṣa. All the Kipuruṣas are golden in appearance. According to Śvetāmbara tradition the Kipuruṣas are of ten classes: Puruṣa, Satpuruṣa, Mahāpuruṣa, Puruṣavṛṣabha, Puruṣottama, Atipuruṣa, Mahādeva, Marut, Maruprabha and Yaṭyasvān. White in complexion, these gods have very bright faces, especially beautiful hands and legs, and are adorned with various ornaments and marks of sandal paste.

(7) Mahoragas: The Tiloyapaṇṇattī divides them into 10 classes: Bhujega, Bhujangasāli, Mahātanu, Atikāya, Ṣāndhaśāli, Manohara, Aṣānījava, Maheśvara, Gambhira, Priyadarśana. The Mahoragas have dark complexion. The Nāga-tree is their Caitya-tree. According to the Śvetāmbaras, the 10 Mahoragas are: Bhujegā, Bhujangasāli, Mahākāya, Atikāya, Ṣāndhaśāli, Manorama, Mahāvega, Mahāyakṣa, Merukanta, Bhāsvanta. Blackish in appearance, they have broad and muscular shoulders and necks and are adorned with various ornaments and sandal paste marks. The Nāga is the mark on their heralds.

(8) Gandharvas: According to Tiloyapaṇṇattī, the ten Gandharvas are Hāhā, Huhū, Nārada, Tumbara, Vāsava, Kadamba, Mahāsvara, Gitarati, Gitarasa, Vaijrayān. Golden in appearance, they have the Tumbaru tree as their Caitya-tree.

According to Śvetāmbara Samgrahant sūtra, they are: Hāhā, Huhū, Tumburu, Nārada, Ṣāivādika, Bhūtvādika, Kadamba, Mahākadamba, Raivata, Vīṣvāvasu, Gitarati and Gitarāyas. The Gandharvas are blackish and beautiful in appearance, have excellent physiognomy, sweet voices and are adorned with crowns and necklaces. The Tumbaru tree is their herald mark.

Of the Vyantaras, there are eight more classes given by Prajñāpanā and other Śve. texts. They are: Anapanni, Panapañni, Ģśivā, Bhūyavā, Kandi, Mahākandi, Kohandā and Piyangā. Nothing more is known about these except their Indras.

The Prajñāpanā describes the general appearance of all the Vānamanataras or Vyantaras. They are of an unsteady nature attached to dance and music, adorned with Vanamālas of various flowers, wearing garments of different colours, and used to taking different shapes and forms, smiling or laughing. They like love-quarrels and adorn their bodies with various ornaments such as the angada, kundala, karnapitha etc., and with marks of sandal pastes. They carry sword, mudgara (club), śakti (dart) and kunta (spear) in their hands.

III. The Jyotiśkas

According to both the sects the Jyotiśkas are divided into five classes: suns, moons, planets, asterisms and miscellaneous stars. It is said that every moon has 88 planets. The nakṣatras are 28 in number. The planets are noteworthy in Jaina iconography. They are found in the parikara of a Jaina image.

IV. The Vaimāṇika Gods

The Vaimāṇika gods and goddesses live in the various Kalpa and Kalpāṭita heavens, noted in the outline of Jaina cosmography. The Prajñāpanā gives symbols on the crowns of the different classes of gods:
### Vaimānika Gods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kalpa-Gods</th>
<th>Symbol on Crowns (Śve.)</th>
<th>Symbol on Crowns (D'g.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Saudharma</td>
<td>Deer</td>
<td>Boar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Iśāna</td>
<td>Buffalo</td>
<td>Deer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sanatkumāra</td>
<td>Boar</td>
<td>Buffalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Māhendra</td>
<td>Lion</td>
<td>Fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Brahma-loka</td>
<td>Goat</td>
<td>Frog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Lāntaka</td>
<td>Frog</td>
<td>Snake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Mahāsukra</td>
<td>Horse</td>
<td>Goat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Sahasrāra</td>
<td>Elephant</td>
<td>Bull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Ānata</td>
<td>Snake</td>
<td>Wishing Tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Prāṇata</td>
<td>Ganda-animal</td>
<td>Wishing Tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Ārāṇa</td>
<td>Bull</td>
<td>Wishing Tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Acyuta</td>
<td>A deer known as Vidima</td>
<td>Wishing Tree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Jaina texts give various other details regarding the Indras of various classes, their places, shrines, lokapalas, queens etc. The Tiloyapaṇṇatī gives an elaborate description of the Airāvata elephant. The Jivājivābhigama describes the pūrṇa performed by Vījayeśa in the Siddhāyatana, the 32 types of dances are noteworthy in the Rāyapasaṇa. Similar pūrṇa is described in the Tiloyapaṇṇatī but the 32 varieties of dance are not detailed.

Besides the above-mentioned gods, there are some gods and goddesses specifically named and described. Of this type are Vījaya, Vaiṣṇava, Jayanta, and Aparājita, belonging to the Vyantara class (?), superintendents of the four dvāras (gates) of the Jagati (rampart) of the Jambū-dvīpa. Anādṛta, a Vyantara, is the Lord of the Jambū-dvīpa. Now a goddess Anāhiye has been identified by this writer with the Anāhitā-Anaitis, an Iranian goddess. This Anāhiya or Anāhiya or Anāḥṛta seems to be a male counterpart of Anāhṛta-Anaitis, evolved at a later date.

The different Dik-Kunārīs, living on different kūṭas of Meru and Rucakadvīpa, 56 in number are a group of goddesses which have a special function like the Indras, in the Birth ceremonies of a Jina and therefore get a place in Jaina art. They are the attendants (māhātārikās) of the Mother of a Jina. The list deserves critical study, since the Jainas seem to have given a place in this list to ancient popular or Vedic goddesses. Thus for example we find Vījayeśa, Nandā, Ilā, Aparājita, Bhadrā, Pīthvī, Ekanāsā (Ekaṇaṃsā).

Of such antiquity are the six goddesses known as Ṣrīra-devīs residing on the islands-continent on the six varṣadharas mountains (Himavān and others); they are Śrī, Hrī, Dhṛtī, Kīrī, Baddha and Lakṣmi. Various gods and goddesses could be classified under one or the other of the sub-divisions of the above-mentioned four main classes. But with their store of merit exhausted, these gods and goddesses had to be reborn on this earth. They are not the highest objects of worship. They are mere celestial beings or Devas, but the Devādhidevas, Lords of even the celestial beings, objects of worship for all, are the Emancipated souls, the Siddhas and such Siddhas who during their life-time have founded a Tīrtha, i.e. propagated Jaina Faith having established orders of śrāvakas, śrāvikās, sādhus and sādhis. These are the highest objects of Jaina worship.

Next to the Tīrthankaras and Arhats and Siddhas are the other ascetic souls, the Jaina monks of three main grades of Ācārya, Upādhyāya and Sādhu, these five constituting what are known as Paṭekoparames-thins, the Five Chief Divinities. These and the Sālākāpurūsas or great souls have been discussed in separate chapters.

This in essence is Hero-worship and as such Great souls both ascetic and non-ascetic came to be
especially revered. The Jaina classification of souls will be easily explained by a chart published by T.N. Ramachandran, which is copied and appended herewith. Lives of Great souls became the favourite theme of Jaina Purāṇas. Such great souls were the 24 Tīrthankaras + 12 Cakravartins + 9 Baladevas + 9 Vāsudevas = 54 Mahāpuruṣas also called Śalākāpuruṣas by the Jainas. Every Vāsudeva had a very powerful enemy who also came to be included as a Great soul and the total of Mahāpuruṣas was raised to sixty-three. It may be noted that Śīlākārīnī wrote his Caṇḍapanna-mahāpuruṣacarita in c. 925 v.s. (868 A.D.) which shows that up to the middle of the ninth century only 54 people were counted as Mahāpuruṣas. Hemacandra (12th cent. A.D.) who wrote a Purāṇa on these souls called it Trīṣaṭi-śalākāpuruṣacarita, and included the 9 Pratīvāsudevas as Great souls.

But there were other Great souls. The Jainas also evolved a conception of Manus like the Manus of Hindu mythology and it is noteworthy that whereas the Digambaras believe in 14 Manus or Kulakaras, the Śvetāmbaras have only seven. These are fundamentally the Great souls of Jaina Mythology and it is a mistake to count the 9 Nāradas or the 11 Rudras as great souls or Śalākāpuruṣas.

The Jainas who had to face Hindu opposition included at a very late date the conception of eleven Rudras, sometime in the middle ages, but the descriptions of the Rudras or the Nāradas in the Jaina Purāṇas clearly demonstrate that their inclusion was effected only for the sake of popular appeal and with a desire to underate them.

Kāmādeva or the Cupid was an object of worship and temples of Kāmādevas existed in ancient India. The Jainas, too, evolved a list of Kāmādevas, but their role was different. Behind the Jaina concept of a Kāmādeva, it is his extremely beautiful person that was emphasised and he had not the powers of shooting arrows on young men and women. Bāhubali, the great sage, was the first Kāmādeva.

It must be remembered, however, that in spite of this belief in non-ascetic great souls like the Cakravartins, the Baladevas, the Vāsudevas and others, the Five Supreme Ones (Pañcaparamesṭhis) alone remained the real objects of worship for the Jainas.

For a sect or a religion to thrive amongst the people, local deities, popular deities, and deities acknowledged from ancient traditions by the masses have to be incorporated in every pantheon, in a manner suitable to the new environment and doctrines. Such for example was the worship of the deities whose shrines existed in the days of Mahāvira, and whose images and festivals are referred to in the Āgama literature. They include Indra, Rudra, Skanda, Mukunda, Vāsudeva, Vaiśramana, Yakṣa, Bhūta, Nāga, Piśaca, etc.

Indra, the great Vedic deity, was assigned the role of a principal attendant by both Buddhism and Jainism and was made to serve the Buddha or the Jina. The other deities of the list did not originally belong to the pantheon of the Vedic priests and were rather deities of the populace, and of the various other non-Āryan tribes. Mahāvira usually stayed in Yakṣa shrines which shows that he had to accord a different generous treatment to such deities. Worship of such deities even by Jaina laywomen, for obtaining children, seems to have been tolerated. If Jaina traditions are correctly handed down, then Mahāvira had to face bitter opposition from Śālapāṇi Yakṣa, i.e. from the followers of Śiva who is well known as Śālapāṇi, the trident-wielder.50

Skanda the Commander of Gods in the Hindu Mythology is made the commander of the infantry of Indra. But Naigamesin,51 who was associated with procreation of children as Nejamesa in ancient times, was also worshipped by the Jainas for obtaining boons for children as is shown by the story of Sulasī in the Antagaḍadasāṃa.

Vāsudeva, originally possibly belonging to a heterodox cult, had to be given a very prominent place by the Hindus and the Jainas too made him a very favourite theme of their story literature. But with the rise of his position in Hindu literature, art and ritual or worship, an attempt was made to give him a place in Jaina art, in the Gupta age, though as an attendant, as can be seen from representation of Baladeva and Vāsudeva on a sculpture of Ādīnātha in the Lucknow Museum. The practice does not seem to have lasted long. In the Kusāna period we find Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva and Baladeva on two sides of Neminātha in sculptures from Mathurā.
The Yakšas, Nāgas and others had to be given a place in Jaina worship. Since the Buddhist representations of Jambhala and Hāriti became very popular, they had to be incorporated in Jaina worship and towards the close of the Gupta age, a Yakṣa and a Yakṣī of the type of Jambhala and Hāriti came to be incorporated as attendant pair of the Tirthankaras on Tirthaṅkara sculpture. But before that the yakṣas were included as attendant chowrie-bearers on the two sides of a standing or sitting Tirthaṅkara.

A hymn addressed to a snake-goddess Vairotyā is ascribed to Ārya Nandila or Ārya Ānandila who, according to traditions, lived in c. first century A.D. Vairotyā is a snake-goddess and possibly connected with Jāngoli-vijjā or a charm against snake-poisoning. Belief in Yakṣas and Nāgas etc. is fairly old in Jainism and Dharaṇendra is a snake-deity one of whose chief queens is called Vairotyā in the canons. With the rise of Padmavatī sometime towards the close of the post-Gupta period, Vairotyā lost her old great popularity. Vairotyā is one of the sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās.

Four more goddesses are very ancient in Jaina worship, though they have not been traced hitherto in sculptures. They are Vijayā, Jayā, Jayantā and Aparājitā, invoked in the Varidhamāna Vidyā. It seems that these goddesses were worshipped under various names by all sects and have been invoked by the Jinas at least from the age of Vajrasvāmi in the first or second century A.D. The later Jaina Śanti-devī is based on Vijayā as shown in the following pages.

Bāhubali became popular in Jaina worship at least in the post-Gupta age, not as a Kāmadeva (he is also a Kāmadeva in Jaina literature) but as a great sage, the Jaina counterpart of the conception of Vālmiki. It is noteworthy that not a single sculpture of Bāhubali has been recovered hitherto from the Kankali Tila finds at Mathura.

Belief in magic charms, as shown in an earlier paper in our discussion on the Vidyādevis, is very old and Vidyās existed even in the age of Mahāvīra and Buddha. The Paumacariya and the Vasudevahinī are our earliest sources for the different Vidyā-devis like Rohiṇī, Prajñāpīti, Saravasthamahājāvalī, Gaurt and Gāndhārī. Soon sixteen goddesses came to be regarded as the chief Vidyā-devis (Mahāvidyās) as can be traced in literature, though no early sculptures are traced hitherto. It is however very likely that representations dating from at least the post-Gupta age may be traced of these goddesses.

Parents of the Jinas were accorded special veneration from very early times and the figure representing the Tablet of Āryavatī from Mathura seems to have represented the Mother of Mahāvīra.

The scripture (Śruta) was not forgotten by the Jinas and the Goddess of Learning was venerated from very early times, as can be inferred from the famous sculpture of Sarvasvātī from Kankali Tila which is the earliest known sculpture of the Goddess of Learning, discovered hitherto in India. Śrī figures on an arch of a doorway in the Ananta-Gumpha in Orissa and is a proof that from ancient times the Jinas worshipped both the goddess of learning as well as the goddess of wealth.

It is highly probable that at a very early stage, the Jinas also worshipped images of the Sun-god, just as they included Indras, Saravatī, Laks̱mi, Vāsudeva, Baladeva and others in their pantheon. It is but natural to expect that the popularity of Sun-worship amongst the masses attracted the Jinas as well. The Jinas have from very early times taken interest in astronomy and amongst the oldest existing works showing the existence of astronomical speculations in ancient India are the Jaina Sūryaprajāpīti and the Jyotiskarāṇḍaka. Pādalipta in the first or second century A.D. wrote a commentary on the Jyotiskarāṇḍaka, a manuscript of which was discovered by Muni Śrī Punyavijayāji, a few years ago from Jaisalmer. This shows the interest of the Jinas in Astronomy and we would not be wrong if we infer the existence of sun icons amongst the Jinas at Mathura in at least the Kuṣāṇa age.

Towards the close of the post-Gupta age, the growth of the pantheon obtained a further impetus and a separate yakṣa and yakṣī were evolved for each of the twenty-four Tirthankaras. This growth is due to several factors: one, the growth of Tantric literature in India, two, the growth of smaller states with great ambitions and the revival of Indian art and culture in the post-Gupta age after the Hēṇa onslaught. Another factor was state-support to the Jinas in several provinces. All these factors combined led to further activity in art and literature and the new deities or old Indian deities in new roles appeared in due course. A glance at the list of attendant yakṣas and yakṣīs will show that some of them are Hindu.
deities assigned the role of attendants of Tirthaṅkaras, e.g. the Īśvara yakṣa, Brahma yakṣa, Kumāra yakṣa, Śaṃmukha yakṣa.

As has been shown by Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, collective deities form an interesting feature of the Jain Pantheon. Such deities are the eight Vasus, the twelve Ādīyas, the eleven Rudras in Hindu mythology or the eight Tārās of the Vajratāra Maṇḍala and so on in Buddhist pantheon. The Dik-kumāris in Jainism, already mentioned, are group deities. Another class of ancient Jaina collective deities is the Lokāntika gods who like the Indra and the Dik-kumāris are assigned a special role in the life of a Jina. When the proper time for renunciation is ripe, they approach the would-be Tirthaṅkara and inform him accordingly, and request him to renounce the worldly life for the benefit of the world. No. J.354 in the Lucknow Museum obtained from Mathura possibly represents the Lokāntikas in an early Jaina Jātaka scene of the incident of the Dance of Nālīnjana which led to the renunciation by Rṣabha-deva. The Lokāntikas are known to the canons and are said to reside in the kṣīpañājīs of the fifth kaipa-heaven called the Brahmaloka. They are: Śārvasvaṭas, Ādīyas, Vahinis, Varunas, Gardaīoyas, Tūṣitas, Aavyābādhas, Āgneyas (Maruts) and Rīśas. It will be evident that most of these are Vedic deities and were given a place in the “Brahma-loka” at a very early stage. Such an adoption is natural in the history of any sect and is almost inevitable.

The conception of the Lokapālas is common to all sects and we hear of 4 Lokapālas of each of the different Indras, like the four great Mahārajas of Buddhism. This conception was later evolved into ten quarter-guardians. The planets came to be worshipped in the post-Gupta age and they obtained a better position than the Dikpālas in as much as they were given a place on the pīṭha of a Tirthaṅkara image in Western India and on the stella of the Jina figure in the Pāla art. The quarter-guardians began guarding the shrine standing on the outer-wall of the sanctum.

With the growth of the yakṣas and yaksiṇis, worship of Vidyādevis seems to have received a setback from which it could not recover properly.

The Kṣetrapāla was not forgotten and an early image assignable to c. 10th century is seen on a pillar in the Devgadh fort, Central India (Fig. 163).

The Mātikās must have been incorporated in the post-Gupta age. At Deltvādā, Mt. Abu, the Vimala Vaṣaḥi contains representations of these goddesses but it is natural to expect that they were given a place in Jain ritual at some earlier date. Jinaprabha sūri (in the fourteenth century) recorded his protest against this growing worship of foreign deities, in his Vidhimagārapā alias Suvihitā-Sāmācāri. A similar process worked in the South also amongst the Digambaras where many a Bhaṭṭāraka of the middle ages were originally Brahmin Pandits and where Śaivite element was very strong amongst the people. In the South Brahmādeva became popular amongst the Jainas, in the North (properly Western India) Kapardī (Śiva) yakṣa came to guard the Tirtha at Śatrūṇāyā.

Later on, at least in the fourteenth century, Ganeśa also came to be worshipped in Jain temples and occasionally the Mahisāmarddini, images of both of which assignable to the fifteenth century are still available in Jain shrines. That these images were originally installed by the Jainas can be proved by the fact that a painting of the Mahisāsura-marddini is available in a palm-leaf ms. at Cambay. A mutilated sculpture in Jodhpur Museum (no. 96/2386) from Rewāda in Jodhpur division, showing lower part of Mahisāmarddini, has an inscription on pedestal wherein she is called Saccika. There is a shrine of Saccika devī on a mound at Ośia where as R.C. Agrawala has shown (Journ. of B.B.R.A.S., vol. 29, part 2) Mahisāmarddini is worshipped by Oswal Jainas as Saccika-devī.

Abstract deities are also obtained, the Sānti-devatā and the Adhivāsanā devī invoked by the Ācāra-Dinakara are instances of this process in the evolution of the Jaina Pantheon. But the same Jinaprabha sūri who voiced his protest against foreign elements, had to give a list of 64 Yoginīs, obviously because belief in Bhairavas, Viras and Yoginīs had become widely current in India.

The Vāstu-Vidhi itself, the rite of consecration of a temple, is not free from such influences. Deities worshipped in the Ekāṣṭi-pada-vāstu are identical with those in such rituals of the Hindus. The signs of the Zodiac, or the Tithi-devatās were not left out though such deities are not known to have been
represented. As noted by Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, “the Dhyānas of the twelve signs of the Zodiac certainly have an originality special to the Jinas.”

The Jaina Pantheon and especially, the Jaina Tantra is influenced more by the Hindu pantheon and Tantra than by the Buddhist ones, but instances of Buddhist influence are not wanting. Vajraśrākhalā and Vajrāṅkuṣi, as their names and their chief recognising symbols suggest, are obviously borrowed from the Buddhists, for, as rightly remarked by Benoytosh Bhattacharya, “the prefix Vajra to the names of Jaina deities is not altogether meaningless, because it shows clearly that these are importations from the Vajrayana School of Buddhism.” Again, Bhrkutī is Buddhist. Towards the end of the middle ages, attempts were made to introduce Kurukullā and a hymn addressed to her is known amongst the Jinas.

A clear indication of Hindu influence on the Jaina ritual is the various samskāra-vidhis described by the Ācāra-Dinakara. The Śaṣṭhi worshipped in the Janma-samskāra is of course a very old Indian goddess not necessarily originally Brahmanical. But the Māțkā-pūjana is certainly Hindu. Ācāra-Dinakara also invokes the eight Bhairavas. A brief outline of such very minor deities, the Supernatural Beings in the Jaina Pantheon, was published earlier by this writer. Ghaṇṭākarna, originally an old non-Āryan deity, was incorporated into the Hindu pantheon as one of the gaṇas. And the Jinas comparatively recently attempted to introduce his worship. Late manuscripts of Ghaṇṭākarna kalpa are obtained in Gujarat and Marwar. Māṇibhadra is a deity who has been worshipped more popularly in Jaina temples in Western India, Gujarat, Marwar, and Rajputana and though no definite early text regarding his legend could be traced, yet it seems that his worship as a Jaina deity is as old as the fourteenth or fifteenth century and probably older. It is a peculiar instance of reviving in new garb the worship of the ancient Māṇibhadra yakṣa, popular with merchant class. It also suggests that a few worshippers and images or shrines of the old Māṇibhadra had existed in these regions up to c. 1200-1400 A.D.

Symbol worship amongst the Jinas is treated separately and need not be discussed in this outline of the growth of the Jaina Pantheon along with its classification.

Dvārapālas of temples or gate-keepers of the various fortifications of the Samavasarāṇa are interesting. Nowhere are Gangā and Yamunā mentioned as gate-keepers of a Jaina shrine, but Indra, Indraśyā and Iśāna are noteworthy. In the Samavasarāṇa, Tumburu is one of the gate-keepers. Indra and others, the dvārapālas carved on door-frames facing the four sides of a Jaina shrine, are noted by Silpa works like the Aparājita-prāchā, the Rūpāvatāra or the Devatāmūrti-prakāraṇa.

Goddesses were worshipped as Gotra-devatās or Kula-devatās. A metal image of Ambikā in the Museum of the St. Xavier’s College Research Institute, Bombay, has an inscription on its back which calls her a Gotra-devatā obviously of the donor. Similarly, in the South, Padmavati and Siddhāyikā are known as Gotra-devatās or Kula-devatās of certain families. Śrī-Lakṣmis is worshipped as a Kula-devatā by Hindus and Jaina families who are Śrīmāls by caste, having come from Śrīmālā (modern Bhimālā in Rajasthan) where Śrī seems to have been the tutelary city-goddess.

Of later Tantric development the Bhairava-Padmāvatī-kalpa of Mallīṣena and the commentary of Bandhuṣena, or the Vidyānuśāsana of Māṭiṣāgara (c. 16th century A.D.) provide interesting examples. The Tantric Śaṭ-karmas are available in the Bhairava-Padmāvatī-Kalpa and amongst the different forms of Padmāvatī, Tripurā is included. The Vidyānuśāsana gives iconic forms of all the letters of the alphabet, a, ä, i, i, etc. and includes sādhanas of Karnapiṣācini, Cetaka or Unm-cetaka, Sugrīva-Vāmvarājā, Ucchistiṣṭiṣāsini, Sundarī, Raṇḍā, Māṭiṅā and propitiatory rites of Bālagrahās, the Jvālāgārdives (?) and so on. A work on Bālagrahas is ascribed to Rāvana, another to the famous Jaina versatile genius and monk Puyapāda acārya, both of which are incorporated in this monumental Tantric text. Śubhacandra’s unpublished Ambikā-kalpa (c. 15th-16th century A.D.) also contains sādhanas of Karnapiṣācini, Sundarī and Raṇḍā who are thus included in the Parivāra of Ambikā.

Somaseṇa, another Digambara writer of c. 16th century A.D., has composed a work, Traivarnikācāra which betrays much Brahmanical influence. It may be noted that he gives a new classification of Jaina gods and goddesses. According to him, deities are of four types: Satyadevas, Kula-devas, Kṛṣṇa-devas and Veṣma-devas.

The Satyadevas are the Pañca-paramaneśṭhins, who lead to the attainment of mokṣa. The Kṛṣṇa-devas
are deities like fire, who, worshipped with oblations of havya, baked food etc., remove all calamities. The Kuladevatas are divinities worshipped in families from ancient times. Cakravarti, Ambika or Kusumandini, Padamavati, Jvalini, Rohini, Mahakali, Kali, Sarasvati, Gauri, Siddhayini, Chandl, and Durga are (such) Kuladevatas who should be worshipped with profound devotion by those desirous of welfare. The Veshadevatas are of four types: the Viśveśvaris, Dhārādhiṣa, Śrī-devi, and Dhanada or Kubera. The Viśveśvaris are the Mothers of the Jinas who should be worshipped by the best ladies in their homes. By worship of the mothers, a housewife, who is barren, is able to bear a child. These Sat-krinya-devatas (Viśveśvaris) worshipped with homa for peace (śanti) are powerful.

Worship of Kubera in a home is said to bring eternal prosperity while worship of the Dhara-Indra (?) is enjoined for having a male child. Worship of Śrī-devi protects the life of a child in the mother’s womb. They should be worshipped with garments, ornaments, fruits and cooked food.

The author further says that at the end of the worship of all the above-mentioned deities, a housewife should worship the dvārapālas and should perform Pitr-Tarpāna with water.67

With this may be compared the ancient Jain classification of gods given by Mahāvira by Mahāvira in two dialogues recorded in the Bhagavati-sūtra. In one answer, Mahāvira said that gods were of four classes: Bhavanapati, Vānavyantara, Jyotiṣka and Vāmānika.68 In another dialogue, Mahāvira said that gods were of five types: BhavyādITYa-deva, Naradeva, Dharmadeva, Devadhiveya and Bhāvadeva.69 Those souls who are going to obtain Devahood in future are Bhavyādityadevas. Those who deserve god-like respect amongst human beings are Naradevas, e.g. the Cakravartins. Those who are well-versed in scripture are revered as Dharmadevas, e.g. the different types of Jain monks. The Devadhiveyas are the Arhats who possess the real jñāna and darśana. Those who experience the merit (karma-fruit of action) of birth as Bhavanapatis, Vyantaras, Jyotiṣkas or Vāmānikas, are Bhāvadevas.

It has already been shown that these celestial beings, the Bhavanapatis etc., are divided into ten groups according to their position and function amongst gods, the groups are Indra, Śāmānīka, Trāyāstrīmūs, Pārisādyas, Ātmaraksakas, Lokapālas, Anīkas, Prakṛtnakas. Ābhijyogas and Kibisakas.

There are no grades nor Indras amongst Vāmānikas gods beyond the Kalpa-heavens, in the Kalpattra heavens, where each inhabitant calls himself an Indra and all are alike. They are therefore known as Ahamindras. The Kalpavāstī gods attend the ceremonial worship of each of the five Kalyāṇakas (auspicious events) of every Tirthanikara but the Ahamindras do not go out of their heavens, though they do pay their homage to the Jinas on all such occasions by holding their hands in the aṇjali mudrā.

A deva is spontaneously born. In each heaven there are many devis, each deva having many wives. Each pair of deva has a big retinue of minor devas, as also vāhanas, elephants etc. Devas or celestial beings have the following eight acquisitions or supernatural powers: aṣima, lathimā, sakabhā (power to assume any form and number of bodies at one time), vaśīva, iśīva and prakāmya (power to act at will), corresponding to such powers described in the Yoga system. The devas have fluid or changeable (vaikriya) bodies.70

Jaina texts describe the leṣyās of each main class of gods and of different types of beings. The doctrine of leṣyās or thought-colours is an interesting advancement shown by the Jainas, from ancient times, in the field of psychic research and culture.71

REFERENCES

1. For a detailed account of Jaina Cosmography, see Kierfel’s Die Kosmographie Der Inden, pp. 210ff. This account is mainly based on Triṣastī, 2.3.479ff. G.O.S. I, pp. 105ff.


3. Triṣastī, I (GOS), p. 245 n. Yogaśāstram. 4.103. Painted diagrams of the Lokapurusas dating from c. 16th century A.D. are available mainly in Mss. of the Samgrahani Sūtra. Kierfel, op. cit., pl. 4. U.P. Shah, Treasures of Jaina Bhādhras, Fig. 93. Jaina Cīrakalpadraṇa, 1. Fig. 73. Quite a large number of illustrated Mss. of Samgrahani are available in Jaina Bhādhras,
mostly dating from c. 16th century A.D. An illustrated
ms. of Trailokyadipaka exists in the Dig. Jain
Bhandāra, Bombay. Besides miniatures in such texts
on Cosmography, are found patas or paintings on
canvas or paper, with diagrams of the Jaina concep-
tion of the Universe or of the two-and-a-half continen-
t(sādhārvivāpa) constituting the manuṣya-loka. See
Kierfel, op. cit., plates 5-6. The practice of painting
such patas is referred to by Śaṅkacandra in his comm. on
Jambudvipaprajñāpati, sūtra 12, p. 72. For some more
illustrations of the Samgrahaṇa, see Jaina Cireakapura-
druma, I, Figs. 269-271, 273-278 and pp. 95ff.
Also see Caillat Collettee, Jaina Cosmology (in French

—Triṣṭita, 2.3.478

Also

—Ādiyārāṇa, 4.42


kāmadhāna-nimabhāgahiti dāsyaśāsanaḥ

kāmadhāna-nimahiti

jñāna-vidyāvijñāna-śāstraḥ

ānātipuṇa-vidyāvijñāna-śāstraḥ

jñāna-vidyāvijñāna-śāstraḥ
dāsyaśāsanaḥ

—Triṣṭita, 2.3.479, 481

5. Bhagavata sūtra, 1.6. Tattvārtha sūtra, III 1-2; Tilopa-

āṇadi, 2.9ff., Vol. I, pp. 52ff. Triṣṭita (text), 2.3.484,

486-502.

6. Tilopaṇaṇadi, 1.152ff., 2.26ff., 362ff.

7. Tattvārtha sūtra, 3.9-11, pp. 143ff. Triṣṭita (text) 2.3.

552-566, Ādiyārāṇa, 4.49, Harivamśa of Jinasena, 5.4-7;
Jainendra Siddhāntakosa, pp. 460-462.

Also see in tables in Kierfel, op. cit., pp. 215, 218,

For Hindu traditions, Ali, S.M., Geography of the
Parana (New Delhi, 1973), p. 10ff.


10. For names see Triṣṭita, II (G.O.S.), p. 112.


12. For a detailed account of Āryas and Mlecchas, see
Ramachandran, op. cit., 176-179.

13. For a list of Vidyādharā cities, Kierfel, op. cit., p. 329.

Jambudvipaprajñāpati, sūtra 12, p. 72ff. Tilopaṇaṇadi,

14. Triṣṭita, text, 2.3.556-586, GOS, op. cit., p. 109ff; Tilopa-

āṇadi, 4.180ff.

15. Tilopaṇaṇadi, 4.15-87, pp. 143ff. For interesting
descriptions of the Jagatī, the Padmaavaradāka, the
four gates, the god Vignya superintending over the
Vignya-gate, etc. see Jivājaśvabhāgama, sū. 124ff,
pp. 172ff, Triṣṭita, II, GOS, p. 113, Triṣṭita text,
2.3.612ff.

16. Tilopaṇaṇadi, 4.43ff, pp. 147ff, p. 151.


18. Harivamsa, 5.181, p. 84, Jambudvipaprajñāpati, op. cit.,
Vasudevavahita, pp. 25-26, Tilopaṇaṇadi, 5.37ff, Vol. II,
p. 535. He is the same as anāṭhāja, worshipped in
the Vardhamāna-vidyā.

19. Jambudvipaprajñāpati, sū. 12-13, pp. 72ff. The Siddhāya-
tanasa and the Śāvita-Jina-pratīmās are discussed in
Studies in Jaina Art, pp. 40, 52ff, 117-121.

20. Harivamsa, pp. 647-680, 122-24; Ramachandran, T.N.,
op. cit., p. 181; Kierfel, op. cit., pp. 253ff. Triṣṭiti,
2-3.704-738, II, GOS, pp. 120ff. Also see Shah, U.P.,
Studies in Jaina Art, on Nandīśvaradvipa.

21. Jivājaśvabhāgama sūtra, 3.2, su., 183, p. 356, for an early
account of the Nandīśvara-dvīpa.

22. Patas or plaques representing the 52 shrines on the
Nandīśvara are very popular amongst both the sects.
The Digambaras represent 52 small figures of the Jinas
(suggesting 52 shrines) on a four-tiered platform or in a
miniature shrine, both the types being four-faced (see
Ramachandran, T.N., op. cit., p. 181 and pl. xxxi,
figs. 3-4). The Svetāmbaras represent 52 miniature
shrines in small, cups of 13 each, arranged in different
ways. A beautiful plaque from Ramakpur was discussed
in JISOA, IX (1941), p. 48, pl. V, by this writer. Also see
U.P. Shah, Studies in Jaina Art, pp. 119ff, fig. 89.


24. For example, the inter-continental mlecchas are Ekoru,
Hayakarna, Gajakarna, Gokarṇa, Śaṭkulik-karna,
Meṣamukha. Hayamukha etc., the Karmabhūmi mlec-
chas are Saka, Yavana, Sabara, Barbara, Kāya, Mura-
ṇḍa, Ujra, Godra, Arapaka, Ṣuṇa, Romaka, Bilula,
Pulinda, etc. The lists vary in some texts. See Prajāpānā
sūtra for a list of mlecchas; also, Ramachandran, op.
cit., pp. 176-77, Triṣṭita, II (GOS), pp. 119ff.

Trilokāsāra, vv. 711ff give a list of countries in the
Ārya kṣetras of Bharata land; also see Triṣṭita, op. cit.,
p. 117. Triṣṭita text, 2.3.750-79, Jainendra-Siddhānta-
Kosa, vol. 4, pp. 311-38.

26. Ramachandran, op. cit., p. 184. In Kalpasutra mini-
tures, the nivāṇa of a Jina is usually represented by
showing him sitting in padmasana on the Siddhāśila,
white and shaped like an inverted umbrella (or a
crescent moon).

27. Śrīhāllinga sūtra, 4.1, sū. 257, Vol. I, p. 198, Jivājaśv-
abhāgama sūtra, 3.1, sū. 114ff, p. 156ff.

28. Tilopaṇaṇadi, 3.10-11, 199ff., Vol. I, pp. 111, 126ff,
Jivājaśvabhāgama sūtra, op. cit.

Bhātatsamgrahaṇi of Jīnavadāra Gaṇi Ksmāraṇaṇa,
vv. 44ff and in the Sṛngaraṇa śūtra, vv. 25. See
Kierfel, Kosmographie der inden, Section on Jaina
Cosmography.


31. See Prajñāpana sūtra, pada 2, sū. 27, Vol. I, pp. 267ff
and Jivājaśvabhāgama, comm. on sū. 117, pp. 161-165.

32. For Śexty-Four Indras, see JI, 34, nos. 1-2, p. 41ff.
See Prajñāpana sūtra, op. cit., sū. 32ff, pp. 274ff.

33. Malayagiri's comm. on Bhātatsamgrahaṇi of Jīnavadāra,
p. 3 says--

काश विष्णुसर्व सिद्ध-नारदिकादिशहरणस्य वेदेष लोकन्तः

तथा तेजसु यजोरुप्स बोधित्तेजसुऽपि विद्वेषयतुः

मृत्युमय्युष्टिः संक्रमणः

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34. Sampagāhasa sūtra, comm. on v. 30, also see v. 32.

35. Sampagāhasa sūtra, comm. on v. 30, also see v. 32.

36. It is indeed very interesting to note that both Tārā (Tārakā) and Bahuputrikā (Bahuputṛ) were from ancient times regarded as queens of Indras of Yakṣa, i.e. they were Yakṣas. It shows that the origin of Tārā as well as Bahuputrikā (or Hārītī) lies in the ancient Yakṣa cult.

37. Sampagāhasa sūtra, comm. of Devabhādra on v. 30.

38. Prājapāṅgā sūtra, sū. 38, comm. on p. 70.


40. Ibid.

41. Prājapāṅgā sūtra, pada 2, sū. 38. For tables regarding the Vyantarás (and gods of the other classes) see Kierfel, op. cit., pp. 272ff. The following description of the palaces of Vyantara gods may be noted:


43. Prājapāṅgā sūtra, pada 2, sū. 51.

44. Tīloyapannattī, Vol. II, pp. 1033ff Table; also see p. 1032 Table of Kalpatīra gods; chap. VIII, pp. 832ff for text. For all Vaimānikas see Kierfel, op. cit., pp. 291ff.


51. Discussed by us in JISOA, XIX, pp. 19ff.


53. Smith, Jaina Sutpa and Other Antiquities from Malwa, pl. xxxi, fig. 1 shows a carved pediment with a two-armed sun-god in a Cātuyā-window motif.


57. It is interesting to note that the Ācāra-Dinakara prescribes Vinayaka-pujā, Saṅghā-pujā, Maṅgāśeṣa-śanṭi etc., prohibited by Jina-prabha śuṇi.


59. Published in Studies in Jaina Art, fig. 71. Also see Agrawala, R.C., Jaina Sūkṣma Śāstra, pp. 109-112.

60. Foreign Elements in Jaina Literature, by U.P. Shah, Indian Historical Quarterly, Sept. 1951.


64. According to Vvāḍā quoted by Hermann in his commentary on Abhidhāna-Cūramāṇa, 2-114, p. 89.


For a criticism of this work see *Granṭha-Pariksā* (Hindi), part III, by Jugalkishore Mukhtar.

68. *Bhagavati-sūtra*, 2.7.


70. Also see *Tiruparuttikaram and its Temples*, footnote on p. 228.

CHAPTER SIX

Kulakaras and Śalākāpurusas

A. KULAKARAS

The Brahmanical traditions give a list of fourteen Manus or law-givers, who are also known as propagators of mankind. The Jainas similarly acknowledge a set of first law-givers who flourished in the present Avasarpini Age (in the third division called suṣama-duṣṣama, when beings were born as twins and when the Wishing Trees (kalpa-vṛkṣa) used to provide them with necessary food, light and other necessities of life). The age of the Kulakaras was a primitive one, when arts and sciences were not known, and crime and punishment were in infancy.¹

In course of time, the Wishing Trees failed to give proper service and man was obliged to protect himself against wild animals etc., and quarrels over properties arose. In difficulties such as these, man could approach the Kulakaras of his times for proper guidance, protection and dispensation of justice. Kulakaras were thus the first law-givers in Jainism.²

According to the Śvetāmbaras, Rṣabha, the first Tīrthaṅkara, was the last Kulakara, while according to the Digambaras, Nābhi, the Father of Rṣabha, was the last law-giver. The Bhagavati, the Sthānāṅga and the Samavāyāṅga sūtras and the Āvaśyaka Niryukti representing earlier Śvetāmbara traditions, give a list of seven such law-givers of the present Avasarpinī and are followed by later writers like Hemacandra.³ The Āvaśyaka Niryukti and the Ācārādakara⁴ further give the complexes of these Kulakaras. The Kāla-Lokaprahāśa gives different complexes. Below is given a table showing complexes of Kulakaras and names of their wives according to these texts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kulakara</th>
<th>Wife</th>
<th>Complexion acc. to Āva, Nir. and Aca, Di.</th>
<th>Colour acc. to Loka P.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vimalavāhana</td>
<td>Candrayāśā</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>Golden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cākṣuśmān</td>
<td>Candraṅkānta</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Golden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaśomān (Yaśasvin)</td>
<td>Surūpā</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Golden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abhicandra</td>
<td>Pratiṅkānta</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prasenajit</td>
<td>Cākṣuḥkānta</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Golden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marudeva</td>
<td>Śrīkānta</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>Golden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nābhi</td>
<td>Marudevi</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>Golden</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Wives of all the Kulakaras are black in complexion.)

The Paumacariyam of Vimala sūri, assignable to c. fifth century A.D., regarded as a work of their sect by the Śvetāmbaras, gives a list of fourteen Kulakaras, omitting the last one (Ṛṣabhanātha) from the above list. The text generally follows the same order, with slight changes.

In this list, the name of Yaśasvin is omitted which shows that a verse, before the names of Vimalavāhana and the rest in v. 55, has fallen out from later manuscripts, which inference is supported by the order in the Digambara Padmacarita. In v. 56, the author of the Paumacariyam expressly says that there were fourteen Kulakaras.

Curiously enough, this Śvetāmbara belief obtains support in the Digambara tradition which gives a list of fourteen law-givers. The Tiloyapāṇḍatti gives the following details useful for our subject:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Complexion</th>
<th>Wife</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pratiśruti</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>Svayamprabhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanmati</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yaśasvati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kṣemākara</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sunandā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kṣemandhara</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vimalā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śimākara</td>
<td></td>
<td>Manohārī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śimandhara</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>Yaśodhārā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vimalavāhana</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>Sumati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cakṣuśmān</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dhariṇī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaśasvin</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kāntamālā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abhīcandra</td>
<td></td>
<td>Śrīmati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candrabha</td>
<td></td>
<td>Prabhāvati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marudeva</td>
<td></td>
<td>Satyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prasenajit</td>
<td></td>
<td>Amitamati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nābhīrāja</td>
<td></td>
<td>Marudevī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Ādipurāṇa however adds that Ṛṣabha, the son of Nābhi, was both a Jina and a Kulakara, and that Bharata, the son of Ṛṣabhanātha, was both a Cakradhīr and a Kuladhīr. It would thus seem that the author wants to raise the number of Kulakaras from 14 to 16. Varāṅgacarita explicitly says that there were sixteen Manus, and gives a similar list. They are called Vatasiṣṭaka or propagators of race and Bhūmipātas or Kings and law-givers.

The above analysis shows that there are two distinct traditions in Śvetāmbara literature and that the second one recorded by Jambūdvīpa-prajñāpāti and the Paumacariyam is followed by the Digambaras. But the names given in the shorter list are common to both the traditions. Jinabhadra gaṇi Kṣamāśramana was aware of both the traditions amongst the Śvetāmbaras and made unconvincing attempt to explain away the obvious contradictions. Śānticandra, the commentator of the Jambūdvīpa-prajñāpāti, also made another attempt. This analysis is a pointer to the fact that some of the Digambara traditions, though recorded in works later than the Śvetāmbara Āgamas, are based upon older sources not always known to us.

The Sthānāṅga sūtra further gives lists of seven Kulakaras of the Past Utsarpinī, ten of the Past Avasarpinī, seven of the Future Utsarpinī and ten of the Future Avasarpinī.

Representations of Kulakaras have not been discovered, but looking to the popularity of the conception there are hopes that they may be discovered at a future date, either in a group or separately though the latter is less likely. There is however a class of sculptures showing a male and a female sitting under a tree, with a child usually on the female’s lap, which has not been satisfactorily identified so far. They are discussed separately in this work as Parents of the Tirthāṅkaras where it is shown that the presence of a bull symbol in one and of an attendant Yākṣa couple in another specimen points to their being sculptures of Parents of different Jinas rather than the Kulakaras sitting under a Kalpavṛkṣa. The Kumbharia panel with names of Parents further supports our view.

The Kalpavṛkṣas of Jaina mythology may however be noted since we find them mentioned in accounts
of the Kulakaras. The Tiloyapaṇṇattī gives the following list: Pāṇāṅga (Pāṇāṅga), Turiyanga (Tūryaṅga), Bhusanāṅga (Bhūsanāṅga), Vatthanāṅga (Vastrāṅga), Bhoyanga (Bhojanāṅga), Ālayanga (Ālayaṅga), Diviyanga (Dipukāṅga), Bhāyaṅga (Bhājanāṅga), Mālaṅga (Malāṅga), Tejanga (Tejāṅga) with excellent drinks, music, ornaments, garments, edibles and ready-made dishes, mansions to live in, lamps, utensils and garlands of flowers respectively while the last type, namely Tejanga, seems to be self-luminous, serving the purpose of heavenly luminaries.\(^{33}\)

The Paumacariyam gives a similar list with slightly different titles but signifying the same characteristics of these Wish-fulfilling trees.\(^{14}\) The Sthānāṅga sūtra\(^{35}\) gives the following names: Mallaṅga (Mattāṅga), Bhīyaṅga (Bhīṭāṅga), Tudditaṅga (Trutitaṅga), Divaṅga (Dipāṅga), Joti-aṅga (Jyotiśaṅga), Cittaṅga (Chitrāṅga), Cittarasā (Chitraraśā), Maniyaṅga (Maniaṅga), Gehāga (Gehākāra), Anītāna or Aniaṅga (Anagnakā).

The Jivāvivabhigama sūtra elaborately describes the functions of each of the types of wishing trees mentioned above. Thus they provide the Yugaṅkas (twin-born) with wives and intoxicants, utensils, music and musical instruments, (serve the purpose of) small lamps, (also of the bigger) heavenly luminaries, (and supply people with) garlands, edibles, riches and ornaments, mansions and residential quarters, and garments (to cover the privy). It would be interesting to note that sculpture of the Śaṅga age, especially Bharhut and Sanchi, shows representations of this type of Kalpavṛkṣa motif. Garlands, ornaments etc. hung from creepers are found depicted in several specimens. Śri Śivarāmaṇumūrti has referred to such specimens, in another context, in his work entitled Sculpture Inspired by Kālidāsa,\(^{16}\) and has referred to descriptions of such motifs in his essay. The consensus of opinion does not agree with his dating of Kālidāsa in the first century B.C., but the evidences collected by him help us now to conclude that the motifs remained popular upto the fifth century A.D., which again is the age of the latest edition of the Śve. Jaina canon. The descriptions of the Kalpavṛkkṣas, however, are so detailed that we are inclined to regard them as older than the age of Kālidāsa and it would not be wholly unwarranted if we regard them as at least as old as the first two centuries of the Christian era if not as old as the first or second century B.C. As shown by Moticandra,\(^{37}\) the Rāyapasaṇaṭiya gives a very realistic description of the Jaina stūpas of the Kuśāna Age. This description of the Kalpa trees is another evidence to show that most of the available Āṅga and Upāṅga text portions are not later than the age of Ārya Skandila of the Mathura council in early fourth century A.D. Belief in the Kulakaras, which is closely associated with the descriptions of the Primitive Man and the Kalpavṛkkṣas, is also not later than the fourth century A.D. It is difficult to fix up an upper limit for the tradition.\(^{38}\)

B. ŚALĀKĀPURUŚAS

The Jaina conception and evolution of the Śalākāpuruśas has been discussed in the Chapter on Notes on the Jaina Pantheon giving classifications of Jaina deities. Śalākāpuruśas are 63 according to both the sects. As shown before, in the earlier stage there were only 54 Śalākāpuruśas and the nine Prati-Vāsudevas came to be regarded as such great men only at a later stage. The following pages will give an account of the twelve Cakravarttis, the nine Vāsudevas, the nine Bālaudevas and the nine Prati-Vāsudevas, only so far as it concerns our study. Details about their lives are not within the scope of this work.

The Nāradas, the Rudras, or the Kāmadevas, excepting only Bāhubali, the first Kāmadeva, are minor deities and except Bāhubali, have no place in Jaina temple worship, nor are they regarded as Śalākāpuruṇas.

Representations of some scenes of Cakravartin’s conquests and of fights between Vāsudeva and Prati-Vāsudeva were carved in relief on some Jaina temple walls of the mediaeval period but these require a special study. Unfortunately this writer could not do so. However such scenes, especially from the Jaina versions of the Rāmāyana, are found on walls of Jaina temples in Western India. The whole story of Bharata and Bāhubali is depicted in the dome of the porch in front of the sahāmanḍapa of the Vimala Vasahi, Delvāḍa, Mt. Abu.

Recently a set of two long painted wooden book-covers of a palm-leaf manuscript, assignable to the
thirteenth century A.D., are found by Muni Śīlavijaya. The paintings depict, in a continuous narrative, scenes from the previous births and the life of Tīrthaṅkara Śāntinātha who also was a Cakravartin. In this narration Anantavirya Vasudeva and Damitīrī Prati-Vasudeva and Aparājīta Baladeva are painted. Two wooden book-covers of a palm-leaf ms. in the Jaina Bhandāra at Jaisalmer contain representations of all the 63 Śaṅkāpurūṣas. They date from the twelfth century A.D. and are discussed with illustrations by Muni Punyavijaya and U.P. Shah in Some Painted Wooden Book-Covers from Western India, Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art (New Series), Vol. I, Special No. on Western Indian Art, pp. 34-44 and plates.

Twelve Cakravartins

Cakravartins are Universal Monarchs or World Conquerors. The Jaina Purāṇas give a list of twelve such Cakravartins who flourished in this Avasarpinī. Golden in complexion, they all belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra.

The first amongst them was Bharata, the son of Rāsbhanātha, who gave his name to this land, which is called Bharata-bhūmi or Bhrārata. His chief queen was Subhrā. Sagara, the son of Sumitra and Yasomati of Ayodhyā, and a contemporary of Ajītanātha, was the second Cakravarti. Bhadrā was the queen. Maghavā, the third, was the son of Samudravijaya and Bhadrā and ruled from Śrīvasti in the interval between the sixteenth and the sixteenth Tīrthankaras. Jayā was the queen.

Sanatkumāra, the fourth, was born in Hastināpura to Aśvasena and his wife Śaṅkadevi in the same interval. Vijayā was the queen.

The three Tīrthankaras, namely, Śāntinātha, Kuntunātha and Aranātha, were the fifth, sixth and seventh Cakravartins respectively. The eighth, Subhūma, lived in Hastināpura and was the son of Kṛtavirya and Tārā. The queen was Padmāśri. Jaina accounts give a different version of the Hindu mythology of Paraśurāma. King Anantavirya of Hastināpura was the grandfather of Subhūma. The queen of Anantavirya was a sister of Renukā, the wife of Jamadagni. Once Jamadagni gave Renukā a bambhanācaru and her sister a khattiyacaru to eat but the two sisters exchanged their dishes. Renukā gave birth to Rāma and her sister to Kṛtavirya. Rāma killed Anantavirya and gave the throne to Kṛtavirya but later on killed the latter also. Subhūma, the son of Kṛtavirya, took revenge on Rāma who was a Brāhmaṇa and slew him and was satisfied after slaying Brāhmaṇas of the earth twenty-one times.

The next Cakravartī was Mahāpadma or Padma, son of Padmottara and Jvalā who lived with his queen Vasundharā in the city of Vārānasi.

The tenth, Harīsenā, son of Meru and Mahāhari, lived in Kāmpīlya in the interval between Munisuvrata and Naminātha. Devi was his chief queen.

The eleventh Universal Monarch was Jaya or Jayasena, son of Vijaya and Vaprā. He reigned with his queen Lakṣmīvatī from Rājagṛha in the interval between Naminātha and Neminātha.

The last Cakravartī of this Avasarpinī age was Brāhmaṇadatta, the son of Brāhmaṇa by Cūlantī, who reigned from Kāmpīlya, his queen Kusumavatī in the interval between Neminātha and Parśvanātha. He had alliances with the king Dīha of Kośala, Kaḍaya of Kāśi, Kaṇcerudatta of Gajapura and Pupphaclā of Campā. After Bambha's death, King Dīha (Dirgha) is said to have managed the affairs of the kingdom of Kāmpīlalpura. Later on a battle ensued between Brahmadatta and Dīha in which the former killed the latter. References to Brahmadatta in Hindu and Buddhist literatures suggest the possibility of Brahmadatta being a historical personage.

The mother of a Cakravartī sees some dreams at the time of conception. According to the Ādi-purāṇa, Bharata's mother saw the sun and the moon, the mount Meru, the lake with swans, earth and the ocean. According to Hemacandra, Summangalā, the mother of Bharata, sees fourteen great dreams. Accounts of world conquests by these different Cakravartins are almost similar in the Jaina Purāṇas, Bharata, for example, started on his conquests, with his cakra-jewel preceding the army, followed by the bearer of the staff-jewel, the senāpati (another jewel of a Cakravartī), the horse-jewel, the priest-
jewel, etc., and conquered the Māgadhā-tirtha in the east of Jambūdvipa, the Varadāma in the south, the Prabhāsa in the west, and the goddess Sindhu, the Veyaddha mountain and the Timisa-cave (guhā). Crossing the river Sindhu by the carma-jewel, he conquered the Sinhalas, Barbara, Ānga, Cilāya, Javāṇādeva, Arabaka, Romaka, Aṣāņa, the mlecchas known as Pikkhura, Kālamuha and Jopaka, the mlecchas residing on the south of the Vaiṭāḍhya, and in the south-west the region up to the Śindhu-sāgara and finally the most beautiful Kaccha. Then, marching through the Timisaguḥā, Bharata ordered his general to open its southern gate. Then, crossing the rivers Unmagajāla and Nimbagnajāla, he defeated the rich, arrogant and powerful Cilāyas known as Āvāda, dwelling in the northern half of the Bharata land. Next, he conquered Culla (kuḍāra) Himavanta mt. and proceeded to Rṣabhamūla mt. where with his kāññi (kākini) jewel, Bharata inscribed his name as the first universal monarch. When he went to the north of the Veyaddha (Vaiṭāḍhya) mountain, Nami and Vinami, the two overlords of the Vidyādharas, offered him the gift of a stī-ratna (woman-jewel), Subhadra by name.29 Next, Bharata conquered the river Gaṅga along with the cave Khandaprapāta on its western bank, where, opening the northern gate of the cave, he obtained the nine nidhis or treasures, namely, Naisarpa, Pāṇḍuka, Piṅgala, Sarvaratna, Mahāpadāna, Kūla, Mahākūla, Māṇavaka and Śaṅkha.30

Thus attended by the fourteen jewels, the Cakravarti returned to his capital Vinita where his coronation as a universal monarch was performed with due pomp and splendour.

According to both the sects, every universal monarch obtains ratnas or jewels amongst human beings and amongst symbols, weapons or animals. They are: Cakra (disc), Daṇḍa (staff), Asī (sword), Chatu (umbrella), Carṇa (hides), Maṇi (diamond), Kāṅkiṇī (cowrie), Aśva (the horse), Gaṇa (the elephant), the Commander-in-Chief, the Home Minister, the Architect (Vardhaki), the Priest and lastly the Queen.31

As already noted, Cakravartinis have a golden complexion, and the mark of the Śrīvatasa symbol, formed of hair, adorns their chests.32

Representations of Cakravartins as separate sculptures33 are difficult to obtain. Hitherto only four such sculptures of Bharata, the first Cakravarti, could be obtained. Of these, one from a small shrine in Devgaḍh is illustrated here in Fig. 156. On his two sides are shown his fourteen ratnas. Another sculpture, illustrated in Fig. 160 is from temple no. 2 at Devgaḍh, showing Bharata in käyotsarga mudrā. The ratnas are distributed on his two sides and on the pedestal. The third sculpture belongs to the Śvetāmbara tradition. It is preserved in one of the cells in the compound of the main Ādinātha shrine on the mount Śrāvasti (see Fig. 41). Bharata is here represented as standing in meditation in the käyotsarga posture. On one side of Bharata stands a male with a sword in hand, on another side is another male figure carrying a noli (money-bag) with two hands. Possibly he is a donor. The image is inscribed in the year 1391 v.s. and helps us to identify the sculpture as representing Bharata. Two small cakaras are shown just near the fingers of both the hands of Bharata, and a cakra is shown in the centre of the pedestal suggesting that Bharata is a Cakravartin. There is one more sculpture at Devgaḍh.

But representations of the march of a Cakravarti are not unknown on Jaina temple walls. Usually they are on exterior walls of the main shrine, in the part reserved as Nīva-thūra. A battle scene between Bharata and Bāhubali is available in the front ceiling of the Rangamanḍapa of the Vimalavasahi at Abu, as also in a ceiling of Śāntinātha temple at Kumbharia.

Ratnas or jewels of a Cakravarti are usually represented in miniature paintings of the Samgrahani sūtra. For representations in miniatures of Bharata’s conquests, see for example Brown, op. cit., fig. 129.

The Jaina traditional accounts of the conquest of a Cakravarti are of special value for students of ancient geography. The oldest accounts of these are reminiscent of some old traditions. The Timisa guhā for example is interesting. The Prabhāsa-tirtha is well known, but Varadāma tirtha should be located.

Nine Vāsudevas

Jaina mythology describes lives of nine Vāsudevas or Nārāyanas who are also called Ardhā-Cakrātas as they ruled over three parts of the earth and enjoyed half the power of the Cakravartins. Belief in
Vāsudevas and their step-brothers Baladevas is very old as they are referred to in the earliest traditions represented by the Āgama texts and the works attributed to Bhadrabāhu. Both the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras give identical lists of Vāsudevas which fact shows that the belief antedates the final crisis between the two sects and is probably much earlier.

The Samavāyāṅga sūtra gives the following list of Vāsudevas along with names of their parents: (1) Tripriṣṭha, son of Prajāpati and Mṛgāvatī, (2) Dvipriṣṭha, son of Brahma and Uma, (3) Svayambhū, son of Soma and Pṛthvi, (4) Purusottama, son of Rudra and Sītā, (5) Purusāsimha or Nṛsimha, son of Śiva and Ammayā, (6) Puruṣapundarika, son of Mahāśiva and Laksmīvatī, (7) Datta, son of Agniśikha and Śesavatī, (8) Narāyana, son of Daśarath and Kekayi and (9) Kṛṣṇa, son of Vāsudeva and Devaki. As already noted, the Digambara texts give the same list. According to both the sects, all the Vāsudevas are black and wear garments of yellow colour. The Vāsudeva has a chowrie-bearer attending upon him, while an umbrella is held over his head. On his banner is seen the mark of an eagle.

The following seven are the weapons and symbols of a Vāsudeva, according to the Śvetāmbara traditions: (1) the conch pāṇcajanya, (2) the disc Sudarśana cakra, (3) the club Kaumodaki, (4) the bow Śāṅiga, (5) the Nandaka sword, (6) the jewel known as Kaustubha mani, and (7) the long garland of flowers, known as the Vanamāla. The Praśnavyākaraṇa sūtra however adds the śakti in the above list.

The following from the Uttarādhyayana is especially noteworthy as the passage refers to only three weapons of Vāsudeva: ‘As Vāsudeva, the god with the conch, discus and club, who fights with an irresistible strength, (has no equal), neither has a very learned monk.' This is indeed an early tradition of the iconography of Vāsudeva-Viśṇu. The fourth hand is usually held in varada mudrā.

The Svet. text Pradyumna-carita says that Kṛṣṇa, the lord of Dvārakā and the enemy of Kaṁsa, was dark in complexion and wore yellow garments. Four-armed, he carried the conch Pāṇcajanya, the Nandaka sword, the Śāṅiga bow and the Kaumodaki club in his hands.

The Digambara traditions give the following seven weapons of a Vāsudeva: Bow, Conch, Discus, Staff, Sword, Śakti, and Club.

Both the sects agree in regarding all Vāsudevas as dark in complexion and having the eagle as their banner-mark. Besides, all the Vāsudevas are said to have been born in the Gautama gotra, except the eighth who belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra. After death, the Vāsudevas go to hell while the Baladevas are said to have obtained emancipation or heaven. This Jaina conception about life after death of the Vāsudevas and the Baladevas stands in contrast with the Hindu accounts of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma or of Rāma and Laksmana. But the iconographic resemblance between the Jaina Vāsudeva and the Hindu Kṛṣṇa is quite obvious and unmistakable. The variations from the Hindu mythology, obtained in the Jaina versions of the life stories of Rāma or Kṛṣṇa, are generally due to the new background of Jaina faith.

The Vāsudevas, Baladevas and the Prati-Vāsudevas or enemies of Vāsudevas were amongst the earliest of the Brahmanical deities who found a place in the Jaina Mythology. It is well known, from the find of the famous Besanagara inscription of Heliodorus, the Ghosundi and Hathibada inscriptions, or of the image of Balarāma from Mathurā assignable to the first or second century B.C., and from the image of Viśnus from Mathura assignable to the first century A.D., that the cult of Vāsudeva and Balarāma was popular in Mathura, Vidiśā, Nagari (Mathyamikā) and other places and incorporation of the Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva cult was necessary if Jainism aimed at appealing to the masses of India. Besides, this cult, based on the doctrine of Bhakti, was in itself a reform on the older Vedic ritualistic faith and the anti-Vedic Jaina writers found it easier to incorporate the belief in Vāsudevas rather than other deities invoked in Vedic sacrifices.

Nine Baladevas

According to both the sects, each Vāsudeva has a step-brother, white in complexion and known as Baladeva. Nine in number, they are intimately associated with the exploits of Vāsudevas, and are
depicted as superior to them in as much as the first eight Baladevas obtain emancipation and the last of the list is said to have obtained one of the heavens. The Vāsudevas, as already shown, go to one of the different hells after death.

The Samavāyāga sūtra gives the following list of the Baladevas and their mothers, who lived in the present Asvatsarpini age: (1) Acala, Bhadrā; (2) Vijaya, Subhadra; (3) Bhadra, Suprabhā; (4) Suprabha, Sudarśanā; (5) Sudarśana, Vijaya; (6) Ānanda, Vaijayanti; (7) Manjana, Jayanti; (8) Padma, Aparājita; (9) Rāma, Rohini.46

The Digambara texts give the following list: Vijaya, Acala, Sudharma, Suprabha, Sudarśana, Nandi, Nandimitra, Rāma, and Padma.47

According to both the sects, they wear garments of dark-blue colour. On their banners is seen the mark of the palm-tree (tāla).48 They carry the bow, the plough, the pestle and the arrow according to the Śvetāmbara tradition49 while the Digambaras describe the following symbols: the club, the garland of jewels, the plough, and the pestle. The Tiloyapannatti however notes the following iconographic marks of a Baladeva: the plough, the pestle, a chariot and a garland of jewels (ratnāvali).50

Like the Vāsudevas, the Baladevas have their parallels in the Hindu mythology, although of course, changes have been made in the Jaina accounts to suit their own environment.

Images of Baladevas and Vāsudevas, installed for worship in Jaina temples, are not known hitherto, but scenes depicting their stories are sometimes available in temple carvings. Again, a Baladeva and a Vāsudeva are seen on two sides of a Jina, one on each side, especially during the Kusānae age at Mathura, and this fact helps us to identify the Jina as Neminātha since, in Jaina mythology, both Kṛṣṇa (Vāsudeva) and Baladeva or Balarāma are regarded as cousin brothers of Neminātha. Sculpture no. J.47 in the State Museum. Lucknow, shows Neminātha standing in the centre and to his right is standing Balarāma with snake-hoods overhead and holding the gada and the hula (plough) in his two upper hands and the wine-cup in one of the two lower hands. To the left of Neminātha is Kṛṣṇa, four-armed, wearing a vānanālā and showing the gada, the abhaya mudrā, etc.51 In sculpture no. J.121, in the same Museum, also from the Kankali Tila, Mathura, we find Kṛṣṇa showing the gada, the sankha (conch), etc., while Balarāma with seven snake-hoods overhead is two-armed. The symbols shown by Balarāma are not distinct. The sculpture dates from the Gupta age, c. fourth century A.D., for illustration of J.121 see Shah, U.P., Evolution of Jaina Iconography and Symbolism, Paper no. 6 in Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, fig. 6. Figure 7 in the same paper, no. J.117, State Museum, Lucknow, is identified as Neminātha by some scholars but the figure on his right with snake-hoods has both his hands in the aṅgali mudrā and the figure on the left is also a two-armed figure with both the hands in the aṅgali mudrā. This figure has no snake-hoods and should be regarded as a Yakṣa while the figure to the right of the Jina represents a Nāga figure. In the description of the Śāsvata Jina Pratimā in Jaina canons we find Yakṣa and Nāga figures accompanying the Jina figure. No. J.60 in the same museum also has a Nāga and a Yakṣa as attendants. They are not Baladeva and Vāsudeva.

This practice of showing Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa with Neminātha lingered on even upto the tenth or eleventh century in U.P. and M.P. as can be seen on a sculpture of Neminātha in Temple no. 2 at Devgadh and another sculpture, probably from Mathura, is no. 66.53 in the State Museum, Lucknow, and dates from c. eleventh century A.D. In both the above sculptures, Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma are four-armed (for illustrations, see M.N.P. Tiwari, Jaina Pratima Vijñāna (Hindi), figs. 27–28). Figure 55 illustrated here is preserved in the Lucknow Museum. In the centre of the pedestal, on the right of the dharmaśaktra is a bull which shows that the Tirthankara sitting in padmāsana must be Rābhanātha. The head of the Jina is lost. The sculpture hails from Orai in U.P. and may be assigned to c. eighth century A.D. The Jina is attended upon by a cādariyama-yakṣa on each side. Beyond the Yakṣa on the right is a four-armed standing figure of Balarāma with the gada (?) in his right upper hand, the wine-cup in the right lower one and the plough (hula) in the left upper hand. The left lower is placed on the kāṭi. On the corresponding left side of the Tirthankara is standing four-armed Kṛṣṇa-Vasudeva showing the mace and the cakra in the right and the left upper hands respectively and the conch in the left lower one. The right lower hand is held in the abhaya mudrā. The sculpture is published as figure 98 in
Vincent Smith’s Jaina Stūpa: . . . A sculpture of Tīrthaṅkara Munisuvrata, illustrated here as Fig. 72 (no. J.776 in the Lucknow Museum), has on top a miniature figure of a Tīrthaṅkara with Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa on his two sides. Perhaps this miniature figure of the Jina was meant to represent Neminātha. Incidentally it may be noted that there are two crowned figures standing in the kāyotsarga posture on two sides of the central Jina and the vidyādhara pair. They are Jīvantāvāmi images.

Since no Vāsudeva or Baladeva is connected with the life history of Rābhana, the sculpture from Orai discussed above is especially noteworthy. Figures of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa seem to have been introduced as attendants to or in a position inferior to the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha in order to underrate Hindu gods, just as Śiva, Gaurūdā, Śaṇmukha and others were later introduced as Yakṣas or Śaṇanadevatās of different Tīrthaṅkaras. Mathura, the birth place of Kṛṣṇa, was a stronghold of Kṛṣṇa worship and the Pāncarātra cult. Only Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma are introduced as cousins of Neminātha. No other relatives of other Tīrthaṅkaras are introduced on Jaina sculptures of the Kuśāna age. It is therefore reasonable to infer that figures of Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva were introduced on sculptures of Neminātha in order to counteract Hindu influence in image worship amongst the masses.

In a ceiling in front of Devakulikā no. 19 in the Vimala Vasahi, Delwada, Mt. Ahu, we have a relief slab showing the water-sports (jalakriṣṭa) of Kṛṣṇa, his queens and his cousin brother Neminātha. This is according to the Jaina accounts of the life of Neminātha. Similar scenes are also depicted in the miniature paintings of the Kalpa-sūtra. The Kalpa-sūtra miniatures also include scenes of trial of strength between Neminātha and Kṛṣṇa (for these different types of scenes see Brown, W. Norman, Miniature Paintings of the Kalpa Sūtra, Figs. 102, 104, 105, 106; Nawab, S. M., Jaina Citra-Kalpa-Drama, Figs. 212, 213).

One of the ceilings in front of the Devakulikā at Vimala Vasahi contains a beautiful big relief sculpture showing the scene of Kāliya-damana by Kṛṣṇa. Another such ceiling shows the killing of Hiranyakāśipu by the Nṛsimha incarnation of Viṣṇu. Both these reliefs clearly demonstrate Brahmanical Paurāṇika influence in Jaina literature and art (see Jaina Art and Architecture, Vol. II, Chapter 23, and Plate 186, Figs. A & B).

A mutilated slab from Kankali Tila, Mathura, being a part of a Tīrthaṅkara sculpture, dating from the Kuśāna period and described by V.S. Agrawala, shows a figure of Balarāma on one side and suggests that a figure of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva must have existed on the other side of the central Tīrthaṅkara image now mutilated and lost.

Nine Prati-Vāsudevas

The Prati-Vāsudevas or the enemies of Vāsudevas are also nine in Jaina Purāṇas, each Vāsudeva having one such opponent.

Both the sects give the same list. They are Aśvagriva, Tāraka, Meraka, Madhukaiṭabha, Nīlumbha, Bali, Prahlāda, Rāvaṇa or Lāukiṣa and Jārāsandha or Magadheśvara.

The first eight are supposed to have been Vidyādhara while the last was a man of the earth. The Prati-Vāsudevas, fighting with the cakra-weapon, perished from their own cakras, which went into the service of the Vāsudevas at the last moment.

Names of rivals of Vāsudevas are met with in Hindu mythology also where they are generally called rākṣasas or asuras. Tāraka was killed by Kumāra or Kārttikeya, while Madhu, Bali, Rāvaṇa or Jārāsandha are well known opponents of gods and men and are usually killed by incarnations of Viṣṇu in the Hindu accounts. The name of Prahlāda figuring as an enemy of Vāsudeva in Jaina accounts is especially noteworthy as he is a great saint and a devotee of the first rank in the Bhāgavata cult.

It may be noted that the introduction of these nine arch enemies of Vāsudevas in the lists of Śākāpurusas or Great Men seems to be a later conception in Jainism, although of course they figured in the accounts of Vāsudevas as their opponents. Śīlāṅka, for example, called his work a Cauṇamāṇa-
Mihd-Purisa-Carīvan, thus acknowledging only the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras + the twelve Cakravartins + the nine Vāsudevas and the nine Baladevas as the 54 Śākāpurusas or Great Men. The
REFERENCES

1. For a fuller account of the Jain achievements of time, the Godwin Age and the Kulakaras, see Hemacandra, Triṣṇa, I, Transl. GOS, Vol. II, pp. 91-100; Vasudeva-hiti, I, 157ff; for Digambara accounts Ādi-Puṇḍara, I, ch. 3, vv. 53ff, pp. 49ff; Padmacārītaṁ (of Rashiena, Manekchand Dig. Granthmalā), ch. 3, vv. 48-88; Tilopa-puṇḍara, vol. I, 1.4, vv. 313-503, pp. 184ff.


4. See the comments of the editor who notes the comments of Jinabhadra from Vījeyavagati and from the Hiravatski discussion on the problem.

5. Upon the Āśāyaka Nīryukti, v. 147-167; Āśāyaka Nīryukti, v. 33-34.


7. Vidvātāmā, ch. 1, pp. 130ff; Vidvātāmā, ch. 2, sq. 28.


10. See the notes of the editor who notes the comments of Jinabhadra from Vījeyavagati and from the Hiravatski discussion on the problem.

11. Upon the Āśāyaka Nīryukti, v. 147-167; Āśāyaka Nīryukti, v. 33-34.

12. See the notes of the editor who notes the comments of Jinabhadra from Vījeyavagati and from the Hiravatski discussion on the problem.


18. The detailed descriptions of the various trees given in the Jīvāśībhhigama Sūtra, v. 3, pp. 32ff, are noteworthy for students of Indian art and culture, since they give lists of different types of woods, colors, lamps, utensils, architecture, musical instruments, etc. See Jambudīvaprajñapti, I, sq. 20, pp. 99ff (with Sānti-dhāma’s comments on these lists), Jiva sq. 3, pp. 32ff and 145ff.


21. For a short account of Sānti-dhāma, see Jain, J.C., op. cit., p. 375. For the Hindu and Buddhist accounts in Mahābhārata, III, 105ff; Rāmāyaṇa, I, 331ff; for the Hindu and Buddhist accounts in Mahābhārata, III, 105ff; Rāmāyaṇa, I, 331ff; for the Hindu and Buddhist accounts in Mahābhārata, III, 105ff; Rāmāyaṇa, I, 331ff.

22. For a short account of Sānti-dhāma, see Jain, J.C., op. cit., p. 375. For the Hindu and Buddhist accounts in Mahābhārata, III, 105ff; Rāmāyaṇa, I, 331ff; for the Hindu and Buddhist accounts in Mahābhārata, III, 105ff; Rāmāyaṇa, I, 331ff.

23. For a short account of Sānti-dhāma, see Jain, J.C., op. cit., p. 375. For the Hindu and Buddhist accounts in Mahābhārata, III, 105ff; Rāmāyaṇa, I, 331ff; for the Hindu and Buddhist accounts in Mahābhārata, III, 105ff; Rāmāyaṇa, I, 331ff.
32a. M.N.P. Tiwari has identified in all five figures of Bharata at Devagadh. Of these some are portrayed with a Tirthankara and Babubali as Tri-Tirthankara images. Tiwari, Elements of Jain Iconography, pp. 106-109.


35. Kesa-Vasudeva is referred to in the Uttaradhyayana, xxii (SBE), p. 113 and M失去了hettamakkahoe. J.vi, pp. 68, 17f, Narayanaswali, v. 1; also see Keya in Legend, Deshpande, M.N., Jaina Antiquity, X, pp. 255f.


38. Kalilokapakasa, 31, vv. 462-483; Bhut-Sangrakati, v. 304, p. 119; Abhidhama-Cintamani, I.128-37. Tripaati, IV.1.524f (GOS CVII), p. 43. Note the following from Samavayogha, su. 158, 152f: "...sattvahityam...bhrityam...suddhajnana...vishvantih...sambhava...minuksha...vidhi...". Note also the following Mahagandhara, 87, 312, 326, Uttaraparina of Guhagadha, 57, v. 93.

39. Prajnaaryokaraya, pp. 250f: "...vijahana bhuptasamudaya parmasamudra...parmasastra...parmasakhajayana parmasastra...parmasastra...". Note also the following Mahagandhara, 87, 312, 326, Uttaraparina of Guhagadha, 57, v. 93.

Thus in both the Samavedya and the Prasanga, the descriptions are identical, the symbol of sakti is however the special attribute of Kumara Skanda in Hindu Iconography.

40. Uttaradhyayana (SBE), p. 113.

41. Pradadvamacarita, 3, vv. 73-76.

42. Tilokapustati, I.4.1434, p. 332; Uttaraparina of Guhagadha, op. cit.


44. Jaina Agamas often refer to festivals and shrines of Indra, Rudra, Skanda, Mukaunda, Vasudeva, Naga, Yaksas and others, apparently as beyond the sphere of Jaina worship, but clearly, currently, with the masses, and the references show their existence probably as early as the age of Mahavira, see Jaina, J.C., op. cit., pp. 215-225. Also see Benjamin Prestadio-Solis, The

Ksira Cycle in the Puranas (Delhi, 1984), chps. 1 and 2, pp. 1-39.

45. Conversely, later on, when the Hindu Puranas were recast, Rṣabha, the first Jaina Tirthankara, was given a place in the Vaishnava cult as one of the twenty-four incarnations of Vishnu. The Bhagavata Purana reference to Rṣabha perhaps shows the spirit of synthesis and assimilation of the Hindu Puranas, or an ancient Indian deity or sage Rṣabha was adopted and assimilated by the Brahmanical faith as well as by Jainas in their Puranas. Rṣabha is referred to in Bhagavata, V.3.20; 4.2; V.4.9, as also in Brahmāna Purana, Purva II.14; Viṣṇu Purana, I.1.27-32; Vāyu Pu., 31.50-52; Mārkandeya Pu., 50.39-41, Nārāyana Pu., 30.7, Śiva Pu., VII.9.3 etc. However, B.N. Sharma's attempt to prove hoary antiquity of Jaina Rṣabha, in his Intro. to the second ed. of B.C. Bhattacharya's Jaina Iconography with the help of Sūtric passages where the word Rṣabha occurs, is not convincing.


47. Varṣāgacarita, 27.43, p. 258; Tilokapustati, I.4.1411, p. 328; Tripakṣa, gathan 827.

48. Kalilokapakṣa, vv. 484ff; Samavedya and Prajavaykara passages quoted in the section on Vāsudeva, Vasudevahiti, I.78, 31, 312, 326; Uttaraparina of Guhagadha, 57, v. 93.

49. The Bhāṣya-gāthā quoted on p. 237 of Avazayaka-Vritti of Haribhadra, shows that Baladevas fought with the plough and the people only: hāvini Vāsudeva na aṣye nānaptakosā, hālabhīvakrakapāya satāya-gurējihā... Avazayaka Bhāṣya, verse 39. Also see Abhidhāna Cintāmani, 2.138f. Also see Samavayoga sutra, su. 158 and Sthānagī, su. 672.

50. Tilokapustati, I.4.1435, p. 332, Uttaraparina, 57-93.

51. See Srivastava, V.N., Some Interesting Jaina Sculptures in the State Museum, Lucknow, Bulletin of Archaeology and Museums, U.P. (Sangholahāra Pratapāt Patrāk) no. 9 (1972), pp. 45-52 and figs. 5, 5a, 5b (no. 1.47), fig. 6 (no. 1.17), fig. 7 (no. 1.60), fig. 8 (no. 1.83).

52. Agrawala, V.S., A Fragmentary Sculpture of Neminatha in the Lucknow Museum, Jaina Antiquity, VIII.2, pp. 45ff and plate No. 189 in Lucknow Museum. Also see his paper Some Brahmanical Deities in Jain Religious Art, in ibid., VIII.3-92. Agrawala has referred to no. 2502 of Mathura Museum showing Neminātha with Balarāma and Kuśa.


54. The Digambara text Mūrapurāṇa (Ganadadhar) however gives the following Prati-Vāsudevas in its accounts: Aṅgirā, Trika, Madhu, Madhusudana, Madhukrṣṇa, Nīlakṣṇa Bhūti, Rāya and Jatuvādha.

55. Tilokapustati, gathan 828.


CHAPTER SEVEN

Devādhideva Tīrthāṅkara

The supreme object of veneration in Jainism is variously invoked as a Tīrthāṅkara, a Jina, or an Arhat. Hemacandra in his Abhidhāna-Cintāmaṇi kośa includes the Tīrthāṅkaras under the category of Devādhidevas, i.e., God of Gods.

Varāhamihira says that the Lord of the Ārhatas (followers of Arhats, i.e., the Jainas) is to be represented with the arms reaching the knees (obviously when in a standing posture) and a śrī-vatśa mark on the chest. Young and beautiful, he has a peaceful (pleasing) countenance while his garment is verify the quarters (i.e., he wears no garments).

According to the Mānasūra, a silpa text of about the sixth cent. A.D., the image of a Jina should have two arms and two eyes, and the head should be clean shaven and there should be no top-knot (upūṣa). It (the Jina image) should be in a straight erect or sitting posture. The legs should be uniformly straight and the two long arms should be in the same posture. In the sitting posture, the two feet are placed on the lotus-seat, the whole image being in a somewhat stiff attitude and bearing a look meditating on the Supreme Soul. The right and left hands should be placed (one upon the other) with the palm upwards. The image should be placed upon a throne in an erect sitting posture. At its top should be a pinnacle and a crocodile arch. Above, there should be the Kalpa-tree together with the royal elephant and such other figures. There should be no ornaments and no clothes on any part of the body of the Jina image which is usually beautiful. The śrī-vatśa mark should be made in gold over the chest. Haribhadra Śrī and others emphasise his pleasing countenance. According to the Digambara text Pratiṣṭhā-sūroddhāra of Pandit Ṭāḍāntra (1228 A.D.), the eyes of the Jina should be centred on the tip of his nose. The Jina image should also be accompanied by the eight prāthikāryas and the yakṣas.

Vasunandi Saiddhāntika in his Pratiṣṭhā-sūrodsamgraha (c. 12th cent. A.D.) refers to the śrī-vatśa mark on the chest. The images of a Jina are further said to be accompanied by the eight prāthikārya. The soles of the feet show marks of the conch, the cakra, the goad, the lotus, the yava (oat), the chaṭra (umbrella), etc. The images of Tīrthāṅkaras are either in the standing (kāyotsarga) or the sitting (puryāṅkāsana, padmāsana) postures. The Jina figure is young and void of any garments.

In both the Svetāmbara and the Digambara traditions, images of each Tīrthāṅkara are obtained in both the postures. In the sitting postures they show the dhiyāṇa-nuḍrah with the hands resting one upon the other on the lap, with palm upwards. The Tīrthāṅkaras sit either in the padmāsana posture (lotus-posture, with legs crossed), or in the ardha-padmāsana (with one leg tucked up and the other tucked up but placed over the first, but not crossed, and the hands in the dhiyāṇa-nuḍrah as in the padmāsana). The ardha-padmāsana posture is mainly popular in South India amongst the Digambaras.

In the kāyotsarga posture the Jina stands erect but not stiff, with hands hanging loose, straight and at ease, the eyes engaged in meditation as in the sitting posture.

No distinction is made in the selection of postures, all Tīrthāṅkaras being represented in both the postures by both the sects. However, Jaina texts have noted postures of various Jinas at the time of Nirvāṇa. Twenty-one Tīrthāṅkaras obtained Nirvāṇa while meditating in the kāyotsarga posture whereas three attained it while meditating in the sitting posture. These three are Rṣabha, Nemi and Mahāvīra according
to the Śvetāmbara view.⁹ According to the Digambara text Tiloyapannatti (c. 6th-7th cent. A.D.), these three are. Rśabha, Vasūpajaya and Nemi.¹⁰ According to the Āvaśyaka Nirukti gāthā 969, the Jinas are represented in this world in the posture in which they left it. But in actual worship this is not strictly adhered to.

Images of Tirthaṅkaras were made of costly gems, metals, wood, clay, precious jewels or semi-precious stones. The Ācāra-Dinakara, a Śvetāmbara text of the fourteenth century, provides instructions regarding the selection of any of these materials. One may prepare images of gold, silver or copper, but never of bronze (kāmsya), lead or tin. Brass is often used in casting images, though, as a general rule, mixtures of metals are discouraged.¹¹ It is also enjoined that images of iron, stone, wood, clay, ivory or cow-dung or paintings should not be worshipped in private houses by persons desirous of welfare.¹² Vasunandi (Digambara), in his Śravakacāra, says that images of Jinas and others (Siddhas, Ācāryas and others) should be made according to iconographic formulas (padimā- lakṣhanā-viśe), the materials used being gems, gold, jewels, silver, brass, pearls, stone, etc.¹³ Vasūbhinda (Dig.), in his Pratiṣṭhā-pātha, adds crystals, and says that the wise praise images accompanied by a big lotus-seat,¹⁴ the lotus being shown as rising high.¹⁵

The Ācāra-Dinakara, while distinguishing the images to be worshipped at home from those to be installed in temples, adds that one should not worship images whose limbs are mutilated or bent etc. Images made of metals, stucco or plaster deserve to be repaired but wooden and stone sculptures need not be repaired for worship. However, images more than one hundred years old or those installed and consecrated by the best of men must be continued in worship even when they are mutilated. They should be preserved in temples but are not to be worshipped at home.¹⁶

Images made of crystal are seen in many Jaina temples. Tirthaṅkara images made of precious stones like ruby, sapphire, emerald, etc. exist in Jaina shrines at Śrāvaṇa Belagola, Mūḍabidri, and in some collections in Bihar, Bengal etc. A Tirthaṅkara image in jade, presented to L.D. Institute of Indology by the late Shesh Kasturbhai Lalbhai, is published by us in the Treasures of Jaina Bhandāras.

Metal images in brass, bronze, alloys of copper, as also rarely in silver, are available in Jaina shrines. Tirthaṅkara images on wood work of Jaina shrines and private houses are well known.

The State Museum, Lucknow, preserves two old terracotta images of Tirthaṅkaras. A third such terracotta image is preserved in the Ashutosh Museum, Calcutta. Recently, B.B. Lal and S.K. Srivastava have found, during excavations at Ayodhyā, a terracotta figure of a Jina, which has been assigned to c. third century B.C. with the evidence of stratigraphy.¹⁷ This find further supports our belief that already in the third century B.C., worship of the Jina image had started. This further supports the earlier theory of K.P. Jayaswal, supported by this writer, and by some other writers, that the highly polished torso of a Jina image excavated from the site of Lohanipur (an extension of old Pātaliputra) dates from the Mauryan period. The high polish was known in the Mauryan period. The terracotta Jina excavated by B.B. Lal further shows that it is reasonable to assign the Lohanipur torso of a Jina image to at least the age of Samprati, the Mauryan ruler well-known for his patronage of Jainism.

Jina images painted on cloth, palm-leaves and paper are known. One of the earliest dated Jina image on palm-leaf is dated in A.S. 1157. Earlier paintings on cloth or palm-leaf have not survived in Indian climatic conditions. Wall paintings are known from Ellora, Sittannavasal, Tirumalai etc. The tradition continued from ancient times as is suggested by literary sources.

Tirthaṅkara images are carved and installed in sanctums of Jaina shrines and outside in temple-wall niches, in ceilings, on beams of ceilings, in the interior decorations of domes of temple halls, on tops and/or bases of pillars (e.g. the Kaḥaon pillar, various types of mūnastambhas at places like Devagadhi, the Jaina Victory pillar at Chhiter in Rajasthan, etc.), on door-lintels of temples, in book-illustrations of Jaina manuscripts, on cloth paintings representing various Jaina Tantric diagrams, and even in Citra-Patras, in scroll-paintings like the scroll depicting the life of Neminātha from the Digambara collection at Kāranji, in Vijnaptipatras, on wooden book-covers of palm-leaf manuscripts etc. Some of these book-covers, discovered hitherto, depict scenes from the previous as well as the last existences of Tirthaṅkaras, Mahāvīra, Śaṅkinātha and Pārśvanātha. A set of such wooden book-covers (kūṭha-pattikās) show in a
row the twenty-four Mothers of Tirthaṅkaras of this age, another shows the sixty-three Śalākāpurusas while a third one shows the sixteen Mahāvidyās of Jaina Tantrika worship.

An image is called a caitya (ceiya), pratimā, a bimba or an archā. A Jaina temple is called a caitya, an āyatana, a vasah (basadi in the south) or vasati, a Jīnālaya, a deula or devakula, according to Jaina texts and inscriptions.

The Bṛhat-Kalpa-Sūtra-bhāṣya, a work of sixth century A.D., refers to a practice in Mathura. The Jina-figures were on lintels of entrance-doors of residential buildings of the Jaina inhabitants. Such images were known as maṅgala-caityas. The text classified caityas or images into four types: sādharmika-caityas, sāṅvata-caityas, bhakti-caityas, and maṅgala-caityas. The last type is explained above. The sāṅvata-caityas are images of sāṅvata-Jinas installed in heavens. We shall refer to them again later in this chapter. Bhakti-caityas are those prepared by human beings for devotion and worship. Sādharmika-caityas are memorials, portraits, of followers of the same sect. The text cites an instance of the image of one monk Vārattaka carrying the mouth-piece (nuhapatī) and the broom-stick (rayobarāṇa), installed by his son who followed the same doctrine.

There is another type of image which is called Jivanta-svāmi-pratimā. The term and the use of such images are known from Śvetāmbara sources only. It means an image of a person installed in his own lifetime and was specially used for a life-time sandalwood image of Mahāvīra. Later on it came to be used for such images of Mahāvīra as showed the iconographic peculiarities of the original Jivantasvāmi image. Still later, such Jivantasvāmi images of Tirthaṅkaras other than Mahāvīra were also installed. The term was also used in the sense of a life-time image (i.e. installed in the life-time of the person whose image or portrait it is). For example, a stone-image of Merucandra sūri in the Cintāmani-Pārśvanātha temple at Cambay, installed in v.s. 1393=1336 A.D., is called a Jivantasvāmi image of that sūri in the inscription incised on the image (see Fig. 177).

Another type of Tirthaṅkara images is known as images of Vihaṇāṇa Jinas. We shall discuss them later in this chapter.

(A) TIRTHANKARAS OF THE PRESENT AVASARPINI AGE (ĀRĀ)

Lives of the twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras of this age (ārā, according to the Jaina conception of time) are the subject matter of several works like the Kalpa-sūtra (Śve.), and the Mahāpurāṇa of Jinasena and Gunabhadra (Dig.). The Samavāyānga sūtra, a Jaina canonical Anga-text, gives lists of Tirthaṅkaras of the Bharata and Airavata ksetras of the Jambudvīpa. The lists are as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bharata Kṣetra</th>
<th>Airavata Kṣetra</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Rṣabha</td>
<td>1. Candrāṇana</td>
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<td>2. Ajīta</td>
<td>2. Sucandra</td>
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<td>3. Sambhava</td>
<td>3. Agniṣena</td>
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<td>4. Aśvinandana</td>
<td>4. Nandīśeṇa</td>
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<td>5. Suṣṇīti</td>
<td>5. Rṣidatta</td>
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<td>7. Suparśva</td>
<td>7. Somacandra</td>
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<td>8. Candraprabha</td>
<td>8. Yuktīśeṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Suvidhi (or Puspadanta)</td>
<td>9. Ajitāsena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Śrītala</td>
<td>10. Śivasena</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. Śrīyāmsa</td>
<td>11. Budhācha</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. Vāsupūjya</td>
<td>12. Devasarman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Dharma</td>
<td>15. Amitapāṇi</td>
</tr>
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<td>16. Šantī</td>
<td>16. Upaśānta</td>
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<td>17. Kunthu</td>
<td>17. Gupṭiṇa</td>
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<tr>
<td>18. Ara</td>
<td>18. Atipārśva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Munisuvrata</td>
<td>20. Marudeva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Nemi</td>
<td>22. Āgnisena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Pārśva</td>
<td>23. Āgnigupta</td>
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<tr>
<td>24. Mahāvīra Varḍhamāna</td>
<td>24. Vārṣeṇa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Airavata-Kṣetra list of the Samavāyāṅga sūtra is not clear. The Pravacanasūreddha (Śve.), verses 296-303, gives a slightly different list for the Airavata-Kṣetra.

The Kalpa-sūtra tradition of twenty-four Jinas of this age is certainly older than c. 300 A.D., when Agastyasimha sūri commented on it in his Daśa-Cūrṇī. The Caturvimśati-stava or the Logassa-sutta attributed to Bhadrabahu I (170 years after Mahāvīra’s Nirvāṇa) pays homage to twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras. The Nāyādhammakahāo, a canonical text, refers to the life of Mallinātha, the nineteenth Jina. The available text of Nāyādhammakahāo perhaps dates from c. fourth century A.D. Mallinātha is here described as a princess, which is the Śvetāmbara tradition, whereas the Digambaras regard Mallinātha as a male. (The Digambara sect believes that females cannot obtain the Kevalajñāna.) The Sthānāṅga sūtra refers to various Jinas in sūtra 108 and notes their complications.

The Śāvyakṣa-nirukti (gāthās 949-951) refers to a Jaina stūpa of Munisuvrata at a place called Viśāla. Even though the extant text of the Śāvyakṣa-nirukti does not seem to be earlier than the second century A.D., the stūpa referred to must be placed in an earlier period.

Belief in the twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras is also known to the Bhagavati-sūtra, śatāka 16, uddesa 5. This sūtra further refers to Munisuvrata in other context, while the Sthānāṅga refers to Mallī, Pārśva and Ariṣṭanemi (in sūtras 229, 381). It may therefore be concluded that belief in twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras existed in the beginnings of the Christian Era and probably dates from at least a century or two earlier. All these Jaina canonical Anōga texts are regarded as works of direct disciples of Mahāvīra, but since the texts of the available editions usually follow the Mathura Council edition of c. early fourth century A.D., it is difficult to say how much older is the belief in twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras. The Kalpa-sūtra describes in detail lives of only the first (Ṛṣabha), the twenty-second (Nemi), the twenty-third (Pārśva) and the twenty-fourth Tirthaṅkara (Mahāvīra). Details regarding lives of the remaining Jinas given in Kalpa-sūtra are scanty and in stereotyped formula form. Further investigation into the problem is necessary.

During the Kuṣāṇa period, at Mathura, sculptures of the different Tirthaṅkaras showed no cognizances (lāṅchanas, recognising symbols), excepting Ṛṣabhanātha who showed locks of hair on back and shoulders, and Pārśvanātha who had a canopy of seven snake-hoods overhead, all other Jina images could be identified only with the help of their names mentioned in the votive inscriptions on their pedestals.

During the Kuṣāṇa period at Mathura we find evidence of worship of at least a few of the list of the 24 Tirthaṅkaras, namely, Ṛṣabhanātha, Sambhavanātha, Munisuvrata, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra. The famous pedestal of an image once supposed to be of Arhat Nandyāvarta and dated in the year 299 (year 199 according to Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw) is now identified as an image of Munisuvrata (the twentieth Jina) by K.D. Bajpai who has corrected the older reading of the inscription on the pedestal. Smith published an image from Kankalī Tiša, Mathura, which, according to the inscription on it, is of Sambhavanātha, the third Jina, installed in the year 9. Image no. J.19 in the Lucknow Museum is of Sambhavanātha according to the inscription on it. Fig. no. 1.8 in the same museum has an inscription which calls it an image of Ariṣṭanemi. Some more images of Ariṣṭanemi, partly mutilated, also from Mathura, have been identified. Often one finds in sculptures of Ariṣṭanemi a figure of Kṛṣṇa standing on one side and of Balarāma standing on the other side of the central figure of Neminātha.
Devādhīdeva Tirthaṅkara

Thus the list of twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras was either already evolved or was in the process of being evolved in the age of the Mathura sculptures in the first three centuries of the Christian Era.

As noted above, lives of only four Jinas—Ṛṣabha, Nemi, Pārśva and Mahāvīra—are described in detail in the Kalpa-sūtra. These probably formed the theme of the original text. A glance at the stock treatment, the summary treatment of the lives of the remaining Tirthaṅkaras lends doubt to their antiquity and would suggest their later addition in the Kalpa-sūtra. The absence of images of about eighteen Tirthaṅkaras at the Kankali Tila, Mathura, cannot be advanced as an argument in favour of later introduction of these names in the list of 24 Tirthaṅkaras as it is a negative evidence but it would suggest that at least these eighteen Jinas were perhaps less popular in Jaina image-worship of the Kuśāṇa period, at Mathura. They could have been relatively later additions in the list. One can say with confidence that at least before the time of the Mathura Council (Mathūrī Vācana) in the early part of the fourth century A.D., belief in the twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras was firmly established.28

Images of different Tirthaṅkaras are generally identified with the help of lāṅchas or cognizances usually carved below their seats, on top of the simhāsana and sometimes on the lower end of the pedestal. Both the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara sects give lists of such recognising symbols. However they are not obtained in any early texts. None of the Āgamas (canonical texts), not even the Kalpa-sūtra which gives lives of the twenty-four Jinas, nor even the Niryuktis, nor the Bhāvas and the Cūrṇis give a list of these cognizances. Only the Avāyasaka Niryukti at one place refers to the fact that Ṛṣabha was so called because he had the sign of a ṛṇabha (bull) on his ūra (thighs).26 But it gives no lāṅchas of other Jinas. And this Niryukti, as available today, is not regarded earlier than the second or third century A.D. The Vasudevalhīṇī, assigned to c. fifth century A.D., which gives lives of several Tirthaṅkaras (namely, Ṛṣabha, Śaṇti, Kuniṇī, Abu and others), makes no mention of their cognizances or their attendant Yakṣas and Yakṣinis. Amongst the Digambaras, earlier works like the Varāṅga-carita of Jatāśīmhanandī (c. sixth cent. A.D.), or the Ādipūrāṇa and the Uțterapurāṇa of Jinasena (c. 750-840 A.D.) and his pupil Guṇabhadra (c. 830 A.D.) respectively, or the Padmācarita of Raviṣena (676 A.D.), or the Harivamsa of Jinasena (783 A.D.) do not give lists of lāṅchas. The Tiloyapannatī does give a list, but the text, as it is available today, seems to have later interpolations as is evident from the fact that it refers to Balaścandra Saidhāntika at one place. Hence the evidence of the Tiloyapannatī is to be treated with caution, even though A.N. Upadhye, the editor of the text, assigned the present text to c. sixth century A.D.

Cognizances are not mentioned in the ancient lists of atīśayas (supernatural elements and beings) attending upon and accompanying a Tirthaṅkara. The canonical list of thirty-four atīśayas (mainly supernatural qualities) of a Jina includes some which are later separately described as asa-mahā-prāthārvas, i.e., eight chief accompanying attendants, including the Aśoka tree, the devo-dumubhi (celestial drum), the heavens scattering flowers (symbolised in art by flying garland-bearers), the triple-umbrella, the fly-whisks, the (lion-)seat, the divya-divani (supernatural or celestial voice or music) and the bhā-mandala, radiating lustre or aura behind the head.27 The earliest known text describing the atīśayas of a Jina is the Samavāyāṅga Sūtra, sū. 34. The Vasudevalhīṇī (pp. 343f), the Tiloyapannatī (4.96ff; 4.915-927), Adhiḥśāna Cintāmanī (1.57-64) and several other Jaina works describe these. There are a few variations in the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara lists, which are of minor importance. But especially noteworthy is the fact that the group of eight Prāthārvas so familiar in the evolved iconography of Tirthaṅkara images of both the sects is not separated in the Samavāyāṅga list. The emphasis on eight atīśayas (out of the list of 34 atīśayas) as Mahā-Prāthārvas came with the emergence of the full-fledged parikāra of Tirthaṅkara images of both the sects. Those atīśayas which came to be utilised in representations were grouped together as Mahā-Prāthārvas. But the evolution was gradual as is evident from the sculptures obtained from Mathūra, Varamahī, Rājārī, etc. of the Kuśāṇa and early Gupta periods.28
### Tirthankaras of this Age—Complexions and Cognizances

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Tirthankara</th>
<th>Complexion&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Cognizance&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Rśabha</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>Bull</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Ajita</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>Elephant</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>Sambhava</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>Horse</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Abhinandana</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>Monkey</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Sumati</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>Krauñca (Śve.)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Koka (Dig.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Padmaprabha</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>Lotus</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Supārśva</td>
<td>Golden (Śve.)</td>
<td>Svastika (Śve.)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Harita (Dig.)</td>
<td>Nandyāvarta (Dig. TP)&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Candraprabha</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Crescent Moon</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>Puspadanta (Suvidhi)</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Crocodile (Śve.)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Crab (Dig.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Śītala</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>Śrīvatsa (Śve.)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Svastika (Dig. TP)&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Sreyāmsa</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>Khadgi (Śve.)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Gānda (Dig.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Vāsupūjya</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>Buffalo</td>
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<td>13.</td>
<td>Vimala</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>Boar</td>
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<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Ananta</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>Śyena, falcon (Śve.)</td>
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<td>Sahi (TP) Bear (Dig.)&lt;sup&gt;5&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Dharma</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>Vajra</td>
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<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Śānti</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>Deer</td>
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<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Kunthu</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>Goat</td>
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<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Ara</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>Nandyāvarta (Śve.)</td>
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<td>Tagara kusuma (TP)&lt;sup&gt;6&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>19.</td>
<td>Malli</td>
<td>Dark blue</td>
<td>Water-jar</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nila</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Munisuvrata</td>
<td>Black (Śve.)</td>
<td>Tortoise</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nila (Dig.)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Nami</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>Blue-lotus</td>
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<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Nemi</td>
<td>Black (Śve.)</td>
<td>Conch</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nila (Dig.)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Pārśva</td>
<td>Nila (Śve.)</td>
<td>Snake</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Harita (Dig.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Mahāvīra</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>Lion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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3. *Svastika* according to Pratisthāsārodhāra, p. 9, v. 78.  
4. *Śrīdruma* according to Pratisthāsārodhāra, p. 9, v. 78.  
5. *Sedhika* according to *ibid.*, p. 9, v. 78.  
6. *Tagara* according to *ibid.*, p. 9, v. 79.
Under such circumstances it is necessary to compare the lists of *lāññhana* given by the two sects. The list, given here, will show that the points of difference are with regard to the cognizance of the fourteenth Jina Anantanātha whose *lāññhana* is the falcon according to Hemacandra, but the bear according to the Digambaras, regarding that of the tenth Jina Sitalanātha whose *lāññhana* is *śrī-vaiśa* according to Hemacandra but *svastika* (Tiloyapannatti) or the *śrīdruma* (Pratīṣṭhāsāroddhāra) according to the Digambaras, and regarding the cognizance of Aranātha the eighteenth Jina whose cognizance is the fish according to the Digambara tradition and the *nandyārvata* according to the Śvetāmbara sect. Amongst the Digambara writers there are a few differences—the Tiloyapannatti gives *nandyārvata* for the seventh Jina while the Pratīṣṭhāsāroddhāra gives the *svastika* (thus agreeing with the Śve. tradition of Hemacandra); according to the Tiloyapannaṭṭi, the tenth Jina has the *svastika* *lāññhana*, but it is *śrīdruma* according to the Pratīṣṭhāsāroddhāra.

Since the earliest available literary source for *lāññhanas* in any of the two Jaina sects is later than their origin and since there are a few differences in their lists, we must also seek archaeological evidence to arrive at a correct solution regarding the age of origin of the *cognizance*. So far as the analysis of the literary evidence is concerned, this age must be at least contemporaneous with the *age of final separation of the two sects regarding image worship*, which age, as we have shown elsewhere, is about the latter half of the fifth century A.D., somewhere near the age of the second Valabhi Council, for otherwise the general concordance between lists of the two sects cannot be satisfactorily explained. This would be the age of finalization of the two different lists and their appearance on pedestals of Tirthaṅkara-images, but not necessarily the date of the origin of the *cognizance of the lāññhana*. In art they begin to appear by the fifth century A.D. but is that the age of the origin of the conception of the cognizance?

The earliest sculpture, known hitherto, showing a cognizance on the pedestal is the sculpture of Neminātha from Rajgir, first published by Ramaprasad Chanda. The head is separated and badly defaced, but the rest of the sculpture is well-preserved (Fig. 26). The pedestal shows, in the centre, a young person standing in front of an oblong *cakra* both beautifully carved, in the unmistakable style of the Gupta age. This is the *Cakrapurusa*, a typical Gupta period conception in art. The *dharmacakra* in the centre of the pedestal is here personified. On each side of the *dharmacakra* is a conch which is the cognizance of Neminātha according to both the sects. A partly preserved line of an inscription on the edge of the pedestal, as read by Chanda, refers to Candragupta, whom he has identified with Chandragupta II on the evidence of the script of the inscription.

Cognizances of Tirthaṅkara are not found on sculptures of the Kushāna period, but they do appear on sculptures of the Gupta period at Rajgir, Sira Pahari, Varanasi, etc. However, their position on the pedestal, or in the parikara of a Jina was not finally fixed.

A post-Gupta sculpture on the Vaibhāra hill, Rajgir, dating from c. seventh-eighth century A.D., representing Ādinātha, shows, on the pedestal, the *dharmacakra* flanked by a bull on either side (vide *Jaina Art and Architecture*, Vol. I, ed. by A. Ghosh, pl. 90). The bull is the cognizance of Ādinātha who is here further recognised by the hair-locks falling on his shoulders. Later we find two deer flanking the two sides of the *dharmacakra* while the cognizance is either above the *dharmacakra* or below it, on the pedestal. This practice of showing the dharmacakra flanked by two deer on pedestals of all Tirthaṅkara images was in imitation of Buddha images.

Two sculptures from Sira Pahari near Nachna Kuthara in Central India, one of standing *Rśabha-nātha* and the other of sitting Mahāvīra, published as plates 63 and 62 respectively in *Jaina Art and Architecture*, Vol. I, show the cognizance on each of the two ends of the pedestal while the *dharmacakra* is in the centre as usual. The two sculptures seem to represent a stage of transition from the Kushāna to the Gupta art and seem to date from c. fourth century A.D. Fig. 61 in the same book, from Vidiśā, of an unidentified Tirthaṅkara, and having no cognizance, also dates from the fourth century A.D. (also see Fig. 27 in this book). On a bronze image of Rśabhanātha from the Vasantagadho hoard, now in worship in a Jaina temple in Pindawada, we find the bull cognizance on each end of the pedestal while the *dharmacakra* is in the centre (Fig. 34).
Amongst the Rajgir sculptures a very curious specimen is discovered. Here whereas the Tirthankara sitting in the padmāsana has seven snake-hoods overhead—and hence he must be Parśvanātha, or at the most Supārśvanātha, since no other Tirthankara has snake-hoods overhead—the lāñčhana on each side of the dharmacakra is a conch which is the cognizance of Neminātha. Either there was a mistake of the sculptor or the cognizances were not yet finalised. Fig. 24 illustrated here again is from Rajgir and represents Parśvanātha in padmāsana, with seven snake-hoods overhead. On two sides of the Jina are miniature figures of the eight planets, four on each side, below the celestial mūlā-dhāras, above them are the drums. Below the planets on each side is an attendant flywhisk-bearer. The Jina sits on a vitvapadma, a double-lotus, placed on a pedestal. The right side of the pedestal is much defaced so also the central portion which probably had the dharmacakra. To the left is an elephant facing what possibly was the dharmacakra. If this was the cognizance then again we have another proof that in art either the sculptor made a mistake or that in their early stage the cognizances were not universally fixed. This sculpture is an example of Pala art of about the eighth century A.D.

Even though images of not even one of the 24 Tirthankaras are described in the Jaina canonical Āgā works, we are able to obtain some concep of the Jina-image from the stock description of the Śāṅkara-Jina pratimas in the Śāṅkara-Caitiyas also called the Siddhāyatanas. Jaina traditions of both the sects refer to the Siddhāyatanas, discussed in Chapter One. These Siddhāyatanas contain images of the Śāṅkara Jinas, four in number, namely, Candrāñana, Vārisena, Rṣabha and Vardhamāna. They are called Śāṅkara Jinas because in every uṣarpinī and avasarpinī age names of these four are always repeated and they flourish in any of the fifteen karmabhūmis. A long description of Siddhāyatanas and Śāṅkara Jinas is found in the Upāṅga text called the Jivājvābbhigama sūtra. These eternal shrines are found in various heavens and on mountain peaks. The Nandīśvara dvīpa, for example, is reported to have fifty-two Siddhāyatanas in all (Fig. 179).

These descriptions again make no reference to the lāñčhanas of the various Tirthankaras. Varāhamihira who described the Jina image did not refer to the cognizance. There was enough scope for introducing the lāñčhanas in the Samavāyāṇa-sūtra, the Kalpa-sūtra and the Stāṅkana-sūtra in the age of the vācanā (edition of the canon) under Ārya Skandila in the Mathura Council of c. 300-315 A.D. or even in the Valabhi vācanā of c. 453 A.D., but we do not find any mention of them. But still we find the lāñčhanas being introduced from late fourth or early fifth century A.D. as at Sira Pahari, Rajgir etc. But their position on the pedestal of a Jina image was not fixed nor was the cognizance universally popular in art. What was the basis or the source from which the list of lāñčhanas was prepared?

In the State Museum, Lucknow, there is a small square pillar, Mu. No. J.268, with low relief carvings on two sides only. It hails from the Kankali Tila, Mathura. A relief on one side shows a male and a female circumambulating a pillar summounted by a lion. The style of carvings (Fig. 164) suggests an age c. second or first century B.C. Circumambulation of the pillar in this relief shows that this lion-pillar was regarded as a sacred object. We are here reminded of the garuda-dhvaja set up by Heliodorus at Vidiśā in front of a Vistapa-temple. We also know of tala-dhvaja capital (which must have been set up in front of a shrine of Balarāma) and a Banyan-tree capital probably from a pillar in front of a shrine of Kubera; a makara-dhvaja capital probably came from a pillar in front of a shrine of Kamadeva or Pradyumna, one of the Vṛṣṇi Viras, of Pāñcarātra worship.

This Simha-dhvaja (lion-pillar) held sacred by the Jainas of Mathura is a miniature representation in relief of a bigger Simha-dhvaja which might have been erected in front of a shrine dedicated to Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, since the lion is known to have been the cognizance (lāñčhana) of Mahāvīra. Ācārya Hemacandra while listing the lāñčhanas of the twenty-four Jinas in his Abhidhāna-Cintāmanī kośa calls them Arhatām dhvajāḥ (the dhvajas or heralds of the Arhats, the signs on the banners of the Tirthankaras). This is also the view of the Digambara writer Pandit Āśādharas that the herald of the Kṣatriya family of each Jina became his lāñčchana. We know from an Ahicchatra terracotta plaque, published by V.S. Agravala, showing two Mahābhārata heroes fighting, that they had two different emblems (boar and the crescent) on their banners (dhvajas). According to Jain traditions, all the Tirthankaras were born in Kṣatriya families. So, the emblems or crests on their banners were regarded as their cognizances.
which begin to appear from c. fourth or fifth century onwards on pedestals of Tirthaṅkara images in order to facilitate their identification. This became necessary because all sculptures of various Tiranthaṅkaras, whether standing or sitting, are of a set form and are not portrait sculptures or copies of old portraits. In the Kuṣāṇa period the cognizances were not carved on images of the Tirthaṅkaras and they could be recognised only when their names were mentioned in the votive inscriptions on their pedestals. It was therefore concluded that lāṭhchanaś were not known in the Kuṣāṇa period and were introduced afterwards. But now that we have a simha-dhvara as an object of veneration amongst the Jains at Mathura during the Kuṣāṇa period, it is reasonable to conclude that in the Kuṣāṇa age, and in at least c. first or second century B.C., there existed dhvara-emblems on different dhvara-stambhas for shrines of different Tirthaṅkaras.

On the Āyāgapata illustrated in Fig. 11, dedicated by Sihanādika, discovered from Kankali Tila, Mathura (now no. J.249, State Museum, Lucknow), we find the Jina seated in the centre, and on the two sides, towards the ends of the paṭa, two pillars, one surmounted by the dharma-cakra and the other by an elephant. Elephant is the dhvara or crest or emblem of Ajitānātha, the second Tirthaṅkara. Hence the Jina in the centre is Ajitānātha. On the Āyāgapata set up by Acalā, illustrated here in Fig. 10 (no. J.252, State Museum, Lucknow), we find one pillar surmounted by the dharma-cakra and the other by a lion. The Jina in the centre of this Āyāgapata must, therefore, be identified as Mahāvīra, whose dhvara-emblem is the lion. Such dhvara-crests later came to be recognised as cognizances or the lāṭhchanaś, on images of the respective Tirthaṅkaras.

Tirthaṅkaras are said to be of different compositions. According to the Śve. tradition represented by Hemacandra in his Abhidāna-Cintamaṇi kośa (1.49), Padmaprabha and Vasupūjya are red in complexion, Candraprabha and Puspadanta are white, Munisuvrata and Neminātha are black, Mallinātha and Pārśva are of nila complexion (indigo colour), while the rest, namely, Rṣabha, Ajita, Sambhava, Abhinandana, Sumati, Supārśva, Śīlala, Śreyāmsa, Vimala, Ananta, Dharma, Śaṅkucinti, Kunthu, Aras, and Vardhamāna Mahāvīra are golden in complexion. According to the Tiloyapaṇṇatti (4.588-89) representing the Digambara tradition, Supārśva and Pārśva are of harita-varṇa (greenish complexion) while Munisuvrata and Nemi are of nila-varṇa (indigo colour, dark-blue in complexion), Candraprabha and Puspadanta are white and Padmaprabha and Vasupūjya are red as in the Śve. tradition while all the remaining Tirthaṅkaras are of golden complexion. Āśādhara practically agrees with the Tiloyapaṇṇatti. Vasunandi in his Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra (in mss.) says that Munisuvrata and Nemi have compositions like the marakata gem (emerald, i.e., greenish complexion) while the other Digambara texts mentioned above say that they are of nila varṇa. The compositions and the lāṭhchanaś help us to identify the various Jinas in images or paintings.

Rṣabhanātha (Ādīnātha, the first Lord, the first Tirthaṅkara) is further identified on account of the hair-locks falling on his shoulders. At the time of dikṣā, i.e., while renouncing the world and becoming a Jina monk, every Tirthaṅkara plucks out all the hair on his head in five fist-fulls (pañca-muṣṭi-loca) and Indra, who comes to celebrate the dīkṣā-kalyāṇaka, collects them in the hollow of palms of his hands. Rṣabhadeva’s hair were very beautiful and when Rṣabha became a monk and plucked out most of the hair in four fist-fulls, Indra specially requested the Lord to allow the back-hair, falling on the shoulders, to remain as they looked very charming. All the other Tirthaṅkaras are reported to have removed all the hair on their heads. Raviṣeṇa in his Padmacarita praises the jata on the head of Rṣabha. In art, one finds big jata on the head of Rṣabha (see Figs. 25, 32, 57). Rṣabha thus obtains close comparison with the form of Śiva, who is known to wear jata on his head. Śiva’s association with his bull vahana is well-known in both art and literature. In Jaina iconography we find that the attendant yakṣa of Rṣabhanātha is a cow or bull-faced yakṣa called Ga-nukha yakṣa. Again the bull or Nandi is the cognizance of first Jina Rṣabhanātha. Śiva is well-known as Nandikeshvara.

Every Tirthaṅkara obtained Kevalajñāna (Supreme Knowledge) while meditating under a tree. Such a tree, called Cāitya-vṛksa, being associated with the Kevalajñāna of each Tirthaṅkara, is specified in the texts of both the Jain sects, and in representation, each Tirthaṅkara is shown sitting under a Cāitya-vṛksa. In iconography, one would, therefore, expect each Tirthaṅkara sitting under the particular tree associated
with his Kevalajñāna. But it seems that, when the āśa-mahāprāthīhāryas common to all Tirthaṅkaras were fixed, it was the Aśoka-tree which came to be represented as the Caitya-vṛkṣa over the heads of all the Jinas, so far as image worship is concerned. We must confess, however, that we have not tried to verify in cases of several old Tirthaṅkara sculptures from north and south whether specific Caitya-vṛkṣas were ever carved associated with different Jinas.

Tree-worship, popular in ancient times, noticed in the Vedas, found to have existed in the Chalcolithic period (as can be seen from representations on some of the Indus-Valley seals), formed an important part of the religious beliefs and practices of the masses with whom Buddha and Mahāvīra were mainly concerned in their opposition to the Vedic priestly class and its rituals involving animal-slaughter. The spirits dwelling in the trees were Nāgas, Yakṣas, Gandharvas, Bhūtas etc.,38 easily approachable without undertaking complex sacrificial rituals. It is the Caityas, with udyānas (parks and forest-groves) having Caitya-vṛkṣas in them, that Mahāvīra is generally reported to have visited and stayed in during his wanderings. People used to sit in meditation under such trees and in such moments Buddha and Mahāvīra are said to have obtained enlightenment.39

Since the Buddha was not represented in human form in early Buddhist worship, the Bodhi-Tree attained greater importance in Buddhist art, while the Jainas were more or less satisfied with recording of the Caitya-trees of different Tirthaṅkaras and giving them only a secondary importance in art. Possibly on account of its age-long existence as an object of worship (not only in India but even amongst other countries and cultures—cf., for example, the tradition of the Christmas Tree), the Caitya-vṛkṣa was introduced in relief sculptures of Tirthaṅkaras, sometimes by showing well spread full foliage and at other times by showing a couple of twigs or branches with a few leaves. Also perhaps because of the intimate association of Yakṣas etc. with trees and because the followers of Mahāvīra were mainly from his audience of masses worshipping the Yakṣa-Caityas or Yakṣa-āyatanas, Caitya-vṛkṣas were introduced in sculptures of the Devādhiseva-Tirthaṅkara. But the Jainas and the Buddhists gave a new meaning to the Tree-Worship. Trees were worshipped, not because they were haunted by spirits, but specially because their patriarchs obtained enlightenment under shades of such trees.

That the Caitya-tree was given importance due to the ancient and primitive Tree-Cult of the masses is proved by the fact that even now, in the villages and towns of India, trees like the Asvattha tree or the Vatl tree are held very sacred and worshipped. Often, as of old, there is a wide big platform constructed around it which is used by villagers as a meeting place. Also, in both north and south of India one finds small idols or figures of horses etc. placed under such trees near the trunks. As already noted, in some relief sculptures of Tirthaṅkaras, Caitya-trees under which they sit are prominently depicted. Compare, for example, the beautiful rock-cut relief of a Jina sitting under a big Caitya-vṛkṣa, at Kalugumalai, illustrated by this writer in his Studies in Jaina Art, figure 72; figure 73 (in the same book) is another similar example, from Patan, North Gujarat, of a big Caitya-tree, while figure 75 is another such evidence from Surat.

With the introduction of the lāṃchānas on pedestals of sculptures of different Jinas the Caitya-vṛkṣas have lost much of their value in identifying images of different Tirthaṅkaras. A list of Caitya-trees of the 24 Tirthaṅkaras of this avasarpīpa ārā in the Bharata Ksetra is given below.

The parikāra or the paraphernalia of a Jina or the group of attendant figures on a Jina image was evolved gradually. No. 160 in the Lucknow Museum, originally from Kankali Tila, Mathura, shows on each side of the Jina an attendant with folded hands and not a flywhisk-bearer (cāmaradhara) yakṣa. No. 17, Lucknow Museum, representing a standing Jina from Kankali Tila, Mathura, and dating from the Kuśāṇa period, has a big tree carved on the back and, on four sides below, near the legs, we find figures of a monk, a nun, a male worshipper (śrāvaka) and a female worshipper (śrāvīka) with a child. No. 161 in the Bharata Kala Bhavana, representing Mahāvīra, from Varanasi, is a beautiful Jaina sculpture of the Gupta period, which again does not show the triple umbrella, or the heavenly music, the devadundubhi, etc. Such examples demonstrate the gradual introduction of the various members of the parikāra on a Jina image. Perhaps the parikāra with aṣṭa-mahāprāthīhāryas was evolved in about sixth century A.D., as is suggested by a beautiful sculpture of Paśupānātha from Gyaraspur in Madhya Pradesh, now preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.40
**Caitya-Víkṣas of 24 Jinas of this Age**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Tīrthaṅkara</th>
<th>Śvetāmbara</th>
<th>Digambara*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Rṣabhanātha</td>
<td>Nyagrodha</td>
<td>Same as in Śve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Ajitānātha</td>
<td>Sātaparṇa</td>
<td>Same or Śāla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Sambhavānātha</td>
<td>Śāla (Shorea Robusta)</td>
<td>Same or Prayāla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Abhinandana</td>
<td>Piyaka or Priyaka</td>
<td>Sarala or Priyāṅgu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Sumatinātha</td>
<td>Priyāṅgu (Panicum italicum)</td>
<td>Same or Śāla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Padmaprabha</td>
<td>Caturābha (Anethum sowa)</td>
<td>Priyāṅgu or Chatrā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Supārvanātha</td>
<td>Śīrṣa (Acacia sirisha)</td>
<td>Same as in Śve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Candraprabha</td>
<td>Nāga</td>
<td>Same as in Śve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Puspadanta (Suvidhi)</td>
<td>Māi</td>
<td>Aksa or Śāli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Śīlalanātha</td>
<td>Piḷaṅkhu</td>
<td>Dhubi or Priyāṅgu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Śreyāmsanātha</td>
<td>Tiṅḍuṇa</td>
<td>Pāḷaśa or Taṇḍuka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Vāsupūja</td>
<td>Pāṭaḷa (Bignonia Suaveolens)</td>
<td>Tenduva or Pāṭaḷa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Vimalanātha</td>
<td>Jambū (Eugenia jambolana)</td>
<td>Pāṭaḷa or Jambū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Anantarāṇātha</td>
<td>Aśvatthā</td>
<td>Same or Aśoka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Dharmanātha</td>
<td>Dāḍhīparṇa (Cleroria ternatia)</td>
<td>Same as in Śve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Śāntinātha</td>
<td>Nandi (Cedrela toona)</td>
<td>Same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Kunthunātha</td>
<td>Tilaka</td>
<td>Same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Aranātha</td>
<td>Āmrā</td>
<td>Same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Mālinātha</td>
<td>Aśoka</td>
<td>Same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Munisuvrata</td>
<td>Campaka (Michelia Campaka)</td>
<td>Same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Naminātha</td>
<td>Bakula (Mimusops elengi)</td>
<td>Same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Neminātha</td>
<td>Vetasā</td>
<td>Meṣaśṛngā or Vetasā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Pārvanātha</td>
<td>Dhāṭakī (Grislea tomentosa)</td>
<td>Dhava or Dhāṭakī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Mahāvira</td>
<td>Śāla</td>
<td>Same as in Śve.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The alternative names in Digambara list are from *Tiruparuttikunram and Its Temples*, pp. 195-196.

Several experiments were made in the evolution of the parikara from about the late Gupta period. In the post-Gupta age, especially in Eastern India (Bengal, Bihar, Orissa), when belief in astrology and planetary influence might have been very popular, an attempt was made to represent the eight planets on two sides of the Tīrthaṅkara, as we find in Figs. 24 and 25, even though planets have no place amongst the aṣṭa-mahāprātiḥāryas or amongst the aṭṭīayas.

The Samavāyaṅga sūtra, referred to before, giving a list of the various aṭṭīayas, includes seven of the eight mahāprātiḥāryas (except devadūndubhi the eighth), but does not separately specify them.

The Āvaśyaka Niryukti says that, in the Samavasarana of a Jina, the Vānaṁantara gods create (1) the caitya-tree, (2) the simḫāsana with pīṭha (pedestal), (3) the chaṭra-traya (triple umbrella), (4) the cāmaraḍhikaras (flywhisk-bearers), and (5) other necessary things. The last item, as explained by Haribhadra sūra in his comm., is the dharmacakra resting on a lotus. It should be remembered that while the Āvaśyaka Niryukti gives only five, later traditions describe all the eight mahāprātiḥāryas as originating in the Samavasarana.

Paumacariyam (c. 473 A.D.), describing the various aṭṭīyas created by gods when Mahāvira obtained Kevalajñāna, says that lotuses were placed before the Jina to place his footsteps on. Mahāvira
used the Ardhamagadhi speech, a *simhāsana* was created for him, heavenly drums (*devadundubhi*) were beaten, and celestial *flutes* were scattered over him, a beautiful sound arose (*divyadhwani*) for a yojana on all sides. The text further says that Mahāvīra was attended upon by eight *prāthīhāryas*. While describing the Samavasarana of Rṣabha, the same text specifies, amongst other *attīsāyas*, the triple-umbrella, the nimbus, the *kalpa* (*aśoka*) tree, the heavenly drum, the shower of flowers.

The Āvāsyaka cārti of Jinaśa (676 A.D.), describing the Samavasarana of Mahāvīra, refers to the following only: Aśoka-tree, triple-umbrella, cāmaradhāras, simhāsana with pīṭha, and dhammacakra placed on the lotus. Mahāvīra faces the east while on the three sides gods install his likenesses. This fact is referred to by the Āvāsyaka Niryukti as well.

The Harivamsa-pūrṇa of Sinaśa (783 A.D.) refers to 8 *prāthīhāryas* and 34 *attīsāyas*. According to this Digambara text, the eight celestial accompaniments (*prāthīhāryas*—lit. gate-keepers, here attendants) of Neminātha are: sura-puspavṛṣṭi, divya-dundubhi, Aśoka-vṛkṣa, chatra-traya, cāmaradharānām samūhāḥ (host of flywhisk-bearers), bhāmāndala, simhāsana and bhāsā (speech) of the Jina understandable to all creatures.

The Ādi-purāṇa refers to these eight *prāthīhāryas* in the Samavasarana of Rṣabha, the last one called divya-dhāvani. Both the Harivamsa and the Ādi-purāṇa differ from the Tīloyapannati list in one point, that is, the last one—divya-dhāvani. The Tīloyapannati says that Ganas (ganadhāras or the different followers of ganadhāras) attend upon the Jina with folded hands, and omits the divya-dhāvani. These early Digambara traditions omit the dhammacakra in the list of the eight *prāthīhāryas* though of course it is not omitted in the description of the congregation (samavasarana) of the Jina or in the separate list of 34 *attīsāyas* as shown above.

The Vasudevahindī (c. 5th century A.D.) while describing the Samavasarana of Śaṅkinātha, includes all these elements and adds that a dhammacakra was placed near the feet of the Jina. The bhāmāndala (halo) is however not mentioned while the divya-dhāvani seems to have been understood when the author says that the Gandharvas began singing and the Bhūtas issued a cry (of victory) resembling simhanāḍa (lion’s roar). These have not been specified as aṣṭa-mahāprāthīhāryas.

It is thus obvious that the conception of the eight mahā-prāthīhāryas took its final form at the end of the Gupta period, probably in the post-Gupta age. Though earliest lists of *attīsāyas* included almost all these elements, they were not classified as such up to c. fifth century A.D. According to the Samavāyāṅga sūtra list, the *dhammacakra* moved in the sky in front of the Jina. This early tradition is followed by Hemacandra in his list of *attīsāyas*. In representations, the Wheel of Law is always placed in the centre of the simhāsana or the pedestal. It is not included in the stock list of the aṣṭa-mahā-prāthīhāryas.

The Ācāra-Dinakara describes the parikara (lit. paraphernalia, attendant elements) of a Jina image as follows:

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

The bhāmāndala, though not mentioned here in the parikara of a Jina, was presumed by the author since the practice of representing a halo behind the head of a deity is both ancient and common to all sects in India, and since it is found behind Tīloya-kararas from ancient times. The two attendants with folded hands (aḍḍalikaras) remind one of the Tīloyapannati tradition of aṣṭaprāthīhāryas which included gonas with folded hands. Some Tīloya-karakara images from Mathura, dating from the Kuśāna age, have shown Nāga figures standing with folded hands on two sides of the Jina. And in the case of the standing Jina-image, no. 1.71 in the Lucknow Museum, one each of the four members of the Jina saṅgha (śrīvaka, śrīvīkā, śādhu, śādhi) stands near the legs with folded hands on each end of the pedestal.

The Ācāra-Dinakara further adds that, according to another tradition, the dhammacakra, flanked by two deer, and the planets on its two sides, was to be carved in the centre of the simhāsana. This would
also suggest that the dhārma-cakra etc. were sometimes carved either on top of the simhāsana or at base (i.e., on the pitha on which the lion-throne is placed). In the Kusāna period, the dhārma-cakra was placed in the centre of the lion-throne and on two sides were shown the monks, nuns, śrāvakas and śrāvikās constituting the tirtha or the four-fold Jaina Sangha.

No early texts refer to the deer on each side of the Wheel. It may therefore be safely concluded that the motif of the two deer flanking the sides of the dhārma-cakra on pedestals of Tīrthaṅkarā images is a later innovation in Jaina iconography. Archaeological evidence from all over India has shown that this deer-motif in Jainism was started somewhere near the beginning of the mediaeval period, probably towards the end of the transitional post-Gupta age in Indian art-history. This motif is in imitation of the Buddhist one symbolising Buddha’s first sermon in the Deer-park. Its presence in Jaina iconography cannot be explained.

Figure 27 installed by Mahārājurūrāja Rāmagupta, dating from fourth century A.D., shows the Wheel in the centre of the simhāsana but no lāñchanas nor the deer-motif are shown. Figure 26 from Vaibhara-giri, Rajgir, shows the dharmacakra with the cakrapurisa in the centre of the simhāsana. The Wheel of Law is flanked by couches, the cognizance (śrīnāma) of Jina Neminātha. The sculpture dates from the fifth century A.D. Figure 25 from Musee Guimet, originally perhaps from Orissa, shows the bull cognizance in the centre of the pedestal, four planets seated on each side of the standing Jina, a halo, the triple-umbrella, two heavenly garland-bearers (abhisarpas śrījñānakumāra), a pair of hands beating the drum and a pair of hands playing the cymbals (diyadhvan), lotus below the feet of the Jina, two attendant standing cāmarādaras but no simhāsana and no dharmacakra. The sculpture dates from c. 10th-11th cent. A.D.

Figure 49 from the ceiling of a shrine in Kambadahalli, Karnataka, shows Mahāvira sitting on a simhāsana with two lions at two ends and one in the centre. This central lion figure represents the cognizance of Mahāvira. This relief sculpture shows a fully evolved parikara from south Karnataka. The Jina has a halo, a triple-umbrella over his head, and over it the Aśoka tree, and two heavenly beings on each side in the sky. Of the four cāmarādaras, two are Nāgas and two others are Yakṣas. To the right of the lion-throne is the two-armed pot-bellied Śāsana-Yakṣa and on the corresponding left is the Śāsana-Yakṣi.

Figure 55 probably from Mathura, illustrated by Smith in his book on the Jaina Stūpa, now preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow, dates from c. eighth century A.D. It is an interesting specimen as the simhāsana shows the dharmacakra in the centre with a devotee on each side of the Wheel, also there is the bull cognizance on the right side of the Wheel while on the left is a figure of a deer. The deer is in imitation of the Buddhist motif while the bull would suggest that the Jina sitting on the throne represented Rājābhānātha. The head is mutilated and lost. On each side of the Jina is a cāmarādhara standing on a lotus. To the right of the Jina is a four-armed Balarāma with snake-hoods overhead and a standing attendant (female?). To the corresponding left of the Jina is Kṛṣṇa four-armed and a two-armed female attendant. The presence of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa would have suggested that the Jina figure represented Neminātha, the cousin brother of Kṛṣṇa according to Jaina Purāṇas but the bull cognizance and traces of hair-lock on the shoulder of the Jina show that the Jina is Rājābhānātha. The introduction of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma is here due to the influence of Vaishnavism.

Equally interesting is no. 1776 in Lucknow Museum, illustrated here as Fig. 72, which shows dharmacakra in the centre of the lion-throne below which in the centre of the inscribed pedestal is the tortoise (kūrma) the cognizance of Muniśvūrata. Above the triple-umbrella is a small sitting Jina flanked by Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. The sculpture shows a very evolved parikara and two Jivantasaṃvāmi figures.

In Rajasthan, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh the Planets are shown below the lion-throne, either on top of the pedestal or on the face of the pedestal or on the lower end of the same, see Figs. 87, 189; also Fig. 74 in Studies in Jaina Art.

That the dharmacakra is an ancient motif or symbol worshipped by the Jainas is supported by archaeological evidence from Kankali Tila, Mathura, etc. and by the Āvaśyaka Niyuktī tradition that Bahubali established, at Takṣaśila, the dharmacakra, on the spot where Rājābhānātha liad stayed for one night.

Images of Tīrthaṅkarāras are worshipped in only two principal varieties, namely, standing or sitting.
Both these varieties show the Tirthankara either with parikara or without it. The Ceyavandana-Mahabhása of Śānti sūri tried to account for the parikara. The Jinas were liberated souls, where was the propriety for a parivāra (paraphernalia) accompanying them? According to some, this form of the image, showing the parivāra, represented the form of a Jina giving his Sermon (sitting on the simhāsana in the dhyāna mudrā) in a samavasrama. According to the author of the Ceyavandana-Mahabhása this was the popular explanation (vyavahāra) but the real significance (paramārtha) was that the three stages (avastha-traya) in a Jina’s life, namely, Chadmāshta, Kevali and Siddha avastha were suggested by such a representation. The explanation is not convincing but an explanation became necessary firstly because a liberated soul, a siddha or mukta, needed no attendants and secondly because the parikara was being shown around standing figures as well. It seems that originally the introduction of parikara was based on the conception of the atiśayas rather than on anything else.

The Vastusāra of Thakkara Feru, composed in v.s. 1372 (1316 A.D.), describes the parikara of a Jina image. According to it, the simhāsana has a yakṣi and a yakṣa on its two extreme ends while between the two are two lions, two elephants and two chowrie-bearers, one on each side, and in the centre of the seat is the goddess Cakreśvarī, riding on the eagle. Below her figure is the dharma-cakrā with a deer on each side. The lānchana of the Jina is carved in the centre of the gaddī (Guja-dī, cushion) placed upon the simhāsana. The back-slab in front of which the Jina-figure is placed shows (in high relief) chowrie-bearers and other standing Jina figures on both the sides. Over the standing Jinas are two (smaller figures of) Jinas in the sitting posture, above which is a torana motif. The Jina in the centre (the chief deity in such a sculpture) has a triple umbrella overhead, an aureole behind, and on two sides of the chatra are two garland-bearers, two conch-bearers, two elephants surmounted by Harihāreṇa-simha and the drum-beaters. The parikara described by Thakkara Feru is of a Paśca-Tirthiska sculpture, that is, a sculpture which represents five Tirthankaras in all (cf. Fig. 69). If the two sitting Tirthankaras are omitted then it would be a Tri-Tirthiska sculpture, i.e., a sculpture which has images of three Tirthankaras (they may be sitting and/or standing, cf. Fig. 26) while a sculpture with 24 images of Jinas will be a Caturvimśati-patṭa (or a Covīś in modern usage). The sculpture would be a Paśca-tirthiska or Tri-Tirthiska or Covīś of Rṣabhanātha if the central Jīva is Rṣabhanātha. In all such groupings usually the lānchana of the main Jina alone is carved on the pedestal.

A noteworthy feature of Thakkara Feru’s description is the presence of goddess Cakreśvarī in the centre of the āsana. This is a late feature in Jaina iconography. Formerly the place was reserved for the dharma-cakrā. Again, in a majority of sculptures known hitherto, another goddess, four-armed and riding on the elephant, is seen on the lion-thrones of Śvētāmarā sculptures from about twelfth century onwards. The goddess shows the lotus in each of her two upper hands, the rosary and/or the varada mudrā in the right lower hand and the water-pot in the left lower. She may be identified as the Śānti-devī (see Fig. 168).

But the practice of adding some such figure started about a couple of centuries earlier, though its position was in the centre of the lowest end of the pedestal, see Fig. 87. Besides the figure was not the four-armed goddess described above but a two-armed figure, either a pot-bellied male figure with a beard, or a two-armed female figure (see Figure 27 in Paper no. 6, Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture). This female figure shows the water-pot in one hand. Perhaps the male figure was intended to be Sarvānu-bhūti. The figure of four-armed Śānti-devī represents a later stage.

The Nirvāṇakalika (Śve. c. 11th century A.D.) refers to eight prāthihāryas, the Yakṣa, the Śāsana-devi (Yakṣi), the motif of dharma-cakrā with two deer and the ratna-dhvaaja (jewelled banner possibly signifying the Indrādhvaaja). It omits any reference to the devi noted above and the introduction of this goddess cannot be assigned to a period much earlier than that of the Nirvāṇakalika.

Vasunandi (c. 12th cent. A.D.), author of the Digambara text Pratiṣṭhā-sārasamgraha, describing the parikara, refers to the prāthihāryas, the Yakṣa on the right of the seat and the Yakṣi on the corresponding left. The lānchana is to be placed below the pīda-pīṭha (foot-stool or the pedestal?). Pandit Āśādhara (v.s. 1285—A.D. 1228) follows the above tradition in his Pratiṣṭhā-sārodhāra. Jaina Bhaṇḍāras at Patan and Baroda contain copies of relevant Jaina portions of the Śilpa text.
Aparājitaśravaḥ, whose printed text has some missing portions. The editors of the Kumārapālacakrīta of Jayasimha sūra printed as Appendix 3 some portion from this work which is not available in the printed text. This portion is published here as Appendix I at the end of this chapter. Verse 12 from it refers to the goddess in the centre of the āśama, lotus in hand and described as the Ādi-śukti of Jina Rāśabhanātha. She is said to be sahajā and kulejā possibly because she is the Gotra-devatā or the tutelary mother-goddess of the family (kula) of Rāśabhanātha. The description in this portion shows that the elephant and the lion (on the simhāsa or the gajasimha motif of the back-seat?) stand for the eight quarter-elephants. The dharmacakra, the nine planets, the Indra and Upendra holding the fly-whisks, the garland-bearers, the Bharatendras carrying pitchers, the lute and pipe players, the drum-bearers, the triple umbrella, the bhāmangala, the Yaksā and the Yakṣi are also described. It is said that of the two deer flanking the dharmacakra, one, a male, represents Sātvarī and the other, a female, stands for Karunā.62

The cāmarādhāras amongst the pratiḥāryas of a Jina, referred to above, are two yakṣas carrying white cowries, according to Hemacandra63 and all other Śvetāmbara writers. According to the Digambara tradition represented by Ādipurāṇa64 and other texts, sixty-four yakṣas attend upon a Jina with flywhisks in hand, in every samavasana. In representations both the traditions represent only two male cāmarādhāras, who must be regarded as yakṣas. The view of B.C. Bhattacharyya65 that these represent attendant Ganadhāras holding cowries is not supported by any text known to us nor has he cited any text in support of his view. He has further given name of one Chowrie-bearer at least for every Tirthānkara which again is left unsupported by any reference to texts.66 Then, going against his own theory he says that the cowrie-bearer of Ajitnātha is Sagara-Cakravarti, and thus not a Ganadhara of Ajitnātha.

The earliest known tradition regarding the iconography of a Tirthānkara image is however obtained from Jaina canonical texts. True it is that references to images and temples of Tirthānkaras on this earth are extremely rare and their genuineness is sometimes suspected. Even though images of not even one of the twenty-four Tirthānkaras are described in the Jaina Āgamas, we are able to obtain an early conception of the Jina-Image from the stock description of the Śāsvata-Jina-Pratimā.

Both the Jaina sects refer to Siddhāyatamas (lit. shrines of the Siddhas, also called Śāsvata-Caityas or Eternal shrines) containing images of Tirthānkaras known as Śāsvata-Jinas. These images are of four Tirthānkaras known as Candrānāna, Vārisena, Rāśabha and Vardhamāna.67 The Nandāsvara-dvipa, for example, is known to have fifty-two such Siddhāyatanas in all.

Description of the Siddhāyatana in the N.E. of the Sudharmā-Sabhā of Saudharma Indra, as given in the Śivājīvabhigama-sūtra,68 is as follows:

Like the Sudharmā Sabhā, it has three gates (entrances) in the east, south and north. Situated in front of these gates are the mukhamandapas while the prekṣāmandapas are erected in front of the latter. In front of prekṣāmandapas are Caitya-stūpas with images (pratimā), then are situated the Caitya-yāksas, then the Mahendra-dvajas (shafts in honour of Indra), then the Nandā-puṣkarini (extensive reservoirs of water, tanks, with flights of steps) and so on.

In the centre of the extremely beautiful Siddhāyatana is a very big manipīṭhikā (jewelled platform). A Devachandaka of jewels is erected on the manipīṭhikā. This sanctum of the gods has 108 life-size images of the Tirthānkaras installed therein.

The traditional description of these images is the same as in all Āgama texts. These Śāsvata-pratimās are described as having the palms of hands and soles of feet made of gold, nails of Anka jewels and lohitakṣa jewels; the shanks, the knees, the thighs, limbs of the body, navels, nipples, and the Śrīvatsa mark on the chest all made of gold. The line of hair on the body, the retina of the eyes, eye-lashes and eye-brows are said to have been made of the Rīṣṭa-jewel while the lips are of coral and the teeth of crystals. The tongue, ears, forehead, cheek etc. are made of gold.

At the back of these idols of the Jinas are figures of umbrelle-bearers gracefully holding white umbrellas, wreaths and garlands of koranti flowers, extremely white and lustrous like the snow, silver, jasmine and the moon. On each side of the image of the Jina are two figures of the cāmarādhāras, holding in their hands chowries having golden handles. In front of the Jina is a pair (one on each side) of nāga-figures, of yakṣas, bhūtas and of the kundadhāras bowing and falling at the feet of the Lord. In front
of the images of the Lord are placed bells, *candanakalasaś* (the same as *maṅgalkalasaś*?), auspicious pots made of sandal-wood, *bhīṣgāras* (jars), mirrors, dishes, vessels, seats, empty jars, boxes of jewels, necks of horses, elephants, men, kinnaras, kimpurūsas, mahoragas, gandharvas, bulls, caskets (*cangari*), of flowers, garlands, flowers, unguents, etc. or mops of peacock-feathers, baskets of flowers, garlands, powders (*cūrya*), etc., 108 each of the lion-thrones, umbrellas, fly-whisks, oil-pots (*samudgāka*), and pots of *kośtha*, *coyaka*, *tagara*, *haritīka*, *hinīga*, *manahśīla*, collyrium and 108 banners. 69

On tops of the Siddhāyatanaś were placed numerous figures of the auspicious eight symbols (*aṣṭa-maṅgalas*). 70

Though the set of *aṣṭa-maṅgalas* is not given (the term *aṣṭa-maṅgalas* is not known to the Āgamas), some of them do figure in the above description. The conception of *aṣṭa-maṅgalas* is an ancient one since it is already known to the Āgamas.

But the above description obtains interesting comparison with Tirthāṅkara images of the Kuśāna age obtained from Mathura (nos. J.7, J.60, J.117, Lucknow Museum, J.268, B.63, Mathura Museum, no. 161, Bharata Kala Bhavanaya, Varanasi, illustrated by us in *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, paper no. 6, figures 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10-12). We find here, on each side of Jina, a chowrie-bearer *pāla* standing with folded hands, and occasionally a *malāḍhara* on each side at top of the sculpture, *kundaśvaras*, according to commentators, are minor gods who are issued orders (*āvādas*), but if *kunda* was understood as a type of water-vessel in those times, then we have a parallel in Mathura where sometimes an attendant figure on one side carries a water-pot as in the well-known inscribed headless image of Sarasvati from Kankali Tila, Mathura. The triple-umbrella is also shown on Mathura sculptures, as also the Caitya-tree, and in rare cases, an umbrella-bearer or the Caitya-tree on the back of the Jina images.

The above description makes no mention of the *labahanas* or the attendant Yakṣas and Yakṣīṇīs (*Śāsanadevaṭas*). These motifs are absent in Mathura sculptures of the Kuśāna period. Especially noteworthy is the Śrī-vatsa mark on the chest mentioned by the canons and almost invariably obtained on Tirthāṅkara images of the Kuśāna age. It seems that marks on soles of feet and palms of hands and Śrī-vatsa mark on the chest—which are amongst *lakṣanas* of a Mahāpuṣpa—are regarded amongst the chief characteristics of a Tirthāṅkara image. The canonical description does not refer to any garment on the Śāśvatā-Jina-*Pratimā* which is also the case with all the Jaina images in India, of the Kuśāna or earlier periods, known hitherto.

But nowhere in the above references from Śvetāmbara as well as Digambara texts do we come across a reference to those figures on the *sikhadāna* (or pedestal) of a Jina which we find in a number of sculptures of the Kuśāna period from Kankali Tila, Mathura.

Firstly, the *dharmacakra*, shown in the centre of the lion-throne, is often placed on top of a pillar, sometimes with the rim facing us and sometimes with the broader side with the spokes shown. In a rare case we have a dwarf holding the Wheel of Law above his head. In a few cases the Wheel is placed on a tri-ratna symbol.

Secondly, to the right of the Wheel of Law we have a monk with a *rajoharaṇa* (broom with a handie, a broom-stick) held in his right hand and a broad piece of cloth on the wrist of the left hand held in such a way that the privies are shielded from view. All the Jaina monks on these pedestals and even in the Tablet of Ascetic Kanha (Fig. 21) hold this piece of cloth in this fashion and are otherwise naked. To the right of the monks are found in order figures of one or more monks and/or figures of lay Jaina male devotees in full attire. To the left of the *dharmacakra* is usually a Jaina nun with a long coat-like garment and an under-garment, and carrying a *rajoharaṇa* in one of her hands. 71 Next to her are either one or more nuns and/or standing female lay worshippers carrying long objects which are either garlands or purses. Sometimes some dwarfish figures accompany the śrāvikās. They may be children or attendant servants.

Obviously, the earliest known tradition showed, in the *parikara* (or *parivāra?*) of a Jina, the four-fold Jaina Sangha (constituted by the śādhu, the śādhi, the śrāvaka and the śrāvikā) on two sides of the *dharmacakra*. In the case of the standing figure of Arīstanemi (no. J.13, Lucknow Museum, and Fig. 19 in *Evolution of Jaina Iconography and Symbolism, Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, Paper 6), there is a
śrāvaka standing near the right leg, a śrāvikā near the left leg and on the pedestal a ganadharā to the right of the wheel and a nun to the left. No. J20 in the Lucknow Museum\textsuperscript{22} is the pedestal of the image of Arhatu Munisuvrata (Arhat Munisuvrata) as correctly read by K.D. Bajpai and not of Arhat Nandāvarta as read formerly. The pedestal shows the Wheel on a Triratna symbol to the left of which all the standing females seem to be Jain śrāvikās.

It appears that traditions about the parikāra of the Jina-image were crystallised after the Kusāna and Gupta periods. Perhaps the tradition of āstā-mahā-prāṭīshṭāyas was also finalised later and its application to the image was certainly not finally settled till the end of the Gupta period as suggested by a study of images in the Mathura Museum, Lucknow Museum, at Sārā Pahari near Nachana in Madhya Pradesh, the famous sculpture of Neminātha at Raigir mentioning Candragupta, and the three images installed by Mahārājādhirāja Rāmagupta, obtained from a place near Vidīśā.

The description of the Śāśīmā-Jina-Pratimās makes no mention of the lōṇeṣhamas of the Jinas nor do we find any reference to the Śāšana-devatās or the attendant Yakṣa and Yakṣi figures. These motifs are absent on Jina images in Mathura during the Kusāna period. Especially noteworthy is the śrī-vatasa mark on the chest mentioned by the canons and almost invariably obtained on Tirthankara images of the Kusāna period. But the canonical reference also cannot be certainly regarded as older than the age of the Mathura Council of the early fourth century A.D. The śrī-vatasa mark is not seen on the polished Mauryan torso of a Jina image from Ihanipur near Patna nor is it seen on the standing Pārvanāthā bronze in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, which we have assigned to a period c. 1st cent. B.C. or earlier. It seems certain that like the motif of the two deer on the sides of the dharmaśekha borrowed from the Buddhists, the śrī-vatasa motif was introduced under Vaiṣṇava Pāncaśāstra influence at Mathura. This motif is absent on early Jain sculptures in the South where the Jinas seem to have penetrated from about the third cent. B.C. In the South even in later periods the śrī-vatasa motif is only occasionally seen. This very fact suggests that originally the motif was absent on Jaina images and was introduced under strong Vaiṣṇava influence probably at Mathura.\textsuperscript{78}

It seems that marks on soles of feet and palms of hands and the śrī-vatasa mark on the chest, etc. taken from the ancient tradition of Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣanas came to be regarded as chief characteristics of a Jina image. The texts describing the Śāśi-vatasa-pratimās do not refer to garments on the figure of the Śāśi-vatasa. No early Jaina text refers to the lists of (thirty-two) Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣanas so common in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit texts and other Buddhist works. However, the Aupapātika sūtra, an upāṇa Jaina Āgama text (assignable to c. third or fourth century A.D.), giving the stock description (vāraṇakā) of Mahāvīra’s body, gives a very interesting account, which agrees, often in similar phraseology, with the Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣanas of early Buddhist texts.

According to the Aupapātika sūtra description of Mahāvīra’s body,\textsuperscript{74} Mahāvīra’s height was seven cubits and the frame of his body as strong as the vepa, his breath fragrant like the lotus and he was handsome to look at. The body was free from sweating and such other defects. The front of his head (agraśīrṣa) was strong and high like the peak (kāṭakāra), and the hair on the head being dark and of thick growth, lying in schematic curls (pradaṃśīvatattā). The scalp of the Lord, resembling a bunch of pomegranate flowers, was pure and smooth like gold; his head was shaped like an umbrella (chatrākāra); his unsullied forehead (lalāja) possessed the lustre of the new-moon, ears lovely, proportionate and good, the cheeks healthy and full. His eye-lashes thin, dark and smooth, looked beautiful like a bent bow, the wide eyes resembled the full-blown white-lotus, each eye-lash having a white hair; his nose was long, straight and uplifted like that of an eagle; his lower lip looked lovely and red like the coral, the cherry or the bimba-fruit; the rows of teeth, lustrous like the white moon, conch, milk, etc., were complete, indistinct, unbroken and smooth; his palate and tongue shone like the red-hot gold; his beard and moustache were well-dressed and grown in proportion to his age. His chin was well-set and well-developed like that of a lion; his neck, four aṅgulas in length, looked like the conch (kūmbī-grindā). His shoulders was broad and rounded (pratipūrṇa) like that of a buffalo, the bull, the lion, the boar and the elephant; his round, well-developed, muscular arms, with steady joints, were long like the latch of a city-gate; his hands, big and strong, looked like a cobra with expanded hood; his palms were soft and muscular, red and
endowed with auspicious marks and had webbed-fingers with no intervening space in between (acchidra-
jalā-pani); the fingers again were both thick and soft with nails red and shining like copper. His palms
showed marks of the moon, the sun, the conch, the cakra and the svastika, etc. He had a broad chest,
well-developed and even, shining like a bar of gold, and having the mark of the sīra-vatśa; his back was
strong with bones invisible under the muscles. He had a beautiful healthy body shining like gold.

His sides were well-developed, beautiful and symmetrical; the hair on his body was pure, soft, slight,
oily, delicate and charming. His abdomen was strong and well-developed (pīna) like that of the fish and
the bird, his belly like that of the fish, all the organs of his body pure and defectless; his navel, deep and
developed like the newly-blossomed lotus, was spiral inside like the whirling wave of the Gangā. The
torso or the middle of his body was like the tripod, the pestle, the mirror or the thunderbolt, broad at the
ends and narrow in the middle; his hips were like those of the best horse or the lion; his privies like those
of a horse, clean and well-formed. He had the gait of the best of elephants; his thighs were shaped like
the trunk of an elephant; his knee-joints were invisible as if under the lid of a spherical box; his shanks
were like those of a deer; his ankles were well-set and invisible under muscles; his feet, beautiful and
good-looking and well-built like those of the tortoise, looked beautiful with close-set fingers having copper-
red nails. The soles of his feet, soft and red like the lotus-leaf, showed marks of a mountain, a city,
crocodile, ocean, disc, etc. Brilliant like a glowing fire, the lightning flash or the rising sun, Mahāvira
possessed all the one thousand and eight marks of the best of human beings.

All the Tīrthāṅkara or the Buddha images are based on the fundamental conception of the Mahā-
purusa-lakṣaṇas. The Jaina account given above seems to suggest the usṇīsa (though not clearly stated)
but not the uṇā. Hardly a dozen Tīrthāṅkara images so far known or published would show the
uṇā, but we do get the circular tilaka mark in a few cases. The usṇīsa is often seen but images without
it are also known from Mathura and other sites.

The Jaina description of Mahā-purusa-lakṣaṇas wonderfully agrees with the conception of the Buddha
figure in the Ratna-gotra-vibhāga of Sthiramati. An ideal abridged description of the Jina-body is also
obtained in the Vasudevahandi which is also a work of the early Gupta period.

In Jaina worship perhaps more common are single images of each of the twenty-four Tīrthāṅkaras,
installed either as chief deity in the sanctum or as additional images for worship in the sanctum or in the
 adjoining cells and devakulikās. Such images are either with or without the parikara carved in relief
 around them. But Tīrthāṅkaras are also worshipped in groups of two (Fig. 79), three (Fig. 26), four
 (Figs. 14, 21), five (Fig. 69), six (Fig. 87), seven, eight, nine, eleven, twenty-four (Figs. 57, 86), fifty-two
seventy-two, one hundred and eight, one thousand and eight (saheśakāśa sculptures), and so on. But
the more common are groups of two, three, five, four, and twenty-four Jinas. Śantyacakriya in c. 11th cen-
tury A.D. has referred to such practices and has attempted to explain the significance of such groupings.

According to him, a Tri-Tīrthikā image (three Jinas in one sculpture) signifies the worship of Jīśa,
Darśana and Ėritra. A Poñca-Tīrthikā image symbolises the worship of the Five Paramesṭhis; Coṭīśis or
Caturvimśati-paṭṭas are carved out of respect for the Jinas of the Bhāratavarṣa. of this uṇā, at the end of
the Kalyāṇako-tapa in honour of Kalyāṇakas (chief auspicious events) in the lives of Tīrthāṅkaras
celebrated in the Bhāratavarṣa. A person desirous of wealth installs a plaque of 170 Jinas, which is the
maximum number of Jinas born in any age amongst human beings.

Tīrthāṅkaras in groups of two are found only amongst the Digambaras, often they are the first and
last Tīrthāṅkaras standing near each other with their cognizances on the pedestals, all in one slab of
stone. Tri-Tīrthikā images and Poñca-Tīrthikā images are found in temples of both the sects, but the
former grouping is very popular. Four Tīrthāṅkaras are represented on four sides of a Caumukha
(Caturmakha, the Pratimā Sarvatobhaṇḍrikā of Mathura inscriptions of the Kuśana age) sculpture and might
have suggested the Samavasarapa in such cases. Caumukhas are very common in temples of both the
sects. A deviation however from the main concept of a Caumukha is seen from very early times. Even
amongst finds from Kankali Tila, Mathura, we find, not one and the same Jina on each of the four
sides of a Caumukha but a different Jina on each side (Fig. 14). Groups of six and eight seem to be
rare. Groups of seven and nine are very rare but groups of seven or eleven are available amongst the
Digambaras, though of course rarely. Groups of twenty are popular amongst the Śvetāmbaras but such a group represents, not 20 Jinas out of the 24 Jinas of this age, but the twenty Viharamāṇa Tīrthaṅkaras, a conception which will be explained later on. Cośīśī, groups of 170 Jinas, or 1008 Jinas are known to both the sects but the group of 24 Jinas is the most popular amongst both the sects. Such groupings are not known from early sculptures discovered hitherto, and may be said to date from post-Gupta period onwards. Only four-fold images (Caumukhas) and single Tīrthaṅkaras are known to the Kṣaṇa age. In the Tablet depicting Kāṇṭha Śrāmanera (Fig. 21) we have two Jinas sitting on each side of the Stūpa in the upper panel. In the Nemānṭhā sculpture from Rajgir (Fig. 26) we find two more Jina figures in padmāsana on the pedestal, thus making a group of three Jinas (including the main figure of Nemānṭhā). The sculpture is assigned to early fifth century A.D. Grouping of different Tīrthaṅkaras in one sculpture was known as a Paṭa or Paṭṭa in inscriptions, thus a Tri-Tīrthika-paṭa, a Caturvimiṣati-paṭa and so on.

A Paṭa of 96 Jinas, installed in V.S. 1503 (A.D. 1446) is preserved in the Pārvanāṭha temple at Delvāṭa near Eñkilingji and Udaipur. It comprises images of 24 Past (āṭhia) plus 24 Present (vartamāṇa) plus 24 Future (anāgata) plus 20 Contemporary (viharamāṇa) plus Four Eternal or Ever Repeating (śāsvata) equal to 96 Jinas. The Paṭa was installed by Somasundara sūri of Tapāgaccha of the Śvetāmbara sect. A Paṭa of 72 Jinas, of c. fifteenth century A.D. is installed in the Lāṇvāsahi, Delvada, Mt. Abu. A Paṭa of metal, illustrated in Fig. 183, is in worship in a Jaina shrine in Surat. In the centre is a Paṇcaśīṭhikha image with parikara and all around in thirteen horizontal rows are miniature figures of 180 Jinas sitting in padmāsana, dhyāna mudrā. Thus in all there are 185 Tīrthaṅkaras on this metal plaque. Figure 85 illustrates a sculpture, cylindrical in shape, showing in the uppermost row a Jina with two attendant cāmarādhara. In the seven rows below are miniature figures of standing Tīrthaṅkaras. Perhaps on account of the eight rows in all, the sculpture is regarded as a representation of the Jaina mythical mountain asṭāpada. Obtained from Sat Deulia, Burdwan district, West Bengal, the stela is curvilinear at top (height 43 cms, breadth 23 cms). The total number of Jinas standing in the kāyotsarga mudrā in the seven rows is 148. If the standing Jinas represent 72 Jinas of the Past, Present and Future Ārāś plus 20 Viharamāṇa Jinas plus 4 Śāsvata Jinas plus 52 Jina images from the 52 shrines of the Nandīswara dvipa, then the total would be 148 Jina figures. P.C. Das Gupta, who first published it, suggested that this interesting stela, assigned to c. 10th century by him, was a symbolic representation of the eight-tiered Asṭāpada-giri. After the Nirvāṇa of Rṣabhanātha, the first Jina, on Mt. Kailash, his son Cakravarti Bharata erected on this mountain a shrine called Simhanāśiyā Cāitya and installed therein images of 24 Jinas of this age. The belief seems to be old since the Ācarāṅga Niryutki, the Jambudvīpa-prajñapti and the Vasudeva-hindi refer to Asṭāpada as a place of pilgrimage. Identification of Asṭāpada is not certain and it is also identified with Mt. Śatrunjaya in Saurāstra, Gujarat. Hemacandra ācārya tells us that Bharata also installed statues of his ninety-nine brothers who had also obtained Nirvāṇa on this mountain along with Rṣabhanātha. He also raised a statue of himself listening attentively like a faithful devotee. In order to save these from future damage at the hands of mortals, he placed mechanical iron guardsmen and cutting off the projections of the mountain, he made it steep and straight and impossible for men to climb. He then made eight (āṣṭā) steps (pada) around it in the form of terraces impossible for men to cross, each step being one yojana apart from the next one. From that time the mountain was called Asṭāpada.

Gautama the first Ganadhara of Mahāvīra was told by his Master that whoever is able to reach the top of this mountain and worship the Caityas thereon obtains emancipation. Gautama, therefore, with his supernatural powers, climbed it like a flash of light. Some tāpasaṇa (Brahmanical monks) were attempting to do so but could not go beyond the third terrace. At the sight of Gautama they obtained enlightenment and liberation. Reaching the top and entering the Simhanāśiyā Cāitya by the South Gate, Gautama first saw the four Jinas beginning with Sambhuva and worshipped them. At the West-entrance he worshipped eight Tīrthaṅkaras beginning with Supārśva, entering by the North gate he could worship the ten Jinas beginning with Dharmanātha. From the Eastern doorway of the shrine he worshipped the first two Tīrthaṅkaras, Rṣabha and Ajitamāṇa.
Thus it will be seen that the Simhanāḍayō Caitya is a Caumukha shrine with four doorways and having in the centre a platform on which the Jinas are represented in the order described above and worshipped by Gautama. In Śvetāmbara Jaina shrines sometimes a cell is dedicated to Aṣṭāpada represented in the way shown above. A representation of Aṣṭāpada of this type, with Gautama shown climbing and the tāpasas on the way is in worship in a shrine on Mt. Śatrūṭīyaya in Saurashtra. A simple representation of the Jinas on the four sides of a pitha in above order is in worship in a Śvetāmbara shrine in Surat. Figure 180 illustrates an elaborate sculpture of Aṣṭāpada, showing eight horizontal rows of Tīrthaṅkaras, installed on the second storey of the Valānaka north, Dharanāvihāra shrine, Ranakpur, Pali district, Rajasthan. The sculpture was installed in v.s. 1551 = A.D. 1495. Vastupāla and Tejapāla are said to have built an aṣṭāpadapārśāda and a temple of Ādinātha at Prabhaśa-pātana.\textsuperscript{84} The Vastupālavihāra at Girnar in Saurashtra is a triple shrine built by minister Vastupāla. An inscription on a stone slab behind the temple shows that Vastupāla built in v.s. 1288 (A.D. 1231) a temple of Ādinātha adorned with a temple of Kapardi Yakṣa at the back. In front of this to the north-west he built a temple of Sammeta-Śikhara adorned with images of 20 Jinas and to the south he constructed an Aṣṭāpadapārśāda with images of 24 Jinas. The Śāntinātha temple at Kumbharia also has a sculpture of Aṣṭāpada in a chapel with entrances on all the four sides. There is an inscription dated v.s. 1266 (A.D. 1209).\textsuperscript{85}

Representations of Sammeta-Śikhara, obtained sometimes in Jaina shrines, depict 20 Jina figures because in all twenty out of twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras of the present age obtained Nirvāṇa on this mountain. Such representations are known as avatāra or uddhāra of a particular tirtha. A stone plaque representing avatāra of the two Tīrthas of Śatrūṭīyaya and Girnar now in worship in a Jaina shrine at Varakhān in Rajasthan is illustrated in Fig. 186. Representations of the five (Pañca) Merus mountains of five different dvīpas, showing a Siddhāyatana (suggested by a Catsurakha Jina image) on each tier, one above the other in five tiers and surmounted by a finial, are very popular with the Digambara sect. One such Pañca-Meru is also obtained in a Śvetāmbara shrine, in the Hastisalā of the Lūravasahi, Mt. Abu. The five Meru mountains are Sudarśana in the midst of Jambūdvīpa, Vijaya in eastern Dhātakikhaṇḍa-dvīpa, Acala in western Dhātakikhaṇḍa-dvīpa, Mandara in eastern Puṣkarārdhva-dvīpa and Vidyāmālī in the western Puṣkarārdhva-dvīpa. According to Digambara belief there are in all 80 Siddhāyatana on the five Merus. A Digambara Pañca-Meru bronze, installed in v.s. 1513 (A.D. 1456), is illustrated in Fig. 180, from a Digambara Jaina shrine in Surat, Gujarat.

Certain common facts about the lives of each of the twenty-four Tīrthāṅkaras have to be borne in mind for a proper understanding of Jaina Jātaka sciences and paintings.

A soul after passing through various births as animals and human beings ultimately becomes fit for being born as a would be Tīrthāṅkara. He is then said to have acquired Tīrthāṅkara-nāma-karma.\textsuperscript{86} His last birth is in one of the heavens from which he descends into the Mother’s womb and becomes a Tīrthāṅkara in that birth. This descent from heaven is a subject of Jaina miniatures when he is usually represented as sitting in one of the heavens.\textsuperscript{87} All the Tīrthāṅkaras are born in Kṣatriya royal families. Munisuvrata and Neminātha were born in the Harivamsa, Dharma, Ara and Kunhu in the Kuru-vamsa, Pārśva and Mahāvira in the Ugra-vamsa, and the rest in the Ikṣvāku-vamsa.\textsuperscript{88} According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, Munisuvrata and Neminātha were born in the Harivamsa while the rest descended in the Ikṣvāku families.\textsuperscript{89}

At the time of descent from heavens into the Mother’s womb, the Mother of every Jina sees fourteen dreams according to Śvetāmbara traditions and sixteen according to the Digambaras. The dreams are represented on stone and in metals as well as paintings (Fig. 187).\textsuperscript{80} The Mother immediately gets up from bed and breaks the news to her husband. Next morning the dreams are interpreted by astrologers (svapnapāṭhakas or nimitta-pāṭhakas) as shown in miniatures of the Kalpa-sūtra. Jaina texts always note the nakṣatras of the birth (and other chief events) in the life of a Jina. This is because when the birth dates of Mahāvira and Pārśvanātha were first recorded the rāśis or zodiacal signs were not known.

Several extraordinary events take place when a Jina is born. The 56 Dīk-kumāris come from various regions and perform the duties of a nurse (sūtikā-karma) and attend upon the Mother and the Child with...
Devādhīdeva Tirthaṅkara

mirrors, fans, music etc. Meanwhile the throne of Śakra (Indra) shakes and he comes in a heavenly car with a host of gods to celebrate the birth-bath ceremony (janma-kalyāṇaka) of the newly born Jina. With his magic (avasāvapīṇinīdā) the Saudharma Indra induces the Mother into deep sleep when the baby-Jina is carried by gods to the top of the Meru mountain where an elaborate bathing ceremony is performed by gods with the Jina seated on the lap of the Indra who assumes more forms and in paintings we find him doing the lustration (abhiṣeka) in the form of two bulls.91 Then the Indra performs thirty-two types of dances before the Lord and ultimately brings the Jina back to his mother’s side. This and the descent are the first two auspicious events known as the Cyavana and the Janma Kalyāṇakas, in the life of a Tirthankara.

The Jina grows up and obtains training in various arts and sciences and is sometimes said to marry a princess. Some Tirthaṅkaras do not marry at all. According to the Digambara sect, Mahāvira did not marry while the Śvetāmbaras hold a contrary belief.

As in the life of the Buddha, Jain traditions often describe some incidents in the lives of Tirthaṅkaras which precipitate their decision to renounce the worldly life. The Digambaras, for example, say that while Rṣabha was seeing the dance of Nīlāñjana (sent by Indra for the purpose) she suddenly disappeared and Rṣabha realises the transitoriness of human life (Fig. 18). In the case of Pārśvanātha, it is said that he saw a pata depicting the life of the preceding Tirthaṅkara Neminātha which roused in him the desire to turn a Jina monk. The Lokāntika gods appear before the Jina to be and respectfully inform him that the time for taking dīksā had approached and pray to him to save the afflicted humanity by founding the Jaina 'Tirtha'.

Then for full one year the would-be Jina gives handsome charities (called vṛṣṣika or vṛṣṭ-dāna in Kalpa-sūtra miniatures) at the end of which period, he is carried in a palanquin to a park outside his city-gates where he plucks out his hair in five fistsfuls (paṇca-muṣṭi-lonca), removes all ornaments, garments, etc., and turns a Jina monk. Indra and other gods attend and perform the ceremony, Indra catches the plucked out hair in a costly piece of cloth and throws them in the milk-ocean. This is the Dīksā-kalyāṇaka in the life of every Jina.92

The Jina then begins his austerities, sometimes he fasts, and for all times he bears all hardships. Jain texts always mention the name of the fortunate donor who was the first person to give alms to the Jina (for breaking his first fast long). At the end of wanderings and austerities for some years the Jina obtains Kevalajñāna while he is standing or sitting in meditation under a tree. Such trees become holy trees and are called caitya-vṛksas.

The Saudharma Indra comes to know that the Jina has obtained kevalajñāna or highest knowledge, omniscience. Again he comes with all the retinue and celebrates this auspicious event known as the Jhāna-kalyāṇaka. Gods erect a special extensive structure, a sort of an amphitheatre, big like a city, with three fortifications and a central dais for the Jina to sit on and deliver his first Sermon to the congregation (Samāvāsaraṇa) of celestial and human beings and animals assembled in this structure which is called the Samāvāsaraṇa (Fig. 182).93

For several years again the Jina wanders from place to place and preaches the doctrine, organising the Jaina Tirtha or Śāṅgha constituted of śādhus, śādhvis, śrāvakas and śrāvikās. Ultimately he gives up food and drink, sits or stands in meditation and discards his fast bondage, namely, the earthly body and becomes a Siddha. The Siddha has no physical body (Fig. 183). His soul ascends to the Isatprāg-bhāra world on top of the Loka, where there is a crescent-shaped platform (siddha-śilā) whereon stay all such liberated souls.94 This auspicious event is the Nirvāṇa-kalyāṇaka which is generally represented by showing the Jina sitting on the Siddha-śilā. Again Indra and other gods come at the time of Nirvāṇa and celebrate the event. They lay the body of the Jina on a sandal-wood pyre, perform the cremation rite, collect the Jina’s bones and return to heavens where they install the bones (dīḍhā) in round diamond-boxes on top of Mānavaṇaka-Sthambhas (pillars) and worship them.95

Belief in Kalyāṇakas is very old. The Kalpa-sūtra text suggests that its main object was the narration of the various kalyāṇakas or chief auspicious events in the lives of Rṣabha, Nemi, Pārśva and Mahāvira. The conception has its parallel in Buddhism where representations of the main events in the life of
Buddha on one and the same sculpture had become a favourite theme with the artists of Gandhara and elsewhere. Attempts to represent the Kalyāṇakas in sculptures after the fashion of the Buddhists are not known in Jainism where one sculpture usually represents one idea. But in ceilings at Abu and Kunbharia we have beautiful big long panels depicting all the main events in the lives of Tirthaṅkaras like Mahāvira, Pārśvanātha, Śāntinātha, Rāṣṭhā, Neminātha and others. In paintings, scrolls, amongst book-illustrations, murals or frescoes and wooden book-covers of palm-leaf manuscripts, the practice of depicting scenes from the lives of Tirthaṅkaras is very old. The famous Mathura relief showing Bhagava Nemesu on a throne might have been part of some Jaina mythological story on stone. The partly mutilated relief from Mathura, preserved in the Lucknow Museum and depicting the dance of Nilāṃjanā and renunciation and monkhood of Rāṣṭhā (Fig. 18) suggests the popularity of such stone reliefs with the Jainas as well in c. first century B.C. since Fig. 18 dates from first century B.C. It seems that representations of the kalyāṇaka scenes were not unknown to Jainism in the Kusāna period. Sites associated with the events of the kalyāṇakas were regarded holy as can be seen from the Ācāryaṇa Niyukti. The Digambara sect also believes in the celebration of five kalyāṇakas, namely, Garbhāvatarana, Janma, Tapa (ākṣa), kevala-jñāna, and mokṣa (nirvāṇa) kalyāṇakas. The Piṭārīśāḥśāroddhāra refers to the ritual regarding each of these in the Pratiśṭhāvīdhi of a Jina image.

(B) SĀŚVATA JINAS AND THE VIHARAMĀNA JINAS

We have referred to the Sāśvata-Jina-Pratimās in the Siddhātyatanas or Sāśvata-Caitiyas mentioned in Jaina canonical works. According to texts like the Pravacanasāroddhāra (11th cent. A.D.) these Sāśvata-Jina-Pratimās represent four Tirthaṅkaras, namely, Vīśvaḥsena, Candrāṇa, Vārīṣa, and Vardāhamāna. They are called Sāśvata Jinas because in every Usarpinī or Avasarpinī era names of these four Tirthaṅkaras are always repeated and they flourish in any of the fifteen karmabhūmis. Belief in Sāśvata Jinas and Siddhātyatanas is fairly old as a long description of these is available in the upāṅga canonical text called the Jivājīvābhigama sūtra. These Siddhātyatanas are found in various heavens and on several mountain peaks. The Nandisvara-dvīpa, for example, is reported to have fifty-two such Siddhātyatanas.


This is the minimum number of Viharamāna Jinas while sometimes there flourish a greater number in the different kṣetras, the maximum possible number being 170 Jinas. Patas of 170 Jinas have been referred to above. A Pata of 20 Viḥaramāna Jinas in a shrine on mount Gīrnar is also referred to before. The Jagatciṃtāmanni-caityavandana stotra amongst the Pratikramaṇa sūtras of the Śvetāmbara Jainas pays homage to the 20 as well as the 170 Jinas.

The conception of Viharamāna Jinas is known to the Digambara sect also, though it is not so popular as amongst the Śvetāmbaras. Amongst both the sects, earlier representations of Viharamāna Jinas are not known, but the conception of Viharamāna Jinas is certainly pretty old. The Vasudevānīṇḍa, for example, refers to Simandhara at present living in the Apara-vidēha-kṣetra. Simandhara seems to be the most popular Viharamāna Jina with both the sects and images and temples dedicated to his worship are available (Fig. 175) though none of them are earlier than the medieval period. No cognizances of these Jinas are known in the Śvetāmbara tradition. The Digambara tradition's list of Viharamāna Jinas is as under: 107
Digambara Tradition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Viharamāṇa Jīna</th>
<th>Cognizance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Simandhara</td>
<td>Bull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Yughandhara</td>
<td>Elephant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Bāhu</td>
<td>Deer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Subāhu</td>
<td>Monkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Samyataka</td>
<td>Sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Svayamprabha</td>
<td>Moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Rśabhanātha</td>
<td>Hari or lion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Anantavīrya</td>
<td>Elephant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Suraprabha</td>
<td>Sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Viśālakīrti</td>
<td>Moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Ajrādhāra</td>
<td>Conch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Candrānāma</td>
<td>Bull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Candrabāhū</td>
<td>Lotus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Bhujāngaprabha</td>
<td>Moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Iśvara</td>
<td>Sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Nemiśvara</td>
<td>Bull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Vīraścena or Vēraścena</td>
<td>Airavata elephant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Mahān</td>
<td>Moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Devayāsa</td>
<td>Svastika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Ajitavīrya</td>
<td>Lotus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above list appended by the Bhāt-Jainā-Śabdarnavakośa is based upon Prākrit, Sanskrit and Hindi works later than 1500 v.s. The Trīlokasāra of Nemicandra however does refer to the belief in the maximum number of 170 Jinas and the minimum number of 20 Viharamāṇa Jinas.

(C) TIRTHANKARAS OF THE PAST AND FUTURE AGES (ĀRĀŚ)

Both the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras believe that twenty-four Tirthankaras lived in the Utsarpini age preceding our present Avasarpini age and that an equal number will be born in the future Utsarpini following our present āra. But the lists given by the two sects differ. The following were the Tirthankaras of the Past Utsarpini:

**Aśīta Jinas**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Śvetāmbara</th>
<th>Digambara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Kevalajñānī</td>
<td>Nirvāṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Nirvāṇī</td>
<td>Sāgara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Sāgara</td>
<td>Mahāsādhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Mahāyaśāh</td>
<td>Vimalaprabha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Vimala</td>
<td>Śrīdhara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Sarvāṇubhūti</td>
<td>Sudatta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Śrīdhara</td>
<td>Amalaprabha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Datta</td>
<td>Uttara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Dāmodara</td>
<td>Angirā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Sutejaḥ</td>
<td>Sanmati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Swāmi</td>
<td>Sindhu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Anūgata or Bhāvi Jinas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Śvetāmbara¹¹³</th>
<th>Digambara¹¹⁴</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Padmanābha or Mahāpadma</td>
<td>Mahāpadma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Sūradeva</td>
<td>Suradeva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Supārśva(ka)</td>
<td>Supārśva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Svayamprabha</td>
<td>Svayamprabha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Sarvānubhūti</td>
<td>Sarvānubhūti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Devaśruta or Devagupta</td>
<td>Devaputra or Śrideva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Udaya or Udaka</td>
<td>Kulaputra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Pedhāla or Pedhālaputra</td>
<td>Udanka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Pottila</td>
<td>Prośthila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Śatakirti¹¹⁵</td>
<td>Jayakirti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Munisuvrata Sarvavid</td>
<td>Munisuvrata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Anama</td>
<td>Aranatha or Araha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Niskaśaya</td>
<td>Nispāpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Nispulāka</td>
<td>Nīkasāya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Nirmama</td>
<td>Vipula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Citragupta</td>
<td>Nirmala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Samādhi</td>
<td>Citragupta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Samvāra</td>
<td>Samādhigupta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Yaśodhara or Anivṛtti</td>
<td>Svayamvara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Vijaya</td>
<td>Anivṛtti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Maṭla or Vimala</td>
<td>Jayaśāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Deva or Devapāta</td>
<td>Śrī-Vimala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Anantavīrya</td>
<td>Devapāla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Bhadra</td>
<td>Anantavīrya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both the sects give the names of persons of the present age who are going to be born as Tīrthaṅkaras in the next age. Thus king Śrēṇika of our age is going to be the first Future Jina.

Such lists were multiplied. Thus a hymn composed by Devendraśrī¹¹⁶ (v.s. 1450) gives names of Tīrthaṅkaras of the Past, Present and Future ages in the Bharata and Airavata kṣetras.

The atita, vartīmāna and bhāvi Tīrthaṅkaras of our land are often worshipped in various hymns recited every day. Representations of all the 72 Tīrthaṅkaras were carved on stone slabs and installed for worship in Jaina temples.
In a samatala ceiling of a side aisle of the raṅgamandapa of the Mahāvīra temple at Kumbharia are carved four series of panels showing representations of the Past (āṭha) Tīrthaṅkāras in two rows and the Future (anāgata) Tīrthaṅkāras in two more rows. A part of these rows is illustrated in Fig. 84. All the rows have labels inscribed below each figure.

An interesting sculpture is preserved in the British Museum, London. Here a male and a female are seated side by side in an architectural design of a niche or vimāna on top of which is placed in the centre a smaller figure of a Tīrthaṅkāra sitting in the padmāsana dhyāna mudrā. The male and the female figure are nicely attired and adorned with ornaments etc. Each of them carries a citron in one hand which would suggest their yakṣa character since a number of Jaina yakṣas and yakṣinis carry the citron in one of their hands. Below, on the lower portion of this sculpture, is carved the title “Anantaviryo” in characters of c. 9th cent. A.D. Nowhere in the available Jaina texts of both the sects do we come across a yakṣa Antaravirya for any Tīrthaṅkāra. Hence the label is obviously intended for the Tīrthaṅkāra Anantavirya who is the twenty-fourth Future Tīrthaṅkāra according to the Digambara list given above. Anantavirya is the twenty-third Future Jina in the above Śvetāmbara list but if Sarvabhūvavid is not taken as an adjective of Munisuvrata in the list given by the Samavāyāṅga sūtra, sūtra 158, but the Jina next to Munisuvrata, then in the Śvetāmbara list also Anantavirya would be the twenty-fourth Future Jina and Bhadra would be his epithet. The Jina to whom the label is referred to is smaller than the figures of the royal pair sitting in the vimāna whose names are not inscribed. In fact the pair reminds us of the type of figures we have identified as Parents of Jinas. And even in the panels at Kumbharia referred to above and illustrated in Fig. 84, each Past and Future Jina is shown with his Parents. We might therefore identify this sculpture in the British Museum as representing the Future Jina Anantavirya, with his Parents.

The Future Jinas belong to the coming Utsarpiṇī, the ascending era, whereas our present era is Avasarpiṇī, the descending one. So, the last Jina of our era and the first Jina of the Future era would be similar in height etc. and the last Jina of the Future Utsarpiṇī will be as great as Rśabhanātha, the first Jina of our present Avasarpiṇī. We can thus understand why the Future Jina Anantavirya is represented in the sculpture under consideration.

APPENDIX I

मुनेवंनिषिरं दुष्ट्वा नोरी पुष्चितां शकरम् ।
कोरे पवेशं दुरःख? कस्यं मद्दर? प्रभो! ॥ १ ॥
कोरे मधे पुत्रे? पवेशं च नामित्तम? ।
किमं चक्रमिष्यत? वदस्य को मुखो मृती? ॥ २ ॥
के वा शिष्यं? गजः के श्री के चामी पुंजः नव? ।
वक्षों वा वक्षी केम्? के वा जामराकु? ॥ ३ ॥
के वा माताधर एतं? गजास्ताब्ध के तरा? ।
एतस्वसि नहदेव! को वृक्षबाहारक? ॥ ४ ॥
वर्धमानहि को वा? को वाणी गंगाधारक? ।
इन्द्रविधिं कि वा? कि वा भासकं प्रभो! ॥ ५ ॥
ईश्वरोऽरः (र्त) बाह्य । ।
अनुष्ठितम् महाङ्गो! विद्वा पुष्पन्तुलम् ।
कोरे पवेशं दुरःख? कस्यं मद्दर? प्रभो! ॥ ६ ॥
वर्धनं मेधिश्चरे स्वर्णं रसशिक्षितम् ।
धातुमद्दरं चैतदं रसलोकपिण्डितम् ॥ ७ ॥

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अर्थ में युक्तः सामान्य सर्वसत्ताः जयधीर्वयः।
शयानिधि-कोषिकास्या, ये सेवने मुख अर्थसे।
देशिएः जिला भयम्य केवलानन्दनिष्मलः।
पश्चातकृती प्रभावभौ लोकात सक्तवलम्।
अन-सार्थ्ये यत्वतः, निषायः परिवर्तितः।
रविन विनते कृतदधिया, हिंसा अश्वदशारी न।
विनोणैः यस्तकः अनुव्यये बलवते।
सार्वज्ञमात्रसः स एव परमेश्वरः।
आदि यमानिन्ये कृतम् अर्थाने गर्भसंस्थितः।
स्वयं कल्याणे प्रदाने, प्रभुः हृद हर्षारः।
ग्रामवर्तमानं देवं। धर्मसारस्वतेऽक्षमः।
सङ्गवी नाम भृगसंपार्थी भृगुर्व च कारणा महा।
अष्टे च दिवसाय एते, सागरसहस्त्रवस्तः।
आदिद्वारा पर्याते, नदिवं नुणया, नानुकः।
युगोंयं गोमुखः नाम आदिद्वारशु सर्वश्रीः।
युगिणी संहिराजः नायणा चक्रवर्ती मतः।
इत्तेंदुः। श्रवणं भृगु-जीताल्यं रथवाकः।
पारिजाते वस्तवश्र दा्वादशतवश्रियो।
अन्यवेचं अनुरुवाते ये, तेषु तददाशः।
चंद्रेन्द्रः श्रावणं दूराये कश्चिदार्थपरिष्ठ।
स्वयं कल्याणभुजवः। कराये कुम्भारिणं।
स्वयं कल्याणभुजवः। सोऽपि निष्कृतम्।
कर्मवृत्त्यं कारनार्थिनार्थात रथ बहु।
यथा तथावपयालकं वाजयना नितं पदस्यः।
तथा सुक्ष्मण्डो कात्य-नालानमुखकरणम्।
हुः-हुः हस्तालामातः तो वीणावक्षावदकी।
अन्तवाहिणूः सत्यभोज जसवन्तः शेषः।
वायुरीकवीनचकस्या-दूरे दिविनानमनेकष्ठ।
चुंचिलाः अभि देवम्, बाह्यस्वर देवतितः।
सोऽथः देवं महादेवर! देयारिते: शिवायादः।
नानाधिपाः विविधाः एकाकाबिनूः सुरेश्वरः।
अववाचित्तरकाजः हुः तुहेवाय: प्रभोः।
अभिं च दाराधिपतिः जाता भावधार्य: प्रभोः।
हुः तुहेवाय: प्रभोः।
युक्तसः सत्याचारस्या स्वामित्वादयकः।
एवं सर्पवृक्षांस्य: स्वामित्वादयकः।
गंधार्येऽपि: ब्रम्होऽमयादास्तनस्या दिनवृत्तः।
आदिद्वारा भवनीतो न कसकृतीवुः।
कं विक्रमाधिकारः यथे देशः सामविधायकः।
नानासतीएकाळादितीयासाधिपतिः।
युक्तार्थः शेषा बाह्रः, आकर्षेन सत्याचार:।
काळीयोऽपि: कृत्व-दृष्टे देवते। वस्तुः जयतं विनिषेधम्।
रोहणे सापंसतानं बद्धभः बुक्तं वषादाः।
Devādhideva Tīrthaṅkara

अन्वेषणात्मक रत्नां वर्णयति ।
नारङ्गः कृत्तिमयांते श्रमस्तो यस्य सर्वं ॥ २५ ॥
एवं सामस्यम्मृवं नापरस्य प्रकृतिष्ठतं ॥
अवेज सर्वाकारपि तिथ्यनिर्विवषायं ॥ २६ ॥

तामुखं दिशरित्वं यस्य पृष्ठं नमस्तत ॥
विजय दुःखो देवतो स धाति परम पदम ॥ २७ ॥
इति श्रीविवेकयोगविवज्ञाताश्रयाधिविद्वारसद्वसद्यमधे श्रीजितमूलविकोऽकः ॥

APPENDIX II

(जिनविष्कल्पम्)

[From Traivarnikācāra of Somasena Bhaṭṭāraka (A.D. 1610), adhyāya 6, verses 25-41, pp. 160-162]
REFERENCES

1. He is a Tirthankara because he helps to cross the ocean of samsāra or because he establishes the Tīrtha constituted of the four-fold Sangha made up of the Sadhu, the Sādhvi, the Śravaka and the Śrāvīka. Cf.: तीर्थन्त्र दुग्धं दुग्धं दुग्धं दुग्धं | सांस्कृतिक श्रवणेऽर्थम् सवानीम् | तत्समुदायवाचकतुलकार भवेत् | प्रसववर्त्त्यादि भवेत् | | —Yogasūtra of Hemacandra with his own commentary, p. 218
This explanation of Tīrtha is based on the following passage:
हितं महे! संयमित्वादि तिष्ठे! गोपाम, अभिनवं तव निममं तिमिकरे, तिमि पुरा भवुन्ता हैं समापयों, | त जहा समय, तानप्रीयो, सच्चया, सातीप्रायिनी | | —Bhagavatī Sūtra, 20.8.15
Also see Āvāṣyaka-Vṛttī of Haribhadra, p. 58ff.

2. The word Jina was also used for the Buddha. It was only later on that the sense of the word was restricted to denote the Jina Tirthankara. Cf.: सर्वं मुक्तं बुद्धं परस्परविवर्णम् | सत्तवस्त्रीति भवाविवर्णञ्जीविविषिति | | —Amarakosa
The title Jina is explained as follows:
प्रेते महेषाभद्राश्वस्तीर्तीति निन्त: समारः, यह च, रथमंडलाः नामोऽन्ते निते देव नितोऽन्ते। अस्त्रियोऽस्त्रियोऽस्त्रियोऽस्त्रियो | —Abhayadeva’s Commentary on the Śikṣānātha Sūtra, p. 191

3. Cf.: अशुद्धि देशभिषक्तू नूतांगिमात्रेण अपवा नारित रूपः प्रत्येक वेदां प्रलयातीतिन्थं व आहे:। | | Ibid., p. 191
सिद्धांतविधानार्थं जितोलो ते जिता होति | अशुद्धु हृत: व वह अशुद्धशा लोक बुद्धिः। | —Āvāṣyaka Niryuki, gāthā 1087 in Āvāṣyaka Cārtii, II, pp. 8-9
अस्त्रियादि पातंस्कवां बुद्धिः प्रात: नारित: व आहे:।। | —Ibid., p. 4
Āvāṣyaka Vṛttī of Haribhadra, p. 406. Also see Varāṅgacarita, 25.88-91, pp. 252f; Mālācāra, 7.41, p. 394.

4. यमः तुस्मयम् आवामाः प्रत्यातिनिन्थं | विद्यांसात्पत्र दशस्त्राभिधानं देवे:। | —Byas-Somālīa (Biblio. Indica ed.), 58.45, p. 320


6. Cf.: प्रस्तावाधिनां दुर्गिन्यम् प्रस्तावाधिनां दुर्गिन्यम् \ \ | करुणाय न भवन्तर्वनन्तर करुणाय न भवन्तर्वनन्तर | | —Dhauagala

7. शस्त्रवेधसिद्धांश्च शस्त्रवेधसिद्धांश्च | संवर्त्तान्न्यात्पुंसकाः संवर्त्तान्न्यात्पुंसकाः | साहित्यविवविषिते अविवर्णसाहित्यम् | गृहाद्वीपयं साहित्यविवविषिते अविवर्णसाहित्यम् | | —Pratisūtrasamgraha, 1.61-62, p. 7

8. अथ विश्वविद्वाणु विद्वान समाजात्मिकम् | जान्यापि संशयानु क्रमं विद्वानस्य | बुद्धवुत्क्रमार्थे गोर्गव गोर्गव गोर्गव गोर्गव | | | —Pratisūtrasamgraha, chp. 4 (in ms.)

9. यमः तुस्मयम् आवामाः प्रत्यातिनिन्थं | विद्यांसात्पत्र दशस्त्राभिधानं देवे:। | —(Sanskrit chaya) Caturvāṁśa mahābhāṣa, vv. 80-81


11. बुद्धाभ्यासस्य बुद्धाभ्यासस्य बुद्धाभ्यासस्य बुद्धाभ्यासस्य | संवर्त्तान्न्यात्पुंसकाः संवर्त्तान्न्यात्पुंसकाः | | —Pratisūtrasamgraha, chp. 4 (in ms.)
Devādhīdeva Tirthankara

र्वन दीपकालयम् वर्षे भाष्यं वर्त्तन् ।
कालोपवर्तमानं विश्वेविन्द्रयो गारिन् ॥
सदैव खं भविषयो भविष्यो भविष्यो ॥

—Ajñā-Dīnākara, II, verses 4-6

Also see verses 6-11, p. 143.

22. Even though Mallinātha was a male according to the Digambaras and a female according to the Śvetāmbaras, a noteworthy feature in Jaina iconography is the complete agreement in both the sects about the names of the twenty-four Tirthankaras of this age in the Bhārataksetra.

The sex difference of the nineteenth Jina Mallinātha is based upon the main point of Śvetāmbara and Digambara difference, namely, the veṇakattva for Jaina monks later on reflected in the worship of idols of the Tirthankaras. The real crisis on this point seems to have come in the fifth century A.D. when perhaps sense of the texts might have been adjusted to suit the requirements of each sect. According to Digambara belief, Mallinātha as a princess cannot attain Kevalajñāna because females would not discard clothes, and clothes mean parigraha. The Digambaras do not believe in Stīr-mukti.

However, we must remember that in the Kuṣāṇa age at Mathura both the sects worshipped Tirthankara images which are without any garment on their person, and we do find on the pedestals Jainas monks who are nude and who hold only a piece of cloth in front of their privies. But we also find well-dressed Jaina nuns on these pedestals. The question of veṇakattva had not yet reached its crisis which resulted in a wider schism.

All Śvetāmbara images, from about the middle or end of the fifth century A.D., show a lower garment on the person of every Tirthankara. No mark is shown on the person of Mallinātha image in the Śvetāmbara sect which would immediately help us to recognise Malli as a female. There is only one image so far discovered which represents Mallinātha clearly as a female with somewhat developed breasts and a vetā of hair at the
back. The head of this image, preserved in the State Museum Lucknow (no. J.885 from Unnao in U.P.), is lost.

The Digambara stand on stri-mukti seems to be a later offshoot in the history of the Jaina Church since in the lists of heads list of Šrīkaś (nuns) who were direct disciples of various Tirthaṅkaras is carefully maintained by both the sects. Possibly there was no such bar on the fair sex according to the original doctrine, the discarding of garment being optional even for the male sex (monks).


27. For the age etc. of different Jaina Councils, see Mani Kalyānavijayā, Viṣṇu Nīrāvā Śarvaaut jina Kālaśāntā (in Hindi). Belief in 24 Jinas is known to Bhagavatī sūtra, 16.5, 20.85-89. Rajaprbhī sūtra refers to images of Jinas. Paumacarīyam, 11.2-3, 28-38-39, 33-59 refer to images of Jinas, but Paumacarīyam should date from 550-577 A.D. The text of Rajaprbhī, as available today, contains art date of the Kurus. Bhagavatī sūtra text, as available today, also cannot be earlier than the age of the Mathura Council of c. early fourth century A.D.


सत्कार्यं भुक्तमिलाति: वहिन्यो अष्टादशवर्षा व्रजा: स्वाधीनः।

Thus the Āryaśāka was not the same as the Paumacarīyam as regards the Vṛttas.

A.S. cf.: Bhaṭṭa Aparāndanaśāstra, 215. 224

—Lokaprabhāśa of Vinayavijaya, III. 32.224

29. The current Digambara verse describing the Eight Pratīṣṭhānās is:

कृष्णप्रभात्विविभक्तिनिपत्तिविचारमणन्यत।

नवाश्रयुद्धप्रभातविविभक्तिजितेद्राहणं।

A.S. Harivamśa of Jinasena, 9.212; 56.115ff.; Paumacarīyam, 23.25-73. The Śvetāmbaras give a similar text; see Pravacanasārađhāra, v. 440, p. 106.


31. Tapāsākṣuma of Tīloyaṇappati (TP), 4.605. Tagara of Paumacarīyam, which the editors of TP have taken Tapāsākṣuma = fitted, which is supported by the Table of N. R. Achandran, Teotramtikamandaleshwar, pp. 123-124, based on Digambara Tamil and Kannada


31. Śhāhānaga sūtra, 4, sū. 307; Jiv añvābhigama sūtra, sū. 137, pp. 225f.

32. Jiv añvābhigama sūtra, sū. 139, pp. 232-33. For Siddhā
tan at various places according to Digambara tradition, see Harivamśa (Manikhand Digambara Jaina Granthamala, Bombay), 5-6, pp. 70-140.

33. cf.: दूरी पहियान जलाल, जैनन्यायाना विविधता: ध्वेष।

प्रभु: भीमवान, भ्रष्टाद्वाद गृहस्थ, कृत्रिमपत्रम्।

भवेत् वद्य तीर्थाच्यो नामयो नयोहरे ज।

दूरी नीमोदन ब्रह्मा: प्रभु: निर्मोदन ब्रह्मा:।

—Abhidhāna Cintamāni, 1.47-48

34. For lists see Pravacanasārađhāra, 381-82; Tiloyapanaṭṭati, 4.604-605; Pratīṣṭhāradhāra, 1.78-79.

35. वर्ण वस्तुभवेत् प्रत्येक गृहमयी को प्रति प्रति न।

तत्वप्रत्येकं संवच्चालितांनि कुन्यमयी किन्यमयी।

—Pratīṣṭhāradhāra, 4.214, p. 115

36. Agrawala, V.S., Terracottas from Ahicchatra, Ancient India, no. 4, pl. LXVI.


39. Also see Rhyt Davids, Buddhist India, p. 232.

40. Cf. Bhagavatī sūtra, 3.2, sū. 144 which describes Mahāvīra as meditating under a tree on a Prativśślāpa. Also see Shah, U.P., Studies in Jaina Art, pp. 70ff.


42. Āroṣaṇak Vṛtti, v. 553 in Haribhadra’s Āroṣaṇak Vṛtti, p. 232.

43. Paumacarīyam, 2.31ff.

44. Āroṣaṇak Vṛtti, 2.341.


46. Ādīpāraśa, parva 23, 25-73, pp. 542-49. The Kalyāna
dirā strotra, ascribed to Siddhasena Divakara, follows this list, see Mahāprabhāvika Nāvasmaraka, pp. 460-488. For later Digambara lists following the same tradition, see Pratīṣṭhāradhāra, 4.205-213, pp. 114-115.

47. Tiloyapanaṭṭati, 4.919-927, p. 267. Also see Padmapurāṇa of Raviśeṇa, 2.149-154, p. 21 and p. 17, v. 101.


49. The stock list is: Asoka tree, shower of celestial flowers, divine music (divyadhūnā), flywhisks, lion-throne, nimbus, celestial drum-beating and triple-umbrella.

—Cf.: विद्वाननाहो धर्मसूत्रस्य पारंपरिक सिद्धांतम्, नामावर्भो तत्तत्त्वहीन साधनविनिमयांस्य धर्मसूत्राध्ययनः।

—Aśoka-Dinakara, II, p. 205
Devādhiva Tirthaṅkarā


53. Cf.:

Sanskrit Chāya of original PKT, *Ceyxavananda Mahābhāsa*, p. 15

56. Cf.

Also see Pravacanasaṅghodhāra, v. 70, p. 12 and comm., p. 14 describing the three avasthās, namely, Chadnumātha, Kevalī and Siddha. These correspond to the Pitādasha, Padastha and Ropatiṣṭha dhyanas of the Jaina system of Yoga.

54. Vāstivāra, pp. 93ff.

55. This is an uncommon feature on the sinhāsana of Jaina images hardly obtained in sculptures discovered hitherto. Possibly it was a local tradition of the age of Thakkar Feru and soon died out as there were already two bigger cāmaraṇadhāras in a parkara.

56. See the drawing by Pandit Bhagavandas, the editor, in *Vāstivāra*, opposite p. 96.

60. The *rama-dhava* and the *prakṣa-traya* are obviously meant for a representation of the *samanavasaraṇa*.

61. Cf.

The *rama-traya* and the *prakṣa-traya* are obviously meant for a representation of the *samanavasaraṇa*.

62. This description of the parkara of a Jina image seems to apply to images of c. 11th cent. A.D. or later. The parkara was not so elaborated before 9th-10th cent. A.D. nor was the ādyakṣi introduced so early. See Kumara-palacaritam, published by Godiji Jaina Upāśaya, Bombay, 1926, app. 3, p. 221a. This is attached here as an appendix. The passage is from *Aparājita-pracēchā*.


64. *Adipurāṇa*, 73-59 (Janapitha ed.), pp. 546-547.


66. See B.C. Bhattacharya’s discussion on iconography of the various Tirthaṅkaras in *ibid.*., pp. 48-49.

In *ibid.*., p. 85, Bhattacharya says that the Magadhan king Śrenika, better known as Bimbisāra, acts as the chowrie-bearer of Mahāvyūra.

67. *Śivāṅgha sūtra*, 4, su. 307, *Pravacanaśāradhāra*, 491, p. 37. Also for a very early list, see *Jīvijyāvībhāgana sūtra*, sū. 137, p. 225. For Siddhāyataṇas at various places according to Digambaras, see *Harivastu* of Janasena, parvana 5-6 (Manikchand Dig. Jaina Granthamala edn.), pp. 70-140.


Old images of Sāvata-Jīnas are not traced hitherto; possibly for want of recognizing symbols, they could not be identified. These images do not show any iconographic differences from those of other Jīnas. A few later inscribed images of Sāvata-Jīnas are noted in the *Jaina Lekhasaṅgvyāha*, Part I, edited by Buddhagacchari suri, and in the *Tirthaṅkara Jvā*, vol. I (in Gujarati) by Muni Jayantavijaya.

69. The Svetāmbara conception can be compared with a similar but very concise description in the Digambara *Harivāsa*, parva 5, vv. 361-365 giving the parivāra of the *Viśva-ākṣṭram* or *Sāvata* images in the *Siddhāyataṇa*.

70. They are: Sastika, Śravasta, Nandyāvaria, Vardhamanaka (powder-flask), Bhadrasana, Kalasa, Darpana and Matsya-yugma, according to *Aparājītaka sūtra*, sū. 31.

71. Dress of the Jina nuns is prescribed in the Jaina canonical texts. “In all four clothes were used for the nuns according to the *Araṇīanga sūtra*, II.5.1.1 (also *Thānīanga*, p. 186). One of them was two cubits broad (*dikhatvadhārām*), two of them were three cubits broad, and the fourth was four cubits in breadth” (Deo, S.B., *History of Jain Monachism*, p. 479).

Numerous other details are available in the *Niryakṣi* and the *Bhatar-Kalpa-Bhāṣya*. The *Oghniyakṣi* (671-678) gives a complete list of as many as eleven clothes to be worn by the nun and the *Bhatar-Kalpa-Bhāṣya* (vol. IV, vv. 40866) also confirms the same number. Out of
these eleven clothes six were worn on the lower part of the body. Of the latter calani or calanikā was up to the knees (jānapramāṇa) and was worn after the manner of bamboo-top dancers and was unseen.

The Oghahiyaki-bhāṣya, 317 and the Bhārat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya, IV, 4098-91 refer to the kālicuka among clothes worn on the upper part of the body of a Jaina nun. It was probably unseen. The standard consisted of two-and-half hands in length and one-hand in breadth, and varied according to the body of the persons wearing... (Dec, S.B., ibid., 480-481).


73. The Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions on rock-bedds in various caves and caverns in Tamil Nadu prove the penetration of Jaina monks in the South (esp. Tamil Nadu), possibly through Andhra, Orissa and Pratīṣṭhānapur, as early as the 3rd cent. B.C. They carried with them the tradition of the Jina image which was current in the North in the 3rd cent. B.C. or a little earlier. This tradition did not include the śrī-ratna motif as suggested by the Lochanipur torso. Hence the absence of the śrī-ratna on Jina images in the South.

74. Aupapātika śūra, śūra 10 and comm. of Abhayadeva, pp. 26-42. A paper giving analysis of the Jaina and Buddhist descriptions was read by this author before the International Congress of Orientalists which met in New Delhi in 1964, and was sent for publication in the Vogel Commemoration Volume, which unfortunately is still not published. A free translation of the Aupapātika account is given above because of its obvious importance.

75. See Jaina Art and Architecture, vol. I, p. 110, fig. VI and plate 48. The śukō is seen on Mathura Museum no. 12.268, ibid., pl. 47b, but the face is later retouched.


77. Studies in Jaina Art, fig. 64 from Patn; Jaina Art and Architecture, vol. III, pl. 311A. Ibid., pl. 310A is a stone Cauamukha from Gwalior; pl. 310B is a bronze Cauamukha with 72 Jinas from a Digambara Jaina shrine, Surat, while pl. 311B is a bronze Cauamukha with 24 Jinas from the Indian Museum, Calcutta. A four-faced Sahastrikūta stone sculpture is in worship at Satrunjaya, see Acharya Kanchanasagara sūri, Śrī Shaṅkarasvarūpī Girirāja Darshan in Sculpture and Architecture (Kapadwani, 1982), fig. 119. Studies in Jaina Art, fig. 63 is a four-fold (Cauamukha) Naṅdurārava-bhimha in bronze with 13 sitting Tīrthaṅkaaras on each side (52 Jinas in all). Ibid., fig. 76 represents a large bronze Samavasarāpa dated in 1065 A.D. originally from Srichi now in a Jaina shrine in Surat. It shows four Tīrthaṅkaaras on four sides in the Gandhakūta at the top.

78. Cf.: जह एत्य नियमित धिति द नर्म द जहु बचसील | नतसथ द देवकर विदितविदित वर्तदात । २६ विविधिदिगुणवर्त देवकर कहलालित । प्रति देवकरविदेव दीर्घदिगुणवर्त | ११ । २६ विविधिदिगुणवर्त देवकर कहलालित । प्रति देवकरविदेव दीर्घदिगुणवर्त | २६ विविधिदिगुणवर्त देवकर कहलालित ।

—Ceyavanamakākṣa, pp. 5-6

79. Such images with three Tīrthaṅkaaras are listed as Rāmāraya in Digambara Jaina Catalogues of images. Images with five Jina figures are sometimes worshipped and listed as Paṅca-Puruṣeyātmas.

80. A stone plaque with 170 Tīrthaṅkaaras figures is in worship in a shrine at Satrunjaya, see Acharya Kanchanasagara—sūri, op. cit., fig. 120.

81. See Studies in Jaina Art, fig. 35 from British Museum, London, originally from Orissa.

81a. For Camukha or Caturmukha images, see Sudhin De, Cauamukha, a Symbolic Jaina Art, Jaina Journal, vol. VI, no. 1, pp. 27-30 and plates; Studies in Jaina Art, pp. 22f, 26, 95, 117, 120.


81b. Jaina Lekha-samgraha (ed. by Buddhāsagara sūri), part 2, no. 19 (Caturcūrtimātī-Jina-Paṭtikā kārīmā), dated 1.s. 1219; also see ibid., nos. 35, 109, 112, 135, 140, etc. and no. 199 for the pāta of 96 Jinas installed by Somasundara sūri.


86. Tatnātha Sūtra, VI, 23.


Devādhīdeva Tirthaṅkara

89. Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi, I.35. The Āvaśyaka Niruyti, gathā 381 merely gives gota names which suggest the same vamsas as suggested by Hemacandra.


91. Ibid., colour plates 56, 61, 67 and fig. 305. For Dik-Kumārīs, see Shah, U.P., Minor Jaina Ditties, JOL, vol. XXXI, no. 3, pp. 277-281 and fig. 1.


93. Ibid., colour plate 29, 35.

94. Ibid., colour plate 34.

95. For the Nirvāṇa-Kalyāṇaka of Rṣabh, see Jambūdvī-paprajñāpti sūtra, sūtra 33; Adipurāṇa of Jinasena, chapter 47.


98. See note 83 above. Ācārīnga Niruyti, vv. 331-332 quoted in the Ācārīnga Vṛtti of Śilāṅka, pp. 418-419.

99. Pratīṣṭhānīśerodhāra, 4.25-221, pp. 89-115. Harīvānshā, Adipurāṇa and other purāṇas describe these events in the lives of different Tirthaṅkaras.

For information on different Tirthaṅkaras, esp. see Malavaniya, Dalsukh, Sīhāṃśa-Samavāyoṅga, pp. 696-745.

100. Sīhāṃśa sūtra, 4, sū. 307, Pravevaṃsārāddhāra, 491, p. 117. For an early list, see Jivājīśabīhīga sūtra, sū. 137, p. 225. For Śiddhākatanas at various places according to Digambara tradition, see Harīvānsha, paravans 5-6, pp. 70-140.


102. See notes 68 and 69 above.

103. Sometimes the epithet “Śvāmī” (Lord, Master) is applied at the end of names of Tirthaṅkaras, e.g., Mahāvīra śvāmī, Munisuvrata śvāmī, Yugandhara śvāmī, Simandhara śvāmī, Jivita-śvāmī and so on.


105. See note 104 above.

106. Vasudevahātra, p. 84.


108. Ibid., pp. 259-60 under Aghāna-dvija-pāṭha.


110. It is not necessary to append here our purpose the lists of Past, Present and Future Tirthaṅkaras of Airavata-kṣetra in Jambūdvipa, of or the Pūrva and Paścima Bharata-kṣetras and Pūrva and Paścima Airavata-kṣetras in the Dātaki-khandā, etc. for which see Bhāt-Jaina Śabdā-HTaṅga-vōśa, vol. I, pp. 265-70.

111. For Śvetāmbara lists, see Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi, 1.50-53; Lokapraṅka, 34, 295ff; Pravevaṃsārāddhāra, 7th dvāra, sūtras 280-295; Samavāyoṅga sūtra, sū. 157ff, pp. 150ff, though it gives lists of Future Jinas, curiously omits the Past Jinas.

112. The Digambara list is based on the list given by T.N. Ramachandran, Tirunṟuttikūṟṟam and Its Temples, p. 190, which is based on a Jayamālā. Also see Hindi Jaina Encyclopaedia (ed. B.L. Jaina), vol. I, p. 265; Jaina Siddhānta Samgraha, p. 19.

113. Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi, 1.53-56; Samavāyoṅga sūtra, sū. 159, pp. 153-54; Lokapraṅka, 34, vv. 297ff; Pravevaṃsārāddhāra, op. cit.

114. Uttarapuraṇa by Guṇabhadra, 76, vv. 471-481; Trilokapuraṇa, gathās 872-876.

115. Samavāyoṅga reads Bobhikān sŚvāṁ (v.l. sādāvaśvāṁ). If sŚvāṁ is not an epithet of sMūṣṭāyup, then sŚvāṁ is no. 12, which becomes no. 13 and so on. The last one then is sEkahtāyup or sMūṣṭāyup is his epithet. See also Malavāyup, Dalsukh, Sīhāṃśa-Samavāyoṅga (Ahmedabad, 1955), pp. 725ff.


117. Chanda, Ramaprasad, Medieval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum, pl. IX, pp. 41-42.
CHAPTER EIGHT

Iconography of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras

1. FIRST TĪRTHAṅKARA: RŚABHANĀTHA

The first Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Rśabhanātha (or Vṛṣabhanātha) is variously invoked as Ādinātha, Ādiśvara, Yugasīdeva, Nābhaya (son of Nābhi), and so on. He was the son of Nābhi and Marudevi ruling from the city of Ayodhya. Nābhirāja was the last of the Kulakaras according to the Śvetāmbaras, whereas Rśabha, the son of Nābhi (also a Kulakara) was the last Kulakara according to the Digambaras. Rśabhanātha is further addressed as Prathama-rāja (First King), Prathama-bhikṣuka (First Anchoret) and the Prathama or Ādi-nātha (First Lord or Tīrthaṅkara).¹

Golden in complexion, Rśabha descended upon this earth from the Sarvārthasiddhi vimāna (heaven) of Jaina cosmography and was born in the Uttarāśadha nakṣatra, according to both the sects. The Āvaśyaka Niruykta offers two explanations of his name: He was so called because he had the mark of a bull (vṛṣabha) on his thigh (uṣṇīṣa). Or, because the bull was the first amongst the (fourteen—Śve., or sixteen—Dig.) dreams seen by his mother (at the time of his descent from heaven), he was called Vṛṣabha.²

Digambara writers generally say that the name of every Tīrthaṅkara was given by Indra at the end of the birth-bath ceremony. In his Ādipurāṇa, Jinasena offers various explanations. Being the best and the greatest of all in the universe he was called Vṛṣabha, or because he showered the nectar of Dharma or because his mother had a bull amongst the (sixteen) auspicious dreams and so on.³ The bull also became his cognizance according to both the sects.

According to the Ādipurāṇa of Jinasena, Yaśasvatī and Sunandā were the two queens of Rśabha, according to the Harivamsa they were Sunandā and Nanda, while according to Śvetambara writers they were Sunandā and Sumangalā. Bāhubali, a son and Sundari, a daughter, were born to his wife Sunandā while the other queen gave birth to Bharata and a daughter named Brāhma. In all one hundred sons were born.

Rṣabhadeva first taught people how to kindle fire as also various ārts, including the seventy-two ārts for females and the sixty-four ārts for males. He taught dramaturgy to his son Bharata, as also the various methods of warfare and instructed his two daughters Brāhma and Sundari in writing (scripts) and arithmetic respectively. Rśabha invented town-planning and divided his people into three classes of Kaśtriyas, Vaiśyas and Śudras, on the basis of their professions. Indra built the city of Vinītā for Rṣabhadeva.

Having enjoyed kingship for an extraordinary number of years, Rśabha renounced the world at the request of Laukāntika gods. Raviśeṇa and other Digambara authors say that after seeing the dance of Nilāṃjanā Rśabha’s mind turned away from worldly pleasures. It is said Indra had sent the dancer for this very purpose and when, in the midst of dance, Nilāṃjanā suddenly disappeared, Rśabha thought of the evanescence of all worldly objects.

Two fragments of a frieze from Mathura, assignable to Sunga age, now preserved in the museum at Lucknow (nos. J.354 + 609) seem to represent the scene of the dance of Nilāṃjanā and Rśabha meditating after turning a monk (Fig. 19). Under a pavilion, a female is dancing in front of a royal personage. The standing figures on the right appear to be Laukāntika gods while the naked figure (half preserved and
obviously of a Jaina monk) may be Rṣabhanātha renouncing the world. Towards the right end of the sculpture we find two partly mutilated figures sitting in ardha-padmāsana and dhyāna mudrā. The panel shows different scenes, one after another, perhaps in some sequence. It seems that the practice of depicting scenes from lives of Tirthankaras was already in vogue in at least the first century B.C.

Daily for one year Rṣabha gave away in charity money, gold, etc., at the end of which period, after having properly apportioned his territories amongst his sons, he set out for spiritual conquest.

Reaching a garden outside the city-gates in a palanquin carried by Indra and other gods, he took his seat under an Āsoka (Jonesia asoka) tree and “abandoned all clothes, wreaths, ornaments, as well as the passions. Indra placed on the Lord’s shoulders a devadāsya (garment or piece of costly cloth).” In four handfuls Rṣabha tore out the hair on his head. Indra held this hair in the hem of his own garment and requested the Lord not to remove the rest of hair with the fifth and the last handful since these hair at the back, falling in tresses and curls on the Lord’s shoulders were extremely beautiful to look at. Sculptures of Rṣabhanātha unmistakably show hair-locks falling on the shoulders of the Jina. Even in sculptures from the Kankali Tila, Mathura, assignable to the Kusāna age, this tradition is followed. Amongst the Digambaras also sculptures of Ādīnatuha show hair-locks on shoulders. But Digambara texts like Adipurāṇa, Harivamśa or Padmacarita say that Rṣabha plucked his hair in five handfuls (like all other Tirthankaras), i.e., he removed all the hair on the head. However, Digambara writers like the author of Harivamśa account for the hair-locks by saying that jaṭā grew over his head when Rṣabha was practising penance.

When Rṣabha was practising penance, Nami and Vinami, sons of Kaccha and Mahākaccha (royal princes who had turned ascetics along with Rṣabha), approached him with a desire to obtain some share in the territories distributed by Rṣabha, and stood on his sides, sword in hand, when the Lord was engaged in deep meditation. Dharana, Indra of the Nāga-kumaras, saw Nami and Vinami, and gave them Lordship over Vidyādhara and gave them 48,000 Vidvās, Gaurī, Prajñāpāti and others. As directed, Nami and Vinami founded two rows of cities on the sides of the Mt. Vaitāḍhya and ruled over them. Figure 40 from Satruñjaya is a rare sculpture depicting Nami and Vinami standing by the sides of Rṣabha meditating in kāyotsarga mudrā.

Rṣabha obtained kevalajñāna while he was standing in meditation under a banyan tree (Ficus Indica) in a big garden near the city of Purimatālā. Rṣabha had a following of several thousands of sādhus, sādhvīs, śrāvakas and śrāvikās; of his eighty-four gaṇadharas or chief disciples, Vṛśabhasena, also known as Puṇḍarika-swāmī, was the chief one, while Brāhmaṇī was the head of āryikās (nuns) of the order of Rṣabhadeva.

Rṣabha obtained Nirvāṇa while sitting in meditation in the samaparyanka posture (padmāsana) on the Mountain called Aṣṭāpadā or Kailāśa. Indra and other gods performed the cremation rites while Bharata is said to have erected, on the site of cremation, a Stūpa and an Āyatana (shrine) with images of all the 24 Jinas, the sons of Rṣabha and of some followers.

Both the sects describe the bull as the cognizance of Ādīnatuha and Gomukha and Cakreśvarī as his attendant yakṣa and yakṣī respectively. Gomukha, as the name suggests, has the face of a cow or bull (vṛṣabha) and is also said to ride on the bull vehicle. This bull-faced attendant of Rṣabha closely resembles Nandi the vahana of Śiva. Rṣabha, with his beautiful jaṭā (matted hair) over head and hair-locks falling on shoulders, having the bull as his cognizance, closely resembles the conception of Śiva with the bull vehicle (see Figs. 22, 25, 28, 32, 34, 55, 57). Digarbara writers address Rṣabhanātha variously as Sadvajīta, Vāmadeva, Tatpurusa, Aghora and also as Hiranyagarbha, Svayambhu and so on. It is also noteworthy that Rṣabhanātha is said to have obtained Nirvāṇa on Mt. Kailāśa. Of course, the Kailāśa, also called Aṣṭāpadā, is variously identified. Mt. Satruñjaya in Saurashtra is especially associated with Rṣabhanātha.

A hymn, Sopārakastvana, is addressed to Rṣabhanātha image worshipped at Sopāraka (ancient Sūparaka tirtha, modern Sopāra near Bombay). Authorship of this hymn is not known but it shows that at the ancient port of Sūparaka, a big Caitya dedicated to this Jīna and enshrining images of Jaina monks like Nāgendra and others existed. The city of Sopāraka is here described as an ornament of
Kuṭkanaṇḍa. It is said that in the Śaiva temple of Kuḍūṅgeśvara at Ujjain, Siddhasena Divakara chanted a hymn before Śiva at the end of which the linga burst open and an image of Rṣabha came up. Vikramāditya gave a grant of certain villages for the worship of this Jīna. Shorn of all magic elements, the legend suggests existence of a Rṣabha-shrine at Ujjain with the image possibly consecrated by the great Ācārya Siddhasena Divākara.

Jinaprabha sūri notes: "At Satruṇjaya is worshipped (the image of Ādinātha, installed by Śrī Vairaswami (Vajraswāmi), as also the chief deity on this mount Nandivarudhana Yugādinātha, installed by the Pāndavas, Śrī Kalaśa Śrī Pupdārika-swāmi installed by Śrī Sāntinātha (the sixteenth Jīna), another image known as Purṇakalaśa (possibly an image of Purpārika the chief Ganadhara of Rṣabha) installed by Śrī Vairaswami. On this mount is also worshipped an image of Śāntinātha, installed in the Jīna's life-time and known as Sudhā-kunda-Jivitaswāmi. Here is also worshipped the first person to obtain mokṣa, the mother of Rṣabha—Marudevā-swāmī."

Amongst other well-known sites of Rṣabha shrines are the temple of Kesariyājī near Udaipur, Rajasthan, the temple of Kulpāka in Madhya Pradesh, and the temple of Ādinātha built by Vimala Saha on Mt. Abu, and the Ādinātha temple at Khajuraho.

An image of Rṣabhanātha, belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period, from the bank of the Balabhadrā kunda, Mathura, discovered by Pandit Radha Krishna, is preserved in the Curzon Museum, Mathura. An inscription on its pedestal, dated in the year 84 of Vāsudeva, records that it is a pratīmā (image) of Bhavagvān Arhat Rṣabha (Bhavagvāto Arhato Rṣabhasya). Head and the upper portions of the sculpture are lost. There is a śrivatsa mark on the chest of the Jīna and a cakrā and a padma mark on the soles of his feet. Pedestal shows a devotional scene: a dharmacakrā surmounted on a pillar with a few male figures on the right and a few females on the left. The first two males standing near the Wheel appear to be Jaina sādhus and the first two females are Jaina nuns. The rest represent Jaina laymen and laywomen. No. B.36 in the Mathura Museum, also of the Kuṣāṇa period, is an image of Rṣabha. Nos. J.26 and J.69 in the Lucknow Museum are images of Rṣabha of the same age from Mathura. Of the bronzes from Chausa in the Patna Museum, nos. 6538 and 6539 are figures of Rṣabha standing and dating from the Kuṣāṇa period. Nos. 6553 and 6554 from the Chausa hoard in the Patna Museum show Rṣabha in padmāsana and are of a later period. Nos. 6551 and 6552, identified as Candraprabha, also represent Rṣabha. Of the Kuṣāṇa age, images of Rṣabha are also found on the four-fold images known also as Pratīmā-sarvato-bhadrikā in inscriptions. One of the four Jinas represents Rṣabha who is identified with the help of hair-locks falling on his shoulders.

Of the Gupta period we have a few sculptures of Rṣabha in the Mathura Museum (Fig. 28, also see figures 25, 26, 27 in Studies in Jaina Art). One of these, no. B.7 in the Mathura Museum shows two more sitting Jina figures on the pedestal on the sides of the dharmacakrā and thus this sculpture of Rṣabhanātha, sitting in padmāsana, is a Tri-Tirthika image. Mathura Museum no. 268 is a standing figure of Rṣabha with the face and hair possibly retouched later. The inscription on its pedestal calls him Rṣabha. According to the inscription on its simple pedestal with only the dharmacakrā in centre, this image of Rṣabha was dedicated by Saumudra and Sagarā to Sangaraka. The image is assigned to early fourth century A.D. The sculpture is illustrated by us in Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, Paper no. 6, figure 4. The upper corners of this sculpture are occupied by a pair of garland-bearing celestials and the lower ones by a pair of fly-whisk bearing attendants and the margins on the sides by undulating creepers.

Several bronze or brass images of Rṣabha, assignable to different ages are obtained in the Akota hoard. Of these two belonging to the fifth and sixth centuries are especially noteworthy. The first, dating from the fifth century (Fig. 22) shows the Jīna standing in the kāyotsarga mudrā. Beautiful hair-locks on his shoulders make the identification possible. The pedestal which perhaps had an inscription is lost. The eyes of the Jīna, concentrated in dhyāna on the tip of the nose, are studded with silver and the lower lip is shown red with copper inlay. The hair on the head are in schematic curls and with a prominent usnīsa. The image is a rare specimen of great importance since it is the earliest image discovered so far showing the lower garment on the person of a Tīrthaṅkara. The second bronze (Fig. 33) showing the Jīna with a dīōti (lower garment) was installed by the famous Jīna pontiff Jinaśrūḍra (guru) Vācanaśravya (same as Kṣamāśravana) according to the inscription on the back, and dates from c. the latter half of the sixth
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century A.D. It is the earliest known datable Jaina image showing introduction of attendant Yakṣa (Sarvanubhūti) and Yakṣī (Ambikā). Hair-locks are clearly visible on the shoulders of the Jina. If the two deer flanking the dharmacakra stand for cognizance, then this image is of Sāntinātha.18

An interesting metal image of Rṣabhanātha, from Vasantagadh hoard, age c. sixth century A.D., illustrated in Fig. 34, shows the dharmacakra (without deer) in the centre of the pedestal and having on each end (in line with the dharmacakra) a bull facing the Wheel of Law. The bull is the cognizance of Rṣabhanātha. Similarly, on the pedestal of the standing sculpture of Rṣabhanātha at Sira Pahari, M.P., published by us in Jaina Art and Architecture, vol. I, plate 63, a bull is shown at each end of the pedestal with the dharmacakra in the centre and a worshipper (donor?) on each side of the Wheel. It is interesting to note here that the bulls do not face the Wheel of Law. Rṣabha has hair-locks on his shoulder. The sculpture dates from c. sixth century A.D. Two beautiful rock-cut relief sculptures of Rṣabha, one in the sitting posture and the other adjoining one in the kāyotsarga mudrā, published by us in Jaina Art and Architecture, I, plate 60B, date from c. end of the sixth century or early seventh century A.D. Of about the same period is the rock-cut standing Rṣabha, published in Studies in Jaina Art, fig. 31, hailing from Dhānki, Saurashtra.

A beautiful standing metal image of Rṣabha, from Vasantagadh, cast by the artist Śivanāga in v.s. 744 = A.D. 687, is published in Lalit Kala, nos. 1-2, pp. 56f, pl. IX, figs. 1-2. Of c. 7th cent. A.D. a beautiful inscribed bronze image of Ādinātha, from Sirpur in Khandesh, now in the L.D. Institute, Ahmedabad, is published by us in the Treasures of Jaina Bhūndoras, while a standing metal image of Rṣabha from Bhinmal, Rajasthan, dating from c. seventh century and showing heavy jaṭā-locks on shoulders, is published in Akota Bronzes, fig. 35b. Figure 27a in the same book is a bronze image of Rṣabha gifted by Guṇḍa, and has two-armed Sarvanubhūti yakṣa and the two-armed Ambikā on the right and the left respectively of the Jina. On the pedestal are eight small standing figures representing the eight planets. Figure 31b in the same book is another bronze of Ādinātha sitting in the padmāsana. Both the bronzes are assigned to the seventh century A.D. and show similar iconographic features. From Akota hoard were discovered two more bronzes of Rṣabha dating from c. eighth century. But the more attractive image is a Covisi of Rṣabha standing, gifted by Śaranikā, published in Akota Bronzes, fig. 59. Also, a Saṭ-tīrthika bronze with a torana in front, showing Rṣabha sitting in padmāsana, with Sarvanubhūti and Ambikā as attendant yakṣa and yakṣī, with two figures of two-armed Sarasvatī and five figures of Tirthankaras in different compartments of the torana, and eight planet heads on the pedestal, obtained from the same hoard, was installed by Dronācārya in c. 975 A.D. (vide Akota Bronzes, fig. 61, pp. 57ff). Of about 1000 A.D. are two more bronzes of Rṣabhanātha from Akota, ref. Akota Bronzes, figs. 64-67.

Images of Rṣabha were very popular in Gujarat and Rajasthan, as in other parts of the country. From Godhra, Pancha-Mahals, Gujarat, is obtained a beautiful bronze (partly mutilated) of Rṣabha, now preserved in the Baroda Museum. From Lilva Deva, Pancha-Mahals, North Gujarat were obtained seven Jaina bronzes (now in the Baroda Museum) of which one is a tri-tīrthika image and another is a covisi or Catuvrimitati-patta of Rṣabhanātha, both the images dating from c. 10th century A.D. Mt. Śatrunjaya is a famous temple-city mainly associated with the worship of Rṣabhanātha. Vimala Sahā in the eleventh century built a temple dedicated to Rṣabhanātha, on Mt. Abu. The Vimala vasahi at Abu has a few more sculptures of Rṣabhanātha with Gomukha and Cakreśvari as attendant Yakṣa and Yakṣīnī. In some cases the old pair of Yakṣa Sarvanubhūti and Yakṣī Ambikā are shown (as at Akota in images referred to above).19 M.N.P. Tiwari has noticed a sculpture of Rṣabha in dhīyāna mudrā and with Sarvanubhūti and Ambikā, carved on the arhaṃmandapa of the Mahāvira temple at Osia.20 U.P. Shah published a beautiful brass or bronze Catuvrimitati-patta of Rṣabha, installed in v.s. 1151 = A.D. 1094, preserved in a Jaina temple at Pindawada and possibly from the Vasantagadh hoard in Rajasthan.21 V.S. Srivastava has noticed two metal images of Rṣabha (age c. 11th-12th century A.D.) preserved in the Ganga Golden Jubilee Museum, Bikaner, and having from Amararassara.22 The famous magnificent temple at Runakpur, Rajasthan, is a Caṅgukaka temple, dedicated to Ādinātha. The temple known as Kesuriyā, dedicated to Rṣabhanātha, situated near Udaipur in Rajasthan, is a famous place of pilgrimage both for the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras.
A beautiful bronze of Rṣabha in padmāsana on a big pedestal with dharmacakra and two deer in the centre of the pedestal and the attendant Yakṣa and the Yakṣi to the right and left of the Jina lost, dating from c. 8th century A.D., obtained from Vasantagadi hoard, was published by us in the _Lalit Kala_ , no. 1. Another beautiful brass image of the first Jina in padmāsana with only the Ambikā Yakṣi on his left preserved was published by us in our paper on the _Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Ambikā_ (as figure 33).24 The image, from a Jaina temple in Sadadi, Rajasthan, dates from c. 9th century A.D. From Amarasara, Rajasthan, a hoard of Jaina bronces was obtained which is now preserved in the Government Museum at Bikaner. The hoard includes a bronze _Pañcatirthi_ of Rṣabha sitting in padmāsana. On his right side near the pedestal is the two-armed Yakṣa Sarvāṇubhūti and on the corresponding left is a two-armed Yakṣi showing the _varada mudrā_ and the citron in her right and the left hands respectively. The Yakṣa carries the citron in his right hand and the money-bag in the left one. The bronze dates from c. tenth century A.D.

At Varmāṇa, Rajasthan, in the Mahāvīra Jinālaya,25 is a stone sculpture of Ādinātha sitting on the simhāsana. In the centre we have the dharmacakra with a bull on each side. To the right of the simhāsana is a figure of two-armed Sarvāṇubhūti Yakṣa showing the _abhaya_ with his right hand. To the corresponding left is a figure of a two-armed Yakṣi. The symbols in her hands are not distinct. The sculpture dates from c. 800 A.D.

A partly mutilated beautiful sculpture of Ādinātha was discovered from Udaipur, district Ganganpur, Rajasthan. Here Ādinātha sitting in padmāsana is accompanied by 48 small miniature figures of Jinas, a few of these figures from the upper part of the sculpture are mutilated. These Jinas are arranged in four rows on two sides of the beautiful ornamental halo. Hair-locks on shoulders, _usṇīsa_ on head, but no _jaṭā_. In fact, generally the Ādinātha figures in Rajasthan and Gujarat do not show the prominent _jaṭā_ as in images from Eastern India. The Jina sits on a simhāsana and in the centre is the dharmacakra with a bull on each side in this Udaipur sculpture. The Yakṣa on the right end is a two-armed Sarvāṇubhūti while the Yakṣi figure on the left end is mutilated. This sculpture, belonging to the Digambara sect, is a fine specimen of the Gurjara-Pratihara art of c. 9th century A.D. A beautiful sculpture of Rṣabha, partly mutilated, was lying in the courtyard of the Ukha Mandir, Bayana, Rajasthan. The head of the Jina is lost. On the right end of the simhāsana is a figure of a two-armed cow or bull-faced Gomukha Yakṣa, while on the corresponding left end we find four-armed Yakṣi Cakreśvari with her symbols broken. The Yakṣa carries in his right hand a _mace_ (gada) while the symbol of his left hand is not distinct. It may be noted that when a Śāsanadevati pair was first introduced as attendants in the _parikāra_ of a Tīrthaṅkara image, the pair was common to all the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras and was represented by a two-armed Kubera-like male Yakṣa who was invoked variously as Sarvāṇubhūti or Sarvāṇa by the Jainas and a two-armed Yakṣi called Ambikā who carried a mango-bunch or a lotus in one hand and who held a _son_ with the left hand.26 The Yakṣi, as we shall see later, was reminiscent of and evolved from some ancient concepts like that of Anaitis or Nāṇa on the lion, the Durgā, Hārīti, etc.27 Later on, from about the ninth century A.D., separate yakṣinis begin to appear for the 24 different Tīrthaṅkaras. The Bayana sculpture shows the later evolved Yakṣa pair for the Ādi-Jina. The sculpture dates from c. 1000-1050 A.D.

But perhaps the most beautiful sculpture of Rṣabhanātha, of mediaeval period, from the whole of Western India, is a marble image from the site of the old city of Chandrāvali (near Mt. Abu), now preserved in the Rietberg Museum, Zurich, Switzerland.28 The Jina is standing in the _kāyotsarga_ _mudrā_ and wears a very fine _dhoti_. He has the _usṇīsa_ on head and the _śrūṣṭa_ mark on the chest. A full _parikāra_ is shown but without the Śāsanadevatas or the attendant Yakṣa and Yakṣi. The sculpture dates from c. 10th century A.D.

From Sanauli in the Alwar area of Rajasthan were discovered a few Jaina bronzes a few years ago. Shri Krishna Dev kindly brought them to my notice and gave me some photographs. Amongst them is a beautiful bronze, elaborately cast with several small figures in the _parikāra_ , including figures of seven other Tīrthaṅkaras. Rṣabhanātha sits in padmāsana in the centre on a simhāsana. Below the dharmacakra is the bull cognizance in the centre of the pedestal with four planets and a devotee on each side. The bronze has an inscription on the back giving a date _v.s._ 1070 = _A.D._ 1013. On the right lower end is a figure of two-armed cow-faced Gomukha Yakṣa showing the citron in his right hand while on the corresponding
left end is a two-armed Yakṣi Cakreśvari with the cakra in her left hand. The symbol of the right hand is indistinct.

But a bronze Covisi of Rśabhanātha obtained from a hoard of bronzes at Ghoghā, Saurashtra, shows a four-armed Gomukha Yakṣa riding on the elephant and showing the goad, the noose (?), the citron and the bag along with a four-armed Cakreśvari Yakṣi riding on the Garuḍa and showing the cakra in each of the two upper hands and the abhaya mudrā and the citron in her right and left lower hands respectively. The bronze is dated in v.s.1123 = A.D. 1067. This shows that at least by about the middle of the eleventh century A.D. the evolved forms of Gomukha and Cakreśvari had begun to appear on sculptures of Rśabhanātha. On a bronze Covisi of Rśabha in the Berlin Museum we find a two-armed Gomukha with a four-armed Cakreśvari. The bronze is dated in a year equal to 1144 A.D.

In the National Museum (New Delhi) Caturvimsatipāṭha of Ādinātha (Museum no. 47.109'173), assignable to c. 9th century A.D., hailing from Gujarat or Rajasthan, a two-armed Sarvāṇubhūti Yakṣa and a two-armed Ambikā figure as the Śaśānadevatās.

In a bronze Covisi of Ādinātha from the cellar of the famous Caumukha Temple at Ranakpur, Rajasthan, the Yakṣa is two-armed with the human face and shows the abhaya and the bag while the Yakṣi is a four-armed Cakreśvari riding on the eagle and showing the cakra in each of the two upper hands and the abhaya and the citron with the right and the left lower ones. The bronze can be assigned to the eleventh century A.D.

Worship of Rśabhanātha remained popular throughout the ages in Western India. In the Pittalahe temple at Delvada, Mt. Abu, the main image in the sanctum is a big brass image of Rśabha with full parikara and four-armed Gomukha Yakṣa and a four-armed Cakreśvari Yakṣi as the Śaśānadevatās.

One very interesting bronze Paścimatīrthī of Rśabhanātha from Sanauli in Rajasthan is noteworthy. The bronze belongs to the Digambara tradition. Ādinātha sits in the padmāsana on a simhasana with the bull symbol shown in the centre. On the pedestal are small figures of nine planets including Ketu shown as a snake. Below at the end of the pedestal, in the centre is the dharmacakra to the right of which is a small two-armed figure of Ambikā while to the left of the Wheel stands a small two-armed figure of a Yakṣa. On the right side of Rśabha and a standing Tirthaṅkara, at the end, on a full-blown lotus, is an eight-armed Cakreśvari on Garuḍa. On the corresponding left end of this image is a two-armed Ambikā on lion holding an omārambhi with the right hand and her son with the left. An inscription on the back gives a date Samvata 1068 = A.D. 1011.

A figure of Rśabha is carved on one of the faces of the Caumukha preserved in the Son Bhandar Cave, Rajgir, Bihar. Here Rśabha is standing under a simple arch supported by two pillars. On each side of the Jina is a chowrie-bearer yakṣa and a flying mālādhara (garland-bearer) on top of each pillar. The Caiya-vrksa is represented by way of a twig on each side forming an arch over the Jina’s head. This appears to be a common characteristic of all the Tirthaṅkara images of its age found at Rajgir. The image dates from the early mediaeval period and is a specimen of Pala art. There is a triple umbrella on top of the arch with a defaced motif of two hands beating a drum and representing devataudūbi. On the pedestal is a dharma-cakra with a bull on each side. In the mediaeval period, usually the dharmacakra is accompanied by a deer on each side but in many sculptures from Bengal and Bihar, dating from the post-Gupta and mediaeval periods, the cognizance appears on each side of the dharma-cakra.

A beautiful sculpture lying in the brick temple at Vaiśāhara giri, Rajgir, was described by Rama Prasad Chanda. The Jina sits in padmāsana on a big lotus, resting against a plain back-rest, with a plain halo behind head. He wears a beautiful jaṭa overhead with hair locks falling on shoulders. He is attended upon by two cāmaradharā yakṣas, and garland-bearing gandharva pairs on top near the halo. The halo is surmounted by a triple umbrella, two hands coming up from its sides hold cymbals. In the centre of the pedestal is the dharmacakra with a bull facing it from each side. The sculpture dates from the eighth century A.D.

At Suissa, Bihar, are several Jaina sculptures of the mediaeval period. Many such Jaina sculptures from Bihar show the Jina in a miniature shrine suggested by an omalaka on top and a trefoil arch under which a Tirthaṅkara stands in meditation. One such sculpture from Suissa shows Rśabha with a high
cap-like jatā standing in kāyotsarga pose, on a double lotus, under a trefoil-shaped arch. In the centre of the pedestal is the bull cognizance. The sculpture is a Covisī image with other Tirthankaras represented in miniature forms on two sides of Rśabha. A Covisī sculpture of Rśabha from Manbhum is preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. A sculpture of Rśabha with a similar big jatā, attended by two chowri-bearers, and with four planets on each side is preserved in the National Museum (no. 74.64). Here too the bull is shown in the centre of the pedestal and just below the double-lotus beneath the feet of Rśabha. The image seems to have hailed from Bihar. All images of Rśabha from Bihar, Bengal and Orissa show a big jatā on the head tied high like a big cap. A beautiful sculpture of this Jina, with lower half mutilated, probably from Orissa, shows the Jina standing in the kāyotsarga mudrā (National Museum no. 74.67). Rśabha sitting in padmasana with the typical jatā overhead, hailing from Mayurbhanja, preserved in the National Museum, is published in Jaina Art and Architecture (henceforth referred to as JAA), vol. I, p. 163, pl. 88. The sculpture dates from c. tenth-eleventh century A.D. R.P. Mohapatra published an image of Rśabhanātha, from Hatadīha, in Jeypore sub-division of Cuttack district, with the usual characteristics of Rśabhanātha images of tenth century from Orissa. The back-slab is relieved with figures of 24 Tirthankaras in two rows of 12 each. Figure 25 represents a standing Rśabha with two rows of planets on the two sides, a triple umbrella above with leaves on its sides suggesting the caitya tree. On each side of the halo is a celestial garland-bearer and hands beating the drum. Rśabha has the usual big jatā and stands on a viśva-padma (double-lotus) below which is the bull symbol. The sculpture is now preserved in Musée Guimet, Paris, and seems to have come from Orissa.

During the mediaeval period, Khandagiri was perhaps a very important Jaina centre, in Orissa. Here a few caves, excavated earlier for residence of Jaina monks were converted into shrines with the addition of relief sculptures carved on the walls. Cave 7, called the Navamuni, has an inscription of the time of Udyotakesarins of Somavamsī dynasty (eleventh century) which refers to a Jaina monk Khalla Subhacandra of the Desi-gana. Images of seven Tirthankaras are carved in a row in low relief on the back wall, along with their Śāsana-devīs in a lower row. They are Rśabhanātha and Cakreśvarī, Ajitanātha and Rohiṇī, Sambhavanātha and Prajñāpatī, Abhinandana and Vajrārākhaḷa, Vāsupūjya and Gandhārī, Parśva and Padmāvatī, Neminātha and Ambika. The row of Śāsana-devīs is preceded by a figure of Gaṇeśa. Again on the right wall are carved in high relief figures of Rśabha and Parśva, both in standing posture and nude, but without their attendant yakṣis. The sculptures date from c. tenth-eleventh century A.D.34

Cave 8 called Barabhuji has on its walls relief carvings of 24 different Tirthankaras, each with his Śāsana-yakṣī and a figure of Pārśvanātha on the back-wall this time without the yakṣī. There is no śīvatas mark on the chest of any of the Tirthankaras in both the caves. In cave 9 there are three standing images of Rśabhanātha in chlorite, installed on pedestals. On top of the hill is a modern Jaina temple preserving some old Jaina sculptures including a few of Rśabhanātha.

In the State Museum at Bhuvanēśvara, Orissa, are a few Jaina bronzes obtained from Bänpur. Amongst them is a beautiful standing Rśabhanātha with the high jatā-bhūra on head and the bull cognizance in the centre of the pedestal. A similar iconographic type is a beautiful bronze of standing Rśabha from Kākaṭpur, now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (see Fig. 32). Arun Joshi has brought to light certain interesting Jaina sculptures from the Khiijinga area.35 He has published a beautiful sculpture of Rśabha in the sitting posture with two attendant chowri-bearer yakṣas and the bull cognizance in the centre of the simhasana. The sculpture, now in Baripada Museum, dates from c. 8th-9th century A.D. Another sculpture published by him, also from Khiijinga, dates from c. 10th century A.D. and shows Rśabha standing with two smaller Tirthankaras standing on each side. He wears a big crown-like jatā, has an attendant cāmaradharā yakṣa on each side but no śāsana-yakṣa and yakṣī are shown. The bull symbol is in the centre of the pedestal. In the mediaeval sculptures from Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, so far discovered, Śāsanadevatās (yakṣa and yakṣī) do not usually accompany images of Tirthankaras as in Western India and Madhya Pradesh, nor do we always find the dharmacakra in the centre of the pedestal. The sculpture described above is a Pārabhātī of Rśabhanātha. Arun Joshi has also published a Covisī of Rśabha from the same area.

From Podasingadi in the forest region of Baula hill ranges in Anandapur division, Keotihar district,
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Orissa, Jain images of c. 8th cent. A.D. have been discovered. An inscribed image of Rṣabhanātha from Podasingadi is now in the State Museum, Bhubanesvara. Rṣabha sits in padmāsana. There is also a standing Rṣabha from the same site in the State Museum. He has a jata over head with tufts of hair falling on shoulders. In the same museum there is also an image of Rṣabha in kāyotsarga mudrā from Charampa, Balasore, Orissa. The Jina has a big jata, a single umbrella (not triple) and is accompanied by eight small planet figures.86

It must be remembered that most of these Jaina sculptures from Bengal, Bihar and Orissa belong to the Digambara tradition. From Achutarajpur close to Bānpur, district Puri, Orissa, was dug out a hoard of Buddhist and Jaina bronzes, published by Debala Mitra.87 The hoard, now preserved in the State Museum at Bhubanesvara, contains a beautiful bronze of Ādinātha (Acc. no. 257) sitting in padmāsana on a big lotus placed on a pedestal in front of which is shown the bull cognizance. Rṣabha has a big jata over the head and a big oblong prabhāmāndalā behind, topped by triple umbrella. The bronze dates from c. eighth century A.D. From Jeypore sub-division in Koraput district, Orissa, have been discovered a number of Tirthāṅkara images. Umakanta Subudhī has published a Caturvimśati Paṭṭa of Rṣabhanātha from Koraput in Jaina Journal, XVI, 1, pp. 24ff. The sculpture was found4 from Bhaiyārasinghpur village in Boriguma tahsil of Jeypore sub-division. Rṣabhanātha sits in the padmāsana dhvānā mudrā and has a śrīvatsa symbol on the chest. Images from Orissa follow the traditions of Bihar and Eastern India and represent the Tirthāṅkaras in padmāsana (when shown in sitting postures) and not in the ardhapadmāsana as in further south. In this sculpture Rṣabha is flanked by two cāmaradhāras and accompanied by 23 other Tirthāṅkara figures, each of whom is shown with his lāṅchana. The bull lāṅchana of Rṣabha is shown below his seat. No yakṣa and yakṣī are represented on the right and left ends of the pedestal, but in the centre, at the bottom of the relief is a female deity sitting in meditative posture, which Umakanta Subudhī has described thus: “The deity has two hands, one of which is in varada mudrā and the other is holding a citrus or bijapūraṇa. She should not be mistaken as yaksī Cakreśvari of the Digambhara order, for she has two hands while Cakreśvari are generally found having four or eight or twelve hands.” We might add that even though a two-armed Cakreśvari is known, as she does not hold the disc she is not likely to be Cakreśvari. But she is one of the ancient yakṣīs whose identity is not known. Since this sculpture dates from c. 9th century A.D., this female figure offers a problem. We will see later on that in the mediaeval period, in Western India, first a male figure and then a female figure begins to appear below the dharmaekara at a lower end of the pedestal. Later on, with the Śvetāmbaras of Western India, this female deity is worshipped as four-armed Śānti-devī. So far as this two-armed female deity on the Bhaiyārasinghpur Rṣabhanātha sculpture is concerned, we must await more such specimens from Orissa. If a guess is permitted, there is a possibility that the donor’s Gotra-devī was represented.

In the Jaina Journal, vol. XVI, 3 (1982), pp. 119ff, Umakanta Subudhī has published two more sculptures of Rṣabhanātha from the same site. His figure 2 is a Caturvimśati-Paṭṭa of Rṣabha sitting in padmāsana. His bull lāṅchana is shown below the seat, on the pedestal. “In the middle of the pedestal is seen a four-armed Cakreśvari, seated in lalitāsana and riding a Garuḍa. She holds a citrus, noose, and thunderbolt in her three hands while the fourth hand is laid in varada-mudrā.” In the photograph published, the female figure is not clearly visible. The identification of the devī as Cakreśvari is perhaps based on the Garuḍa vāhana, but it is surprising that the devī does not hold the cakra in any of her hands. The sculpture dates from c. 8th century A.D.

The second image, published as figure 1 in Subudhī’s plate, looks more beautiful. It is assigned by the author to a date between the seventh and the ninth century A.D. Rṣabha here sits in the padmāsana and is flanked by a cāmaradhāra on each side. The Jina wears a jata-mukuta arranged beautifully in three parts with hair-locks falling on shoulders. “The Lord’s lāṅchana, the bull, is seen sitting at the bottom of the seat held by two leogriﬀs facing opposite sides. Between the leogriﬀs and just below the seat of the Lord is seen a six-armed Cakreśvari riding a Garuḍa and seated in lalitāsana. The Śasanadevi is holding a citrus, noose, vajra, disc, and an arrow in five hands while the sixth hand is in varada-mudrā. On the right side bottom of the image is found a standing figure of Yakṣa Gomukha. He is as usual
bull-faced, pot-bellied and four-armed. He holds a noose, hatchet, rosary in his three hands while the fourth hand is in varada pose.” The sculpture dates from c. 9th-10th cent. A.D.

The old Manbhum district of Bihar is now divided into the districts of Purulia (West Bengal) and Dhanbad (Bihar). Anai-Jambad or more popularly Paresnath or Paresnath Mahadev-Beda or Mahadev-Beda is a place situated under the Purulia (Mofussil) P.S. of the Purulia district of West Bengal where Sri Sarak Jaina Samiti of Khakhari, Dhanbad has constructed a modern temple over the ruins of an ancient Jaina settlement. This temple houses six unique images of Jaina Tirthankaras discovered from mounds around the area. They include a Pañcatārthika sculpture of Rṣabhanātha, and another one of Rṣabha standing in kāyotsarga on a double-lotus placed on a tri-ratha pedestal which has in the centre the bull lāṇchana flanked by crouching lions. The saviour is nude, his hair dressed in a tall jatāmukuta with curls of hair falling down on shoulders. On either side stands a male chowrie-bearer while on the back slab are shown in bold relief the eight planets, four on each side of the Jina, Ketu being omitted. Behind the head of the Jina is the halo surmounted by triple umbrella. Above the planets are garland-bearing vidyādharas as also a drum and a pair of cymbals struck by disembodied hands. The sculpture is assigned to c. tenth century A.D.

Pratip Kumar Mitra, writing on the sculptures from Anai-Jambad, states: “The sculptural wealth of South-West Bengal as represented or expressed in 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, the north-western part of Midnapore, with extensions into the districts of Singhbhum and Ranchi of the Chhotanagar subdivision of Bihar, represents a characteristically common trait in icono-plastic art, which is somewhat removed from the main stream of Pala art. ... In respect of modelling of the body these sculptures are in general more robust and forceful than merely graceful or lyrical.”

From Suvarnari in Dinajpur district, Bangladesh, was discovered a beautiful sculpture representing Rṣabha sitting in the padmāsana with small figures of the other 23 Tirthankaras around him on three sides. The Caturvimsati-patā of Rṣabha dates from c. tenth century A.D. The bull cognizance of Rṣabha is shown in the centre of the pedestal. Rṣabha has a beautiful big jatābhāra on head which reminds one of the figure of Śiva (Fig. 57).

An elaborately carved sculpture of Rṣabhadeva from Kukkuramātha, Mandla district, old Central Provinces, shows the Jina sitting in padmāsana with a beautiful prominent jatābhāra on head and hairlocks adorning the shoulders. In a perfectly balanced yogic posture the figure at once reminds one of Śiva of the Brahmanical Trinity. In the background, in the upper part of the sculpture are shown, in two rows, beautifully modelled miniature figures of the planets. The ornamental halo, the graceful modelling with the classical touch etc. suggest a date around ninth century A.D.

Images of Rṣabha are obtained also from Bhelova, Dinajpur, from Sank, Purulia district, Pakbira and from Sitalpur and Bhangra villages in the same district. Purulia was once part of Manbhum district, Bihar; Manbhum is identified with the ancient Rādhadeśa visited by Mahāvira. Sculptures of Rṣabhanātha are also obtained from Ghateśvara and Harapet in W. Bengal, from Mandoil, Rajshahi district, Bangladesh, from Bhagalpur in Bihar and from places like Palna and Bhavanipur etc.

A hoard of Jaina bronzes of the Digambara sect, from Allah, Bihar, dating from c. 11th-12th cent. A.D., includes two standing figures of Rṣabha with the prominent jatā and the bull lāṇchana and one figure sitting in the padmāsana (Patna Mu. nos. 10680, 10681 and 10687). There is also a dvi-tīrthī with Rṣabha and Mahāvīra standing side by side (Patna Mu. no. 10682). A similar dvi-tīrthī in stone, much more beautifully modelled, is preserved in the British Museum and seems to have hailed from Orissa (Studies in Jaina Art, fig. 35 and Ramaprasad Chanda, Mediaeval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum, pl. XXII and p. 71).

The first Tirthankara was also very much venerated in U.P. and Madhya Pradesh. Few Jaina antiquities are as yet found from Haryana and Punjab. A beautiful sculpture of Rṣabhanātha (?) with full parikara found from Bhatinda in Punjab is now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Chandigarh (JOI, vol. 31, no. 3, last cover page).
Iconography of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras

The Lucknow Museum preserves a sculpture of Ādinātha from Kankali Tila, Mathura (Museum no. J.78), illustrated here as Fig. 55. The simhāsana shows the dharmačakra in the centre with a worshipper and a bull figure on each side. The bull cognizance definitely proves that the Jina sitting in padmāsana (head lost) is to be identified as Ādinātha. Traces of hair-locks can be seen on the shoulders. On the right side of this Jina is a four-armed standing male figure with snake-hoods overhead and holding a cup (wine cup) in his right lower hand. The left lower is placed on the kajjī (girdle region) while the left upper seems to have carried the plough. The figure represents Balarāma of Hindu mythology. To the left of the Jina is another four-armed male standing and carrying the mace (goddā) and the lotus (padma) in his two upper hands while his left lower hand holds the conch (saṅkha) and the right lower is held in the abhaya mudrā. Evidently he represents Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva identified with Viṣṇu. The presence of Kṛṣṇa, who in Jainas Purāṇas is described as a cousin brother of Neminātha, the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara, has led some scholars to identify this Jina figure as representing Neminātha. But another explanation can be offered for the presence of Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva with Ādinātha. Firstly, Jainas mythology admits nine Baladevas and nine Vāsudevas of whom only one pair of Brahmans flourished in the age of Neminātha. However none of them was contemporary of Ādinātha. Secondly, Mathura which is the findspot of this sculpture is well-known as the centre of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva worship, at least from about the second century B.C. Our sculpture dates from about the seventh century A.D. when Viṣṇivism or the Bhagavata cult had already been very popular. It is obvious that an attempt was made to show the Hindu deities in the subordinate position of attendants to the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras. Even the presence of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma on Mathura sculptures of Neminātha dating from the Kṛṣṇa age should be interpreted as an attempt to show Brahmanical deities in a subordinate position. We have a small figure of Gaṇeśa on an early medieval sculpture of the Jainas Ambikā, No. D.7 in the Mathura Museum.

The sculpture of Ādinātha under review has a figure of two-armed Sarvānubhuti Yakṣa on its right end and a figure of two-armed Ambikā on the corresponding left end. The presence of Ambikā need not tempt us to identify this Jina as Neminātha because, as we have demonstrated long ago, this Yakṣa-Yakṣī pair was a pair common to all the Tīrthaṅkaras from c. sixth century A.D. to about the ninth-tenth century A.D.

A somewhat later sculpture of Rśabha, from Orai, district Jalaun, U.P., preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow (no. O.178) is noteworthy.44 The Jina has an usṇīsa and stylised schematic curls of hair over head and hair-locks on the shoulders. In the centre of the simhāsana is the dharmačakra to the left of which can be seen only a part of a boldly carved figure of the vṛṣabha lādhana. The upper parts of the beautiful sculpture are mutilated but the remaining small figures of sitting Tīrthaṅkaras in two rows on each side of the Jina suggest that this was a Caturvimśikā-patja of Rśabhanātha. The pedestal of the sculpture is noteworthy. On the right of the simhāsana is a beautiful figure of two-armed Kubera-like Yakṣa with a money-bag in his left hand and a pot of money (nidihi) below the left leg. Kubera-like, he is the Yakṣa Sarvānubhuti of Jainas traditions, found as the Śasana-deva of the various Jinas. On the corresponding left end is Cakreśvarī eight-armed riding on the eagle. To the right of the dharmačakra is a small figure of Lakṣmi partly mutilated, while on the left is a small figure of Ambikā.

Temple no. 4 at Devgadh, M.P., has a big Pañcatirtī sculpture of Ādinātha (Studies in Jaina Art, fig. 43). Below his seat are two figures of Rśabha’s ganadhura (or an āśāra) and his disciple with a sthāpanā between them. Just above the sthāpanā on the end of a cloth hanging is the bull cognizance of the Jina. What is more interesting here is that on the right side of the simhāsana we find a figure of two-armed Ambikā instead of the Śasana Yakṣa, while on the left end we have a figure of four-armed Cakreśvari riding on the eagle. M.N.P. Tiwari45 has noted one more such example. In the Jardine Museum, Khajuraho, on a sculpture, Acc. no. 1651, Cakreśvari and Ambikā are carved on two sides of the dharmačakra and a figure of Lakṣmi with lotuses in two upper hands at left corner of the throne. We have already noted above a similar case of Cakreśvari and Ambikā figuring on two ends in a bronze from Sanauli, Rajasthan.

A Pañcatirtī of Rśabhadeva from the temple of Ādinātha, Khajuraho (EGA’s negative 142 of 1923-24) shows a small figure of the bull lādhana near the dharmačakra. The Jina has an usṇīsa on top of the head but no jaṭā; there are traces of hair-locks on the shoulders. On the right of the simhāsana
is a small figure of pot-bellied two-armed Yakṣa with the cup and the money-bag in his right and left hands respectively while on the left end of the sculpture is a small figure of four-armed Cakreśvarī with the Garuda-vāhana and a cakra in each of the two upper hands. The sculpture dates from c. late tenth or early eleventh century A.D. There is another Pañcaśati of Ādīnātha with similar iconography in the Khajuraho Museum (DGA’s negative 179 of 1923-24). An elaborately carved Caturvinsati-Pataḥ sculpture of Rṣabhanātha in the Ādīnātha temple at Khajuraho has the same iconographic type of the Yakṣa and the Yakṣī. The Jina has prominent hair-locks on the shoulders, a mutilated bull lāṇchana on the right side of the drhmacakra. The Jina is sitting in padmāsana on a cushioned decorated seat with a lotus bud in front of the central diamond motif and one lotus bud on each end (DGA’s negative 143 of 1923-24). These three lotus buds placed in this position do not signify the lāṇchana of the Jina since the Jina in this case is unmistakably Rṣabhanātha but we meet with such instances in other sculptures where there is no other lāṇchana shown and where the Jina has no hair-locks. In all such cases it would be difficult to identify the Tirthākara as Padmaprabha with the padma lāṇchana or as Naminātha with the nilotpala lāṇchana. In such cases we must await further research.

One more Covisa of Rṣabhanātha in the Archaeological Museum at Khajuraho needs consideration (DGA’s negative 123 of 1908-09). The sculpture was collected from the ruined Ghanṭai temple at Khajuraho and in the photograph we find Ghanṭai written with chalk on the lowermost end of the pedestal to mark its findspot. Rṣabhanātha here sits in padmāsana on a decorated cushion and wears a jātā overhead. On the pedestal are eight planets with the bull cognizance placed in the centre. On the right end of the simhāsana is the four-armed Gomukha Yakṣa while on the corresponding left end is a four-armed Cakreśvarī on the eagle. The sculpture seems to date from late eleventh century A.D.46

In the Khajuraho Museum there is another big sculpture from Ghanṭai temple. Elaborately carved are in all 52 figures of Tirthākarakas including a big central figure of Rṣabha standing in the kāyotsarga posture. The total of 52 Jinas signifies that this group symbolises the worship of 52 shrines of the Nandisvara-dvipa. The Yakṣa is two-armed Sarvāṇubhūti on the right end while on the left end is a four-armed Cakreśvarī (DGA’s negative 1633/61). In another sculpture in the Jardine Museum at Khajuraho, Mu. no. 1651, one finds figures of Lalṣṭi and Ambikā also besides the usual Śasanadevata pair.

The Pārśvanātha temple at Khajuraho was originally dedicated to Ādīnātha, so also the ruined Ghanṭai temple. Worship of Rṣabha was indeed popular in Khajuraho. At Devgadh fort in Madhya Pradesh images of Rṣabha were widely worshipped, more than fifty images of Rṣabha are known to have survived at the site. Here we find Rṣabha with a jātā in some images. On the simhāsana of one Rṣabha image in temple no. 12 is found a four-armed goddess showing the lotus in each of the two upper hands and the abhaya mudrā and the kalaśa in the two lower ones. This is identified by some as Lakṣmī. In Śvetāmbara traditions such a goddess figuring in the centre of the simhāsana is identified as the Śāntidevati, the Goddess of Peace.

In the courtyard of the Jaina temple at Budhi Chanderi, M.P., is a beautiful sculpture of Rṣabha in padmāsana with eight more small figures of Tirthākarakas. Rṣabha has hair-locks falling on his shoulders but no jātā. Rṣabha images at this site show Gomukha and Cakreśvarī as the Śasanadevataś. A well-preserved sculpture of seated Rṣabhanātha from Garh, Rewa district, M.P., now preserved in the Tulsi Sangrahālaya, Ramvān, Satna, M.P., shows the same Yakṣa pair. The sculpture dates from c. 11th cent. A.D. A. Sculpture of Rṣabha in the Dhubela Museum (Museum no. 38), dating from c. 11th century A.D., shows no figures of Śasanadevataś but in the centre of the simhāsana we have a four-armed goddess like the one on the Rṣabha image in temple no. 12 at Devgadh which can be identified as four-armed Cakreśvarī.

A Covisa of Rṣabha standing with the head and upper part of the sculpture mutilated is preserved as no. G.322 in the Lucknow Museum. The sculpture, of c. 11th century A.D., came from Mahoba in Hamirpur district, U.P. On the right end of the pedestal we have a figure of four-armed Cakreśvarī, but the Yakṣa figure was not carved, and on the corresponding left end of the sculpture we find a small figure of a Jina in padmāsana. Similarly a Covisa (?) sculpture of Rṣabha, partly mutilated, hailing from Jaso, Satna, M.P., now preserved in the Allahabad Municipal Museum (no. 505) shows only a two-armed
Yaksi at the right end while there is figure of Parśvanātha sitting at the left end. Rṣabha here wears a prominent jatā on his head. The sculpture may be assigned to the tenth century A.D. It will be seen that the full parikara is not shown here even though the parikara was already evolved. There is another sculpture of Rṣabha, a Pañcatīrthī, from Jaso in the Allahabad Museum (Museum no. 520), illustrated on pl. CXXI by Pramod Chandra in his Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum. Here we have the two camaradharas, the triple-umbrella, the mālādharas, the simhāsana with the dhammacakra in the centre and small figures of the Gomukha Yakṣa and Cakreśvarī Yaksi at the two ends of the back slab. Here also Rṣabha is adorned with a big jatā and jātra on his head. The sculpture may be assigned to late tenth or early eleventh century A.D. In this museum is a standing Rṣabha from Gayā showing a big jatā.

Another sculpture of Ādinātha with a group of 23 more Jinas hails from Sahet Mabet, the site of ancient Śrāvasti. Here also the full parikara is not seen, only two camaradharas, the halo, the triple umbrella, the elephants and a drum-beater on top of the chatra are shown while the garland-bearers are omitted. Such instances show that even though the eight prāṇihāras were known and acknowledged, in actual representations one or more could be easily omitted. Another noteworthy feature in this sculpture is the omission of the Yakṣa and the placing of the figure of Cakreśvarī Yakṣi on the right end instead of her more common position on the left end. The sculpture is published by B.C. Bhattacharya in his Jaina Iconography, 2nd ed., pl. IV.

B.C. Bhattacharya, op. cit., pl. V, has also published a richly decorated sculpture of Ādinātha, in padmāsana, from Tripuri, M.P., now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. There are prominent hair-locks on shoulders, and an usnīsā but no jatā on the head. Two-armed Yakṣa Sarvāṇubhūti is shown near the left end of the simhāsana while the beautiful Yakṣi figure on the right end is much damaged.

There is an interesting sculpture of Rṣabha from Gāyārasapur in the old Gwalior State, M.P. Old Gwalior State was a centre of Digambara Jains for the area is rich in sculptural finds belonging to this sect. This figure (Negative no. 13/93, Dept. of Archaeology, Old Gwalior State) is noteworthy, firstly because it is group of eleven Tirthankaras and secondly because of the simple parikara containing only two chowrie-bearers, the triple-umbrella and the simhāsana with the Wheeler of Dharma. The position of the camaradharas represented as flying in the air is interesting and rare. Sculptures of Ādinātha are obtained from several sites in the Old Gwalior State. There is a big figure of Ādinātha from Tumain, district Āsargadh, which is worshipped as Baśihādeva. The simhāsana etc. are very much mutilated but the sculpture is a fine specimen of the 9th cent. A.D. A black stone image from Golakot in the Gwalior area is a beautiful example of Jain sculpture, finely carved with figures having graceful limbs delicately modelled (Negative no. 1012 of Old Gwalior State). The Yakṣa here is four-armed Gomukha while the figure of Cakreśvarī is not fully visible in the photograph. The Jina has a full parikara including a pair of mālādharas, elephants with pitchers, a couch-blower on top of the triple-umbrella, the bhāmānḍalā (halo), two camaradharas standing on elephants, the lion-throne, the dhammacakra, the bull cognizance, the Yakṣa and the Yakṣi. The Jina sits on an embroidered big round cushion. Marks of lotuses are visible on the soles of his feet and palms of hands. Compare Klaus Bruhn, The Jina Images of Deogarh, figs. 187-8, 211-13.

A sculpture in the Gwalior Museum shows Rṣabha in padmāsana with usnīsā on head and hair-locks on shoulders. The dhammacakra in the centre of simhāsana has a female devotee on each side. There is no lāṅchana. Beautifully modelled figure of the Jina is attractive (Gwalior Museum no. 5/C 20, DGA's neg. no. 1573/63). The sculpture dates from c. 9th cent. A.D. and probably came from Vidiśā. Another beautiful sculpture in the Gwalior Museum is a Cauri of Rṣabha sitting in the padmāsana on simhāsana. The sculpture is partly mutilated, the Yakṣa is a two-armed Sarvāṇubhūti while the Yakṣi figure is mutilated (Old Gwalior State Dept. of Arch., neg. no. 63/93). The sculpture dates from c. 9th cent. A.D.

There are over fifty sculptures of Rṣabhānātha in the group of Jaina temples at Devgadh. Somes how Rṣabha in the kāyotsarga mudrā with full parikara and Śāsanadevatās or with few elements of the parikara and without the Śāsana Yakṣa and Yakṣi. For illustration see Klaus Bruhn, The Jina Images of Deogarh (JID), figs. 44, 81, 82, 83, 86, 87, 88, 94, 95, 97, 108, 257, 258. Similarly we have sculptures with Rṣabhānātha sitting in padmāsana, see, for example, Bruhn, ibid., fig. 24 (showing two-armed Yakṣa Sarvāṇubhūti
to the right of the dharmacakra and two-armed Ambikā Yakṣi on the left), fig. 187 from temple 15 (showing Sarvānubhūti on the left of the simhāsana and Ambikā on the right), fig. 192 from Temple no. 2, fig. 195 from Temple 2 (Tri-trīhika sculpture of Rṣabhanātha with full parikāra showing two-armed cow-faced Yakṣa on the right end of the simhāsana and a two-armed Yakṣi on the left end). This figure is dated in Samvat 1051 = A.D. 994. The Yakṣa shows the abhayā and the water-jar in his two hands, the Yakṣi shows the disc and the fruit in her hands. In Fig. 207 from Temple no. 4, there are in all thirteen Tilthaṅkaras, including the central figure of Ādiṇātha with his bull cognizance. No Yakṣa and Yakṣi are shown. The sculpture seems to be of the same age as Bruhn’s fig. 206, image no. 248 dated in v.s. 1095, see Bruhn’s page 165, Fig. 211 from Temple no. 21 where the Yakṣa is two-armed with the human face and the Yakṣi is two-armed showing the abhayā and the fruit in her two hands. Bruhn’s fig. 212 from Budhi Chanderi shows the Cakreśvart Yakṣi while the Yakṣa figure is indistinct; we have already described above Bruhn’s fig. 213 from Golakot. These figures are in general similar in conception and perhaps not much removed in age from each other and we may assign Bruhn’s figs. 207, 211-213, 214-218 to the same period, around Samvat 1095 (A.D. 1038). Fig. 218 is from Siron Khurd and seems to be somewhat later in this group. It shows four-armed Gomukha Yakṣa and four-armed Cakreśvart as the Śāsanadevatas of Rṣabhanātha. Fig. 231 from temple 4 is already discussed before. Figures 239 and 239A belong to the same class as figs. 211-218. Figs. 261-263 also show Rṣabha in the sitting posture.

Bruhn has discussed on his pages 198 a typical Pārśva image from Temple 6, Devgadh. It is illustrated by him in his fig. 260. It will be obvious from the illustration that hair-locks touch both the shoulders of Pārśvanātha. In Jaina iconographic traditions only in the case of Rṣabhanātha images the hair-locks can be depicted falling on the Jina’s shoulders. We have another instance also of such an irregularity. Sculpture no. B.23 in the Nagpur Museum (DGA’s negative no. 1659/62) shows Pārśvanātha, canopied by seven snake-hoods, sitting in the padmāsana on a double lotus with the snake cognizance also shown in front of the lotus in its centre. Triple hair strands on each shoulder are clearly marked out.

Pratapadiya Pal has published a colour plate of a beautiful bronze in his Sensuous Immortals, fig. 50, p. 86, and described it as a Jaina Tilthaṅkara. Hair-locks from the back of the Jina’s head are prominently displayed in a curly way all over his both shoulders. But the līṭeśhana in the centre of the pedestal, much worn out, looks more like a goat or an antelope than a bull in the beautiful plate published in the book. Pal feels that it looks more like an antelope. Pal has assigned the bronze to seventh century; provenance is supposed to be Bihar. On each side of the Jina is standing a male cāmaradhara yakṣa. The bronze is gold-plated and is a very fine early Jaina bronze. This is another instance which shows that sometimes, perhaps through mistake, other Tilthaṅkaras were also shown with hair-locks adorning their shoulders.

Worship of Ādiṇātha was popular in U.P. and Madhya Pradesh. We need not refer to many more sculptures of Ādiṇātha from the Lucknow Museum, the Mathura Museum, the Jhansi Museum etc. The worship remained popular through the ages. In a shrine in Vidisha, Madhya Pradesh is a bronze image of Rṣabha sitting in the padmāsana with full parikāra and the bull cognizance below simhāsana on the pedestal. A pair of feet by the side of the bull show the Cauṇa-pājā which is an ancient custom amongst all the sects in India. Below are planet-heads. Still below in the centre is an unidentified two-armed standing male. He is not the donor since small figures of the donor male and female occur on an upper level of the pedestal. On the right end of the pedestal is the goddess Padmāvati, two-armed, with three snake-hoods over her head. To her left is the Gomukha Yakṣa, two-armed. Symbols held by the figures are not distinct. On the corresponding left end is a two-armed Yakṣi carrying a kalāta in her left hand. The other symbol is not distinct. To her left is a figure of two-armed Ambikā. The bronze is dated in Samvat 1527 = A.D. 1470 and belongs to the Digambara tradition.

A beautiful bronze of Rṣabha sitting in the padmāsana, now preserved in the Punyavijaya Collection of the L.D. Institute, Ahmedabad, was published in Treasures of the Jaina Bhāndarās. The bronze was given as a gift by the Jainas of Sirpur in Khandesh. There is an inscription on the back which refers to the Nāgendra kula. The Yakṣa to the right of the Jina is mutilated but what remains shows that he was riding on the elephant and held a money bag in his left hand. Obviously the figure was of two-armed
Sarvanubhuti. On the corresponding left end was the Yakṣa whose figure is lost but her lion mount remains. She must have been two-armed Ambikā Yakṣi. The bronze is assigned to the seventh century A.D. Another beautiful bronze of Ādinātha with 23 other Tīrthāṅkaras comes from Chahardi in Khandesh and is preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Rṣabha here is standing in kāyotsarga mudrā. The Jina has hair-locks on his shoulders (Jaina Art and Architecture, vol. III, pl. 351, and pp. 568-69). The two-armed Sarvanubhuti, with the citron and the nākulikā (purse) in his right and the left hands respectively, is shown on the right lower end while on the corresponding left end is the two-armed Ambikā Yakṣi. Age, c. ninth century A.D.

In the same museum there is another beautiful bronze of Rṣabha sitting in padmāsana on a simhāsana placed on a pedestal. The attendant Yakṣa and Yakṣi are two-armed Sarvanubhuti and Ambikā (JAA, vol. III, pl. 353B and p. 570).

The Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay has some beautiful Jaina sculptures from Maharashtra and Karnataka, besides bronzes from Vala, etc. in Gujarat and a very early bronze of Pārśvanātha whose findspot is not known. A Tri-Tīrthika stone sculpture, from Ankai-Tankai, Nasik district, Maharashtra, is published by Moti Chandra and Gorakshakara in JAA, vol. III, pl. 147A and a Pañca-Tīrthika from the same site in ibid., pl. 347B, p. 566. Three standing Tīrthāṅkaras in a row in each of these sculptures show hair-locks on the shoulders. The authors mentioned above write: "It may be observed here that the hair-locks falling on shoulders, which generally helps in identifying Rṣabhanātha, appear as a cliche in the Ankai sculptures, for even Pārśvanātha has been depicted with hair-locks falling on the shoulders. Circa ninth-tenth century."

The same practice of showing hair-locks on shoulders of Tīrthāṅkaras other than Rṣabhadeva is seen in other parts of Maharashtra. In the Nagpur Museum is a sculpture of a Tīrthāṅkara with the horse cognizance on the pedestal but showing hair-locks on the shoulders of the Jina. The sculpture came from Barši Takli, Akola district. In the Nagpur Museum there is a stone sculpture of Pārśvanātha (Mu. no. B.23). Here Pārśva with seven snake-hoods overhead is sitting in padmāsana. His snake cognizance is shown in centre-front of his lotus seat. Pārśva has prominent hair-locks on his shoulders.

The Nagpur Museum preserves a hoard of beautiful Jaina bronzes from Rajapur Khinkhini in the Akola district, Maharashtra. Of these one is a Caturviniṣati-Paṭṭa of Ādinātha sitting in arha-padmāsana in the centre on a big lotus. Below on the lower end of the pedestal is a small male figure carrying the lotus and the citron in his right and left hands respectively. On his left, close to him sits a female holding the citron and the lotus in the right and the left hands respectively. Are they donors of the bronze? Since they are holding a citron-like fruit in one hand each they seem to be the earlier Yakṣa pair of Jaina traditions or the Parents of the Jina. The latter alternative is less likely in this case. From near the top of the pedestal springs a lotus on each side, on the right side sits a four-armed human-faced Yakṣa holding the purse and the fruit in his two left hands while the symbols of the right hands are not distinct. On the corresponding left end of the pedestal sits the Yakṣi Cakreśvari holding the cakra in each of her two upper hands, and the fruit in her left lower hand while the right lower is held in the abhayā mudrā. Age, c. tenth century A.D.

The hoard contains another bronze of Rṣabha sitting on a lotus placed on a simhasana. The workmanship is poor. He has a two-armed Yakṣa and a two-armed Yakṣi on the right and left ends of his pedestal. He is identified as Rṣabha with the help of hair-locks on his shoulders. Two crudely rendered lion figures below the lotus seat may signify the simhasana or as an alternative this Jina is Mahāvira and not Rṣabhanātha. But there is another such Eka-Tīrthika bronze of Rṣabhanātha with the dharmacakra in the centre of the pedestal and a bull to its right. The Jina shows hair-locks on the shoulders. The hoard also includes two bronze Pañcaśatirīllos of Rṣabha with hair-locks on his shoulders.

A beautiful stone sculpture, a Caturviniṣati-paṭṭa of Ādinātha was published long ago by Cousins, from a Jaina temple in Aminbhavi in the Dharwar district, now in Karnataka (Panorama of Jaina Art, fig. 205, also fig. 17). Rṣabha is standing in the kāyotsarga mudrā with hair-locks on his shoulders, near his right leg is sitting a four-armed Yakṣa with human face and holding the rosary and the axe in his right and left upper hands and showing the varada mudrā and the fruit with the corresponding lower ones.
He is the Gomukha Yakṣa of the Digambara tradition but without the cow-face. To the left of the Jina is sitting the Cakreśvari Yakṣi with cakra in her two upper hands, her right hand showing the varada mudrā and the left holding an object which is indistinct. Karnataka is full of Jina temples including those of Ādinātha. In the Paṇcakūṭa-Basti group at Karnadahalli there is a shrine dedicated to Ādinātha. So also there is one such Ādinātha shrine in the Kaṭṭaḷe-Basti group at Śravaṇa Belagola. The Paṇcakūṭa Basti at Markuli is for Ādinātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha, Puṣpadanta and Supārśvanātha and has a fine twelve-armed sculpture of Cakreśvari, the Yakṣi of Rśabhanātha. At Halebid there are three large temples, in one compound, dedicated to Pārśvanātha, Ādinātha and Śaṅtiṇātha.48

A figure of Ādinātha from Kaṭṭaḷe Basti, Śravaṇa Belagola, shows the Jina seated in the ardha-pedmāsana, dhyāna mudrā. The hair-locks are arranged in a straight line over the shoulders. There is a simple halo behind the head of the Jina, over which is the triple chatra. The Jina rests against a back formed of a horizontal bar ending in makara-heads and resting on two small pillars. A vyāla also supports the bar on the outer side of each pillar and from this back emerge two male yakṣas holding a citron in one hand and carrying a cāmakra (showrie) with the other. An inscription on the pedestal shows that the Basti was constructed by Gaggarāya, aka Gangarayya. According to Hiralal he was the Commander in the service of Hōyasala king Visnudharmar (c. 1118 A.D.). This Gangarāja was patron of an artist—architect and sculptor—Gangachārī also called Vardhamānachārī who fashioned the Ādinātha image worshipped in the Cauṇḍarāya Basti, Śravaṇa Belagola. Gangarāja is stated to have built the Kaṭṭaḷe Basti and the Śāsana Basti. In the Śāsana Basti the main image in the sanctum is of Ādinātha, seated in the paryankāsana, on a lion throne. The image bears an inscription which states that this laṅcakulāgītha (abode of Lakṣmī) was built by Gangarāja. The shrine has images of Ambikā Yakṣi and Sarvāṇi Yakṣa. The Eradukatte Basti, built by Lakṣmidēvi, wife of Gangarāja, in c. 1117 A.D., also was dedicated to Ādinātha.49

At Veṇūr in south Karnataka, in a Jina temple are preserved stone images of all the twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras with their cognizances on the pedestals and their Yakṣas and Yakṣis standing by the sides of the Jina's legs. These sculptures are later than the set of 24 Tirthaṅkara images in the Bhaṇḍāra Basti at Śravaṇa Belagola. The Veṇūr set perhaps dates from c. 14th century A.D. or a little later. At Veṇūr the sculpture of Ādinātha shows the bull laṅchaṇa on pedestal. The Yakṣa is four-armed, has a human face and not cow-face, and carries the rosary, the axe, the gad, and the citron in his four hands. Yakṣi Cakreśvari is twelve-armed and carries the vajra in each hand of the uppermost pair of hands, four pairs of hands in the middle all carry a disc each, while the lowermost pair shows the lotus and the varada mudrā.50 A sculpture of Ādinātha in worship in the Ṣettara Basadi, Mudabidri, Karnataka, also shows the same type of Yakṣa and Yakṣi. However, the twelve-armed Cakreśvari here has a slightly different set of symbols.51

The Bhaṇḍāra Basti set of Tirthaṅkara images dates from 1159 A.D. and the images are good examples of Hoyasala art of the period. The Jina stands under an ornamental waya torana-arch supported by two pillars. The Jina stands under a triple-chatra and has a plain halo behind his head. The sign of his laṅchaṇa is engraved in the centre of a plain pedestal on which the Jina stands in kevotsarga mudrā. All the sculptures at Śravaṇa Belagola are of Digambara sect. The Yakṣa of Rśabha here is four-armed with a human face and holds the gad and the rosary in his right and left upper hands respectively; while the right lower hand holds the citron, the left lower is held in the varada pose. Cakreśvari, also standing, shows the disc in her two upper hands and the vajra in the middle pair of hands. Her left lower hand holds a conch while the right lower hand is held in the varada mudrā.

The set of 24 Tirthaṅkara images in the Suttalaya of Gommata dates from c. late twelfth century A.D. Here no. 5 from the beginning is Ādinātha. The Yakṣa is four-armed with a human face while the Yakṣi Cakreśvari also has four arms.

In Northern Karnataka also the worship of Ādinātha has remained popular. In the Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar, is preserved a beautiful sculpture of Rśabha sitting in the paryankāsana (same as the ardha-pedmāsana) with hair-locks shown on his shoulders. The head has schematic curls of hair but no jata and no uṣṇīṣa. The sculpture is carved in the round. The pedestal below the Jina's big lotus-seat is lost. There is no parikara. The sculpture was recovered from the famous Jaina site called Lakkundi (Panorama of Jaina Art, fig. 252).
There is a beautiful bronze of Rṣabha in paryānkāśaṇa resting against a back made of two pilasters surmounted by a horizontal bar from behind which are springing, as it were, two male cāmaradharas. The Jina has hair-locks on shoulders carefully marked. He sits under a triple-umbrella. Leaves of the Cāitya-tree are shown on both the sides of the chaṭra. The bronze seems to date from c. tenth century A.D.

It is preserved in the Malli Jīnālaya at Halli, Jewarji Taluq, Gulbarga district, Karnataka (Panorama of Jaina Art, fig. 333).

Another beautiful bronze, a Caturvimśati-patīya, shows Ādinātha sitting in padmāsana on a simhāsana below which is the bull cognizance and below the lāṅchana seems to be standing a two-armed Kṣetrapāla. At the right end of the simhāsana is a four-armed bull-faced Gomukha Yakṣa and on the left end of the simhāsana is the four-armed Cakreśvari Yakṣi. At the farther right end of the bronze is a small figure of four-armed Padmāvatī while on the corresponding left end is a two-armed Ambikā. The bronze is in worship in a Jīnālaya at Erğal in the Sindgi Taluq, Bijapur district. This beautiful bronze is in the north Indian style and might have come from Maharashtra or Gujurat. The bronze dates from late eleventh century.

In the Government Museum, Madras, is a bronze Caturvimśati-patīya from Kogali, Harpanahalli, Bellary district. The bronze is assigned to c. 9th or 10th century. In the centre stands a big figure of a Tirthāṅkara with hair-locks falling on his shoulders. The bronze is partly mutilated on top right end (Mu. no. 36/2/35). The bronze is wrongly identified as a Coviśi of Mahāvira. On the right end is a two-armed pot-bellied Sarvāṇubhūti while on the left end is a two-armed Ambikā (C. Sivaramamurti, Panorama of Jaina Art, fig. 317).

In the same Museum is a stone sculpture of Ādinātha standing in the centre with 24 miniature figures of Tirthāṅkaras sitting in paryānkāśaṇa on all the three sides of Ādinātha. Ādinātha is recognised by hair-locks on his shoulders. There is no cognizance, nor are there any Śāsanadevatās. No elements of the parikara are shown. Museum no. 2511, findspot unknown. Age, c. 14th century A.D.

In the Puddukottai Museum, Tamil Nadu, is a small bronze Caturvimśati-patīya, with Ādinātha standing in the centre. He has hair-locks on his shoulders, but no jatā and no uṣṇīṣa. The attendant Yakṣa is cow-faced and four-armed while the Yakṣi is four-armed Cakreśvari. The bronze was dug out from the site of the Maharaja’s College at Puddukottai. T.S. Sundar∧ placed it in Lali Kala, I-2, pl. XX, fig. 2, p. 79. The bronze can be dated around 1000 A.D. Art style of the bronze suggests that it might have come originally from some area under the rule of Rastrakutas or the Kalyani Calukyas.

A beautiful sculpture of Rṣabhanātha, carved in the round, from Warangal, A.P., is now preserved in the National Museum, New Delhi. The Jina sits in the paryānkāśaṇa and his hair are shown as if they are combed, with parallel lines going upwards. Hair-locks on his shoulders help us to identify the Jina as Rṣabhanātha, as in the case of the Lakkundi Ādinātha noted above. The sculpture can be assigned to c. 10th-11th cent. A.D. and has some Karnataka influence (Panorama of Jaina Art, fig. 19).

In a brick-shrine on top of Bodikunda, Ramatirtham, Vizagapatnam district are two Jain sculptures assignable to 10th century A.D. One of them is a beautiful sculpture of Ādinātha with a jatā on his head and a back-rest with two cāmaradharas springing as it were from the horizontal bar of the back. The Jina sits on a viśvapadmā (double lotus) below which in front of the pedestal is prominently carved the bull cognizance (negative no. C.13, Southern Circle, Madras, Arch. Survey of India) (C. Sivaramamurti, Panorama of Jaina Art, fig. 284).

Sivaramamurti, in his Panorama of Jaina Art, has illustrated some single figures of Ādinātha, e.g., fig. 20 from Tālkad, Dharwar, Karnataka. There is no lāṅchana and the Jina has the hair-locks on shoulders but no jatā. Again, his figure 230 is a seated Tirthāṅkara from Halebid, Chalukyan influence, c. 11th-12th cent. A.D.

Sivaramamurti has illustrated some fine ornate sculptures showing Ādinātha sitting in the paryānkāśaṇa and resting his back against a cushion placed in front of a back-seat made of two pillars and topped by a horizontal bar. There are two cāmaradharas at the back and the triple-umbrella and the cāitya-tree are shown. A beautiful example is illustrated in Panorama of Jaina Art, fig. 270 from Sēduṇ, Guilibārga, Chalukyan, c. 11th cent. A.D. Another noteworthy example is his fig. 440 from Aland, Guilibārga district.
A third example is his fig. 470, Ādinātha, from Gudgeri, Dharwar district, Western Chalukyan, 12th cent. A.D.

Our Fig. 178A illustrates a bronze figure of a nude standing Jina in the Madras Museum. It was discovered from a place called Tindivaram, in Tamil Nadu. An inscription on its back shows that this is a figure of the Ādi-Jina. It may be noted that no hair-locks on shoulders are visible. The bronze is a specimen of Chola art of 12th century A.D.

Scenes from the life of Rāhabhanātha are available in the ceilings of the Sāntinātha and Mahāvīra temples at Kumbharia, N. Gujarat. M.N.P. Tiwari has identified a few such scenes on the walls of a Devakulikā near the main Jaina shrine at Ośia. The earliest known representation is the frieze depicting the Dance of Nīlājāna, Fig. 18, referred to before. We also get some scenes in miniature paintings of Kalpa-sūtra.

2. SECOND TIRTHAṆKARA: AJITANĀTHA

Ajitanaṭha, the second Jina, the son of king Jitaśatru and queen Vijaya of Ayodhyā (Vinitā-Sāketa), was born in the Rohiṇī naksatra, having descended upon the earth from Vijaya Vimāna, according to traditions of both the sects. According to Hemacandra, the king gave the name Ajita to his son because the mother could not be defeated in gambling by the king, so long as the Jina was in the Mother’s womb. The Digambara text Uttarapurāṇa explains the name in another way: he was called Ajita because he could not be conquered by sin or by all heretics.

Both the sects agree in calling him golden in complexion, having the elephant as his cognizance. He obtained Kevalajñāna under a Saptaparṇa (Alstoma Scholastic) tree. He is said to have obtained Nirvāṇa on the Mount Sammeta Śikhara (Mt. Pārasanatha) in West Bengal.

The second Jina had 90 gaṇapadhas, Simhasena being the chief amongst them. Falgu (Svetāmbara) or Prakubjā (Digambara tradition) was the chief Āryikā or the leader of his order of nuns.

Mahāyakṣa was his attendant Yakṣa and Ajitā (Śvet.) or Rohiṇī (Dig.), the attendant Yakṣini. Sagara, the second Cakravartin of Jaina Purāṇas, was his cousin brother. The elephant, which is the chief distinguishing mark of this Jina, also becomes the vāhana of his yakṣa, while the attendant yakṣī, Ajitā, seems to have been named after the name of Ajitanātha.

The earliest known image of Ajitanātha is in the ayagapata from Mathura illustrated in Fig. 11. A figure of standing Ajitanātha from Śrāvastī dates from Gupta age.

In the Son Bhaṇḍār Cave, Rājgir, is a Pratīmā-Sarvatobhadrikā of stone, with a standing Tirthaṅkara carved on each face. The quadruple image has a domical top and the stela on each side shows a dharma-cakra with a symbol on each side, carved on the base. On one side, two elephants flank the wheel, on another are two monkeys. On the third side is shown a horse on each side of the cakra. Thus these animals represent cognizances of different Jinas represented on the four sides. Ajitanātha is here represented with the elephant symbol on two sides of the dharma-cakra; he stands on a lotus in the kāyotsarga pose under a Caitya-tree represented by two twigs on the sides of the Jina’s head. Near the legs is standing an attendant male chowrie-bearer on each side. The sculpture is assignable to c. 7th-8th century A.D. The Jina is represented as standing under an arch supported by two pillars on tops of which are two divine garland-bearers. Above the arch is a triple-chatra while two hands bearing a drum represent divine music.

The sculpture is a noteworthy specimen marking a stage in the development of the parikara (Pratiḥāryas) of a Jina. The Aśoka tree, or the Caitya-tree, the divine garlands, the divine music, the divine cāmaradharas, the āsana (here it is understood by the marking of the lotus below the feet, as the Jina is represented in a standing pose), the dharma-cakra, as well as the triple-umbrella and halo are shown. The parikara is fully developed so far as its constituents are concerned. At a later stage, the mode of representation of the divine music changes, and the grouping becomes more ornamental.

But the mode of representation of the lāṅchana or symbol of the Jina is especially noteworthy. In later sculptures, the dharma-cakra is generally flanked by the two deer, obviously in imitation of the Buddhist symbol. Here, one of the earliest stages of the mode of representation of the symbol of a
Tirthaṅkara is obtained. The symbol is placed on each side of the Wheel of Law. A still earlier specimen of this type, assignable to the Gupta age, c. fifth century A.D., is the sculpture of Neminātha from Rājgir, discussed by R.P. Chanda. Here the conch symbol of Neminātha is placed on each side of the dharmacakra in the centre (see Fig. 26).

Our sculpture represented an intermediate stage, between the parikara of the Kuśāna period and the fully evolved, stereotyped parikara of the mediaeval ages. The attendant yakṣa and yakṣiṇī are absent here, though a pair common to all Tirthaṅkaras was already evolved before this sculpture was carved.

This sculpture helps us to identify some other sculptures of the post-Gupta age where the dharmacakra on pedestal is flanked by a deer on each side. In such cases, one need not suppose that the dharmacakra+2 deer is the general representation of the Wheel symbol only as in later or mediaeval sculptures, but it is advisable to treat the deer as the cognizance of Śāntinātha on the basis of this and other such Tirthaṅkara sculptures from Rājgir. Thus for example, the big bronze of a Jina from Mahudi (North Gujurat) can now be identified as representing the Jina Śāntinātha, since the pedestal shows the Wheel flanked by two deer.59

It is not easy to ascertain when this mode of representing the symbol was given up. But it would seem that it was done so in c. 8th-9th century A.D. The Mahudi sculpture, a beautiful example of bronze-casting, comparable with some excellent specimens from Nālandā, is certainly not later than c. 700 A.D. In the centre of the pedestal the dharmacakra is flanked by two deer. Here the deer represent the cognizance of Śāntinātha. But a post-Gupta stone specimen from Rājgir shows a Jina sitting with snake-hoods above head and the dharma-cakra below his seat has a conch on each side. A peculiar case, going against the known canons of Jaina iconography, and since the sculpture does not seem to be older than the Ajitanātha or Śāntinātha discussed above, no explanation of the departure is possible. The symbol for every Jina was already fixed in the age in which this figure is supposed to have been carved.

In the light of the above discussion, a bronze figure of a Jina sitting in a padmāsana on a high pedestal, obtained from Vasantagadh discussed in Lalit Kalā, I-2, pl. XI, fig. 5, may be considered. Here the pedestal shows the dharmacakra flanked by two deer. Hair-locks falling on the shoulders of the Jina would suggest that he is Ādinātha. There is no inscription on the bronze, the evidence from style would be uncertain, but the sculpture seems to be assignable to late seventh or early eighth century A.D. There were attached to it, on two ends, figures of the attendant yakṣa and yakṣiṇī, as can be inferred from the wire end on one side. Here, on the basis of the line of argument noted above, the Jina would have been identified as Śāntinātha but the prominent hair-locks show that he is Ādinātha. Either it is a case like the second Rājgir sculpture discussed above, showing exceptions to the rule, and a mistake on the part of the artist who represented hair-locks on Śāntinātha as the image looked more beautiful thereby, or that in Western India, the practice of representing the symbol on two sides of the Wheel was given up at an earlier stage than in Bihar.

I am inclined to propose the following tentative identifications. The Mahudi image represents Śātinātha, the Vasantagadh bronze also may represent Śātinātha.

An early sculpture of Ajitanātha standing, obtained from Varanasi, is now preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow (no. 49.199). R.C. Sharma described it thus: “The pedestal represents his Lanchana, i.e., elephants who are standing face to face. Curiously enough the forehead of the deity is marked with a flower-shaped Tilaka. The mark of the Śrī-vatsa has not been given at its proper place, while the halo has been shown by an incised line. On the whole the image has been crudely modelled. It may be assigned to the late sixth or early seventh century A.D.”60 The sculpture seems to be still later.

In the Son Bhandara cave, Rājgir, is carved in relief a figure of a Jina sitting in padmāsana. The āsana has two elephants in place of the lions of a simhāsana and hence the elephants may be regarded as cognizances of the Jina above. There are two cāmaradharas and two garland-bearers. The sculpture is assigned to c. 9th cent. A.D.

No. 85 in the Bharata Kala Bhavana, Varanasi, is a beautiful Jaina Caturmukha (Catunmukha) sculpture probably from Varanasi (or Sarnath ?). On one side is a figure of Ajitanātha standing (Fig. 33) on a lotus below which on the pedestal is the dharmacakra in the centre with an elephant on each side. The
head of the Jina is lost but the elephant cognizance on the pedestal helps us to identify the Jina as Ajitānātha. A small sitting Tīrthaṅkara figure is shown on each side of the Jina. The sculpture dates from c. late sixth or early seventh century A.D.

At Khajuraho in Madhya Pradesh, in the open air museum adjacent to the Ādinātha temple there are about four sculptures of Ajitānātha. One of them, no K.22, shows the Jina standing in kāyotsarga mudrā. No yakṣa and yakṣi figure on the sculpture. The elephant cognizance is shown below the dharmacakra. The head of the Jina is lost. The sculpture dates from c. 12th cent. A.D. No. K.43 in the same museum, assignable to c. 11th century A.D., has the yakṣa-yakṣi pair. Symbols of the yakṣi on the left end are hidden under plaster while the yakṣi on the corresponding right end holds the sword in her extant right hand. If a guess be allowed, the missing hand might have held the shield. The Jina is sitting in the padmāsana dhyāna mudrā. The sculpture is a Tri-Tīrthika image with a small figure of standing Jina over the head of cāmarādhara on each side. No. K.59, damaged on one corner, was perhaps a Ātavimśati-Pattā with Ajitānātha sitting in padmāsana. No yakṣa-yakṣi pair. No. K.66 also shows the Jina in sitting posture without the yakṣa-yakṣi pair, with the elephant cognizance shown on the left of the dharmacakra. There are in all seven Jina figures on this sculpture, including the main figure of Ajitānātha in padmāsana.

M.N.P. Tiwari has published a paper entitled ‘A Unique Tri-Tīrthika Jina Image from Devgarh’ on a sculpture, from Temple no. 1, Devgadh, in which are represented two Jinas on its front and the third one on its left side face. All the three Jinas stand in the kāyotsarga pose on simhāsana over which hang ends of covering carpets with cognizances of the Jinas shown on them. The two frontal Jinas are Ajitānātha and Sambhavanātha with their elephant and horse lāṭehana respectively. At the right extremity of the image, beside the figure of Ajitānātha, stands a four-armed Sarasvatī depicted in the same size as the standing Jina. Such a representation with Sarasvatī is rare which makes this a unique image.61

Bruhn’s Fig. No. 144, from Wall section XII, Devgadh, is a beautiful sculpture of Ajitānātha sitting in the padmāsana on a cushion placed on a simhāsana. The figure of the elephant cognizance is shown just below the wavy lines of an end of a carpet placed on the simhāsana below the cushion-seat. The elephant is shown just above the dharmacakra in the centre of the simhāsana. On the right end of the simhāsana is a two-armed standing sāsana-yakṣa Sarvanubhūti with a purse in left hand and the raised right hand seems to be in the abhaya mudrā. Symbols in the hands of the standing two-armed yakṣi on the corresponding left end are not clear.

A Tri-Tīrthika image of standing Ajitānātha from Temple no. 21, Devgadh, is illustrated by Bruhn in his book as figs. 202, 202A, and 203. The sculpture dates from c. 10th cent. A.D. No yakṣa-yakṣi are shown. M.N.P. Tiwari has referred to an image of Ajitānātha in Temple 29, Devgadh, having four-armed Sāsana yakṣa-yakṣi pair and with figures of mālādharas and kumbhadharas shown near the cāmarādhara.

From Bihar, besides the sculptures from Rajgir, we find a bronze image of standing Ajitānātha with the elephant cognizance on the simhāsana. The bronze, obtained in the Allahabad hoard in Manbhum district, dates from c. 11th cent. A.D., and is now preserved in the Patna Museum (Patna Museum No. 10697).

In the Orissa State Museum at Bhubanesvara is an Ajitānātha sculpture from Charampa. In the Navamuni, Bārābhūjī and Triṣūla caves at Khandagiri, Orissa, are obtained sculptures of the second Tīrthaṅkara Ajitānātha. From Patma in Manbhum district also comes a sculpture of Ajitānātha (JAA, Vol. II, plate 158B). The Jina stands within a shrine fronted by a trefoil arch and surmounted by a śikhara with āmalaka on top. This image is of colossal size (now preserved in the Patna Museum) and shows the elephant lāṭehana of the Jina in the centre of the pedestal, just below the double-lotus on which the Jina stands. Twelve miniature figures of Tīrthaṅkaras are shown on each side of the Jina.

In Madhya Pradesh, the Shivpuri Museum has an interesting collection of Jaina sculptures, mainly from Narwar. A sculpture represents Ajitānātha standing in the kāyotsarga posture under a triple umbrella. The Museum also has some Dri-Tīrthika images, in which two Tīrthaṅkaras are represented as standing by the side of each other, represented on one slab. One such sculpture shows Ajitānātha and Sambhavanātha grouped together. At Padhavalī are two separate sculptures of Tīrthaṅkaras standing
on simhasanas and identified as Ajitanatha and Sambhavanatha on the basis of small figures of their lāṅchana shown on the ends of decorated cloth hanging from the top of the simhasanas.

For a Dvī-Tirthī of Ajita and Sambhava from Karatalai in Raipur Museum, Madhya Pradesh, see JAA, Vol. III, plate 373B.

In the Nagpur Museum is a stone sculpture with full parikara representing Ajitanatha sitting in padmāsana on a simhasana. On the hanging end of the cloth on which the Jina is sitting is shown the gaja-lāṅchana of Ajitanatha. On the right end of the simhasana is a two-armed yakṣī showing the abhaya mudrā with her right hand and carrying the kalaśa in her left hand. On the corresponding left end is a two-armed pot-bellied yakṣa with the citron in his right hand. The symbol of the left hand is mutilated. The sculpture dates from c. 10th cent. A.D. and hails from some part of Maharashtra.

In Gujarat and Rajasthan, Ajitanatha was also worshipped in stone and metal images. The National Museum, New Delhi, has a metal image, No. 48.4/19, which shows Ajitanatha sitting on a cushioned lion-throne mounted on a terraced pedestal. The deity is flanked by two seated and two standing Tirthankaras and an attendant on either side. The sāsana yakṣa Mahāyakṣa and the yakṣi Aśitabālā are shown on the pedestal. The inscription on the back of the image is dated in Samvat 1471 = A.D. 1414.

However a bigger and beautiful earlier metal sculpture of Ajitanātha is preserved in a Śvetāmbara Jaina shrine in Ahmedabad. The Jina stands under an arch supported by two long pillars. Near the legs of the Jina are the two cāmaradhāras. The lāṅchana as well as the yakṣa-yakṣi are not shown but the inscription on the pedestal identifies the Jina as Ajitanātha, installed in Samvat 1110 = A.D. 1053. First published by N.C. Mehta, this beautiful brass or bronze image is a typical example of the metal art of the period.

In the Pārśvanatha temple at Kumbharia is a beautiful big stone sculpture of Ajitanātha standing on a pedestal with the elephant shown as his cognizance. No yakṣa-yakṣi are depicted but on the torana-stambhas on two sides of the Jina are shown, in separate compartments, the Vidyādevī Apraṭika, Purusādattā, Mahākāli, Vajraśrākhalā, Vajrānkuśa, Rohini and a goddess which looks like the Śānti-devī but which may also be one of the Vidyādevīs.

In the sanctum of Mahāvira temple, Kumbharia, North Gujarat, are two large saparikara images of Tirthankaras placed against the south wall; both are standing in the kāyotsarga mudrā, one is Śāntinātha with the deer lāṅchana while the other is Ajitanātha with the elephant as his cognizance. Both the images are dated in Samvat 1118 = A.D. 1061.

According to inscription no. 8, published by Muni Viṣālaviyaya in his Gujarati book entitled Śri Kumbhārīṭṭī Tirtha, a pair of standing Ajitanātha images was installed in the Neminātha shrine at Kumbharia in Samvat 1314 = A.D. 1257 (inscribed on the sculpture showing this pair).

In the devakulikā to the left as you enter the shrine of Neminātha at Kumbharia there is a saparikara image of Ajitanātha enshrined in v.s. 1335 = A.D. 1278 according to an inscription on the image (Inscr. no. 10 in Śri Kumbhārīṭṭī Tirtha, p. 25).

In cell no. 37 of the Lūnavasahikā, Devvada, Mt. Abu, was installed an image of Ajitanātha by merchant Kheta in v.s. 1287 = A.D. 1320 (Inscr. no. 343 at Abu).6 According to Inscr. no. 142 at Abu, an image of Ajitanātha was installed in cell no. 42 of Vimala Vasabi, Abu, by Devacandra sūri, pupil of Yaśodeva sūri in Samvat 1245 = A.D. 1188.

Kumārapāla built a big shrine dedicated to Ajitanātha, on the Tārarāgā hill in Gujarat. The shrine is still standing though the main image in the sanctum was destroyed and later another image had to be installed. Inside the garbhagṛha of this temple is a colossal white marble image of Ajitanātha sitting in the padmāsana, dhyāna mudrā; the image was consecrated in A.D. 1422 by one Govinda probably after the original was desecrated by Muslims. On two sides of the mūlakāyaka and placed against the north and south walls are two images in white marble of standing Jinas, dated 1297 A.D., brought from a nearby village. The garbhagṛha also contains two small images of Ajitanātha, one of 1247 A.D. and the other of 1248 A.D.

Ajitanātha was worshipped at Satruṇjaya also. According to inscription no. 141, in derī (cell, devakulikā) no. 884/34, on the Mt. Satruṇjaya, an image of Ajitanātha was installed in Samvat 1675 = A.D.
1618 by some donors from Rājanagara (Ahmedabad). In derī no. 228/2 was installed a Pañca-Tirthī of Ajitānātha in Samvat 1523 = A.D. 1466, as shown in inscription no. 184 on this image. Similarly a Pañca-Tirthī of Ajitānātha was installed in derī no. 13/1 in Samvat 1542 = A.D. 1485, as per inscription no. 302. Another such image was installed in derī no. 630/2/2 in v.s. 1446.

Instances can be multiplied from hundreds of stone and metal images of different Jinas in worship in the various Śvetāmbara and Digambara shrines all over the country. We have not attempted to make an exhaustive study of any site or of Jaina images in any particular State or region. Our study was more or less one of the pioneer types covering almost the whole of India and of both the sects of the Jainas. It was intended to solve some of the unsolved problems of Jaina iconography and to prepare a standard work for identifying Jaina images. We will therefore not pile up lists of all Tīrthankara and other images in different temples nor describe them all. We have nowhere claimed to have made such exhaustive studies.

Merely visiting museums and some well-known temple sites will not provide a complete picture regarding the number of images of any deity worshipped in any State of India. We have visited a number of Jaina temples still continued in worship. They are full of stone and metal images, some old, some relatively new. Even in a modern temple one would find a very old image brought from some extinct temple and reinstalled.\(^6\) Detailed studies of individual sites and temples are expected from future young scholars. Our object was to provide a fairly reliable basic study with the help of published works and works in ms., supported by archaeological evidence and as far as possible to tabulate the results. One must always remember that Jainism is a living religion in India and as in the study of Hindu iconography it is difficult to exhaust every aspect of the study of Jaina iconography in one life.

An early bronze of Ajitānātha, of c. 8th cent. A.D., was obtained in the Akota Hoard from Gujarat and published by us in Akota Bronzes, fig. 41B. In the centre of the pedestal is the dharmachakra flanked by elephants. The yakṣa and yakṣi figures are of the early pair of Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā.

In the south we do have sculptures of Ajitānātha in sites like Śravaṇa Belagola, Venuṅ, Mūdadibri, etc., where all the twenty-four Tīrthankaras are installed in a temple. In the Suttālaya of Gommata at Śravaṇa Belagola we have Ajitānātha in the whole group of Jinas installed in late 12th century A.D. (Fig. 59). The sculpture in the Bhandāra Basti set at Śravaṇa Belagola dates from 1159 A.D. The Veṅn set is later and dates from c. fourteenth century A.D. In all such sculptures the Jina is standing in the kāyasargamudrā under an arch and Mahāyakṣa the yakṣa of Ajita, and Rohiṇi, the yakṣi, accompany him and attend upon him near the legs. The cognizance figure is incised on the pedestal. Instead of the male cāmaradhara figures being carved near the legs, a cāmara (chowrie) is placed symbolically on each side of the Jina on top of the pillar supporting the arch under which the Jina stands. The chowries are usually near the shoulders of the Jina. In all these three sets the full parikāra is not given, only the triple umbrella, the halo, the yakṣa-yakṣi pair and the cognizance are shown.

3. THIRD TĪRTHAṆKARA: SAMBHAVAṆĀTHA

Sambhava was born as the prince of king Jitāri (according to Śve. tradition) or Dr̥dharāja (according to Diṅg. tradition) and queen Senā or Suseṇā of the city of Śrāvasti, in the naksatra known as Mṛgaśīra. Sambhava descended (upon this earth, into his mother's womb—cyavāna) from the Sudarśana Vimāna of the first Graiveyaka heavens.\(^6\)

Sambhava was so called because, when he was in his mother's womb, grains increased in his father's kingdom. Hemacandra, giving a second explanation, says that he is called Sambhava because happiness (śan) increases (bhavati) by offering prayers to the Jīva.\(^6\)

Sambhava obtained Kevalajñāna under a Śāla tree (Shorea robusta). Čāru (Śve.) or Čārusena (Diṅg.) was his chief Gāńadhara, while the chief Āryikā (head of the nuns' order) was known as Sāmā or Śyāmā (Śve.) or Dharmaṁśa (Diṅg.).

Golden in complexion, SambhavaṆāth, the scion of the Īkṣvāku family, has the horse as his divaṃga (cognizance, lañchanā). Trimukha and Duritāri (Śve.) or Trimukha and Prajñapti (Diṅg.) are his śāsana yakṣa and yakṣī respectively.\(^6\) Sambhava obtained nirvāṇa on Mt. Sammeta Śikhara.
The earliest known image of Sambhava hails from Mathura of the Kuśāṇa age and is dated in Samvat 48=146 A.D. It is preserved in the Lucknow Museum (no. J.19). The Jina sits in padmāsana in the centre of which is the dharmacakra placed on a tri-ratna symbol. A male and a female worshipper stand on the right and the left respectively of the Wheel of Law.

The Lucknow Museum has two more sculptures of later periods (nos. J.855 and O.118) both from U.P. No. J.855 represents this Jina with a chowrie-bearer on each side, the attendant on the left being mutilated. A celestial garland-bearer on each side, a triple-umbrella over the head and a dharmacakra flanked by two horses on the pedestal are the only members of the parikara carved in this sculpture. The long ear-lobes and the absence of the halo may be noted. It seems that the image belonged to the early Gupta period. The findspot is not known but the sculpture seems to have been influenced by the Mathura School.

A figure from Banpur Khas, Jhansi district, is an example of a different style of sculpture of Sambhava, assignable to c. seventh century A.D., is another known early sculpture of Sambhavanātha. The high caps of the attendant male flywhisk-bearers and the ekāvalīsakha worn by them may be noted. The Jina stands on a lotus. A group of Tirthāṅkaras are carved in miniature reliefs on two sides of Sambhava standing in the centre. A small figure of the horse symbol is seen on the right side of the pedestal. The sculpture is mutilated at the top.

In the Moti Katara Panchayati Digambara Jain Mandir, Agra, is an image of Sambhavanātha which, according to an inscription on it, was originally installed in v.s. 1147 (1090 A.D.). The Jina sits in padmāsana on a cushion. There is no parikara. There is an image of a Jaina Tirthāṅkara at Fārasānāth Killā, Bijnor, which has an inscription dated in Samvat 1067–1010 A.D. Some scholars identified the image as representing Sambhavanātha on the evidence of a paper by K.D. Bajpai. But K.D. Bajpai has identified the image as that of Varreddhamāna svamī (Mahāvīra) and has given the reading of the inscription thus: Śrī Viruddhamāna Sami devah sma 1067 Rānasutta Bharathi pratimā prathapi. Obviously the inscription, engraved in incorrect Sanskrit, refers to Varreddhamāna Svami.

At Devgadh there are about eleven images of Sambhavanātha, all showing the Jina standing in the kāyottarga mudrā. In a few cases the yakṣa and yakṣī are based upon an old now lost tradition which shows them two-armed and showing the abhaya or the mace (or sometimes the purse ?) in one hand and the fruit or the kalāśa in the other. This whole tradition requires further exploration and research. So far as we know, no literary tradition has been traced as yet for this. By this time already the new set of forms of yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs had also come into vogue but in art the new traditions were not yet universally followed. In Devgadh temple no. 15 we have an image of Sambhava, assignable to c. 11th century A.D., which has a four-armed yakṣa and a two-armed yakṣī. In a later image of Sambhava in temple no. 30 at Devgadh we have both the yakṣa and yakṣī with four arms each.

M.N.P. Tiwari has made an exhaustive study of Jina images at Khajuraho. As shown by him, the image of standing Sambhava in temple no. 27 is dated in Samvat 1215 but has no accessory iconographic details. In the remaining three sculptures of Sambhava at Khajuraho the Jina is shown sitting in the padmāsana, with the horse cognizance generally shown in or near the centre of the simhāsana. No. K.50 in the Open Air Museum does not show a figure of the śāsana yakṣa. Both the ends of the throne are occupied by two identical figures of two-armed goddesses seated in lalitāsana and holding a sword and some indistinct object in their hands. The image is assigned to c. eleventh century A.D.

The yakṣa and yakṣī of another image, Acc. no. 1715 in the Archaeological Museum, Khajuraho, are noteworthy. The yakṣī on the left corner shows the abhaya mudrā and a lotus respectively in her right and left arms. The yakṣa of the corresponding right end holds probably a skull cup in his right hand and a mongoose-skin purse in the left. Such a purse is called Nakulikā, Nautī or Noll. In the Archaeological Museum at Jhansi there is Tri-tirthika stone sculpture with heads of all the Tirthāṅkaras mutilated possibly by art thieves. In the centre sits Adinātha while on his left stands Sambhava with an attendant cāmaradhāra on each side and a devotee with folded hands. On the pedestal is the figure of a running horse. On the corresponding right side of Adinātha is standing Sāntinātha with the deer symbol.
At Pañhāvali is a sculpture of standing Sambhava with the figure of his horse lāñchana shown on the hanging end of the carpet below the Jina's feet. The simhāsana has the dharmacakra in the centre. There are cāmaradhāras, flying mālādhāras and a drum-beater on top of the triple-umbrella. No yakṣa and yakṣi are shown; the sculpture can be assigned to eleventh century A.D.

A beautiful sculpture of standing Sambhava from Narwar, Shivpuri district, M.P., is preserved in the Shivpuri District Museum (Acc. no. 3). The sculpture, like the one from Pañhāvali discussed above, belongs to the Digambara tradition. The very artistic simhāsana of the Jina shows two ferocious lions, and in the centre, in a small niche, is a small figure of a Jina or an ācārya in padmāsana with the dharmacakra shown below his seat. On two sides are small figures of male and female devotees with folded hands. At the lower end of the simhāsana is the tiny figure of horse cognizance. There is also a Dvīr-Tīrthika image of Sambhava and Nemi standing from Narwar, now in the Shivpuri Museum.

No. 406, Rani Durgavati Museum, Jabalpur, represents a standing Sambhavanātha, assignable to c. eleventh cent. A.D., from Tewar in the Jabalpur district. The Jina stands on a simhāsana with cāmaradhāras, mālādhāras, triple-umbrella, and elephants with kalaśas in the parikara but no yakṣa and yakṣi are shown.

In Orissa, at Khandagiri, caves 7, 8, 9, called Navamuni, Bārābhūjī (Fig. 53) and Mahāvīra gūmpha respectively, are among three rock carvings, one in each cave, of Sambhava sitting in the padmāsana under a triple umbrella and with a standing cāmaradhara on each side. In one case there is a flying mālādhara on each side of the umbrella while in two cases are cymbals being played by two disembodied hands. The Jina sits on a big full-blown lotus placed above the simhāsana with the horse symbol shown on one side. None of Tīrthaṅkaras in these caves have the śrī-vaiṣṇa on their chests. The Jinas usually have a rather prominent jatā top on their heads instead of the uṣṇīṣa. In two cases we have a figure of the yaksīnī of this Jina carved separately below the Jina's figure.

Temples and sculptures of Sambhavanātha are also known from Rajasthan and Gujarat. There is a temple dedicated to Sambhavanātha at Kumbhariya. The original image seems to have been mutilated and later replaced by a new one. In Radhanpur, North Gujarat, is a shrine dedicated to Sambhavanātha. According to an inscription on the main image in the sanctum, it was installed in Samvat 1682 = 1625 A.D. The inscription on the image of Sambhavanātha, in the Mahāvīra temple at Kumbhariya, says that the image was the gift of one śrīvītā named Pāhīpi, mother of Bhāṇḍāgārika Jinduka, (installed) in samvat 1142 = A.D. 1085. In the famous Lūgavasabi temple built by Tejapāla at Delvada, Mt. Abu, are two ornamental niches, khaṭṭakas, flanking the gūḍhāṅgālapa and placed against its west wall, popularly known as Gokhalās of Derāṇī and Jethāṇī. The image in the proper right khaṭṭaka is of Śāntinātha while that in proper left one is of Sambhavanātha. At Śatrūṇjaya also there are some inscribed stone and metal images of Sambhavanātha.76

In the Digambara Jaina Sampradāya at Ujjain there are a few sculptures of Sambhava obtained from places like Sundarsarī, Jamner, Badnawar etc. in Malwa region.

In the south, in Karnataka, at Venū, in the set of 24 different Tīrthaṅkaras in Jaina temple, we have Sambhava standing under an arch and a triple umbrella overhead, with the Trīmukha Yakṣa and the Prajñāpti Yakṣi standing by his sides. The figure of his horse lāñchana is incised on the plain pedestal below. In the Bhandāra Bastī set and in the set of Sūtālaya of Gommates we also have sculptures of Sambhava with Trīmukha Yakṣa and Prajñāpti Yakṣi standing by his sides near the legs and the horse cognizance carved on the pedestal. These two sets at Śravaṇa Belagola belong to the Hoyasala period.

4. FOURTH TĪRTHAṄKARA: ABHINANDANA

Abhinandana, the son of king Samvara or Svayamvara and queen Siddhārthā of the city of Ayodhyā, was born in the Purānasu naksatra, having descended from the Jayanta Vīmāna.77 As he was honoured (abhinandayate) by gods he was called Abhinandana.78

Golden in complexion, Abhinandana became a monk after ruling over his kingdom for some time, and, practising penance, obtained kevalajñāna while meditating under a Piyaka or Piyāla (Sarāla) tree.79
He is said to have obtained nirvāṇa on Mt. Sammeta. Yakṣeśvara (Dig.) or Yakṣanāyaka (Śve.) and Vajraśrīkhalā (Dig.) or Kālikā (Śve.) are the attendant yakṣa and yakṣīṇī respectively who are said to protect the śāsana or the Jaina Samgha of this Tīrthaṅkara. The chief ganadhara of this Jīna was Vajrānābha while Ajitā was the chief āryikā. Abhinandana had the monkey as his divoja or lāṁchana. B.C. Bhattacharya, in his Jaina Iconography, writes: “In treating of his symbolism, we encounter some difficulties. His main symbol is a monkey. If we interpret hari, one of the dreams of Jina’s mothers, to stand for a monkey, the propriety of the emblem is explained. Hari also means a lion, which makes it a symbol of Mahāvīra. The real nature of his Yakṣa and Yakṣīṇī may, to some extent, help us to get at the meaning of the symbols. Yakṣa, as we have seen, is Isvara and Yakṣīṇī is named Kāli. Clearly they are Śaivaite deities borrowed from the Brahmanic pantheon. Thus it is likeliest to connect the ape of the Jina with the apish incarnation of Isvara or Śiva.”

The above remarks are too far-fetched. There does not seem to have existed any special connection between the lāṁchanas and the Śaśānadevatās of the different Tīrthaṅkaras. Only in the case of Rṣabha the similarities of Rṣabha-Śiva, Bull-Nandī, Gomukha-Nandikēśvara are noticeable. But what about Rṣabha’s yakṣi Cakreśvarī who can be equated with Vaiśnavī and not with the Śaivaite-Gaurī? How can we connect the horse symbol of Sambhava with the Jīna’s yakṣa Trimukha? The relation of Isvara Yakṣa and Kāli can be understood but not of these two with the ape cognizance. In fact, the recognizing symbols or the lāṁchanas—the divojas—were introduced much earlier than the twenty-four different yakṣas and yakṣīṇīs known as Śaśānadevatās. There was no inherent significance or background nor was any uniform principal followed in the selection of such names and symbols. We cannot associate Gomukha with Cakreśvarī in the same way as we can Isvara with Kāli. To seek any significance in the lāṁchanas from the list of fourteen or sixteen dreams seen by the Jīna’s mother is equally unwarranted.

Images of Abhinandana are not so common as those of Rṣabha, Pārśva or Mahāvīra and not many have reached the different museums from old sites. However it would not be proper to state that he was not popular, for, a glance at different articles and works giving inscriptions on the various stone and metal images in worship in different temples and Jaina temple-cities will show that images of all the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras used to be worshipped.

Abhinandana is represented on one of the four sides of the Quadruple image in the Son Bhandara cave, Rajgir, referred to before while describing images of Sambhavanāṭha.

A relief sculpture of Abhinandana with the ape symbol also figures on the wall of the Navamuni Cave, Khandagiri, Orissa. Abhinandana also figures on the walls of the Barabhuji (Fig. 53) and the Mahāvīra Caves, Khandagiri, Orissa.

Only one sculpture of Abhinandana, with the cognizance of a monkey, is so far known from Devgadh. The Jīna is shown in the kāyotsarga mudrā. The yakṣa and the yakṣī on the pedestal are of the usual two-armed variety showing the abhaya and the kalaśa.

At Khajuraho, a sculpture of this Jīna in the sitting posture figures in the Pārśvanāṭha temple while another image is preserved in Temple 29. In both cases the yakṣa and the yakṣī, each two-armed, show the abhaya and the fruit or the kalaśa.

In the Mālava-Prāntiya-Digambara-Jaina-Samghahālaya, Ujjain, are preserved a few sculptures of Ajitanāṭha standing in the kāyotsarga mudrā with the kapī (ape) shown as his lāṁchana.

At Kumbharia, an inscription on the pedestal of an image of Abhinandana shows that it was installed in samvat 1142 = 1085 A.D. The image was installed in the Mahāvīra svāmī temple (Viśālavijaya, op. cit., p. 121, inscr. no. 6-69). Similarly in cell no. 22, Pārśvanāṭha temple, Kumbharia, was installed an image of Abhinandana in samvat 1259 = 1202 A.D. In the Śāntināṭha temple at Rādhanpur, N. Gujarat, is in worship a metal Pañca-tīrśhika image of Abhinandana installed in samvat 1505 = 1448 A.D. Minister Dhanapāla, a descendent of the family of the elder brother of Vimala Saha, had installed a sculpture of Abhinandana in cell no. 26, Vimala Vasahi, in Samvat 1245.

In the National Museum, New Delhi, No. 48.4/88 is a metal sculpture of Abhinandana, dated samvat 1610 with figures of Isvara yakṣa and Kāli yakṣī on the ends of simhāsana (JAA, III, p. 560).

Scultures of Abhinandana are obtained in South India in Karnataka in the sets of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras.
5. FIFTH TIRTHAṆKARA: SUMATINĀTHA

Sumati, the fifth Tirthaṅkara, was born as the prince of king Megha or Meghaprabha and queen Mangalā or Sumangalā, at Ayodhyā in the Maghā nakṣatra. He descended upon this earth from his previous existence as an Indra in the Jayanta Vimāna.⁸¹ While he was in the mother’s womb, his mother’s mind and intellect remained good and benevolent (sobhānā matiḥ) whereupon he was called Sumati.⁸²

Golden in complexion, Sumatinātha, of the Ikṣvāku race, had the red goose (kokah, or krauñca according to some texts) as his dhvaja or lāṭchana. T.N. Ramachandran has given the wheel or circle as an alternative symbol based on some other tradition not specified.⁸³ Sumati obtained kevalajñāna while meditating under a Priyangu tree (Panicum Italicum).⁸⁴ He had 116 Ganaḍharas of whom Camara (Śve.) or Vajra (Dig. Tiloyapannatti, but Camara according to Uttarapurāṇa, 51.76, and Carama according to Ramachandran) was the leader; the chief āryikā of his order of nuns was Kāśyapī.

Sumatinātha obtained mokṣa on the Mt. Sammeta Śikhara, Tumburu officiated as his attendant Yakṣa and Puruṣadattā (Dig.) or Mahakāli (Śve.) was the attendant Yakṣī of his tirtha.

An old sculpture of Sumatinātha, very much defaced, was recovered from Sahet-Mahet, Gonda district, U.P., the site of ancient Śrāvasti. The red-goose, the symbol of Sumati, is visible below the dharmacakra in the centre of the simhāsana. There is a group of 23 other Tirthaṅkaras arranged in two verticle rows on two sides of the central figure of Sumati.⁸⁶

Amongst the Digambaras of Northern India, representation of two Tirthaṅkaras side by side in one sculpture, i.e., the Dvi-tiriki image, was very popular. Compare, for example, the Dvi-tiriki of Rṣabha and Mahāvīra, now in the British Museum, published by us in Studies in Jaina Art, fig. 35, and Fig. 79 here of Ajītanātha and Sambhavanātha from Narwar, now in the Shrivpuri Museum, Shrivpuri, M.P. Both the Jinas stand side by side with attendant chowrie-bearers, chaṭra, etc. for each Jina represented separately. Some of these examples are fine specimens of art. A sculpture from Ghosai, now in the Archaeological Museum, Gwalior, shows two Jinas standing on two beautiful lotuses with small figures of male càmaraḍharas by their side. The Caīya-trees are represented by hanging a few leaves from the ends of the triple umbrellas above the Jinas. On the left end of the pedestal is a miniature yakṣa Sarvānubhūti (also known as Sarvānha) carrying the citron and the bag. Below him is the small figure of a goose, which shows that the Tirthaṅkara standing on this (left) side is Sumatinātha whose cognizance is the red goose according to the Digambara texts. The pillar on the right end is mutilated and lost and along with it the symbol of the Jina on the right end is lost, so he cannot be identified. A sculpture of Sumati standing on a simhāsana (with parikara but without the yakṣa and yakṣi, hailing from Narwar, is in Shrivpuri Museum, M.P.

At Khajuraho two sculptures of Sumati are noted by Tiwari, one in the sanctum of the Pārśvanātha temple and the other in temple no. 30. The Jina sits in the padmāsana in both cases. The yakṣa and yakṣi are of the usual two-armed type showing the abhaya and the fruit.⁸⁷ V.A. Smith has also noted the existence of an image of Sumatinātha from Mahoba, assigned to 1158 A.D.⁸⁸

In the Mālava-Prānttya Digambara Jaina Samgrahālaya, Ujjain, Mu. no. 29 is a standing Sumatinātha with the goose symbol and Tumburu and Mahākāli as his yakṣa and yakṣīni. The sculpture dates from c. fourteenth century A.D. Three more images of Sumati, from Javes, Gondalmau and Guna, are also preserved in the Museum.

At Orissa, Khandagiri, in Caves nos. 8 and 9, we find figures of Sumatinātha sitting in the padmāsana with his goose symbol on the simhāsana below his seat (Fig. 54 from Cave 8).⁸⁶

At Kumbharia, in the Pārśvanātha temple, cell no. 21, an image of Sumati was installed in samvat
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1259 A.D. 1202 according to the inscription on the pedestal preserved in the cell (Viśālavijaya, op. cit., p. 133). According to another inscription by the side of the torana in this cell, it was installed in Samvat 1265 by Sajana who is perhaps the same as Sajana of the earlier inscription just noted. Tiwari has noted that on the torana pillars are figures of Apratiṣṭakā, Vajrāṅkusi, Vajraṣṛṅkhalā, Vairoṭyā, Rohini, Mānavī, Sarvāṣtramahāyāati and Mahāmāsī Vidyādevis but it must be remembered that they have nothing to do with the iconography of the Tīrthaṅkara. There are indeed some cases where some Vidyādevis figure as part of the accessory figures as in the Tri-tīrthika metal images from Vasantagadh published by us in Lalit Kala, nos. 1-2, but it must be remembered that they are not enjoined as part of a parikara of a Tīrthaṅkara image.

In cell 27, Vimala-vasahī, Abu, an image of Sumatināthā was installed in samvat 1245 by the wife of Mahāmātya Pṛthvīpāla. The image is lost but the pedestal with the inscription is still preserved in the cell. This has happened with the sculptures of most of the Devakulikās (cells) in the temples at Kumbharia and Abu. The yakṣa and yakṣī on the pedestal in the Vimala-vasahī cell 27 are Sarvāṇubhūti and Ambikā.

A Pañca-tīrthika sculpture of Sumatināthā installed in samvat 1726 is in worship in Cell no. 593/2 at Śatrūnjaya (inscr. no. 225 of Kañcanaśīgarasāri, op. cit., p. 57) and another Pañca-tīrthi of Sumati dated in samvat 1554 is in worship in Cell 606/1, inscr. no. 232, at Śatrūnjaya. There is a similar third sculpture dated samvat 1694 in Cell no. 596/2 at Śatrūnjaya. A fourth Pañca-tīrthi of Sumati in the same site is dated in v.s. 1497, preserved in what is called Kothāra, inscr. no. 238, Śatrūnjaya, op. cit. There are some more such Pañca-tīrthiś of Sumati at Śatrūnjaya. But the inscription no. 273 in Cell no. 613/910, dated samvat 1530 is more interesting because here the image is called Śrī-Jivatasvāmi-Śrī-Sumatīnāthā-bimbam. This as we have noted before is a later wrong application of the epithet Jivat-svāmi for images of Tīrthaṅkaras other than Mahāvīra. Iconography of Jivat-svāmi images of Mahāvīra was of course believed to have been based on an original life-time portrait statue of Mahāvīra which is not the case with much later Jivat-svāmi images of other Tīrthaṅkaras.

In the National Museum, New Delhi, there is a metal sculpture of Sumati (No. 48.4/44) with yakṣa Tumburu and Mahākāli yakṣī (JAA, III, p. 560), installed in samvat 1532.

In the south as usual we have sculptures of Sumatināthā in the various sets of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras at Śravāna Belagola, Veṇūr, Mūḍābidri. In such sets all the sculptures are of a uniform type in each set, the differences lying only in the forms of śasana yakṣa and yakṣī and the cognizance on the pedestal.

6. SIXTH TĪRTHAÑKARA: PADMAPRABHA

Padmaprabha was born as the son of king Dharana (Dig.), Dhara or Śrīdhara (Śvet.) and queen Susmā ruling over the city of Kaushambi, in the Citrā nakṣatra, having descended from the Uparima-Graiveyaka Vimāna.89

Hemacandra states that his father named him Padmaprabha because his mother had a pregnancy wish of (lying on) a bed of lotuses while the Sīna was still in her womb and secondly because of his lotus-like complexion.90

Shining like red-lotus, Padmaprabha also has the red-lotus as his lāṇčana or dhvaja. He obtained kevalajñāna under a banyan tree according to the Śvetāmbara view represented by Hemacandra. According to the Digambara tradition noted by Ramachandran, the Chitrā (Anethumsowa) was his Caitya-yaṅka. The Samavāyānga sūtra, which represents an earlier tradition, calls it Chitrābha.91 One hundred and ten ganadharaśas headed by Vajracāmara (Dig.) or one hundred and seven ganadharaśas headed by Suvara (Śvet.) followed him. Rati or Ratisena was the leader of his order of āryikās.

He obtained mokṣa on Mt. Sammeta Śikhara. Kusuma and Acyutā were his yakṣa and yakṣī respectively according to Śvet. tradition, while they were known as Mātāṅga and Apratiṣṭakā (Tiloyapannatī) or Kusuma and Mānovegā (Vasumandi and other writers) according to the traditions of the Dig. sect.

Early sculptures of Padmaprabha are not yet known. At Khajuraho in the mandapa of the Pārśva-
nâtha temple is a big sculpture of this Jina sitting in the padmâsana. In the Indian Museum, Calcutta is an image of this Jina obtained from Gwalior and assigned to c. 10th-11th century A.D. Lucknow Museum no. O.122 is a sculpture of standing Padmaprabha dated in A.D. 1149 and obtained from Chhattarpur. Kumptapasad Jaina has noted a sculpture of Padmaprabha, from Urdamau, M.P., standing in the kâyotsarga posture, and dated in the year equal to 1114 A.D. There is a sculpture of standing Padmaprabha in temple 1 at Devgadh.

There is a sculpture of standing Padmaprabha from Narwar in the Shivpuri Museum, M.P. The Jina stands on a lotus placed on a simhâsana in the centre of which is a miniature figure of a Siddha or a Tirthâṅkara in padmâsana, dhyâna mudrâ and below him is the dharmacakra. The cognizance of the Jina is at the lower end of the sculpture, below the dharmacakra. On each side of the Jina stands a cāmarakha. Above the Jina is the triple-umbrella with an elephant on each side, and on top of the chaṭra is a kalaśa. On each side of the head of the Jina is a celestial mālādhar. Almost all the sculptures of standing Tirthâṅkaras from Narwar in the Shivpuri Museum are of this type.

Rock-cut figures of Padmaprabha are available in Caves 8 and 9 at Khandagiri (Fig. 54). The yâkṣi of this Jina is carved separately below him in cave 8. Mohapatra has published a sculpture of Padmaprabha from a Jaina temple in Cuttack.

A sculpture on the wall of a rock-cut cave at Kuppanatham in the Madurai district, Tamil Nadu, shows the Jina seated in the ardha-padmâsana under a triple umbrella and on a simhâsana with figures of two lions at the ends and a lotus in the centre. Two male flywhisk-bearers stand by the sides of the Tirthâṅkara. On the left side of this sculpture is carved another separate sculpture representing Mahâvîra. In the south, the cognizance is carved generally in the central compartment of the pedestal while in the compartments at the two ends are figures of lions of the simhâsana. These two lions at the ends face different directions while the lion in the centre faces the worshipper. Sometimes all the lions might face the worshipper. But in all such cases when there is a central lion figure we feel that the sculpture is to be identified as representing Mahâvîra whose cognizance is the lion. On this analogy when in the centre we find a lotus we prefer to regard the sculpture as representing Padmaprabha. Unfortunately in sculpture we often find the Wheel of Law carved like an open petalled lotus as we find on pedestals of some of the sculptures at Rajgir etc. But in the south the practice of carving the dharmacakra in the central part of the pedestal or the simhâsana is hardly seen.

In the Bhândâra Basti set, and the Suttâlaya set at Sravana Belagola and in the sets at Mûdâbiti and Venûr in Karnatakâ we find sculptures of this Jina with attendant figures of the Puspa (Kusuma) yâkṣa and Manovegâ yâkṣi and the lotus cognizance.

In cell 20 of Pârśvanâtha Temple at Kumbharia is preserved the pedestal of a sculpture of Padmaprabha which shows that the image was installed by merchant Sañjana in samvat 1259 = 1202 A.D. Similarly, in the devakulikâ no. 7 in the Sântinâth temple at Kumbharia was installed a sculpture of Padmaprabha in v.s. 1146 = A.D. 1089 (Viśâlavijaya, op. cit., pp. 132, 147). Inscription no. 6, Vimala Vasahi, Abu, on one of the two big metal images in the gûdhamaṇḍapa of the shrine shows that this image of Padmaprabha was installed in samvat 1550 = A.D. 1493 by Mantris Añhana and Mohana of Prâgâjâ caste. The figure is a big single Jina-image without any parikara (Muni Jayantavijaya, Srî-Arbuda-Prâcina-Jaina-Lekhasumdoha, p. 11). In Cell 24 of Vimala Vasahi there is a sculpture of Padmaprabha with full parikara.

Minister Dhanapâla, son of Mahâmâtya Pûrhâpâla, in the lineage of Neđha, the elder brother of Vimala Sâhâ, installed images of Sântinâth (in Devakulikâ 24, Vimala Vasahi), Râshbhadeva (in cell 23, same shrine), Sambhavanâtha (in cell 25), and Abhinandana (in cell 26, same shrine), in v.s. 1245 = A.D. 1198 (Inscriptions nos. 98, 95, 100, 103 of Jayantavijaya, op. cit.). Namaladevi, wife of Minister Pûrhâpâla, installed an image of Srî Padmaprabha (in cell 28) and Srimâladevi, wife of Jagadeva, elder brother of Dhaṇapâla, gave an image of Supârśva (cell 29), and Rupâni, wife of Minister Dhanapâla, installed an image (bimbâ) of Srî Candraprabha, in the same year, according to inscriptions nos. 104, 106, 108 and 109 respectively. In many cells in the Vimala Vasahi and the Lûnavasahi at Abu, and in the temples at Kumbharia, the original sculptures installed are lost and only the simhâsanas or the pedestals
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remain. In some cases new images are installed which are not necessarily of the same Jinas. These are installed on the old pedestals preserving the original inscriptions referred to here.

In the temple of Ādiśvara at Rādhāpur, N. Gujarat, a metal Pāñcatīrtha of Padmaprabha is in worship. According to an inscription on it the image was installed in v.s. 1570=A.D. 1513.

7. SEVENTH TĪRTHAṅKARA: SUPĀRSVANĀTHA

Supārsvanātha, the seventh Tīrthaṅkara, was born as the son of king Supratiśtha or Pratistha and queen Prithvi of Varanasi when the moon was in the asterism Viśākhā. He descended from the madhyama Graiveysaka heaven, Subhadra Yimāna.92

In dream, the queen mother of Supārśva saw herself lying on the coils of snakes with one, five and nine snake-hoods respectively when the Jina was in her womb. In the Āsamasarana of Supārśva were, on this account, raised by Śakra, similar snake-hoods, like an umbrella as it were, over the head of the Jina.93 The Avasāyaka Niryuktī says that Supāršva was so called because his mother's sides looked beautiful (supārśva) while he was in the womb.94

He was born with a golden complexion according to the Śvetāmbaras but he had greenish appearance95 according to the Digambara sect. According to both the sects, his dhūya or the lāṅkhaṇa is the svastika.96 He obtained kevalajñāna while meditating under a Śrīṣa (Acacia Sirisa) tree, and mokṣa on the Mount Sammeta. Vidarbha and Somā or Sumanā were his chief gaṇadhara and āryikā respectively according to the Śvetāmbaras while the Digambaras call them Bala (Baladatta) and Mināryā (Minā).

Mātanga and Sāntā were the śāsanadeva-tiṣas of his tīrtha according to Śvetāmbara writers; according to the Digambara authors they were known as Varanandi (Vijaya acc. to Tiloyapanāttri) and Kāli (Puruṣadātta acc. to Tiloyapanāttri).

Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara, is also represented with a canopy of snake-hoods overhead which often renders it difficult to differentiate between images of Pārśva and Supārśva in the absence of an inscription or the cognizance on the pedestal. Usually Pārśva is shown with coils of snake behind his body, while in the case of Supārśva only the snake-hoods overhead are carved or painted. But this is not an unfailing guide since Supārśva is sometimes represented with the snake-hoods only without the coils all over the back. It is not unlikely that because of a certain similarity of names Supārśva also came to be associated with snake-hoods. No early image of the Kusāna period representing Supārśva is known as yet from Mathura. At Mathura in the Kusāna period, in the four-fold images (caumukha or Pratīmā-Savatobhadrikā), we find Ādinātha on one side, another Jina must be Mahāvīra, the third cannot be identified while the fourth, with seven snake-hoods overhead, has to be identified as Pārśvanātha.97 Figure 23 illustrates a separate image of Pārśva with seven snake-hoods from Kankali Tila. Mathura and Fig. 8 illustrates a standing Pārśva from the Chaṣa hoard.98

Jinaprabha Śuri, a Śvetāmbara, śaitya of the fourteenth century A.D., refers to a stūpa of Supārśvanātha at Mathura, built by gods (devanirmit).99 As yet not a single image of Supārśva is found or identified from the Kankali Tila site of the Jaina stūpa. An inscription on one of the images obtained from this stūpa site refers to installation of two images (Pratīmāvā dve) in the stūpa built by gods (thubbe devanirmit). Even though the stūpa of Kankali Tila can be identified as the devanirmita stūpa of Jaina traditions, it is difficult to accept it as a stūpa dedicated to Supārśvanātha. Jinaprabha is the only writer who explicitly said so.100

A very late but a well-preserved image of Supārśvanātha was obtained from Tonk along with several marble images of other Tīrthaṅkaras, all in the same style and without any parikara. The symbols are marked in the centre of cushion seats of these Jinas. Supārśvanātha is here identified with the help of the svastika symbol on his seat. But he has seven snake-hoods overhead. No coils of snake are shown on his back. This case is a pointer to the fact that there are exceptions to the general rule of one, five or nine snake-hoods for Supārśva and three or seven snake-hoods for Pārśvanātha. But Vāstuvīma, 22.27, as noted by M.N.P. Tiwari prescribes three or five snake-hoods for Supārśva and seven or nine for Pārśvanātha.
At Pāladi, a few miles from Sirohi, Rājasthān, in the Jaina temple, is a standing Supārśvanātha installed in v.s. 1348 = A.D. 1291. The inscription expressly says that this is an image of Supārśva. The beautiful marble sculpture belongs to the Śvetāmbara tradition and shows five snake-hoods over the head of the Jina. There is no lāṅghana nor are there any snake-coils behind the Jina's body.

In the Neminātha temple, Kumbharia, in the ādhamanaḍapā is a sculpture of Supārśva standing with five snake-hoods overhead and the svastika cognizance shown on the pedestal. Sarvānuḥbūti and Ambikā are shown as the attendant yakṣa and yakṣī, by their sides are figures of Mahāvīryās Rohni and Vairocyā, each four-armed. In the parikara are shown figures of Sarasvatī, Pṛṇāpto, Vajrāṅkusi, Vajraśrākhāla and Sarvāstramahājāvalī. In the Devakulikā no. 7, Pārvanātha temple, Kumbharia, is an inscribed sculpture dated in 1202 A.D. with a canopy of five snake-hoods over the head of the Jina who is called Supārśvanātha in the inscription. A mediaeval sculpture in the Baroda Museum also shows five snake-hoods and the svastika cognizance which helps us to identify the Jina as Supārśva.102 Tiwari has noted some figures of Supārśva on the Devakulikās of the Mahāvīra temple at Osiā.103

Tiwari has shown that photo no. 59.28 of the American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi, is of a standing Supārśva from Shahdol with five snake-hoods and is assigned to the tenth cent. A.D.104 The same Institute has supplied a photograph to this writer, with the no. AAB, Neg. No. 59.28, from “M.P. Singpur, Shahdel District, Pancamatha temple, Pārvanātha, standing. Mid 10th cent.” On the pedestal of this sculpture is a figure of a snake which can also be taken as the tail of the big snake whose coils are shown behind the whole body of the Jina. The snake-hoods over his head are partly mutilated and although five snake-hoods can be marked out it is not unlikely that the two mutilated sides of the snake canopy had one more snake-hood on each side end. If M.N.P. Tiwari is referring to this same photograph then the identification of this image is doubtful especially because an attempt is made to show a serpent or even a tail of the snake on the pedestal, the snake being the cognizance of Pārvanātha. This would be an instance of Pārśva image with five snake-hoods.

It seems that in northern, eastern and western India Pārśva was almost always shown with seven and not five snake-hoods. This canopy of snake-hoods represents the demi-god Nāgakumāra Dharaṇendra sheltering Pārvanātha from the attacks of Kamaṭha (Śve.) or Meghamālin (Dig.). At Mathura during the Kuṣāṇa period Jina images with a canopy of seven snake-hoods were installed. In Khandagiri, Orissa, we have figures of Pārśva with seven snake-hoods. But the rock-cut sculpture of Supārśva in padmiśana in cave 8 (Barabhuji) at Khandagiri shows the svastika cognizance but no snake canopy at all over the head of the Jina. At Ellora also in the scenes of attack of Kamaṭha on Pārśva, the Jina is protected by a canopy of seven cobra-hoods.

But in the famous relief panel of the same scene in Badami Cave IV, assignable to c. late sixth or early seventh century A.D., there is a canopy of only five cobra-hoods over the head of Pārvanātha.105 In a similar scene at Anaimalai, Madurai district, amongst the Jaina reliefs cut on a boulder at Samanara-koll is a big relief panel showing the scene of the attack of Meghamāla (Kamaṭha) on Pārvanātha. Dharaṇendra with his canopy of five hoods protects the Jina from the attack. These reliefs from Pandyan territory are assignable to c. eighth-ninth century A.D. Thus the Badami tradition of Pārśva with a canopy of five snake-hoods continues even in the eighth-ninth centuries in the south. In the relief panel in the Jaina Cave, Aihole, assigned to the seventh century A.D., showing the scene of attack on Pārvanātha, Pārvanātha is shown with a canopy of five hoods only.106

Thus there is this confusion. In some cases at least, and especially in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, we have instances of Pārśva with a canopy of five cobra-hoods, though as a general rule Pārśva is often met with as having a canopy of seven hoods. Whenever there is a snake king and a snake queen shown as attending on the Jina, the Jina can easily be identified as Pārvanātha; there is such a stone sculpture from Godavari district in the Madras Museum. But in this case the Jina has a canopy of seven snake-hoods. There is no cognizance shown. In the twelfth century set of 24 Tirthaṅkaras, we have, in the Bhādgāra Basti, Śravana Belagola, a sculpture of Supārśva with the svastika symbol and five snake-hoods over the head of the Jina.

So we will tentatively identify the National Museum No. 59.153/176 of a standing Jina with a canopy
of five hoods and the snake coils behind his body as Supārśva. There is no attendant figure. The sculpture is a fine specimen of Cola art of eleventh century A.D. The rock-cut sculpture in the southern wall of the facade of the Sittāppavāsala cave, Tamil Nadu, shows a Jina sitting in the ardha-padmāsana and having a canopy of five snake-hoods over head. There is no cognizance nor any scene of attack on the Jina. The sculpture probably represents Supārśva. In the Bellur village a few miles from Bangalore on the way to Kambadhalli, there is a beautiful single image of a Jina with five snake-hoods, said to have been brought there from Nāgamangalam. The sculpture is a fine specimen of Ganga art of tenth century. There is no parikara, no pedestal, no cognizance. We are inclined to identify this sculpture as representing Supārśvanātha.

There is a black stone sculpture of a standing Jina from Pataancheru, Medak district, A.P., inscribed and assigned to the 12th century A.D. The sculpture is preserved in the Government Museum, Hyderabad, A.P. There are only five snake-hoods over the head of the Jina. Coils of the huge snake are shown behind the whole body of the standing Jina who is identified as Supārśvanātha. There is another standing Tirthāṅkara from Pataancheru with coils of the snake behind the whole body of the Jina (though parts of them are now mutilated). The Jina had seven snake-hoods as can be easily inferred from the partly mutilated hoods. The sculpture can be assigned to the eleventh century A.D. Thus we have a case of five-hooded Supārśva and a seven-hooded Pārśva from the same spot.

It must be remembered that the yakṣa and yakṣī of Pārśva alone have snake-hoods over their crowns. The yakṣa and yakṣī of Supārśva in the Śve. and the Dig. traditions have no snake-hoods over their heads. So the present writer is not in favour of identifying the Lucknow Museum sculpture no. J.935 as representing Supārśvanātha because the yakṣa and yakṣī on the pedestal have three snake-hoods over their crowns. Unfortunately the upper part of this sculpture is mutilated and lost along with the snake-hoods over the head of the Jina.

Madras Museum No. 2478 is an inscribed Nisidhi stone sculpture from Danavulappadu, Cuddapah district. The Jina in the upper panel sits in the ardha-padmāsana with the coils of snake shown behind his back and a big cobra head with only one snake-hood holding a canopy over the head of the Jina. Below the seat of the Jina, on the pedestal, is a big svastika which is the cognizance of Supārśva. Images of Supārśva with one snake-hood are rare to find.

Images of Supārśva with five snake-hoods are also known from Bajramath, Gyaraspur, Baijanath (Kangda), Deogadi and Khajuraho. At Deogad all the images of this Jina show him in the kāyotsarga mudrā. In one case the Jina is shown with hair-lock on the shoulders. A sculpture of a Jina in Devgadi temple no. 4, showing the Jina with five snake-hoods, may not represent Supārśva since the yakṣa and the yakṣī here have three snake-hoods over their heads.

There is a sculpture of Supārśva standing in temple no. 5 at Khajuraho. Another figure of standing Supārśva is in temple no. 28 at Khajuraho. Here the svastika cognizance is also shown. In both the cases the Jina has a canopy of five snake-hoods.

In the Nagpur Museum there is a beautiful sculpture of a Jina sitting in the padmāsana on a decorated cushion placed on a simhāsana. The embroidered cloth hanging over the centre of the simhāsana has the svastika mark which is the cognizance of Supārśva. The upper part of the back slab of the Jina figure is mutilated and so it is difficult to say whether there were any snake-hoods over the Jina's head. But the beautiful sculpture of a seated Jina (with arms broken) preserved as no. 6 in the Shivapuri Museum and hailing from Narwar, is identified as Supārśvanātha on account of the canopy of five snake-hoods over the head of the Jina. The sculpture dates from the twelfth century A.D.

No. B.62 in the Nagpur Museum is from Katoli in Chanda district and dates from the eleventh century A.D. The Jina sits in the ardha-padmāsana and behind his back are coils of a big snake who with his five snake-hoods is holding a canopy over the Jina's head. There is no pedestal, no parikara, no cognizance. But because of the five snake-hoods it is possible to identify the Jina as Supārśvanātha. B.23 in the same museum is a Pañca-tīrthī of Pārśva with snake cognizance and seven snake-hoods for canopy.
According to Jina-prabha sūri, Supārśva was also worshipped in the city of Daśapura (modern Mandor).\textsuperscript{111}

A metal Pañca-tīrthi of Supārśva, in worship in the Cintāmaṇi-Pārśvanātha temple at Rādhanpur, was installed in samvat 1528 according to the inscription on the back of the image. In samvat 1245, Śrīmāladevi, the wife of Thakkura Jagadeva, the son of Mahāmātya Pṛthvīpāla, installed a sculpture of Supārśvanātha in cell 29, Vimala Vasahi.

8. EIGHTH TĪRTHĀNKAARA: CANDRAPRĀBHA

Candraprabha, the eighth Tīrthānkarā, is white like the moon. Son of king Mahāśena and queen Lakṣmanā (or Lakṣmimati) of Candrapura, he descended from the Vaijayanta Vīmāna and was born in the Anurādhā nakṣatra.\textsuperscript{112}

Because the Jina's mother had a pregnancy wish (dohada) for drinking the moon, while he was still in embryo, and because he was white in complexion like the moon, his father named him Candraprabha. According to the Uttarapurāṇa, Indra called him Candraprabha because at his birth the earth as well as the night-lotus were delighted (blossomed). In the south Candraprabha is now also worshipped as Candranātha.

He obtained highest knowledge while meditating under a Nāga-tree (Punnāga acc. to Hemacandra).\textsuperscript{113} Vaidarbha and Varuṇā were his chief gopadharā and āryikā respectively according to Digambara belief; according to the Śvetāmbaras they were known as Dinna (Skt. Datta) and Vāruṇī.

According to the Śvetāmbaras, yakṣa Vījaya and yakṣi Bārkutī originated as the protectors of the tīrtha founded by Candraprabha; according to the Digambaras, the Sāsanadevatās of his tīrtha were Śyāma (Ajita according to Tiloyapāṇṭi) and Īvāmālini (Manovegā acc. to Tiloyapāṇṭi) respectively. Candraprabha obtained nirvāṇa on the Mt. Sammeta in Western Bengal.

Both the sects prescribe the moon (crescent moon) as his cognizance.

A temple dedicated to Candraprabha exists at Somanātha-Pātana in Saurashtra. Jina-prabha sūri states that the image of Candraprabha was brought to Devapattana (same as Somanātha-Pātana or Prabhāsa-Pātana) by air from Valabhi along with images of Ambā and Kṣetrapāla.\textsuperscript{114} In another context the same author says that an image of Candraprabha made of Candrabagā stone is installed at Prabhāsa, along with an image of Īvāmindev. The image came from Valabhi where it was reported to have been consecrated by Śrī Gautama-svāmī and was the gift of Nandivardhana (the elder brother of Mahāvira). According to Jina-prabha sūri, an image of Śrī Candraprabha, installed in the Jina's life-time, existed in a shrine at Nāsikkapura (Nasik). An image of this Jina was well-known at Varanasi while another was worshipped in Candrabhāt.\textsuperscript{115}

The earliest sculpture of Candraprabha, so far discovered, was installed by Mahārajādhiraja Rāmagupta, according to an inscription on the simhasana which has a dhammacakra (without the two deer flanking the Wheel as in mediaeval sculptures) in the centre.\textsuperscript{117} The cognizance of the Jina is not shown. On each side of the Jina sitting in the padmāsana is a standing cāmaradhara. The head of the attendant on the right is mutilated along with the upper half of the halo and the head of the Jina. The male cāmaradhara on the right of the Jina wears a conical crown (reminding one of the later kūlāh caps) with a motif like the one found in Kuṣāṇa headdress. The sculpture is rightly assigned to the fourth century A.D., to the age of the Gupta ruler Rāmagupta, the elder brother of Candragupta II. The Śrī-vatsa mark on the chest of the Jina is still of the early type met with in the Kuṣāṇa art of Mathura. Candraprabha is here identified because the inscription on the simhasana gives the name of the Jina.

A stone sculpture of Candraprabha sitting in padmāsana on a big vīṣṇa-padma placed on a simhasana was found in the Jaina temple at Vaibharaqiī, Rajgir. In the centre of the simhasana is a dhammacakra which looks like a full-blown lotus. Above it is the crescent moon, the cognizance of the Jina. Besides a male standing cāmaradhara there are, on each side of the Jina, three miniature figures of Tīrthānkarās sitting in padmāsana. Thus this is a Saptatīrthi image of Candraprabha. There are on top two mālādharas, two drums and a triple umbrella. The sculpture belongs to the eighth century A.D.\textsuperscript{118}
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Patna Museum no. 10695 is a standing Candraprabha from Aluara with the crescent shown on the pedestal. The bronze can be assigned to c. 11th-12th cent. A.D. A more beautiful bronze of standing Candraprabha from Achyutarajapura, Orissa, dating from c. 10th-11th cent. A.D., is preserved in the State Museum, Bhubanesvara. A metal image of standing Candraprabha from Kākatpur, Orissa, is preserved in the Ashutosh Museum, Calcutta. The same museum has a stone Caturmukha shrine from Dewalia, Burdwan, on one side of which is a standing Candraprabha with the moon symbol and figures of standing Rṣabha, Mahāvira and Pārśvanātha on the remaining three sides. The Indian Museum Calcutta has a beautiful miniature stone shrine of Candraprabha from Bihar showing the Jina standing on a double lotus below which in the centre of the pedestal is his crescent moon symbol. There are 23 more miniature figures of standing Tīrthaṅkaras. The pedestal shows four-armed figures of his yakṣa and yakṣī.

Cave 7, Khandagiri, Orissa, has a rock-cut figure of Candraprabha sitting on a big lotus with a long stalk. Below the lotus is a mark of a big crescent. Caves 8 and 9 each also have a figure of Candraprabha in the sitting posture. Candraprabha seems to have been popular in Eastern India, in Bihar, Bengal and Orissa.

Allahabad Museum no. 295 is a sculpture of Candraprabha in padmāsana sitting on a big lotus placed on a simhāsana. In the centre of the lotus is the crescent symbol. On the right end of the pedestal is the two-armed yakṣa Sarvāṇubhūti while on the left end is a two-armed yakṣī with the lotus in the right hand and the left arm and legs mutilated. The sculpture is assigned to c. ninth cent. A.D.

At Devgadh, Candraprabha was popular. His images are found in temples nos. 1, 4, 12, 20, 21. In the image in no. 21, hair-locks are shown on his shoulders. All the sculptures date from c. 10th-11th centuries. At Khajuraho, one sculpture on the west wall of the sanctum of the Pārśvanātha shrine shows him sitting in the padmāsana with two more standing Tīrthaṅkaras and two-armed yakṣa-yakṣī. The second image, also showing him in the sitting posture, is in temple no. 32 and is assigned to c. 12th century A.D. Nos. J.880, J.881 and G.113 in the State Museum, Lucknow, represent the Jina Candraprabha.

On a Pañca-tīrthī sculpture of Candraprabha from Padhavali, Gwalior, M.P., the symbol is given at the foot of the pedestal below the dharmacakra while a pot-bellied two-armed yakṣa is shown at the right end. The yakṣī shown on the left end carries a garland of flowers with both the hands. Since there are two female standing garland-bearers and a male and a female sitting devotee near the feet of the Jina, it seems that the two-armed sitting female on the left end of the simhāsana might have been regarded as a yakṣī. If so, this would be an exceptional form.

In Devakulikā no. 13, Vimala Vasahi there is in worship a Pañca-tīrthika sculpture of Candraprabha; in cell no. 26 of the same temple is in worship a Tri-tīrthika sculpture of this Jina. In cell no. 30, Rūpī, the wife of Mahāmātya Dhanapāla, had installed a sculpture of Candraprabha in samvat 1245, according to the inscription on the pedestal preserved in the cell. According to an inscription on a pedestal in the Neminātha shrine, Kumbharia (Muni Viśalavijaya, op. cit., p. 104, inscr. no. 31) a sculpture of Candraprabha was installed there in samvat 1335. In the same temple there is an image of Candraprabha installed in v.s. 1338=A.D. 1281 (ibid., p. 106, no. 36). A pedestal in cell 18 of the Pārśvanātha temple, Kumbharia, has an inscription which says that this image (now lost which was on the pedestal) of Candraprabha was installed in samvat 1259=A.D. 1202. In the temple of Dharmanātha at Radhanpur there is a metal image of Candraprabha installed in samvat 1306; in the temple of Ajitanātha at Radhanpur there is in worship another metal image of this Jina installed in samvat 1423; in the Cintāmaṇi Pārśvanātha temple, Radhanpur is in worship a metal Pañca-tīrthī of Candraprabha, installed in samvat 1439.

A beautiful sculpture of Candraprabha, of white marble and with full parikara and every detail minutely carved, is preserved in the sanctum of a shrine of Candraprabha at Patan, North Gujarat. The sculpture dates from c. late fifteenth or early sixteenth century A.D. The crescent moon is shown in the centre of the decorated cushion on which the Jina is sitting in padmāsana. In the centre of the simhāsana is the four-armed Śānti-devī, while at the right end of simhāsana is the four-armed Vijaya yakṣa and
on the corresponding left end of the throne is the four-armed Brūkuti yakṣi of the Śvetāmbara tradition.

At Śrāvāna Belagola, in the set of Bhaṇḍāra Basti (1159 A.D.), Candraprabha, standing in kāyotsarga pose, has by his right side the four-armed yakṣa who may be Śyāma or Ajita and the four-armed yakṣi on the left who seems to be Manovegā (acc. to Tiloyapannatti) and not the Jvālamālini (of other Digambara texts). In Humacca, south Karnataka, we have a standing Candraprabha with the cognizance carved on the pedestal. As usual in Śrāvāna Belagola and other sets here also the Jina has a halo and a triple umbrella and no other member of the purikara except the four-armed yakṣa and yakṣi standing on his right and the left sides respectively. In the sculpture of Candraprabha at Veṇāṭur we have a four-armed yakṣa but the yakṣi is six-armed. In the Suttālaya set, at Śrāvāna Belagola, of late 12th century, both the yakṣa and the yakṣi are four-armed while in the Mūḍabidri group of twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras, the yakṣi of Candraprabha is six-armed. This set is later and dates from c. 14th or 15th century A.D. There is a sculpture of Candraprabha standing at Bhaktal in Karnataka. Here the yakṣi is eight-armed Jvālamālini.

A rather modern example of Candraprabha image, cast in metal, according to Digambara tradition, is in worship in a shrine in Venkundram, North Arcot district, Madras. The Jina stands on a lotus device placed on a pedestal with the crescent symbol of the Jina shown in its centre. The total absence of the śrī-vatsa mark in all the south Indian images noted above is noteworthy. In the Venkundram bronze we find a small triangle carved on the right side of the chest of the Jina. We find such a mark on metal images of other Jinas in this shrine.

Candraprabha, also called Candranātha in the south, has been popular amongst the Jainas almost everywhere in India. P. Gururaj Bhatt, in his Studies in Tulwa History and Culture, discussing Jainism in Tulunadu, lists some noteworthy Jaina Bastis in places in Tulunadu. The list shows that there are several Bastis (shrines) with Candranātha in the sanctum at places like Mūḍabidure, Karentitodi, Veṇāṭur, Bēḻtangaḍi, Dharmasthala, Mardala, Nenerki, Upinangadhi, Panantabailu, Mularappatna, Manjeḷvara, Omanjuru, Bāḷiballa, Mulki, Madhura-patna, Iruvattur, Humbucha, Angaḍṭyaru, Kārkala-Hiriyangadhi, Mala, Mūḷivaru, Keravase, Varanga, etc.

Such a survey of important Jaina shrines in different parts of India, along with the images worshipped therein, is not yet completed for any State or district in a State and so it is not advisable to draw hasty conclusions and say, for example, that maximum number of images of Candraprabha were carved in Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. Even if such a statement is with references to States in India north of the Vindhya, I humbly believe that without a full survey one need not hasten to draw such conclusions. Jaina temples in Patan or Cambay or in Śriṇuḍ yaşayan etc. have never been fully surveyed from such a point of view.

A nisīdhi stone with a figure of Candraprabha in upper panel along with the cognizance, from Dānavaḷpadu, is preserved in the Madras Museum.

§. NINTH TĪRTHAṄKARA: SUVIDHI OR PUŚPADANTA

Both the sects worship the ninth Jina as Puśpadanta or Suvidhi. He was born as prince of king Sūgrīva and queen Mahādevī (Dig.) or Rāma (Śve.) of the city of Kākandī (modern Kkind in Bihar). While in appearance and born in the Mūḷa nakṣatra, Suvidhi had descended upon this earth from the Pratīṇa (acc. to Uttarapurāṇa) or Anāta (acc. to Hemacandra) heaven.

While he was still in embryo, his mother became adept in all rites and arts (Suvidhi-kuśala) and because a tooth appeared from a pregnancy wish for flowers, his parents gave him two names: Suvidhi and Puśpadanta.

Puśpadanta obtained kevalajnāna under a Māḷar tree according to Hemacandra (Śve.), but under a Māḷa tree according to the Digambara text Uttarapurāṇa and under an Akṣa tree according to the Tiloyapannatti (Dig.). T.N. Ramachandran has noted that it was the Śīla tree. Possibly he relied on the Kannada tradition. The Śāma-vāyaṅga sūtra states that it was the Māḷ tree. Varāha or Varāhaka and Sulasā were the leaders of his ganadharas and āryikās respectively according to Śvetāmbara traditions,
and Vaidarbha (Nāga according to Tiloyapaṇṇati) and Ghoṣāryā were the leaders according to Digambara traditions.

Ajita was his yakṣa according to both the sects. The yakṣa was Sutārā (Śve.) or Mahākālikā (Dig. Uttarakuruṇā). The Digambara text Tiloyapaṇṇati gives Brahma yakṣa and Kāli as the śāsana yakṣa and yakṣini respectively of this Jina. Suvidhinātha obtained nirvāṇa on Mt. Sammeta.

In both the traditions, the crocodile (makara) is the divaṇa or lāṇchana of this Jina. According to a Canarese (Kannada) tradition noted by Burgess as well as Ramachandran, the crab is his cognizance.128 Images of this Jina are not so common (especially in Museum collections) as those of Rṣabha, Mahāvira, Pārīva or Śāntinātha, but they are obtained in temples of both the sects. A sculpture of Suvidhi from some site in the South (not specified, but probably Karnataka) was published by Kamta Prasad Jaina.129 It represents him along with miniature figures of the 23 other Tirthanākaras and belongs to the Digambara tradition. Jinaprabha Sūrī states that Śrī Suvidhinātha is worshipped at Kāyādvāra. The identification of this tirtha of Suvidhi is not certain.130

The earliest image of Puṣpadanta so far discovered dates from the fourth century A.D. Along with the image of Candraprabha referred to before, this sculpture was also installed by Mahārājādhirāja Rāmāgepla. The Jina is identified with the help of the inscription on the pedestal.131 No lāṇchana is shown. A third image of some unidentified Jina was also found along with the above two images from a village called Durjanapur near Vidisha. Inscription on the third image is defaced and hence the third image cannot be identified. All the three images are now preserved in the Vidisha Museum, M.P.

Hirananda Shastri has referred to an image of standing Puṣpadanta, of c. 11th cent. A.D., obtained from Chattarpur, and having the makara as the cognizance.132

At Khandagiri, in caves 8 and 9 we have rock-cut sculptures of Puṣpadanta in padmāsana with the makara as his cognizance.133

In the Pārśvanātha temple, Kumbharia, in cell no. 9 is an image of Suvidhi with his name inscribed in the inscription on the pedestal dated in v.s. 1276 = A.D. 1219 (Viśālaviyaji, Śrī Kumbhāryājī Tīrtha, p. 50, inscr. no. 9-32). In the temple of Śāntinātha, Kumbharia, is an image of Suvidhi installed in v.s. 1138 = A.D. 1081 (ibid., p. 56, inscr. no. 3-37). In the Kalyāṇa-Pārśvanātha temple at Radhanpur, N. Gujarat, there is in worship a metal Paṭeka-tīrthi image of Suvidhi installed in samvat 1464 according to the inscription on the back. Another such Paṭeka-tīrthi installed in samvat 1485 is in worship in the Neminātha temple, Radhanpur. There is a Paṭeka-tīrthi sculpture of Suvidhi, with parikara, in cell 31 in Vimala Saha’s temple at Abu. In cell 38 of the same temple was installed a sculpture of Suvidhi in v.s. 1245 according to the inscription on the pedestal of the Mūlanayaka image (main image) in this cell.

In the Bhandāra Basti, Śravāṇa Belagola, we have a sculpture of Suvidhi with Ajita yakṣa standing on his right side and Mahākāli yakṣi standing on the left. On the pedestal a figure of karimakara is carved as the cognizance. In the Suttalaya of Gommata at Śravāṇa Belagola, and at Veṇūr and Mūḍabidri we also find sculptures of Suvidhi standing with his yakṣa and yakṣini by his sides.

10. TENTH TIRTHANĀKARA: ŚĪTALANĀTHA

Śītalānātha was the son of king Dṛḍharatha of Bhadrapura or Bhaddilā (in the Malaya country) by queen Sunandā and was born in Pūrvāṣadhā nakṣatra, having descended from the Acyuta heaven according to Hemacandra and from Arāṇa heaven according to the author of the Uttarapurāṇa.134

The name Śītā was given to him because the king’s body, when it was hot, became cool at the touch of the queen, while the Jina was in her womb.135

Śītalānātha, says the Uttarapurāṇa, obtained kevalajñāna under a Bilva-tree; Hemacandra says that it was a Pippala-tree (Ficus Religiosa) while Ramachandran, on the evidence of some Kannāca tradition, says that it was a Priyangu-tree (Panicum italicum). The Tiloyapaṇṇati says it was the Dhāli-tree. The Samavāyānga sūtra calls it Pīllankkhū (Priyangu ?) tree.136

According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, Nanda and Suyaśā were his chief gaṇadharā and āryikā respectively,137 while according to the Digambara text Uttarapurāṇa, they were Anagāra and Dharāṇa.
According to the Tiloyapaṇṇatti, they were known as Kunthu and Dharanā respectively.

The Śāsanadevatās of the tīrthaka Śīlalakśmi were Brahma yakṣa and Asokā yakṣi according to the Svetāmbara belief and Brahma yakṣa and Mānavī yakṣī according to the Digambara sect. The Tiloyapaṇṇatti however says that they were Brahmaśvara and Jvalāmālinī. Śīlala obtained nirvāṇa on Mt. Sammeta.

Golden yellow in complexion, Śīlalakśmi had Śrī-vṛkṣa as his cognizance according to Digambara texts (except the Tiloyapaṇṇatti which gives the svastika as his lāṁchana); the Svetāmbara writers prescribe śrī-vatsa mark as his cognizance.

In the Archaeological Museum, Gwalior, is a sculpture of a Jina sitting in padmāsana upon a seat with an inscription on it dated in samvat 1552 (?). In the centre of the seat is the tree symbol. The figure, with the head lost, is placed on a pedestal of another image. The pedestal is a simhāsana with two lions, the dharmacakra in the centre and a yakṣa and a yakṣī at figure at the right and left ends respectively. At the lowermost end of this simhāsana, below the dharmacakra, is a small figure of the cognizance which looks like a lion. So this simhāsana belonged to another Jina figure, whereas the Jina with the tree symbol is of course Śīlalakśmi.

Tiwari refers to an image of Śīlala from Tripuri, M.P., preserved in the Indian Museum. It is a partly mutilated piece with the lower portion constituting the pedestal and part of the top portions broken and lost. The cognizance of the Jina is therefore not known and it is difficult to identify the Tirthaṅkarās represented by the sculpture. However it is a good specimen of art of Tripuri of the mediaeval age.

According to Jina-prabha sūri, Śīlalakśmi was worshipped in a shrine in the Prayaga-tīrtha (Allahabad). The Jainas of Vidisha today regard Vidisha as the old Bhuddilapura, the birthplace of Śīlala and have a shrine dedicated to this Jina.

In the Khandagiri caves at Orissa, Śīlalakśmi is shown sitting in Cave 8 and standing in Cave 9. The Jains of Vidisha today regard Vidisha as the old Bhuddilapura, the birthplace of Śīlala and have a shrine dedicated to this Jina.

In the National Museum, New Delhi, no. 48.4/46 is a metal image of Śīlala sitting on a lion-throne. Between the lions is depicted the śrī-vatsa which is his cognizance. The simhāsana is flanked by yakṣa Brahma and yakṣi Asokā. On the pedestal are depicted the nine planets, the dharmacakra flanked by two deer and a seated devotee at each extreme. The inscription on the back of the image is dated samvat 1542.

In the Bhandāra Basti, Śravaṇa Belagola, we have a standing figure of Śīlala with the Brahma yakṣa and Mānavī yakṣī by this sides. We also have a figure of this Jina in the Mūdabidri set of Tirthaṅkarās and one figure in the Vencū set. P. Gururaja Bhatt has published a white stone sculpture of Śīlala standing from Kallu-Basti, Mudabidur. He has also noticed images of Śīlala in Eda-Bala-Basti and Ammanavar-Basti at Karkala-Hiriyangadi.

In the Śantinātha temple, Kumbharia, an inscription on an image of Śīlalakśmi shows that the image was installed in samvat 1138. Of an image of Śīlala in the Pārvatnātha temple, Kumbharia, only the inscribed pedestal is preserved which shows that the image was installed in samvat 1161. In cell 16 of the same temple there was installed an image of Śīlala whose pedestal alone dated samvat 1259 is preserved. Inscription on the pedestal of an image of Śīlala in cell 37, Vimala Vasahi, Abu, shows that the image was installed in samvat 1245. In cell no. 593/4 at Śatruñjaya is a Pana-tīrthā image of Śīlala installed in samvat 1517 (inscription no. 227, Kanchanasagara sūri, op. cit.).

At Chandravati, Zālāśa, Rājāsthān, there is a famous old shrine of Śīlalakśmi erected in the tenth century.

11. ELEVENTH TĪRTHAṆKARA: ŚREYĀMSANĀTHA

Śreyaṃsana was the son of Viṣṇurāja and Viṣṇudevi (acc. to Hemacandra, but Venudevi acc. to Tiloyapaṇṇatti) or Nandā (acc. to Uttarapurāṇa and other Digambara sources), king and queen of the city of Simhapura. Golden in appearance, Śreyaṛṣa was born in the Śravaṇa nakṣatra, having descended from the Acyuta or Puṣpottara Vīmāna.
Iconography of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras

Hemacandra’s two explanations of the name are far-fetched as almost all others for different Jinas are. He has somehow tried to connect Śreyāmsa with śreyas (spiritual good or merit).143

The Jina obtained kevalajñāna while meditating under a Tumbura tree (Uttarapurāṇa) or Palāśa tree (Tiloyapaṇṇattī). According to Hemacandra it was the Asoka tree. T.N. Ramachandran’s Table gives Tanduka as the Caitya tree. The Samavāyānga sūtra reads it as Tinduga.

The cognizance of Śreyāmsa is Rhinoceros (khadgi, g蹲ah) according to both the sects. Ramachandran has noted three different traditions about this Jina’s cognizance: (1) Rhinoceros, (2) Deer, (3) Garuḍa.

The last two alternatives seem to have been based on some Kannada traditions.

The Jina was followed by a band of 77 ganadharas with Kūḥā as their leader according to the Uttarapurāṇa, but Dharmar according to Tiloyapaṇṇattī, Gostubha according to Samavāyānga sūtra and Kaśyapa according to others. Dharaṇa (Dig.) or Cāraṇa (TP) or Dhārīni (Śve.) was the head of the order of āryikās of this Jina. Śreyāmsa obtained nirvāṇa on Mt. Sammeta.

Īśvara and Gauri are his yakṣa and yaksiṇī respectively according to the Digambara traditions (except the Tiloyapaṇṇattī which gives Kumāra and Mahākāli) while the Śvetāmbaras invoke them as Yakṣī and Mānīvī.

Tripṛṣṭha, the first Vāsudeva and Vijaya, the first Bāledeva, of Jaina Purāṇas, lived in this age. According to Jina-prabhā sūri, Tīrthas (places of pilgrimage) of Śreyāmsa existed on the Vindhya-giri and Malaya-giri.

A. Bannerji has noticed an image of Śreyāmsa in kāyotsarga mudrā at Pakbira (Purulia), W. Bengal.144 There is an image of Śreyāmsa in the Indore Museum, M.P.

Sculptures of Śreyāmsa are found in caves 8 and 9 at Khandagiri, Orissa.145 B.C. Bhattacharya writes, “At Sarnath, in Benares, the traditional place of the Jina, there is a Jaina temple dedicated to this patriarch. An old image of the same Jina may be seen in the Brahmanical sculpture shed attached to the Museum.” According to him the image is no. C.62 in the Museum. In the Nagpur Museum is a sculpture from Cedi area, Madhya Pradesh, assignable to c. 10th-11th cent. A.D., which has on the pedestal a figure of the cognizance looking like a rhinoceros. It has been published as representing Śreyāmsa in the second edition of B.C. Bhattacharya’s Jaina Iconography (plate XVI).

In the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, no. J.856 is a Paṇca-tīrthī sculpture of this Jina from Sahet-Mahet (ancient Śravasti), district Gonda, U.P. Below the dharmacakra in the centre of the simhāsana is the figure of rhinoceros, the cognizance of Śreyāmsa. It may be noted that the Jina has hair-locks on his shoulders which is unwarranted.

No. 8 in the Shrivpuri Museum, M.P. is a sculpture of Śreyāmsa standing on a simhāsana in the centre of which in a niche is a small figure of an ścārya with his right hand in the vyūkhyāna mudrā. He is sitting in padmāsana and the figure could also represent the Jina giving the sermon. Below the seat of this figure is the dharmacakra below which at the lowermost end of the pedestal is the figure of the cognizance of Śreyāmsa. The sculpture came from Narwar, M.P.

In the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, is a Paṇca-tīrthī brass image of Śreyāmsa dated samvat 1525 according to an inscription on its back. In Cell no. 11, Pārśvanātha temple, Kumbharia, is the pedestal of a sculpture of this Jina. Inscription on the pedestal shows that the image of Śreyāmsa was installed in samvat 1202.147 Muni Visālavijaya (op. cit., p. 56) refers to an image of Śreyāmsa installed in samvat 1138, in the Śāntinātha temple, Kumbharia.

A. Paṇca-tīrthī brass image installed in samvat 1569 is in worship in the Kharatara vasahi temple at Śrāvaṇa (Kačchhasāgara sūri, op. cit., inscr. no. 433).

Sculptures of Śreyāmsa are also found in the sets of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras at Śrāvana Belagola, Venur and Mudabidri. In each case the Jina is accompanied by his yakṣa and yaksiṇī.

12. TWELFTH TĪRTHAṅKARA: VĀSUPŪJYA

King Vāsupūjya and queen Jayā (Śve.) or Vijayā (Dig.) had a prince named Vāsupūjya who became the twelfth Jina. Reddish in complexion, Vāsupūjya was born in the Satabhīṣa nakṣatra, having descended
on this earth from the Mahāśukra Vimāna according to the Uttarapurāṇa and Prānata according to Śvetāmbara texts. The buffalo is his cognizance in both the traditions.148

He was called Vāsupūjya because he was the son of Vasupūjya or because he was the object of worship for Indra (Vasu).149

The Patala tree (Bigonia Suaveolens) was his Caitya-vykaśa according to the Samavāyāṅga sūtra and Hemacandra, but Kadamba tree according to the Uttarapurāṇa. The Tiloyapannaṭṭi calls it Tendua which is the same as Tinduka of Aśādhara. Sixty-three gaṇadhara headed by Dharma followed him according to the Digambara text Uttarapurāṇa. According to Tiloyapannaṭṭi Mandira was the leader of gaṇadhara and according to other traditions Subhāma was the leader. Senā (Dig. Uttarapurāṇa) or Varasenā (Tiloyapannaṭṭi) or Dharaṇḍharā (Śve.) was the head of the aśīkās of his order.

His father was ruler of Campā (modern Bhagalpur) which was the birth-place of this Jina. Vāsupūjya became a monk and did not marry, nor did he become a king. He obtained nirvāṇa while sitting in the paryankāsana (same as padmāsana in Śve. traditions but perhaps ardhapadmāsana in Dig. traditions) and meditating on the Mandara mountain near the river Rajatamūlikā.150 Hemacandra says that he died in the city of Campā.157

The yakṣa or Vāsupūjya was known as Kumāra according to both the traditions and is called Śaṃskukha (which is another name of Kumāra) by the Tiloyapannaṭṭi. The yakṣiṇī is Cāndā or Candā according to the Śvetāmbaras and Gandhārī according to Digambaras. The Tiloyapannaṭṭi calls her Gaurī.

The second Vāsudeva Dvīpṛṣṭha and his step-brother Acalastokha, the second Baladeva, of Jaina mythology, lived in the age of Vāsupūjya.

Jinapabha sūrī says that there was (a temple of) Viśvatilaka Vāsupūjya at Campā.152

Tiwari has referred to a Caturvimśati-paṭṭa of Vāsupūjya from Shahdol, M.P. The sculpture shows the buffalo cognizance and the yakṣa and the yakṣī on the pedestal.153 Caves 8 and 9, Khandagiri, Orissa, have rock-cut sculptures of Vāsupūjya.154

A large brass image of Vāsupūjya is in worship in the Jaina temple in the Mārgaṭi Mehta’s pāḍā, Patan, N. Gujarat. The image (size 28.2 x 18 inches) illustrates the fully evolved parikara as depicted in Gujarat and Rajasthan in the mediaeval period. The image has an inscription on its back giving samvat 1582 (A.D. 1525) as the date of installation. The buffalo cognizance of the Jina is seen in the centre of the seat of Vāsupūjya. There is a miniature figure of a four-armed Śanti-devi in the centre of the simhāsana. Figures of the yakṣa and yakṣī of Vāsupūjya are also shown on two ends of the simhāsana.

An interesting type of sculpture of Vāsupūjya from Pančārarā Pāścivanātha temple, Patan, was illustrated by us in Studies in Jaina Art, fig. 73. The Jina sits in padmāsana, dhyāna mudrā, on a seat placed on a big lotus with a long stalk. On his right a male attendant stands with a chowrie in one hand while on the left a female figure with perhaps a camera in one hand and the other hand placed on her kaṭī. Over the head of the Jina is the usual umbrella. The upper part of this sculpture is covered with the foliage of a big Caitya-tree, the branch of the tree depicted in a semi-circular arch-like way. Inscription on the pedestal of the sculpture shows that it was installed in samvat 135(6) in commemoration of some penance practised by a certain lay worshipper. The inscription calls this a binha (image) of Vāsupūjya.

An interesting characteristic of the sculpture is the representation of the big Caitya-tree under whose shade the Jina sits and the omission of almost all other members of the usual parikara. Again, instead of two attendant males holding the fly-whisk, a male and a female are generally represented on two sides of the Tirthaṅkara. Another sculpture of a similar type was illustrated by us as fig. 75 in Studies in Jaina Art. This sculpture, from a Digambara Jaina temple in Surat, Gujarat, is not inscribed and so it is difficult to identify the Jina. The Patan sculpture discussed above belongs to the Śvetāmbara tradition. A small sculpture of this type was seen by me years ago in one of the devakulikās of Yimala Vasahi. It was fixed into a side wall and had no inscription nor a recognizing symbol. In Samvad, Vol. 3, nos. 2-3, pp. 21-24, T.O. Shah, M. Vora and M.A. Dhaky published two more such images—one from Porbandar, Saurashtra, Gujarat and another from Cambay. The Porbandar image is dated in Samvat 1304 and the
Cambay one is somewhat earlier. The authors suggested that the male and female figures represent Aśokacandra and Rohiṇi who are said to have worshipped Vāsupūjya.

In cell no. 53, on the left of the mūlanāyaka (chief image) is a sculpture of Vāsupūjya installed in samvat 1401 according to the inscription on it. In devakulikā no. 41, Vimala Vasahi, there is still in worship a sculpture of Vāsupūjya installed in samvat 1245 at the hands of Devacandra sūrya. In cell 14 of the Pārvanātā temple, Kumbharīa, a sculpture of Vāsupūjya was installed in samvat 1259 (Viśālavijaya, Kumbhārīyājī Tirtha, pp. 129-30).

A metal image of Vāsupūjya (height about 10 inches) is in worship as mūlanāyaka in the Dig. Jaina Gujarāti Mandir, Navāpurā, Surat. The image was installed in samvat 1679. In the same temple there is a smaller metal image of Vāsupūjya installed in samvat 1617. In cell 612/8/1 at Śatrūnjaya is in worship a Pañca-tīrthī image of Vāsupūjya installed in samvat 1517 (inscription no. 272 of Kañcanasāgara sūrya). Another Pañca-tīrthī in worship in Kothāra, Śatrūnjaya, was installed in samvat 1431 (inscription no. 255 of Kañcanasāgara sūrya).

Sculptures of Vāsupūjya with his yakṣa and yakṣī are in worship amongst the different sets in Śravana Belagola, Mudabidri and Venur referred to before.

13. THIRTEENTH TĪRTHĀKARA: VIMALANĀTHA

Vimala was the son of king Kṛtavarmā and queen Śyāmā of the city of Kampilya. Golden in complexion, the Jina descended upon this earth from the Sahasrāra heaven according to the Uttarapurāṇa and from Mahāśukra Vimāna according to others. According to Uttarapurāṇa, the nakṣatra of his birth was Uttarabhājadrapada, but Uttarāśadhā according to others.155

Vimala’s dhvaja or lāchana was the boar according to both the sects. His father called him Vimala because the queen’s mind became more pure while the Jina was in her womb.156 According to Uttarapurāṇa, Indra called him Vimalavāhana.157

He obtained kevalajñāna under a Jambū-tree (Eugenia jambolana) according to Hemacandra, the author of Uttarapurāṇa and others. Mandara was his chief ganaḍhara while the chief of āryikās was Padmā (Dig.) or Dharā (Śve.).

Vimala obtained nirvāṇa on Mt. Sammita. According to the Śvetāmarbas, Śannuka and Vidiṭā were his sāsana yakṣa and yakṣī respectively; according to Digambara writers, they were known as Śannuka and Vairoṭ or Vairotyā. The Digambara Tiloyapaṇḍatti however calls them Pāṭāla and Gandhārī respectively.

Dharma and Svayambhū, the third Baladeva and Vāsudeva (also called Balabhodra and Nārāyaṇa) respectively, flourished in the age of Vimalanātha. According to Jinaprabha sūrya (14th cent. A.D.), temples of Vimala existed at Kampilya, at the origin of the Ganges, and at Simhapura.158

A beautiful sculpture of Vimala (c. 9th cent. A.D.) is preserved in the Sarnath Museum (no. 236). The upper part is mutilated as also the heads of the Jina and his attendant male cāmarādhāras. The Jina is standing on a lotus placed on a pedestal. The boar cognizance is carved in the centre of the pedestal. The figure belongs to the Digambara tradition. A sculpture of Vimala standing (Dig.) on a simhāsana, obtained from Bāresvara (Agra) is preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow (no. J.791). The boar is carved in the centre of the lowermost end of the pedestal. At the right and the left ends of the simhāsana are the two-armed yakṣa and yakṣī respectively, each showing the abhaya mudrā and the water-pot. A sculpture of Vimala in kāyotsarga mudrā from Narwar, M.P., is preserved in Raipur, M.G.M. Museum (no. 20). The yakṣa and yakṣī are not shown. The sculpture is assigned to c. 12th cent. A.D.

Amongst Aśuras bronzes in the Patna museum is a small standing image of this Jina (Mu. no. 10674). In Caves 8 and 9, Khandagiri, Orissa, we have sculptures of Vimalanātha, in the sitting and standing postures respectively.158

A brass Pañca-tīrthī of Vimalanātha is preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. It was installed in samvat 1686, according to the inscription on its back. A full pañcarāra is shown here. A Pañcatīrthī metal image of Vimala inscribed in v.s. 1486 is in worship in the Jaina temple at Chāṇi near
Baroda. An image of Vimala in the Śāntinātha temple, Kumbharia, was installed in samvat 1138 (Viśālāvijaya, op. cit., p. 56). In cell 50, Vimala Vasahi, Abu, was installed a sculpture of Vimala in samvat 1245. Only the pedestal with the inscription now remains (inser. no. 163, Śrī-Arbuda-Prācina-Lekha-Samdoha, by Muni Jayanāvijaya)\(^{160}\).

"The Vimalanātha-basti at Bellur, in Mysore district, has a 76 cm high image of Vimalanātha with an inscription on the pedestal of a date earlier than the thirteenth century."\(^{161}\) For a metal Pañca-tīrthī of Vimala (from west India) in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, see Jain Art and Architecture, III, pl. 333.

Images of this Jina are obtained at Śravaṇa Belagola, Veṇūr and Mūḍabidri.

14. FOURTEENTH TīRTHAṆKARA: ANANTANĀTHA

Ananta was the son of king Simhasena and Suyāśā (or Sarvayaśā) of Ayodhya, descended from the Prānata Vīmāna (Uttarapurāṇa) or the Puṣpottara Vīmāna (Hemacandra). The Uttarapurāṇa further differs from other sources by giving Jayasyāmā as the name of the queen mother. The Jina is said to have been born in the Revati nakṣatra, according to both the traditions.\(^{162}\)

Golden in appearance, Anantaṅjī was so called because his father could conquer inestimable (ananta) armies of his opponents while the Jina was in the embryo state.\(^{163}\) The falcon was his lādhana according to Śvetāmbaras and the bear according to Digambaras.\(^{164}\) Pātala served as his yakṣa\(^{165}\) while Anantamati (Dig.) or Ankuśā (Sva) officiated as the yakṣiṇī of his tīrtha.

Ananta obtained kevalajñāna under an Aśvatha tree (Ficus Religiosa) according to the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbara text Samavāyāṅga sūtra, but under an Aśoka tree according to Hemacandra.\(^{166}\) Yaśa and Anjuya were the first gaṇadharas and āryikā respectively according to the Samavāyāṅga sūtra, Sarvaśir was the chief āryikā according to Tiloyapanaṇṭati and Padmā according to other Digambāra texts.

Anantānātha obtained nirvāṇa on the Mt. Sammeta. Suprabha and Purusottama, the fourth Bala-bhadra and Nārāyaṇa respectively lived in this age.

Giving a list of famous tīrthas of Ananta, Jinaprabha sūrī says that Anantanātha was worshipped at Yamunā-brada in Mathura, at Dwārikā in the sea, and in the city of Śākapāṇi.\(^{167}\)

In Caves 8 and 9, Khandagiri, Orissa, we find rock-cut sculptures of Ananta in the sitting posture.\(^{168}\) No. 48.4/52 in the National Museum, New Delhi, is a metal sculpture of Ananta seated in the dhyāna mudrā on a lion-throne and under a triple-umbrella. Pātala yakṣa and Anantamati yakṣi flank the simhasana. The image was installed in samvat 1507.\(^{169}\) A Caturvimāṣṭi-patja (Covisī) of Ananta, in metal, installed in v.s. 1477, is in worship in the Jaina shrine in Chāṇḍī, near Baroda. In Cell 33, Vimala Vasahi, Abu, is a pedestal of a sculpture of Ananta installed in samvat 1245.\(^{170}\) An image of Anantanātha was installed in samvat 1145 in the Mahāvītra temple, Kumbharia (Viśālāvijaya, op. cit., p. 122). A metal Pañca-tīrthī of Ananta is in worship in the Ajitnātha temple at Radhanpur. It was installed in Samvat 1475.

P. Gururāja Bhatt, in his Studies in Tālava History and Culture, pl. 411(b), illustrates a figure of Ananta from Baikanatikāri-Basti, Mūḍabidure, and another figure from Paḍu-Basti, Mūḍabidure in pl. 412(b).

Sculptures of Ananta are available in all Tīrthaṅkara-Bastis in Karnataka where sets of all the 24 Tīrthaṅkara images are installed. We find images of this Jina in the Bhagdāra Basti, Śravaṇa Belagola, and in such sets at Mūḍabidri and Veṇūr. For some more images and shrines dedicated to Anantānātha, see P. Gururāja Bhatt, op. cit., pp. 438-439.

15. FIFTEENTH TĪRTHAṆKARA: DHARMANĀTHA

The fifteenth Jina descended upon this earth from the Sarvārthasiddha Vīmāna, his birth nakṣatra being the Puṣya according to both the sects. Golden in complexion, Dharmanātha was born as the prince of king Bhānu and queen Suvaratā of the city of Ratnapur.\(^{171}\)
Iconography of 24 Tirthankaras

While the Jina was in his mother's womb, the queen-mother had the pregnancy-wish of performing various religious acts (Dharmavidhi), so the Jina was named Dharma by the king. Both the sects give the vajra (thunderbolt) as the cognizance of Dharmanātha. The Jina obtained kevalajñāna under a Dadhiparna (Cithorea ternatea) tree. The Uttarapurāṇa however, against the rest of the Digambara texts, gives Saptajñāna as the Cāitya-tree.

Dharmanātha obtained nirvāṇa on Mt. Sammța. Arīṣṭa or Arīṣṭascena was his chief gaṇadhara; Suvarată was his chief ariyāk according to Tiloyapaṇṇatti and Uttarapurāṇa, Bhāvyappā according to Samavāyānga and Arthatīvā as noted by Ramachandran.

Kinnara officiated as the yakṣa of this Jina according to both the sects (except the tradition represented by Tiloyapaṇṇatti which calls him Kimpurusa). Mānasī was the yakṣi according to most of the Digambara texts, Sulasā (Sulasā) according to Tiloyapaṇṇatti and Kandarpā according to the Śvetāmbara tradition.

The third Cakravarti Maghavān and the fourth one known as Sanat Kumāra lived one after the other during the tirtha-period of Dharmanātha. The latter Cakravarti had an extremely beautiful body and was therefore also known as one of the Kāmadevas of Jainā traditions. Sānat Kumāra was a popular figure with the Jaina Purāṇas.

According to Jinaprabha sūri, a tirtha of Dharmanātha existed at Ranavāhapura near Ayodhya where (the image of) Dharmanātha was honoured by a Nāgarāja.

A metal image of this Jina, originally installed in the Śāntinātha-Cāitya at Anahillapuri (modern Patan, N. Gujrat) in v.s. 1181 is now preserved in a Jaina shrine at Nadol, Rajasthan. There is a shrine dedicated to Dharmanātha at Radhanpur, N. Gujrat. At Radhanpur are also in worship shrines dedicated to Śītālānātha, Vimalanātha, Vasanāyika, Sambhavanātha, Ajitanātha, Ṛṣabhanātha (Ādiśvara), Mahāvira, Simandharā svami, Śāntinātha, Neminātha, Cintāmaṇi Pārvanātha, Sahasraphanā Pārvanātha, Godī Pārvanātha, Kalyāṇa Pārvanātha, and Kunthūnātha. The Dharmanātha temple here is a Caturmukha (Caumukha) shrine.

In cell no. 1, Vimala Vasahī, Abu, was once installed a sculpture of Dharmanātha in samvat 1202 = A.D. 1145. Only the simhāsana now remains. The yakṣa on one end of the seat is two-armed showing the varada mudrā and the citron and riding on the elephant. The yakṣī on the other end is a four-armed Ambikā with lion as vahana and showing the mango-bunch in three hands while holding with her left lower hand the child on her lap.

In the Shivpurī Museum (no. 10) is preserved a sculpture of Dharma obtained from Narwar, M.P. and assignable to c. 12th cent. A.D. D.B. Diskalkar has noticed a sculpture of this Jina in the Indore Museum. A Dvi-mūrtika sculpture of Dharmanātha and Śāntinātha from Karitāla is in the Raipur Museum, M.P.

Caves 8 and 9 (Bārābhujī und Mahāvīra Gumphā respectively), Khandagiri, Orissa, have figures of Dharmanātha with the vajra lāṭhāna. In Karnatakā in Śravāṇa Belagola, Mūdabidri and Veṅur sets we have sculptures of Dharmanātha.

16. SIXTEENTH TIRTHANKARA: ŚĀNTINĀTHA

Śāntinātha is one of the most popular of the Jaina Tirthankaras. He was born as the prince of king Viśvasena and queen Acirā of Hastināpura, in the Bharanī māṇḍapa, having descended on this earth from the Sarvārthasiddhi Viṃāna. Golden in appearance, Śāntinātha had the deer as his cognizance, according to both the sects. Burgess, on the evidence of late Canarese dhvāṇa-ślokas, gives the tortoise as the lāṭhaṇa but this tradition does not seem to have been either old or popular.

Because the Jina loved peace, Indra called him Śānti at the end of the birth-bath ceremony. According to Hemacandra, the Jina was so called by his father because epidemics, evils and miseries were destroyed in the land when the Jina was in his mother's womb. He obtained kevalajñāna while meditating under a Nandi tree (Cedrela toona). Cakrāuyādha was the leader of his gaṇadhāras. Hariṣeṇa was
the chief śrīvikā according to all Digambara texts, Rakhbi according to the Samavāyānga sūtra and Śuci according to other Śvetāmbara traditions.

Śāntinātha obtained nirvāṇa on Mt. Sammeta. Kimpuruṣa and Mahāmāṇasi were his yakṣa and yakṣīṇi according to Digambara traditions and Garuda and Nirvāṇī respectively according to the Śvetāmbaras. Tiloyapannāti seems to follow the Śvetāmbara tradition in giving Garuda as the name of the yakṣa of this Jina. According to this text the sāsana yakṣi was Mānasī.¹⁸¹

The name of Śāntinātha suggests the idea of peace and tranquility and hence the Jainas gradually began invoking Śānti-nātha (Śānti—peace, nātha—lord) for averting calamities in the form of epidemics, fire, famine, foreign invasion, robbers etc.¹⁸² He was thus specially associated with rites known as Śānti-karma. When Śakti-worship grew stronger in Indian Tantra, the Śvetāmbara Jainas also invoked a female deity for Śānti or Peace-rites and addressed her as Śānti-devī. This goddess seems to be no other than the attendant yakṣi of Śāntinātha. Note that this yakṣi is called Nirvāṇī (the name signifies nirvāṇa or final peace and bliss, freedom from all bondage and miseries) in the Śvetāmbara traditions. The popularity of Śāntinātha seems to be due to this role of giver of peace in the Jaina rituals.¹⁸³

A hymn, known as Ajita-Śānti-stava, is well-known in Śvetāmbara Jaina literature, as the work of one Nandiseṇa acarya. In alternate verses it invokes Ajitanātha and Śāntinātha. The use of different metres and accurate scientific knowledge of Indian musical terms are some of its special features. According to Paṭṭāvalis, one ancient Jaina ācārya Nandiseṇa who lived in 527 B.C. is supposed to have been a disciple of Mahāvīra. The fact that in the hymn the word Janapada is used for geographical divisions suggests that the hymn is a very old one and probably dates from at least before the beginning of the Christian era, being reminiscent of the Janapada Period of Indian history.

The Laghu-Śānti-stava of Mānadeva sūry, composed in c. 7th cent. A.D. is also noteworthy. The whole hymn is fused with Tantric usages, and here the author has, by the use of śleṣa (pun, double meaning), identified Śāntinātha with Śiva, the Lord of Śaṅt (peace or Pārvati).¹⁸⁴

According to Jinaprabha sūry, tirthas or temples dedicated to the worship of Śāntinātha existed at Kiṅkānā, Laṅkā (and PaṭālaLaṅkā also according to one ms.), and on the mount Trikūṭa.¹⁸⁵

Śāntinātha is one of the five Tīrthankaras popular in Jaina worship from olden days. The identification of earlier images of Śāntinātha however becomes difficult for the following reason. In the earlier stage of introduction of cognizances, on images of Jinas, these symbols were placed on both sides of the dharmacakra while in the later stage they were represented either somewhere above or below the Wheel. The dharmacakra is accompanied by two deer in all the Jaina images from at least about the tenth century onwards (and perhaps a century earlier) and the cognizance of a Jina is represented separately. It is not easy to determine exactly when this last mentioned practice started in any particular district nor is it easy to lay down exact dates of a large number of loose images whether they may be Jaina, Buddhist or Brahmanical. This practice of showing the dharmacakra flanked by two deer (the cognizance being shown separately) seems to be in imitation of the Buddhist practice where such a depiction signifies the first Sermon of the Buddha in the Deer-park. In Jaina sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta periods, the dharmacakra is not flanked by the two deer. When the depiction of cognizance on simhāsana or pedestal was introduced (in at least the fifth century A.D.), figures of the cognizances flanked the dharmacakra. In such early cases when we find the deer flanking the dharmacakra in the centre of the pedestal or the simhāsana one has to identify the Jina as Śāntinātha whose cognizance is the deer.

The Caumukha sculpture in the Son Bhāndara cave, Raigar, figure 58, shows the dharmacakra flanked by the cognizance of the Jina above. Each side has a different Jina with a different cognizance flanking the dharmacakra.¹⁸⁶ If this sculpture dates from late seventh or the eighth century then we can say that at least up to the late seventh or the early eighth century in all cases where the dharmacakra is flanked by the deer (and there is no cognizance of the Jina in the parikara or any other thing to identify the Jina) the deer flanking the Jina may be taken as cognizance of Śāntinātha. This would be true at least for Bihar and perhaps eastern India as a whole including Bengal, Orissa and parts of U.P. So far as western India is concerned we find, in the Akota hoard, a standing Pārśvanātha, inscribed, installed by a śrīvikā, and assignable to c. 600 A.D.,¹⁸⁷ whose pedestal shows Dharanendra and his queen (half human,
half snake) with their tails entwined in a beautiful knot below the lotus on which the Jina is standing. Below this on the pedestal are eight standing planets and in the centre the dhrmacakra flanked by two deer. Here the deer cannot be the cognizance of the Jina standing who is certainly Pārśvanātha identified with the help of the snake attendants on the pedestal and the big coiled snake on the back. So in western India, at least by the beginning of the seventh century A.D., imitation of the Buddhist motif of dharmacakra with the two deer had already started.

The problem is still unsolved because in the case of Rṣabhanātha installed by Jinaabhadrā Vācanacarya (Fig. 35) assigned to middle sixth century A.D., published by us in Akota Bronzes, fig. 11, the Jina was identified as Rṣabha on account of hair locks adorning his shoulders. Here the dhrmacakra, in front of the feet of the standing Jina, is flanked by two deer. Because of the script of the inscription and because of the identification of Jinaabhadrā Vācanacarya, the image, assigned to ca. 525-550 A.D., cannot be placed later than ca. 600 A.D. If the image represented Śāntinātha then the hair-locks on the shoulders would be unwarranted. Exceptions to the general practice of showing hair-locks on the shoulders of Rṣabhanātha are known and we have cited a few such exceptions while discussing the iconography of Rṣabhanātha but these are rare considering the widespread popularity of images of Rṣabha all over India from at least the first century A.D. This Akota bronze of Rṣabha would lead one to believe that in the second half of the sixth century the Jains in western India had already started imitating the Buddhist motif. But we have in the Akota hoard a bronze of Ajitanātha identified with the help of elephants flanking the dhrmacakra on the pedestal, vide Akota Bronzes, fig. 41b. This figure is assigned by us to the middle of the eighth century and it cannot be much earlier. So the practice of cognizance flanking the dhrmacakra lingered on up to the eighth century, in western India also.

Such a situation creates problems. The beautiful bronze installed by Jinaabhadrā, discussed above, should therefore represent Śāntinātha. The bronze of Rṣabha from Vasatangadhī, illustrated here in Fig. 34 and assigned to sixth century also shows the cognizance on each side of dhrmacakra. Thus the beautiful big metal image of a Jina sitting in padmāsana, discovered by Hirananda Shastri from Mahūdi, N. Gujarat, showing in the centre of the high pedestal the dhrmacakra flanked by two deer, should be identified as representing Śāntinātha. There are no hair-locks, jātā, snake-hoods or attendant yakṣa-yakṣī to help in the identification. This beautiful bronze from Mahūdi dates from the seventh century A.D.188

A somewhat earlier sculpture in schist, obtained from Khebd Brahma, an ancient site in Sābarakāntha district, N. Gujarat, published by me in Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. X, pp. 61ff with plate, offers a similar problem. The modelling of the different figures clearly reveals the classical style. The sculpture cannot be later than ca. 600±20 A.D. The Jina is attended by figures of Sarvanubhūti yakṣa and yakṣī Ambikā, both two-armed. The dhrmacakra is flanked by two deer. No other cognizance or symbol is shown to identify the Jina. I am inclined to identify this figure as representing Śāntinātha.

A partly preserved inscription on the pedestal of a Quadripede image (Caturmukha, Cauvamukha, Pratimā-sarvata-bhadrika) from Mathura, assigned to the Kuṣāṇa period and dated in samvat 19, refers (either to a temple or) to an image of the Lord (Bhagavata) Sāntī (Śānti),189 which shows that Śāntinātha was worshipped in circa second century A.D.

No. B.75, Mathura Museum, obtained from Potra kunda, Mathura, shows the Jina sitting in padmāsana on a big lotus placed in a simhāsana. In the centre of the throne is the dhrmacakra flanked by two deer. On the pedestal are the Sarvanubhūti yakṣa and two-armed Ambikā yakṣī. Above the attendant cāmaradhāras on two sides of the Jina are the eight planets in two rows above which are the flying vidiyādhara-mālādhara pairs. The sculpture dates from ca. eighth cent. A.D. The figure may be identified as Śāntinātha.

Of about the same age is a sculpture of a Jina sitting in padmāsana from Kauṣāmbī (modern Kosam) now preserved in the Allahabad Museum (no. 535).190 The yakṣa and the yakṣī as well as the planets are absent here. Above the head of each cāmaradhāra is an elephant with a rider. Here too the dhrmacakra is flanked by a deer on each side. Perhaps this sculpture and the Mathura Museum no. B.75 discussed above date from the end of the seventh century and both may be identified as images of Śāntinātha.

Mathura Museum no. 1504 is a sculpture of a Jina from Barasana, U.P. The Jina is sitting in
padmāsana. There is a row of four sitting miniature Jina figures on the top which makes this a Paṅca-tīrthika sculpture. On the right end of the simhāsana, where usually the yakṣa figure is shown, we find a figure of the deer lāṁchana while on the corresponding left end is a figure of a devotee. The sculpture dates from c. ninth century A.D. The Jina is obviously Sāntinātha. Here the dharmacakra is not flanked by two deer and the deer cognizance is shown separately.

No. G.308, Lucknow Museum is a pedestal of a sculpture of Sāntinātha. The Jina figure is lost. The dharmacakra is flanked by two deer which suggests the identification. This is supported by a figure of the yakṣi carrying lotuses in her two upper hands and the pot in the left lower hand. She is Nirvāṇī, the yakṣi of Sāntinātha.

A sculpture of Sāntinātha standing, from Vaibhāragiri, Raigir, belongs to the post-Gupta period. The Jina has a simple parikara consisting of a chakra, two celestial garland-bearers, and two standing cāmaradharas. There is no prabhāmāndala but the uspīsa on the head of the Jina as also the circular tīlaka-mark on his forehead are noteworthy. The Jina stands on a full-blown lotus on the right side of which is seen a figure of a deer on the pedestal. The figure on the left also appears to be the deer cognizance of Sāntinātha.

Bruhn has referred to an image of a standing Jina from Dudahi, assignable to c. tenth cent. and of Digambara tradition, with the two deer on two sides of the dharmacakra. Of about the same period is the figure of a Jina in padmāsana in the maṇḍapa of the Maladevi shrine, Gyaraspur, M.P., with the deer cognizance and four-armed yakṣa and yakṣī. This is a Paṅca-tīrthika image referred to by Tiwari.

All the Devgadh Jaina images are of the Digambara sect. The mulanāyaka in the sanctum of Temple 12, Devgadh, is an image of Sāntinātha in the kāyotsarga mudrā. Two images of Sāntinātha in Temple 4, dating from c. eleventh century, show hair-locks on shoulders. About five figures of Sāntinātha at Devgadh are in the kāyotsarga mudrā. Bruhn's fig. 146, from Temple 17, now shifted to the Dharmasālā at Devgadh, is a beautiful sculpture of Sānti sitting in padmāsana on a cushion below which are figures of the planets. The deer cognizance is shown in the centre of the throne. Bruhn's fig. 228 is a seated image of Sāntinātha dated in v.s. 1052 = 995 A.D. Bhagchandra Jaina in his Devgadh ki Jaina Kalā (Hindi, 1974), p. 75, describes an image of Sāntinātha in padmāsana in Devgadh Temple 13. Bruhn's figs. 235-236 show the Jina in a standing attitude.

Nos. K.39 and K.63 in the Khajuraho Museum are figures of Sāntinātha. There is one more image of this Jina in the Jardine Museum at Khajuraho. In Temple no. 1, Khajuraho, there is a big standing image of Sāntinātha, dated in samvat equal to 1028 A.D., and with four-armed attendant yakṣa and yakṣī.

A Paṅca-tīrthika sculpture of Sāntinātha sitting, from Pahbosa, U.P., is preserved in the Allahabad Museum (no. 533). The pedestal shows two-armed Sarvānubhūtī yakṣa and two-armed Ambikā yakṣī. In the sanctum of the old Jaina shrine at Arang, M.P., are installed three big images in one row. Beginning from the right, the Jinas, standing in kāyotsarga mudrā, represent Sānti, Kunthū and Ara, the 16th, 17th and 18th Tīrthaṅkaras respectively.

No. 331, Rani Durgavati Museum, Jabalpur, M.P., is a very interesting sculpture of Sāntinātha standing obtained from Kankhedī, Jabalpur district, M.P. The Jina stands in the kāyotsarga mudrā on a lotus. Near his legs on each side stands a male cāmaradhara, from behind the cāmaradharas peep the figures of the deer cognizance of the Jina Sāntinātha. Near the legs of the cāmaradharas and above their heads are shown, in groups of two each, figures of Jaina devotees. Representation of the deer cognizance standing on each side of the Jina is a unique instance so far known. The composition and grouping of different figures in this sculpture is typical and renders further charm to this sculpture which may be assigned to early eleventh century A.D.

In the Shivpuri district Museum is a dvi-tīrthika sculpture of Sāntinātha (on the right side) and Mahāviṣṇu (on the left) standing side by side but on their own different simhāsanas and each Jina having his own parikara of cāmaradharas, mālādhāras, triple-umbrella, etc. A small figure of cognizance of each Jina is engraved on the upper rim of the lion-throne just above the head of one of the two lions of each
Iconography of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras

thrones. All the figures are carved from one stone. The sculpture dates from c. 12th cent. A.D. and was obtained from Narwar, M.P. Shivpuri Museum no. 11 is a loose sculpture of Śaṅkunīta standing, obtained from Narwar, and dating from c. 12th century A.D. In the Raipur Museum, M.P., there is a Dvī-tīrthikā sculpture of Dharmanātha and Śaṅkunīta, from Karitalai, M.P. (JAA, III, p. 591). A metal Caturvimśatī-pattā of Śaṅkunātha from West India, in Los Angeles County Museum of Art, is illustrated in JAA, III, plate 334.

Tiwari refers to a sculpture of Śaṅkunīta from Padhāvali and another from Āhar in M.P. Balacandra Jain has reported the existence of an image of this Jina, dated in samvat equal to 1146 A.D., preserved in the Dhubela Museum, M.P., while Niraj Jain speaks of an image dated 1179 A.D. at Bajrangagadh, Guna, M.P.

A Covīś sculpture of Śaṅkunīta standing on a lotus, obtained from Mandoil, is preserved in the Rajshahi Museum. The Jina is identified from the two deer flanking the dharmacakra. On the pedestal are figures of nine planets with a figure of Lākṣmi flanked by elephants shown in the centre.

An image from Manbhum, preserved in the Patna Museum, is a typical specimen of a miniature Caiya or shrine. Śaṅkunātha stands on a lotus in the centre with smaller figures of 23 other Tīrthaṅkaras on the sides. The pedestal shows a deer with a fawn worshipper on each side sitting on folded hands. There is a bronze image of Śaṅkunātha standing amongst the Aluara bronzes preserved in the Patna Museum. The deer cognizance is shown on the pedestal.

P.C. Das Gupta refers to a sculpture of Śaṅkunātha with the deer lātchana obtained from Rajpara, Midnapur, Bengal. The sculpture is assigned to c. ninth cent. A.D. Sudhin De refers to an interesting sculpture of this Jina standing, obtained from Pakbira, Purulia district, West Bengal. According to Sudhin De, the Jina “stands on a double-petalled lotus placed on a saptarath pedestal... The central projection of the pedestal bears the lātchana mark, an antelope. The pedestal is embellished by two lions... Among the miniature figures from the left to the right, a goat-headed male figure is identified as Naijameś in... Besides four sitting female figures in abhijāti mudrā are represented... At the bottom of the pedestal, at the left is a kalaśa and on the right a Śiva emblem or a phallus representation—a most interesting feature to note.” For illustration see JAA, I, pl. 84A. An image of Śaṅkunātha is also reported from Ambikānagara.

In the Bārābhuji cave (Cave 8) and in the Mahāvira gūmphā (Cave 9), Khandagiri, Orissa, there are rock-cut figures (one in each cave) of this Jina. A Śaṅkunātha from Charampa, Orissa, in the Bhuvanēśvara Museum is illustrated in JAA, I, pl. 85B.

In the L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, is a big sculpture of Śaṅkunātha standing on an inscribed pedestal. The inscription dated samvat 1326= A.D. 1269 calls the Jina as Śaṅkunātha. There is no cognizance, no dharmacakra, no simhasana. Other members of the parikara are shown. There are no figures of the sāsana yakṣa and yakṣīṇi. The sculpture came from Lādiol (Lātpalli), N. Gujarat.

There is a temple of Śaṅkunātha at Kumbharia, which was originally built in the eleventh century A.D. (perhaps before samvat 1087). Originally it was a temple of Ādinātha but the inscription on the seat of the present image worshipped in the sanctum speaks of Śaṅkunātha installed in samvat 1302. In the gūḍha-maṇḍapa of the Parśvānaṭha temple, Kumbharia, is a stone sculpture of Śaṅkunātha standing and installed in 1119-20 A.D., according to the inscription on it which names the Jina as Śaṅkunātha. The Jina cognizance is also shown on the pedestal. On two sides of the Jina are carved miniature figures of Vajraṅkuśa, Manavti, Satrātamahājīvālī, Accuptā, Mahāmānas and Śaṅti-devi as identified by Tiwari. In Cell no. 1, Śaṅkunātha temple, there is an inscribed image of Śaṅkunātha with 23 miniature figures of Tīrthaṅkaras. Two-armed Satrānumbhūti and Ambikā figure as the yakṣa and the yakṣīṇī. An inscribed image of Śaṅkunātha in padmāsana is preserved in the Rajputana Museum (no. 468), Ajmer.

A superb example of Cahanama art is an elegantly cast bronze image of Śaṅkunātha, bearing an inscription dated in samvat 1224= A.D. 1168. The Jina sits in dhyāna mudrā on a cushioned seat (see frontispiece, Jain Art and Architecture, Vol. III). Besides the elephant riders and celestial musicians, a number of human figures are carved on the back-frame of this image. The modelling of the human
figures and also the decorative designs are all skilfully done. The pedestal and/or the simhásana seems to have been lost. The bronze is preserved in the V. and A. Museum, London.

In cell 15, Vimala Vasahi, Abu was an image of Śāntinātha installed in v.s. 1131 (inscription no. 74 of Muni Jayantavijaya). Only the pedestal remained showing the inscription, and a four-armed yakṣa carrying the goad and the noose in the right and the left upper hands and the citron and the bag in the corresponding lower ones. The elephant is shown as his vāhana. The yakṣi is a figure of four-armed Ambikā with the lion vehicle and the child held on the lap with the left lower hand; her three remaining hands carry the āntralumbhi (bunch of mangoes). Cell 24 (inscription no. 98 of Jayantavijaya), Vimala Vasahi has a sculpture of Śāntinātha installed in v.s. 1245 by Mahāmāya Dhanaḍa the son of Mahāmāya Pṛthvīpāla. The yakṣi is four-armed Ambikā showing the same symbols as described above and the four-armed yakṣa Sārvānubhūti showing the varada and the money-bag in his right and left lower hands and the goad and the noose in the corresponding upper ones. There is an image of Śāntinātha installed (by the right side of the main image) in cell 35, Vimala Vasahi, Abu, in v.s. 1288. In cell 47 was installed in samvat 1378 an image of Śāntinātha (inscription no. 157 of Muni Jayantavijaya).

In Cell 5 of the Śāntināth temple, Kumbharia, was installed in samvat 1138 a sculpture of Śāntinātha (Viśālāvijaya, op. cit., p. 141). A brass image of Śāntinātha in padmāsana dihyāna mudrā is preserved in the Sambhavanātha temple, Cambay, Gujarat. The whole parikara and the deer cognizance are shown. It may be noted that the male cāmaradharaka on each side carries a pitcher with his other hand. The image was installed in samvat 1586 according to the inscription on its back. The Bharata Kala Bhavana, Varanasi, has a Covīśī metal sculpture of Śāntinātha installed in 1510 A.D. The image hails from Gujarat or Rajasthan. There are numerous images in stone and metal as also several temples of Śāntinātha all over Gujarat and Rajasthan, amongst the Svetāmbaras as well as the Digambaras.

Around A.D. 1192, a fine Jinālaya of the god Abhinava Śāntināthadeva, called Nagarajinaraya, was erected by some business magnates at Dorasamudra, the capital of Hoyasala kings in Karnataka. In A.D. 1154, Pāṇḍavasena Bhāṭṭāraka repaired the ruined Basti of Śāntinātha at Holakere. Earlier still, Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Khoṭīga Nityavarṣa, who came to the throne in A.D. 968, had, according to a record found in a ruined temple at Dānavulapadu, Cuddapah district, caused a pedestal to be made for the bathing ceremony of the god Śāntinātha. General Recarasa set up in the year 1200 A.D. the god Śāntinātha at Śravana Belagola and made over the Basadi to his guru Śīgaranandbandi Siddhāntadeva. There was a Śāntinātha Basadi at Belur also.

At Śravana Belagola, Mūḍabidure and Veṇūr in the sets of 24 Tirthaṅkara images we obtain images of Śāntinātha also.

In the ceilings of the Śāntinātha and Mahāvīra temples at Kumbharia and in a ceiling in front of Cell no. 12 at Vimala Vasahi, Abu, we find scenes of not only the five main events of the life of Śāntinātha (paṇḍa kalāyakas) but also scenes from some of the noteworthy previous existences of this Jina. Śāntinātha was a Cakravarti ruler before he became a monk and a Tirthaṅkara. So amongst such scenes we also find the different rānas of a Cakravarti emperor. In one of his previous births as king Megharatha, the soul of Śāntinātha offers his whole flesh to a falcon in order to save the life of a dove who sought refuge with Megharatha. This is a famous ancient theme popular in the Brahmanical as well as the Buddhist and the Jaina literatures. In Brahmanical legend king Śibi protects the dove by offering his whole body to be weighed in balance against the body of the dove. In all the scenes from the life of Śāntinātha both at Kumbharia and at Vimala Vasahi we do find this scene of king Megharatha weighing his body in the balance. Two long wooden book-covers of a palm-leaf manuscript, painted with a series of scenes from the previous existences and the last existence of Śāntinātha, are preserved in Dehlānā Upāṃsaya no bhāndāra, Ahmedabad. The paintings covering all the four sides of these two long paṭṭikās were done in Jalor in Marvad (south western Rajasthan) in the thirteenth century of the Vikrama era, in c. 1260 A.D. The scenes include this incident of Megharatha offering his whole body to save the life of the dove.
17. SEVENTEENTH TIRTHAŃKARA: KUNTHUNĀTHA

Kunthu was the son of Sūrasena and Śrikāntā ruling in Hastinapura, according to the Digambara text Uttarapūrāṇa of Guṇabhadra. The Tiloyapannattī calls them king Sūrasena and queen Śrimati, the names being almost similar to Sūra and Śridevi given by Hemacandra. Golden in complexion, Kunthu had descended from the Sarvārthasiddhi Vīmāna, his birth nakṣatra being Kṛttikā.209

Kunthu was so called because, according to Hemacandra, the Jina's mother saw (in dream) a heap of jewels known as Kunthu, while he was in her womb.210

Kunthu obtained kevalajñāna under a Tilaka-tree. Ramachandran211 calls it Bhilaka which is probably a misprint or an incorrect ms. reading since all texts including the Samavāyānga and the Tiloyapannaṭṭī read Tilaka. Svayambhū was the chief gaṇadhara of Kunthu according to Uttarapūrāṇa and Tiloyapannattī. Śvetāmbara text Samavāyānga sūtra agrees with this tradition. Name Sāmba given by other Śve. traditions seems to be a later tradition. Both Svayambhū and Sāmba are appellations of Siva. Kunthu’s chief female āryikā was Bandhudvati according to Samavāyānga sūtra and Dāmini according to other Śve. traditions. The Digambaras call her Bhavitā.

The goat is the dhvaja or cognizance of Kunthu in both the traditions. Gandharva and Vijayā or Jayā were his yakṣa and yakṣīṇī respectively according to Digambara traditions except the Tiloyapannattī which gives the name Mahāmānasī for Vijayā yakṣī. According to Śvetāmbara writers Gandharva and Balā were the yakṣa and yakṣīṇī respectively of this Jina. Kunthunāthā obtained mokṣa on the Mt. Sammeta. He was also a Cakravarti before he became a monk.

According to Jinaprabha sūri, tirthas of Kunthunātha and Aranātha existed near the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamuna.212

Bronze images of Kunthunātha are found in the Aluara hoard of Jaina bronzes now in the Patna Museum (Mu. nos. 10675, 10689 to 10693). All Aluara bronzes are of the Digambara tradition which worships the Jina figures without any garment on them. The goat is shown on the pedestal in the above figures which are in a standing posture. The Aluara bronzes date from about the eleventh century A.D. In Caves 8 and 9, Khandagiri, Orissa,213 we have figures of this Jina sitting in padmāsana with the goat symbol in the centre of the simhāsana. At Pakbira, W. Bengal an image of Kunthu (c. 10th-11th cent.) is also found along with images of Mahāvira, Rṣabha, Neminātha and Śāntinātha.214

Niraj Jain has referred to a big standing image of Kunthunātha at Bajranāgadhā, Guna, M.P., dating from c. 12th century A.D.215 In the Urwahī group of rock-cut sculptures at Gwalior we have two sculptures of Kunthu with the goat cognizance. No. 85 in the Bharata Kala Bhavana, Varanasi, is a beautiful Caturmukha sculpture of standing Tirthaṅkaras. On one side is Kunthunātha with a figure of a goat on the pedestal. On each side of this Jīna is a small figure of a Jīna sitting in padmāsana. The sculpture dates from c. 7th-8th cent. A.D.

A sculpture of Kunthunātha standing in the kāyotsarga mudrā, obtained from Narwar, M.P., is preserved in the Shivpuri district Museum (Mu. no. 12). The sculpture dates from c. 12th century A.D. These sculptures from Narwar belong to the Digambara tradition.

In the Rajputana Museum, Ajmere, is a standing figure of Kunthunātha, nude in appearance, installed in samvat equal to 1144 A.D., probably hailing from Arnthana, Rajasthan. The yakṣa Sarvānu-bhāti and the yakṣī Ambikā stand by the sides of the cāmaradharas in this sculpture.

At Nagda in the vicinity of the Ekalingji temple there is a Jīna temple known as Padmāvati Māndira and two more Jīna temples one of which is known as Adbhudji temple. Of this only the garbhagṛha and the antarāla remain containing a colossal image of Śāntinātha set up in v.s. 1493. A few more sculptures are lying here of which two were recognised by Cousens as Tirthaṅkaras Kunthunātha and Abhinandana.218

An epigraph from Gudar in Shivpuri district, M.P., dated in v.s. 1206 (A.D. 1149) refers to installation of images of Śāntinātha, Kunthunātha, and Aranātha.217

Jainism was popular in the early part of the history of the Vijayanagara empire. Several temples of Tirthaṅkaras and Mānastambhūs of beauty were erected. In the reign of Hariharā II in c. 1395 A.D.,
Immadi-Bukka, a minister of this ruler, constructed a caityālaya at Kunool enshrining an image of Kunthu Tīrthaṁkara. Images of Kunthu are found at places like Śravaṇa Belagola, Muḍabidri and Venūr where images of all the 24 Tīrthaṁkaras are set up in some shrines. These shrines are often known as Tīrthaṁkara Basadis.

In Tamil Nadu also, the fact that images of all the 24 Tīrthaṁkaras singly or in group were installed by donors is known from "the appellation caturvimśati-sthāpaka of the donor Vasudeva-siddhānta-bhaṭarar met with in a grantha inscription near a niche containing the elevation of a Jīnālaya with a sculpture of Supārśvanātha on a boulder in the rock called Nagamalai at Veralur in Madhuranakam Taluk, Chingleput district. In a few cases only the names of the Tīrthaṁkaras are mentioned in the inscriptions, like Vardhamāna from Tirupparuttiṇam, Vimala-Śrī-Ārya-Tīrtha (i.e., Vimalanātha) from Kil-Sattaman-galam, Paśvanātha from Aivarmalai and Ponnur, Kunthunātha from Karandai and Ādīśvara from Ponnur."[216]

In Cell no. 33, Vimala Vasahi, Abu, there is an image of Kunthunātha installed as the main image (mālandayaka) in the cell. The image was installed in samvat 1394 (inscription no. 117 of Muni Jayantavijaya). In Cell no. 33, an image of Kunthu was installed in samvat 1245 (inscr. no. 134 of Jayantavijaya).

18. EIGHTEENTH TĪRTHAṀKARA: ARANĀTHA

Aranātha, the eighteenth Tīrthaṁkara, was the son of king Sudarśana and queen Mitrā or Mitrasena of the city of Hastinapura in the Kurrajāngala country. He was born in the Puṣya nakṣatra according to Uttarapurāṇa and in the Revati nakṣatra according to Triśatīśalakāpurusacarita. He descended upon this earth from the Jayanta Vīmāna according to the Digambara belief and from Sarvarthasiddhi Vīmāna according to the Śvetāmbaraś. [220]

Since his mother saw in a dream a spoke of wheel (ara) while the Jina was in his mother’s womb, the father of the Jina named him Ara. [221] Golden in complexion, Aranātha had the cognizance or dhvaja of Nandayavarta symbol according to the Śvetāmbaraś and fish according to the Digambaraś. [222] According to Tiloyapanḍatti, the symbol was Tagara-kustuma. [223] Ara became a Cakravartī emperor.

Aranātha obtained kevalajñāna while meditating under a mango-tree. Kumbha was his chief gaṇadhara and Yakṣilā the chief āryikā according to all Digambara texts except the Tiloyapanḍatti which gives Kunthuseṇā for Yakṣilā. According to the Samavāyānga sūtra, they were Kumbha and Puşpa-vātī respectively. Ramachandran notes Rakṣilā for Puşpavatī.

Ara obtained nirvāṇa on Mt. Sammēta. Kubera and Jayā were his attendant sāsanadevatās according to the Tiloyapanḍatti, Khendra and Ajītā according to other Digambara traditions and Yakṣendra (or Yakṣa or Yakṣet) and Dhirinī according to Śvetāmbara writers.

Subhēma Cakravartī lived in the time of Aranātha. Jainā versions of the Parasurāma story are available in the accounts of this Cakravartī. Nandisena and Puṇḍārika, the fifth Baladeva and Vasudeva (Nārāyaṇa) of Jaina mythology also lived in this age.

Jina-prabha sūri notes that tīrthas of Kunthu and Ara exist at the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamunā. [224] This suggests that temples dedicated to these two Jinas existed at Prayāga (Allahabad) and/or Kaśmērī nearby.

A fragmentary pedestal of a Tīrthaṁkara image from Kaṇkāḷī Tilā, Mathura, preserved in the Lucknow Museum (Mu. no. J.20) was supposed to have belonged to a sculpture of Aranātha since the words Arhat Nandayavarta were read in the inscription on this pedestal. It was argued that since Nandayavarta is regarded as the lāhehana of Aranātha, the pedestal belonged to an image of Aranātha. K.D. Baijai corrected the reading of the inscription and showed that the Arhat Munisuvrata is referred to. [225] Baijai’s reading is correct. I have checked it and am convinced of it. Besides, the earlier interpretation of naming a Tīrthaṁkara from his lāhehana has no support in Jaina traditions. Again only the Śvetāmbaraś give Nandayavarta as the cognizance of Aranātha while the Digambarāś believe that fish was his Āśeṣa. The finds from
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Kankali Tila show that they belong to an age when Digambara-Śvetāmbara schism had not much advanced even if it had already started.

V.S. Agrawela describes Mathura Mu. no. 1388 thus: "Pedestal (ht. 8") consisting of crossed legs of a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara. On the front side between two crouching lions is a symbol composed of minalinīhna heads with open mouths from which a string is pendant. The sign of fish is according to the Digamarbas the cognizance of the Tīrthaṅkara Aranātha, the eighteenth Jaina Arhat . . . Judging from its style the pedestal belongs to the Gupta period. Obtained in the Bajna Excavations in January 1918."226

No. 861 in the Lucknow Museum, from Sahet-Mahet (ancient Śravasti), U.P. shows the fish cognizance on the pedestal. Nīrāj Jain has noted that a big standing image of this Jina with the fish laṭāchana dated in 1145 A.D. exists at Navāgadh (Tikamgadh), M.P.227 In temple no. 1 on Madanpur hill there is a standing figure of this Jina inscribed in 1053 A.D., according to Darbarīlal Kothia.228 There is also a standing Aranātha in temple 2 at the same place and dates from 1147 A.D. Nīrāj Jain has also noted a standing Aranātha at Bajrangagadh, dated in 1179 A.D.229 All the images belong to the Digambara tradition. An epigraph from Gudar in the Shivpuri district, dated in 1206 V.S.—1149 A.D., refers to the installation of images of Śāntinātha, Kunthunātha and Aranātha. We have already referred to the images of these three Jinas installed in the sanctum of the Jaina temple at Arang, M.P.

At Deoli, Purulia district, there was a pañcāyatana group of temples. From this area was discovered a life-size statue of Aranātha.230

In the Bārābhuji and the Mahāvira Caves at Khandagiri, Orissa, we find figures of Aranātha sitting in padmāsana with the fish symbol shown in the centre of the simhāsana.231 All the sculptures in these caves belong to the Digambara tradition.

In Kannataka images of Aranātha are found in the sets of 24 Jina-images at Śravana Belagola, Mudabidure and Venur. In the Madras Museum (no. 2499) is a sculpture of Jina sitting in padmāsana with the fish symbol in the centre of the pedestal. The Jina figure represents Aranātha.

19. NINETEENTH TĪRTHAÑKARA: MALLINĀTHA

There are two different Tīrthaṅkaras bearing the title of Mallinātha—one is a male while the other is a female. Unlike the Śvetāmbaras, the Digambaras do not believe that a woman can obtain mokṣa or kevalajñāna and hence the nineteenth Jina Mallinātha, a female in the Śvetāmbara traditions, is worshipped as a male by the Digambaras. It is indeed difficult to decide which tradition is older and more reliable, but if the tradition of Nāyādhammakañhā is to be accepted as more ancient and authentic, then the nineteenth Tīrthaṅkara was a female. According to the Nāyādhammakañhā, Malli was one of the most beautiful princesses of her age.232 Nāyādhammakañhā is a canonical text acknowledged by the Śvetāmbaras; modern research shows that this canonical text, as available today, is not earlier than c. fourth century A.D., the age of the Mathura council under the leadership of Ārya Skandila.

According to the Digambara traditions, Mallinātha was the son of king Kumbha and queen Prajavatī of Mithila in the Vanga country. He descended on this earth from Aparājita Vīmāna, his birth took place in the Aśvini ṇakṣatra. He was golden in complexion and kalaśa (water-pot) was his dhvaja or cognizance. Uttarapurīna says that he was called Malli as he had conquered the wrestler (malla) in the form of infatuation.233

Mallinātha obtained kevalajñāna under an Aśoka tree (Jhonesia Ashoka). He had a following of 28 ganadhara with Viṣākha at their helm while Bandhusena led the community of nuns of his tirtha. Mallinātha obtained mokṣa on Mt. Śammeta. Kubera and Aparajitā (Varuna and Vijayā according to Tīloyapannatti) were his yakṣa and yakṣiṇī respectively. In the Śvetāmbara tradition they are known as Kubera and Vairocyā or Dharaṇapriyā.

In the Śvetāmbaras traditions, Malli is said to have been the princess of king Kumbha and queen Prabhāvati of Mithila, born in the Aśvini ṇakṣatra. Except the sex, almost all other details about Malli given above are common in both the Jaina traditions.

In the Śvetāmbara tradition, several kings are said to have attacked Mithila with their armies in order
to carry off this most beautiful princess but the learned and pious Malli succeeded in dissuading them from this act and reforming them all after which she denounced the worldly life and ultimately obtained kevalajñāna. For reforming these kings, the princess is said to have ordered casting of a life-like golden statue of herself, hollow inside, stuffed with all sweets and eatables covered with a lid at the top concealed under a lotus device on the head of the statue. When the kings were summoned into the hall they first saw the statue which was so beautiful and life-like that they mistook it for the real princess. The princess, entering by another door, opened the lid and the hall was filled with foul smell of rotting eatables in the statue. Giving analogy of this statue Malli told the kings that all appearances were false and that the body of even a beautiful lady was after all constituted of bone, marrow, flesh, blood, pus etc. The lesson carried its desired effect. Nāyādharmakahāsa narrates this incident.

In Śvetāmbara traditions, Malli is described as bluish (nīla) in appearance. She had 28 ganadhāras with Kumbha as their leader and Āryā as the chief nun according to Śamavāṃśa sūtra. According to other texts they were Abhisēka and Bandhumati.

According to Hemacandra, this Jina was called Malli because, when she was in her mother's womb, the mother had a pregnancy desire for flower-garlands.234 Padma, the Cakravarti, lived in this age. Nandimitra, the Baladeva and Datta, the Vāsudeva also lived in this age. Malli obtained nirvāṇa on Mt. Sammēta. According to Jinaprabhā sūri, a tirtha of Malli existed on Mt. Śri-Parvata.

A rare specimen of the female form of Mallinātha is preserved in the Lucknow Museum.235 Unfortunately the head is mutilated and lost. The cognizance, water-pot, in the centre of the seat is much defaced. The dhyāna mudrā and padmāsana posture, and the developed breasts make it quite certain that the sculpture represents Tīrthaṅkarar Malli according to Śvetāmbara tradition. On the back the braid of hair (veṣi) is well preserved. There are lotus marks on palms of hands of the Jina. The sculpture (no. J.885) was obtained from Unao (Unnava) in U.P. This is the only specimen, so far discovered, of Malli image in female form. It is interesting to note that as yet no Malli image in any Śvetāmbara shrine is known to have breasts or any mark of a female's braid or dress. And the Lucknow Museum sculpture referred to above does not date from the Kuśāṇa or Gupta period. It is generally assigned to c. ninth century A.D.

Nagpur Museum no. B.18 is a sculpture of Mallinātha sitting in padmāsana on a simhāsana. The cloth hanging on the simhāsana shows an embroidered figure of a water-pot. Like other sculptures in the Museum, obtained from different areas of Maharashtra, this figure, of mediaeval period, seems to have belonged to the Digambara sect.

Another stone sculpture of Malli, of c. 10th century A.D., showing him sitting in padmāsana on a simhāsana, is preserved in the Tulasi Samgrahalaya, Ramvan, Satna, M.P. Here also the kumbha lāñčchā is shown on the cloth hanging. A sculpture of standing Mallinātha, of Digambara tradition, from Narwar, M.P., is preserved in the Shiyvpur district Museum (Mu. no. 13) and dates from c. 12th century A.D.

Amongst sculptures from Karitalai, M.P. in the Raipur Museum, M.P., is a Dvi-tīrthika white stone sculpture of Mallinātha and Munisuvrata.236 In the National Museum, New Delhi, is a metal Pañca-tīrthika sculpture of Malli (no. 47.109/170). On either side of the simhāsana are Kubera and Dharara-priyā, the yaśa couple attending on the Jina. The inscription on the back is dated samvat 1531 (Vikrama) and samvat 1427 (Saka).237

In the Bārābhūji cave and the Mahāvīra-gumpha, Khandagiri, Orissa, we have figures of Mallinātha sitting in the padmāsana on simhāsana with the pot symbol in the centre of the throne.238 No dharma-cakra is shown in these sculptures. In the Khajana Building Museum, Golconda, A.P., Mallinātha carved on highly polished black basalt is shown standing in the kṣīyotsarga mudrā. The sculpture dates from c. 12th century A.D.239

In the North Arcot district, T.N., Tirumala, called Vaikavur in inscriptions, lies, on its hill, a Jaina temple complex dedicated to Mallinātha and Nemiśvara.240 At Karkul, Karnataka, there is a famous Caturmukha-Basti built in 1586-87. “Each of its four doors opens on three black stone images of three Tīrthaṅkaras, Arai, Malli and Muniśuvrata, of identical size and shape.”241 There is beautiful image of
20. TWENTIETH TIRTHAÑKARA: MUNISUVRATA

Munisuvrata was the son of king Sumitra and queen Padmā of the city of Rājagriha, born in the Śravaṇa nakṣatra, having descended on this earth from Prāṇa heaven, according to Uttarapurāṇa and Aparājita Viṣṇu according to Śvetāmbara tradition. The Tiloyapannatti agrees with the Śvetāmbara and other traditions in giving the above names of Parents of this Jina, but Uttarapurāṇa says that the Jina’s mother was called Somā.

Since during pregnancy, the queen-mother was devoted to religious practices (uṇḍā) like a pious monk (muni-vaṇ), the Jina was called Munisuvrata by the king. Munisuvrata obtained kevalajñāna under a Campaka-tree (Michelia Champaka). He had a following of eighteen gaṇadharas with Malli as their head while Puspavati or Puspadattā was the chief nun of his Order. According to Samavāyāṅa suṭra they were Kumbha and Amlā respectively.

Munisuvrata had a dark complexion and his recognizing symbol was a tortoise (kūrma) according to both the sects. He obtained nirvāṇa on Mt. Sammeta.

His sāsana yakṣa was Varuṇa (Bṛhaṭi according to the Tiloyapannatti). His yakṣini was Bahurūpiṇi according to Digambara traditions and Naradattā according to the Śvetāmbaras.

Harīṣena, the Cakravarti, lived in this age. Rāma (called Padma) and Lakṣmaṇa, the eighth Baladeva and Vāsudeva respectively and heroes of the Jinae version of the Rāmāyaṇa story, also flourished in this age.

According to Jina-prabha sūrī an idol of Munisuvrata with a crown of priceless gems was worshipped at Bhṛgupattana (modern Broach or Bharucha in Gujarāt). Tirthas of Munisuvrata also existed at Pratiṣṭhānapura, Ayodhyā, Vindhyā mountain, and Māṇikyandakā.

A fragmentary pedestal of a sculpture supposed to have been of Arhat Nandayāvarta—Āranātha, found from Kankali Tila, Mathura, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum (no. J.20). The specimen shows a bas-relief with a tri-ratna symbol in the centre surmounted by a dharmacakra. The right half of the pedestal is mutilated and lost, only a headless figure of a nude Jaina monk, with a piece of cloth held in the raised left hand covering his nudity, remains. To the left of the tri-ratna symbol are four standing females, three of them, dressed in similar garments, hold in their right hands long purse-like objects with an ornamental lotus-bud or cāmara-like tops. The fourth female, younger and of smaller stature, has her hands folded in adoration. There is a two line inscription on the upper rim of the pedestal and a one line inscription at base. The date in the inscription is read as 79=157 A.D. by Buhler and others and as 49 by J.E. van Loohuizen-de Leeuw. The last part of the second line in the upper rim reads: Arahato Munisuvrataśa pratimā nirvartayati, and the last part of the line in the lower rim reads: pratimāvo dve tūpe devanirmite.

Thus the pedestal belonged to an image of Munisuvrata installed in the Devanirmita Stūpa at Mathura, in the year 127 or 157 A.D.

A stūpa of Munisuvrata existed at Viśāla (Vaiśālī ?) according to the Āvaśyaka Cūṇī which gives the story of the Thubba in illustration of Praṇāmikī Buddhī. The Āvaśyaka Nirukti merely gives the catchword thubba which suggests that the author of the Nirukti knew of the stūpa of Munisuvrata at Viśāla.

An interesting image of a Jina, in the old Jaina temple, Vaibhāragiri, Rajgir, and dating from c. ninth century A.D., has, on a cot below the pedestal of the Jina, a figure of a reclining lady (see Fig. 70A). On the evidence of a reclining lady shown below the figure of Munisuvrata, in the row of yakṣīs in the Barabhujī cave, Khandaṅgiṇī, Orissa, Debala Mitra showed that in the case of the Vaibhāragiri image just described, the Jina should be identified as Munisuvrata. Debala Mitra cited a few more images known to her. One of them belongs to Shri Bejoy Singh Nahar of Calcutta, and another of
Barabhuji cave referred to above. According to Shri Nahar his figure was obtained from somewhere in Bengal by the late Shri P.C. Nahar. Debala Mitra writes: "A third fragmentary sculpture discovered at Rajghat (Varanasi) and now in the Ashutosh Museum of Fine Art, University of Calcutta, shows a lying female below the pedestal of a lāṭīchāna-less Jina figure, the upper part of which is missing... The cognizance immediately to the left of the wheel of the Vaibhāra specimen is too small to be readily noticed... the relief is so low that it is almost invisible in the photograph published here."251

About forty-three years back the present writer had seen one small sculpture in the vicinity of Temple 12, Devgadh, which showed, as in the image in Nahar's collection, a Jina in padmāsana in the upper panel and a lady reclining in the lower panel. The figures were somewhat worn out. Now the Jina can be identified as Munisuvrata in view of what Debala Mitra proved.

Another interesting sculpture, obtained from Kauśambi, and dating from c. ninth century A.D., is preserved in the Allahabad Museum (no. 560). Pramod Chandra, in his Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum, pl. CXXXI, and p. 143, describing it writes: "... The central projection of the pedestal has a cakra flanked by two crouching lions, the recesses at the sides accommodating sunken panels containing images of a pot-bellied yakṣa and a yakṣī. The lotus on which the Tīrthankara sits has a narrow rectangular panel in the centre in which is placed the image of a reclining lady..."258

What Pramod Chandra described as yakṣī, on the left end of the pedestal, seems to be a female devotee with folded hands and the reclining lady mentioned above may be the yakṣī Bahuṛūpiṇī. Thus the Jina from Kauśambi referred to above can be identified as Munisuvrata. In the State Museum, Dhubela, M.P. are some Jina sculptures from Mau and Nowgong. Amongst them is a black granite image of Munisuvrata,252 seated in padmāsana, the upper part being damaged. The pedestal contains an inscription saying that the image was installed in samvat 1119 by one Sūhāna of the Gokāpura-kula. The Jaisinghapura Jaina Archaeological Museum, Ujjain, preserves two black stone images of Suvarātana (nos. 49 and 56) from Ashta and Karcha, with inscriptions in twelfth century characters.283 Tiwari refers to a sculpture of this Jina in temple 20, Khajuraho.254

In the Raipur Museum, M.P., are Dvi-tīrthikas images from Karitalai having short inscriptions incised at the bottom of pedestals. Amongst them we have pairs of Ajātānātha and Sambhāvanātha, Puspadanta and Śītālānātha, Dharmanātha and Śāntinātha, and Mallinātha and Munisuvrata. Dvi-tīrthikas of perhaps all the 24 Tīrthankaras were installed at Karitalai, just as it seems that individual images of all the 24 Jinas were perhaps installed at Narwar, M.P.255

The Central Museum, Jaipur, preserves an elegant early mediaeval sculpture of black stone representing Munisuvrata standing in the kāyotsarga posture. This and another similar sculpture of standing Neminātha were found from Narhad near Pilani, Rajasthan. The Neminātha image is in the National Museum, New Delhi.256

National Museum no. 48.427 is a metal pākecaṭhī of Munisuvrata with Varuna and Naradattā as the yakṣa and yakṣī on the pedestal. The tortoise cognizance is also shown. On the back is an inscription dated samvat 1509.

Muni Viśalavijaya has published an inscription on a Jina image in the Śāntinātha temple, Kumbharia, which shows that the image of Munisuvrata was prepared at the instance of Pāhaḍa of Prāgaṭavamśa, in samvat 1145—A.D. 1088 (Muni Višalavijaya, op. cit., p. 144). Muni Višalavijaya has also published (op. cit., p. 136) an inscription from Devakulikā no. 6 in the Pāśvanātha temple, Kumbharia, which says that an image of Munisuvrata was gifted by Śreṣṭhī Ṡadhārā in samvat 1276.

In cell no. 11 of Vimala Vasahi, there is an image of Munisuvrata with Sarvānubhūti and four-armed Ambikā as yakṣa and yakṣī. The sculpture was installed in samvat 1200 according to the inscription on it. There is also a Munisuvrata Jina in cell 31 of the Vimala Vasahi.

In the Mahāvira temple, Kumbharia, there is, at present, a stone slab (sīla-pāṭṭa) representing the Aśvāvabodha-samalikāvihāra-tīrtha. The panel originally belonged to the Neminātha temple, Kumbharia, where half of this slab is still preserved. The pāṭṭa is dated in v.s. 1338—1281 A.D. by an inscription incised on it. A similar pāṭṭa is also preserved in cell no. 19 of the Lūna Vasahi built by Tejpal a at Abu. The Lūnvasahi-paṭṭa was installed in samvat 1335 by Ṛṣapāla of Prāgvāta caste, according to an
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inscription in cell 18 (see Jayantavijaya, Arbuda-prācīna-Jaina-lekha-sandoha, inscr. no. 297, p. 124). The paṭa in the Neminātha shrine Kumbharia also has an inscription on it showing that the Munisuvrata-bimba with the Aśvāvad-hod-Samaikā-vihāra-tirthoddhāra was installed in v.s. 1338. Except the date the rest of the inscription regarding the donor and the monk installing the sculpture is identical in both the inscriptions (see Arbudacala-pradaksinā-Jaina-lekha-sandoha, inscr. no. 31). D.R. Bhandarkar first published the sculpture and gave a detailed account of the story of preaching the Aśva (horse) by the Jina, and the story of the šakunikā (bird) who was born a princess of Lanka in the next birth and who came to Broach to pay her respects to Munisuvrata whose shrine existed at the port of Bharukaccha.²⁶⁷

A stone slab (paṭa) of the type at Abu and Kumbharia exists in the Pārśvanātha temple at Jalar, as noted by Tiwari. Long ago this writer published a beautiful marble paṭa depicting the story of Aśvāvadh-bod and Šakunikā-vihāra from a temple in Cambay. This paṭa as well as the Abu and Kumbharia paṭas are now being published by U.P. Shah in the C. Sivaramamurti Memorial Volume.

A valuable interesting sculpture in black stone, found from near Agra, is preserved in the Lucknow Museum (no. J.776). In the centre sits Munisuvrata in dhīya mudrā on a cushion-like seat. Marks of cakra are seen on the soles of the Jina’s feet and on palms of hands. The Jina has an usnīśa on top of his head. The multiple umbrella is shown over the stem of the Caiȳa-tree. On each side of the Jina is a male fly-whisk bearer and a standing Tīrthaṅkara wearing dhōti (lower garment) thus showing that the sculpture belongs to the Śvetāmbara tradition. Over the standing Jina on each side is a male figure standing in kāyotsarga mudrā on a lotus and wearing a crown and other ornaments. Obviously they are meant to be represented as Jivantasaṁvä images. Whether both such figures are meant to be of Mahāvira as Jivantasaṁvä meditating in his home before dikṣā or one only of Mahāvīra and the other of Munisuvrata as Jivantasaṁvä, we cannot determine. Over the triple umbrella is a miniature figure of a Jina in padmāsana placed in a small cell while on his right stands a four-armed Baladeva and on the left a four-armed Vāsudeva carrying the mace in his right hand (Fig. 72).

In the lower section is the lion-throne with the dharmacakra in the centre but without the deer flanking it. On the right side of the simhāsana is pot-bellied two-armed yakṣa carrying the citron and the bag in his two hands while on the left side of the throne is seated a two-armed Ambikā with a child on her lap. Below the dharmacakra in a tortoise, the cognizance of Munisuvrata. An inscription on the lowermost part of the sculpture says that this image of Munisuvrata was installed in samvat 1063 = A.D. 1006.

The Caumukha Basti at Karkal in Karnata, built in 1586-87 with images of Malli, Ara, and Munisuvrata facing each door, is already referred to before. Munisuvrata is installed in Pāthasaḷā-Basti in Mūdebidure. Images of this Jina are also found amongst the different sets of 24 Jinas at Śrayaṇa Belagola, Mūda bidure and Veqūr noted before.

21. TWENTY-FIRST TĪRTHAṅKARA: NAMINĀTHA

Naminātha descended from the Aprajita Vimāna of the Anuttara heavens, according to the Digambaras and from Pṛñata to the other sect. Son of king śrīvijaya or Viyāja and queen Vaprā (Vappilā-Uttara purāna) ruling in Mithila, Nami was born in the Svātī naksatras²⁶⁸.

While the Jina was in his mother’s womb, his father’s enemies bowed down (pranam) in submission whereat the king gave the name Nami (from nam to bow down) to the newly born would-be Jina.²⁵⁹ He was golden in complexion.

The recognising symbol of this Jina is the blue-lotus. B.C. Bhattacharya²⁶⁰ writes: “The emblem which is associated with this Jina is a blue-lotus or the Aśoka tree, according to the sectarian view of the Digambaras.” Unfortunately he has not cited any text in support of the statement. No text known to us prescribes Aśoka-tree as the recognising symbol of Nami (or Nimitnātha, nor is Aśoka his Caiȳa-tree, for Nami obtained kevalajñāna under a Bakula-tree (Mimusesos elengi) according to all traditions.

Naminātha was followed by 17 ganadhāras with Suprabha (Dig.) or Subha (Śve.) as their leader. The chief āryikā was Mārginī according to the Digambaras and Anilī according to the Śvetāmbaras.
Bṛhkuṭi and Cāmunṭi were his yakṣa and yakṣīṇī respectively according to Digambara sources. The Śvetāmbara texts call them Bṛhkuṭi and Gandhāri. The Digambara text Tiloyapaṇḍatti however says that they were known as Gomeda and Bahurūpiṇī. Nami obtained mokṣa on Sammeta-Sīkhara.

Jayasena, the eleventh Cakravati of Jaina mythology, lived in this age. Jinarābhha sūri says that Nami was worshipped at Ayodhyā which is described as a mokṣa-tīrtha.261

Muni Jayantavijaya, in his Tīrthaṃkara Abū (p. 194), has noted a sculpture of Naminātha being worshipped in a cell in the Sabhāmandapa of the Caumukha temple, Acalagadh, Mt. Abu. An inscription on a pedestal preserved in devakulika 45 of Vimala Vasahi refers to the setting of the stone sculpture of Naminātha by minister Yaśovira in v.s. 1245 = A.D. 1188 (inscr. no. 150, Śrī-Arbudha-Prācina-Jainalekhasandoha). In the Pāśvanāṭha temple at Rohida, near Abu, Rajasthan, are a number of bronzes. Amongst them there is one dated samvat 1493 of Naminātha and another Paṅca-tīrtha metal image dated 1565 samvat, installed by Śrī-Samgha in Pattana-nagara (Pra. Śrī-Samghena Pattana nagare). It seems that the image was originally installed in Patan and later it seems to have been brought to Rohida (inscriptions nos. 575 and 594 in Arbhodālo-Pradaksinā-Jainalekhasandoha). In the bigger Śāntināṭha temple, Radhanapur, North Gujarāt, is a metal Paṅca-tīrtha of Naminātha installed in samvat 1517. Images of this Jina are also found at Satruṇjaya.

P.L. Gupta in the Catalogue of Antiquities, Patna Museum, has identified a stone sculpture from Palna in Manbhum district as representing Naminātha but S.K. Sarasvati doubts the identification and suggests that the image represents Ajitanātha.262

Kalidasā Datta has referred to a standing image of Naminātha of Śvetāmbara tradition found at Mathurapur near Raidighi, Bengal.263 Tiwari has referred to an image of Nami in cell no. 19 of the Lūnavashi, dated in 1233 A.D.264 This cell once contained the Aśvābudhha-Śakunikaśvāra-tīrtha-uddhāra pata referred to above while discussing the iconography of Munisuvrata. I do not know whether after my visit in 1950-51 some image is transferred to this cell. Muni Jayantavijaya has not referred to any such inscribed image of Naminātha in Lūnavasal. He might have missed it.

A sculpture of Naminātha sitting is carved on the wall of Barabhuji cave, Khandagiri, Orissa and another rock-cut figure of Nami is seen on the wall of the Mahāvīra gumbhā nearby.

We have sculptures of Nami at Śravāṇa Belagola, Mūdabidri, and Venūr in the groups of images of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras.265

There is a sculpture of Naminātha in the group of big sculptures of the Urwahi group, Gwalior fort. A water-lily is shown as the cognizance. Bhagchandra Jaina in his Devagadha ki Jaina Kalā (Hindi), p. 74 refers to a big standing image of Naminātha (his fig. 62) at Devgadh, temple 28, with lotus symbol on pedestal.

22. TWENTY-SECOND TĪRTHAṄKARA: NEMINĀTHA (ARIṢṬANEMI)

Ariṣṭanemi or Neminātha, the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara, descended from the Jayanta Viṃāna according to the Uttarapuruṣaṇa and from Aparājita Viṃāna according to Tiloyapaṇḍatti and Śvetāmbara texts. He was the son of Samudravigaya and Śivadevi of Saundarya and was born in the Citrā nakṣatra.266 Neminātha was a cousin brother of Kṛṣṇa and Balabhadra, the ninth Vāsudeva and Balarāma of Jaina mythology. Jaina legends of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma offer interesting comparison with the Hindu accounts of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma in the Viṣṇupuṇāṇa, Harivamśa, Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata.

According to the Uttarapuruṣaṇa, Indra called him Neminātha267 because the Jina was as it were the spoke (nemi) of the Wheel of True Law. Hemacandra gives a similar explanation. According to another explanation offered by Śvetāmbara writers, he was called Ariṣṭanemi because while he was in the womb, his mother saw, in dream, a wheel of Ariṣṭa-jewels.268

Dark-blue in appearance, Neminātha had the cognizance of a conch according to both the sects. Nemi obtained kevalajñāna on Mt. Raivataka while meditating under a Vetasā-tree (reed-tree, bamboo-tree) according to the Kalpa-sūtra. The Uttarapuruṣaṇa refers to the same tree when it calls it Mahavenu. Tiloyapaṇḍatti says it is a Māsaśṛnga-tree. Nemi had a following of 11 ganadharas (18 acc. to Kalpa-
sūtra) with Varadatta as their chief according to both the sects. Yakṣī or Yakṣini was the leader of the āryikās. There were besides some well-known āryikās like Rājimati and Kātyāyanī. Nemi obtained nirvāṇa on Ujjayanta (Ujrayanta) or Mt. Girnar, identified as Raivataka of old texts.

According to Tiloyapannatti, Pārśva and Kuśmāṇḍi were the yakṣa and yakṣini respectively of Neminātha. According to others they are known as Gomeda and Ambikā (same as Kuśmāṇḍi). The Digambaras sometimes describe Sarvānha as the yakṣa of Neminātha.

Jinaprabha sūri says that Neminātha was worshipped at Śauryapura in the Śankha-Jinālaya, in the city called Paṭala, in Mathura, Dvarakā, Simhapura and Stambhatirtha (Cambay in Gujarat). At Cambay he was known as Paṭala-linga-Neminātha.

Scenes from the life of Neminātha have been very popular in Jaina art. Nemi (also called Ariṣṭanemi), a very brave prince, was, from the very beginning, a person of a pious nature and averse to worldly pleasures. He was reluctant to marry. Ultimately, his marriage with princess Rājimati, daughter of king Ugrāsena, was arranged. When the marriage procession was going towards the bridal pavilion, with the bridegroom Nemi in a chariot, Ariṣṭanemi saw a large number of animals captured in a yard by the wayside, apparently with a view to kill them for serving the guests with meat. He shuddered at the idea of the impending great animal slaughter for which his own marriage was responsible, and decided to give up marriage and instead become a Jaina recluse. He immediately ordered his charioteer to turn back and, going on the Mt. Raivataka (Girnar), took dikṣā as a Jaina monk. Rājimati the bride, a pious lady following the Indian ideal of womanhood, regarded Neminātha as her husband though not formally married (but already the engagement has taken place), and following Nemi’s footsteps, became a Jaina nun. Rathanemi, a younger brother of Neminātha, also became a Jaina monk.

Once upon a time, on Mt. Girnar, when at dead of night there was a heavy downpour of rains, Rājimati, the nun, took shelter under a cave, and, taking off all her drenched clothes, began drying them. A flash of lightning revealed her naked lovely form to Rathanemi who also had taken refuge in the same cave. Rathanemi’s weak mind was tempted to enjoy sexual pleasure but Rājimati, the pious nun, explained to him that desire to have her was like licking what was vomited by another person. This saved the situation and Rathanemi repented for his evil thought. This incident between Rathanemi and Rājimati forms the theme of a very old ballad in the Jaina canonical text called the Uttarādhyayana sūtra. Belief in Ariṣṭanemi thus goes back to some centuries before the Christian era.

The historicity of Neminātha or Ariṣṭanemi is linked up with that of Kṛṣṇa the hero of Harivamsa, Bhāgavata, etc., since both of them are cousin brothers according to Jaina Purāṇas. The Uttarādhyayana sūtra ballad is certainly an ancient one as shown by Charpentier. An Ariṣṭanemi is known to Vedic literature though his identity with the Jaina Tirthankara cannot be confidently asserted.

As stated before, scenes from the life of Neminātha have been very popular in Jaina art. Paperboard covers to held mss. for reading have sometimes painted on them the scene of marriage procession of Neminātha. Wooden book-covers of palm-leaf manuscripts are found painted with scenes from the life of Neminātha. We have already referred to such book-covers with scenes from the life of Śāntinātha. In the collections of the I.D. Institute of Indology are book-covers with scenes from the life of Mahāvira as also covers with the scenes from the life of Pārvanātha.

In one of the ceilings of the bhamati of the Lūna Vasahi built in the thirteenth century by Tejpalat Abu, we have scenes from the life of Neminātha, and in another ceiling some scenes from the early life of Kṛṣṇa at Gokula. In one of the ceilings of the bhamati (corridor) of the Śāntinātha temple, Kumbharia, we have scenes from the life of Neminātha, carved in the eleventh century A.D. Of the same age is another ceiling in the Mahāvira temple, Kumbharia, depicting scenes from the lives of Śāntinātha and Neminātha. In a ceiling in front of cell no. 10, Vimala Vasahi, we have a scene of the water-sports (jala-krīḍā) of Kṛṣṇa’s queens, Kṛṣṇa and Nemi, and also the scene about testing the valour between Kṛṣṇa and Neminātha, and the scene of marriage procession etc. The scenes in the Lūṇavasahi ceiling are elaborate and include scene of fight between Kṛṣṇa and Jarāśandha besides the marriage procession, a scene of marriage of Nemi and Rājimati in the marriage pandal, and their returning home in a palanquin and the scene of renunciation of worldly life (dikṣā) of Neminātha etc.
Scenes of the main events in the lives of Rśabha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvira are also found in the miniature paintings of the Kalpa Sūtra, already described by Coomaraswamy, Brown, Moti Chandra and others. For detailed accounts from the previous lives and the last life of these Tirthaṅkaras one may refer to Triśaṭṭhilakāpuruṣacarita (Śve.) and the Mahāpurāṇa (Ādipurāṇa + Uttarapurāṇa) of Jinasena and Guṇabhadra (Dig.) and the Harivamśa of Jinasena. One may also refer to the Paumacariyam of Vimala sūri.

The earliest known images of Neminātha are from the Kankali Tila, Mathura, preserved in the Lucknow and Mathura museums. One of them, no. J.8 in the Lucknow Museum, had an inscription on its pedestal dated in the year 18, expressly stating that the Jina represented is Arīṭaṇemi. According to Lohuizen-de Leeuw, this date is with the figure of 100 of the Kaniṣka's era omitted which means that the image is dated in 118 = 196 A.D. The cognizance is not shown on the sculpture and the Jina is identified only with the help of the inscription.276 V.S. Agrawala has referred to another sculpture, no. 2502 in the Mathura Museum,278 with figures of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa shown on the right and the left side respectively of the Jina. Four-armed Baladeva carries the plough in one hand while another is placed on the kaṭi. Symbols of the two remaining hands are broken. The two remaining hands of the four-armed Kṛṣṇa, are the gadā (mace) and the cakra (disous).

No. J.121, Lucknow is another early sculpture of standing Neminātha dating from c. late fourth century A.D. On the right of the Jina stands a four-armed Balarāma with five snake-hoods overhead and carrying the wine cup (casaka) in one of his hands. To the left stands Kṛṣṇa showing the gadā and the conch in two hands. Symbols of the other hands are not distinct. No. 37.2738 in the Mathura Museum, dating from c. tenth century A.D., is a similar sculpture of Neminātha with four-armed Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa standing on his right and left side respectively. Heads of the Jina, Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa are mutilated and lost. As we have suggested in the previous chapter, Nos. J.117 and J.60 in the Lucknow Museum cannot be certainly identified as Neminātha. The snake-hooded figure on the right may be just a nāga figure. Besides in J.117 the figures on the right as well as the left have their two hands folded. We have shown in the last chapter that mālādharaś, kundadharas and Nāgas are enjoined as attendant figures in a sculpture of a Tirthaṅkara. Mathura Museum no. 2502 is a sculpture of Neminātha since the figure on his right showing a plough can be identified as Baladeva and the one on the left with the gadā and the cakra must be Kṛṣṇa. No. J.47 in the Lucknow Museum also represents Neminātha sitting in padmāsana. Here the figure on the right shows the plough, the mace and the wine cup, and is therefore Balarāma while the figure on the left, four-armed, shows the gadā, the abhaya mudrā, etc. These are sculptures of the Kuṭāśa period. No. B.77 in Mathura Museum represents Nemi with conch symbol.

The Vaibhāra giri, Rajgir, sculpture of Neminātha sitting in padmāsana with the conch cognizance on each side of the dharma-cakra (shown as cakrapuruṣa, a Gupta period motif) shown in the middle of the simhasana has a small inscription mentioning Mahārājādhirāja Śri Chandra . . . and with the help of the paleography of the inscription is rightly assigned by Rama Prasad Chanda to the reign of the Gupta Mahārājādhirāja Chandragupta II.277

A sculpture on the Vipula giri, Rajgir (Indian Museum Photo-negative no. 635) shows the Jina sitting in padmāsana, dhyāna mudrā, on a big viśva-padma, with an attendant standing cāmaradiha on each side. In the centre of the simhasana is the dharma-cakra with a conch on each side. A sculpture of a Jina sitting in padmāsana on a big lotus (Photo no. 646, Indian Museum, Calcutta) with a dharma-cakra in the centre of the pedestal was found on Udayagiri, Rajgir. On two sides of the wheel are still visible portions of the conch. The Jina has a small usnīṣa on top of the head. There is also a sculpture of Neminātha on the eastern wall of Temple no. 1, Ratnagiri, Rajgir. Here also the conch is placed on each side of the dharma-cakra in the centre. The Jina sits in padmāsana on a simhasana. A plain halo, triple-umbrella and a big cushion at the back of the Jina are shown. Instead of twigs or leaves of a Caitya-tree hanging from two sides of the chaturmātra, two ends of what looks like a piece of cloth are shown hanging on both the sides (Indian Museum, Negative no. 641).

Tiwari identifies no. 212 in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi, as Neminātha sitting on a simhasana. This is really placed on top of a tall tree. On one side of the tree is a standing male figure sitting on a
ing a flower or a câmara (?) in his right hand while with his left hand he holds a vessel. But just below it sits a child with a raised right hand which reaches the vessel. On the left of the tree stands a female with a child held by her left hand and a flower-like object held in her right hand. No lāñchana of the Jina is shown. It is difficult to explain the Jina’s position above the tree if this is a kulpa-vrksa. It cannot be a caitya-tree if the main object intended here is the Tirthankara because then he would be sitting under a caitya-tree. We believe that perhaps here also the Parents of a Jina are the main objects of worship intended to be represented. What Tiwari seems to have missed is the explanation of a child below the left hand of the male figure.

Tiwari says that since images of Nemi and Mahāvira, earlier than ninth century, are not found in Gujarat and Rajasthan, this fact suggests somewhat limited (or relatively less) popularity of these two Jinas than of Rsabh and Pārśva whose images of sixth-seventh century are found at Akota. Unfortunately Tiwari is fond of drawing conclusions based on such a negative evidence. He perhaps does not know that there is in worship a beautiful image of Mahāvira worshipped as Jivantasvāmī at Nāndia, Rajasthan, near Abu and Sirohi area. This beautiful sculpture dates from the seventh century A.D. Here Mahāvira is not shown with a crown etc. He is sitting in padmāsana. But Śvetāmbara Jaina tradition worships this image as Jivantasvāmī. Again the find of two very early (i.e. one of late fifth and the other of sixth century) images of Jivantasvāmī in the Akota hoard means worship of Mahāvira himself in Gujarat. Jaina traditions associate Neminātha and Kṛṣṇa with Dvārakā and Mt. Raivataka (Girnar). Harivamsa of Jinasena, a Digambara writer, was composed at Wadhavan in Saurashtra according to the author himself. Harivamsa is the family of Kṛṣṇa and Neminātha whose account is the subject matter of Jinasena’s famous Purāṇa.

There are about eight sculptures of Neminātha, assigned to the mediaeval period, in the Lucknow Museum. All except no. 66.53 belong to the Digambara tradition. When the yakṣa and yakṣi are shown in these images dating from the tenth to twelfth century, they are the yakṣa Sarvānuhbhūti and the yakṣi Ambikā. No. J.793 in the museum is a Neminātha obtained from Bateśvara near Agra. Here the Jina is accompanied by Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, each two-armed. The conch is shown on top of the simhāsana, in the centre. No. O.123 in the Lucknow Museum is a black stone sculpture of Neminātha standing, from Chattarpur, M.P. with an inscription on the pedestal giving the date of installation as samvat 1208 = A.D. 1151. At the end of the small inscription is carved a figure of the conch cognizance. The Jina is standing and wears no garment, but has hair-locks on shoulders.

A sculpture of Neminātha sitting on a simhāsana with the conch lāñchana carved on the lower rim of the throne and with cāmara-dharas, mālādharas, triple umbrella, halo and the Caitya-tree as members of the parikara is preserved in the Mathura Museum. The dharmacakra is shown in the centre of the throne. No yakṣa and yakṣi are shown. The sculpture dates from c. 10th-11th cent. A.D. The Lucknow Museum has a standing Neminātha from Maihar, M.P., with Sarvānuhbhūti and Ambikā as the śāsana-devatas on one side of the Jina. In the parikara, as noted by Tiwari, there is a four-armed goddess showing the lotus in two hands and the abhayamudrā and the kalasa in the remaining hands. No. J.936, dated in 1177 A.D., is a figure of a Jina sitting in padmāsana and with Sarvānuhbhūti as attendant śāsana-yakṣa. There is no yakṣi figure, no lāñchana. Tiwari identifies this figure as Neminātha simply because Sarvānuhbhūti figures as the yakṣa. This is a rather doubtful procedure because we know that for a long time from c. sixth century upto the eleventh and sometimes a little later yakṣa Sarvānuhbhūti and variations of his form figure as yakṣa of any of the 24 Jinas, along with Ambikā as yakṣi even at Ellora, Abu, Kumbharia etc. This will be more clear in the chapter on Yakṣa Worship in Jainism.

No. J.858 in the same museum shows the cognizance as well as Sarvānuhbhūti and Ambikā. The sculpture hails from Sahet-Mahet, the site of Śravasti, and is identified as Neminātha with the help of the cognizance.

There are more than two dozen sculptures of Neminātha at Devgadh, all of the Digambara tradition, including several figures showing Neminātha standing in the käyatsarga mudrā. In all cases when the cognizance is not given, nor is there an inscription, then merely on the evidence of Sarvānuhbhūti and Ambikā we cannot identify such sculptures as definitely representing Neminātha. In our earlier writings
on Ambikā and on the introduction of Śāsanadevataś in Jainism we have shown the association of this Śāsanadevataś pair with other Tīrthaṅkaras.

A beautiful specimen of a figure of standing Neminātha, of c. 10th cent. A.D., is preserved in temple no. 2, Devgadh. Here miniature figures of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa are also shown standing on the right and the left respectively of the Jina. Lucknow Museum no. 66.53 of standing Neminātha, of Śvetāmbara tradition, has a similar arrangement of the figures of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma on the sides of the Jina. Devgadh Temple no. 15 was known as Neminātha Jinalaya according to an inscription from this temple as noted by Bhagchandra Jain, op. cit., p. 72 note.

There is a beautiful figure of Neminātha in padmāsana in the Bharatpur Museum. The conch is shown in the centre of his seat. There is no parikara, no throne, no pedestal.

A c. sixth century sculpture of standing Neminātha, obtained from Padhaval, M.P., is preserved in the Archaeological Museum, Gwalior. On the pedestal, the conch symbol is on one side while the cakra is on the other end and between the two, near the cakra is a worshipper (Fig. 52).

A standing Neminātha from Narwar, M.P. is preserved in the Shivpuri district Museum, Shivpuri, M.P. The sculpture is assignable to the twelfth century A.D. A beautiful ornate simhāsana of another sculpture of Neminātha, also from Narwar, is preserved in the above museum. There is a small figure of a conch carved below the dharmacakra. Looking to the shape and size of the pedestal, on the analogy of other sculptures from Narwar it may be assumed that this simhāsana had on it a figure of Neminātha sitting in the padmāsana.

There is another sculpture from Padhaval in the Archaeological Museum, Gwalior. Here the Jina sits in padmāsana on a simhāsana. The conch symbol is carved on the lower end of the simhāsana.

A standing Neminātha from Gurgi, Rewa, is preserved in the Allahabad Museum (no. AM 498). The conch and the yakṣa and the yakṣi also are shown (Stone Sculptures in the Allahabad Museum, fig. 287). No. K.14 in the Khajuraho Museum represents Nemi in padmāsana, with 23 other Jinas around, conch symbol and Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā on the pedestal.

In the Dhubela Museum, M.P., is a sculpture of Neminātha in padmāsana, probably from Shahdol (JAA, III, pl. 367B). Above him are 21 seated Tīrthaṅkaras in three rows and a standing Tīrthaṅkara by the side of the elephants on either side. Thus this is a Caturvimśati-pata of Neminātha. The central Jina is recognised with the help of the śankha laṅchana on the ornamental pedestal. On the right extremity of the simhāsana is a two-armed yakṣa while on the left end is a beautiful standing two-armed Ambikā with her lion vāhana. The Dhubela Museum has an image of Nemi with his name given in the inscription on pedestal dated in 1142 A.D. Kielhorn has referred to an image of Neminātha in the Horniman Museum. The image is dated in 1151 A.D. The conch is shown on the pedestal and according to Kielhorn the conch figure occurs on the chest of the Jina also.

Of the two images unearthed a few years ago at Narhad near Pilani, Rajasthan, one, of Neminātha, is now preserved in the National Museum, New Delhi (no. 69.132) while the other of Munisuvrata is in the State Museum, Jaipur. Neminātha stands in the kāyotsarga pose and shows cāmaradhara attendants standing near his feet. The conch cognizance of the Jina is carved on the base in front (JAA, III, plate 336B).

A bronze image of Neminātha, obtained in the Aluara hoard, is in the Patna Museum (no. 10688). Rock-cut figures of Neminātha are found on the walls of the Navamuni, Bārubhuji and the Mahāvīra caves at Khandagiri, Orissa. R.P. Mohapatra, in his Jaina Monuments from Orissa, fig. 89, has illustrated a sculpture of Ambikā with a Jina above on simhāsana, from Jambhira, district Keonjhar. In cases like this the Jina can be identified as Neminātha because in the mediaeval period when different yakṣinis for different Jinas were evolved and worshipped, Ambikā remained the yakṣini of Neminātha.

Neminātha standing in kāyotsarga mudrā on a big conch, from a temple in Mūḍabidri, is illustrated in Fig. 45. This is a typical representation which reminds of the Śāṅkha Jinalaya at Śaurayapura referred to by Jinaprabha sūri. There was a famous Śāṅkha-Jinalaya in the South. B.A. Saletore writes: "... in the 7th or 8th regnal year of Western Calukya monarch Vinayāditya Satyāraya (A.D. 680-696), a grant was made to the Jaina priest Udayadeva Pandita also known as Niravadyaṃṣita, who belonged to Devagaṇa sect attached to the Mūla Śāṅgha and the Śāṅkhabastī at Puligere (modern Lakshmes-
vara)...

A Śaṅkha basadi existed at Huligere during the reign of Bukka Raya of Vijayanagara. Perhaps because of the big Śaṅkha (conch, the cognizance of Nemi) on which Neminātha stood, as in Fig. 45 (from Mūdabidri), Neminātha came to be worshipped as Śaṅkha-Jina and a temple with such an image came to be known as Śaṅkha-Jinālaya or Śaṅkha basadi. Neminātha is installed as a chief deity in various temples in Tulu-Nadu (south Karnataka) at Koto-setti-Basti, Mūdabidure, at Puruṣa-guḍde, at Karkal, at Vāradāga etc. Images of this Jina are also found in shrines where sets of 24 Tirthāṅkaras are worshipped as at Śrāvaṇa Belagola, Mūdabidure, Venōr etc.

At Kambadahalli in Karnataka, in the Paṇeakuta-Basti there is a tri-kūṭācalaka nucleus. Of the three shrines in the tri-kūṭa complex, the central one facing north enshrines Ādinātha, the one facing east Neminātha, and the one facing west Sāntinātha (JAA, II, p. 218). The Paṇeakuta-Basti at Markuli, of the time of Ballala II, erected in 1173 by his minister Bucchimayya, is for Ādinātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha, Puspadanta and Śūparśvanātha (JAA, II, p. 318).

In Tamil Nadu, the Poyagamalai at Kuppalanatham and Karupannasami rock at Uttamapalaiyam have rows of Jaina Tirthāṅkaras, Ādinātha, Neminātha and others. In North Arcot district, the celebrated Jaina centre Tirumalei, called Vaikavur in inscriptions, has on its hill a Jaina temple complex dedicated to Mallinātha and Nemināvara and is noted for a large monolithic image of Neminātha on the hill. It is also noted for its wall paintings as well as for fine sculptures of Kusmāndinī, Pārśvanātha, Bahubali and others.

To the Nayaka phase belong later paintings in the Mahāvīra temple, at Tiruparuttikunram, of 16th-17th centuries. Scenes from the lives of Rṣabhideva, Vardhamāna, Kṛṣṇa and his cousin Arīṣṭanemi, and the life of Neminātha himself are graphically painted with labels in Tamil clearly explaining each scene (JAA, II, pp. 388-89).

Neminātha or Arīṣṭanemi, the cousin brother of Kṛṣṇa according to Jaina Purāṇas, is associated with Dvārakā and Ginnār (Mt. Raivataka) in Saurashtra, Gujarat. His images and scenes from his life, especially his marriage procession when he sees the animals caged for slaughter for his marriage feast and turns back and becomes a Jaina monk, are very popular in Gujarāt and Rajasthān and many Pāṭhas (wooden and cardboard sheets for holding paper manuscripts) have paintings and embroidery work on cloth covering them. A very interesting frieze showing the marriage procession of Neminātha is in the collections of Shri Haridas K. Swali, Bombay (JAA, III, 438). It shows two horse-riders, a bullock-cart, trumpet-blower, drummer, a royal figure holding garlands, female figures, marriage pandal (manḍapa), house scenes, animals caged, scene of preparation of sweets etc. Traces of paint on the scenes are still preserved.

The Nāḍḷoi (Rajasthan) inscription of 1138 records a grant of 1/20th part of tax levied on incoming and outgoing merchandise of the city for the pūjā (worship) of Jina Neminātha (JAA, II, p. 240). The Neminātha temple at Kumbhāra was built during the later part of Siddharaja's reign. The Neminātha temple on Ginnar was built by Daṇḍa-Nayaka Sajana also in the reign of Siddharaja Jayasimha of the Chaulukya dynasty of Anahilapātaka or Patan, Gujarat. King Kumārapāla (1144-1174 A.D.), successor of Siddharaja, built at Patan a Kumāra-Vihāra sacred to Pārśvanātha with 24 devakulkās. He also built Kumāra-Vihāras, Jaina temples, at centres like Ginnar, Śatrūnjaya, Prabhāsa, Ābu, Kambhāt and in towns like Tharād, Īdar, Jālor, Div, Māngrol etc. In memory of his father Tribhuvanapāla, he built the Tribhuvana-Vihāra, dedicated to Neminātha with 72 devakulkās and a tri-vihāra in 1160 (JAA, II, p. 303).

The Lūṇa-vasahi on Mt. Ābu is a temple dedicated to Neminātha, built by Minister Tejapāla in memory of his brother. In the gṛha-manda-pa of the Lūṇa-vasahi is an image of Neminātha installed in Samvat 1394, and another in Samvat 1321. In this shrine there is also a rare image of Rājimati who was to marry Arīṣṭanemi and who also became a Jaina nun. The image is dated in Samvat 1515. In the devakulkā no. 22 in Lūṇa-vasahi an image of Nemi was installed in Samvat 1293 by one Kumāraka of Candrāvattī (Jayantavijaya's Arbūdācala-Pṛīcīna-Jaina-Lekhasandoka, inscr. no. 307). Cell no. 23 in the same shrine was also dedicated to Neminātha (ibid., inscr. no. 313), in v.s. 1293. In the same year one Lūḥada set up an image of Neminātha in cell 39. In cell no. 10 of Vimala vasahi, Ābu, an image of Neminātha was installed by Daṭṭharatha, the grandson of Mantrī Nedha, and an
image of this Jina was installed in Cell no. 9, Vimala vasahi in Samvat 1382 by Jivaka of Pravêta caste. In cell 12 an image of Nemi was installed in Samvat 1309 (Muni Jayantavijaya, *ibid.*, inscriptions nos. 46, 47, 51, 62). Also in cell 43 an image of the same Jina was installed in Samvat 1302 (*ibid.*, inscr. no. 145).

In the Devakutikâ no. 22 of the Pârśvanâtha temple, Kumbharia, is a figure of Neminâtha in padmâsanâ installed in 1179 A.D. Of circa twelfth century an image of Nemi, obtained from Amarasar, Rajasthan, is preserved in the Ganga Golden Jubilee Museum, Bikaner. All over Rajasthan and Gujarat temples and images of Neminâtha are available at various places.

At Khajuraho, in the Chattarpur district, M.P., only two images of Neminâtha have been identified so far; one, in modern temple no. 10, is in the sitting posture and his cognizance on the lowermost portion of the throne is much defaced. The second image lying in the open air museum (no. K,14) also represents this Jina in a sitting posture. Below the dharmacakra on the pedestal is depicted his conch emblem. With 23 miniature figures of other Jinas carved in the *parikara*, this image is thus a *Covisi* of Neminâtha. The sculpture dates from c. 12th century A.D.

23. TWENTY-THIRD Tirthâṅkara: Pârśvanâtha

Pârśvanâtha is regarded as a historical figure. Mahâvira, the twenty-fourth or the last Jina, died two hundred and fifty years after the nirvâna of Pârśvanâtha. This interval between the last two Tirthâṅkaras is the same in both the Svetâmbara and the Digambara accounts. Again, the interval is not so extraordinarily long as to create doubts in our mind as in the case of any two other Tirthâṅkaras.

Pârśva and his followers are referred to in the Jaina canons. According to the Acârànga sūtra, Mahâvira's parents were lay followers of the Order of Pârśva and were adherents of the Samanas. The Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi refers to several monks of Pârśva's sect as contemporaries of Mahâvira during his wanderings.

Gośala asked Municandra, a follower of Pârśva, how they could be called Samana Niganthas when they had so many possessions with them. These samanas indulged in certain activities which according to Mahâvira constituted preliminary sin (*sûryamahâvâya*). They put on clothes and also practised Jina kalpa towards the end of their lives. The Bhagavat sûtra records a discussion between Mahâvira and Samana Gângeya, a follower of Pârśvanâtha in Vânîyagâma. Gângeya gave up the Câujjomadhamma (the doctrine of four-fold restraint) and embraced the Pâñcamahâvâya (the five greater vows) of Mahâvira. The city of Tungiya is stated to have been a centre of the theras following the doctrine of Pârśva, who moved in a congregation of five hundred monks. Udaya Pedhalaputta was a Nigantha follower of Pârśva of the Meyajja (Sk. Metârya) gotra, who had discussions with Indrabhuti, the first Gânapadha of Mahâvira. Kesâ is also referred to in the Uttarâdhyayana where his discussions with Gautama Indrabhuti on the doctrines of Pârśva and Mahâvira are recorded.

As usual, some preceding births of this Jina are described by the Jaina Purâñas. In one such existence, Pârśva was a Brâhmana named Marubhûti and had a younger brother called Kamâtha. From this birth, seeds of enmity between the two souls were sown and in each succeeding birth, except the last, Kamâtha went on taking the life of Marubhûti.

In his last birth as Pârśva, the soul of Marubhûti was born as the prince of king Aśvasena and queen Vâmâdevi of the city of Varanasi. The Digambara text Uttarapurâna gives Viśvasena and Brâhmidevi as names of Pârśva's Parents. According to Tiloyapannâti, they were Aśvasena and Varmîlî. Pârśva was born under the asterism Viśâkhâ having descended upon this earth from Prâgata Viśâna in the Ānata heaven.

According to both the sects, the Jina was dark-blue in complexion and had the snake as his cognizance. According to the Svetâmbaras, he was called Pârśva because his mother had seen, in dream, a black cobra passing by her side (*pârśva*) during the period of confinement. When Pârśva grew up, he once saw a sage practising the *Pañcâgmi-tapa*, a type of penance with burning logs of wood in four groups all around and the fifth fire being the scorching sun above. In one of the logs was a pair of snakes which was being burnt alive. Pârśva rescued the snakes and remonstrated the sage who was no other than
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the soul of Kamaṭha reborn as a tāpaṇa. The snakes, half-burnt, died immediately after Pārśva chanted before them the Naṇakura mantra and were reborn as Dharaṇendra (Indra of the Nāgakumāra class of demi-gods) and his queen (Padmāvatī). Kamaṭha, after death, was reborn as a god called Saṃvara according to the Digambaras and Meghamālī according to the Śvetāmbaras.

King Prasenajit, son of Naravarman, the ruler of Kuśasthala, had a beautiful daughter called Prabhāvati who, on hearing the virtues of Saṃvaraṇātha, fell in love with him and decided to marry him. Her parents agreed, but kings of neighbouring states of Kalinga etc., desiring to marry the princess, attacked Kuśasthala and besieged it. Pārśva, requested by Prasenajit, ran to his rescue, subdued the opponents and married Prabhāvati. According to Hemacandra, the ruler of Kalinga was a Yavana king.

It is interesting to note that the snake, which is a special cognizance of Pārśvaṇātha, figures on the archway of Anantagumpha, Khandagiri, Orissa, and that two Yavana warriors are carved in relief in the Ranigumpha. The caves are generally regarded as Jainas, while some of the reliefs of the caves are identified by V.S. Agrawala as referring to the Udayana story. The reference to the Kalinga-Jina in the Hathigumpha inscription may be an image of Pārśvaṇātha. Readings of the inscription, however, are largely disputed and uncertain in several cases.

For thirty years Pārśva remained a householder and then renounced worldly ties, practised rigorous austerities and obtained kevalajñāna while meditating under a Dhāsaki-tree (Griselis tomentosa). He had ten ganadharas with Swayambhu as their leader according to Digambara traditions and eight ganadharas with Subha or Subhadatta as the chief according to some Śvetāmbara traditions. The Samavāyaṅga sūtra however calls him Dinna, while the Āvaśyaka Nirṇyuki speaks of ten ganadharas. Puṣpecchāla was his chief āryāka as stated by the Samavāyaṅga and the Kalpa-sūtra. According to the Digambaras she was known as Silōcanā (called Silokā by Tiloyapāṇati).

According to Tiloyapāṇati Pārśva’s yaksā and yakṣīṇī were Mātanga and Padmā respectively while according to other Digambara and Śvetāmbara traditions they were Pārśva and Padmāvatī.

Kamaṭha (also called Kṛṣṇa) tāpaṇa who was reborn as Saṃvara (Dig.) or Meghamālī (Śve.) obstructed Pārśvaṇātha when he was practising penance. For seven days he poured heavy rains and made terrific noises and hurled stones etc. on him. In order to frighten Pārśvaṇātha he created lions, scorpions, terrific genii like Vetālas and others who issued fire from their mouths. But the great sage, unaffected by these obstructions (upasarga), remained steadfast in meditation. Dharaṇa, the Indra of Nāgakumāra gods, remembering the obligation of Pārśva in the previous existence, came to the rescue of the Lord and, standing behind the Jina, held a canopy of his seven snake-hoods over Pārśva’s head, in order to protect the Lord’s person from rains, stones, etc. His four queens staged dance with music before the meditating sage but the great sage was equally unmindful of this pleasure of music and dance and of the pain inflicted by Samvara (also known as Meghamālī). The villainy of the soul of Kamaṭha becoming fruitless, he repented, stopped all obstructions and bowing down before the Lord and begging his pardon, went away ashamed and repenting. It is said that Meghamālī had so much flooded the area that water level rose up to the tip of the nose of Pārśva and that Dharana Nāga protecting the body of Pārśvaṇātha and holding the hoods as a canopy over the sage’s head lifted out of water the whole body of the sage.

Both the sects agree in giving a cobra as the cognizance (dhwaja mark or lāṅchana) of Pārśva and generally represent five or seven snake-hoods over his head. The snake cognizance is shown on the pedestal and often coils of the snake’s body are shown behind the body of the Jina either standing or sitting in meditation. The snake-hoods as well as the coils suggest Dharana Nāga protecting the body of Pārśvaṇātha.

It will be remembered that Supārśvaṇātha, the seventh Tirthaṅkara, is said to have a canopy of one, three or nine snake-hoods. Hemacandra and others speak of seven snake-hoods held over the head of Pārśva; the difference in the number of hoods for Pārśva and Supārśva often helps us in identifying their images.

Amongst the earliest known images of Pārśvaṇātha are some sculptures obtained from the Kankalī Tīla, Mathura. The first is an Āyāgapata, no. 325 in the Lucknow Museum, assignable to the first
century B.C. on the evidence of the characters of the inscription on it. The Jina sits in the centre, in paryāṅkāśana on a raised seat and has five snake-hoods overhead. Just above the hoods is a chakra with two garland-like festoons hanging on two sides. On each side of the Jina is a standing figure of a naked ascetic, one of whom has his hands folded in respect while the other carries an indistinct object. In view of our foregoing remarks about snake-hoods and in view of the remarks made earlier in discussing the iconography of Supārśvanātha, the Jina in this Āyāgapaṭa is identified as Pārśvanātha. Followers of Pārśva seem to have continued even after Mahāvīra for some time, and even when they were assimilated in one or the other of the Jaina sects, Pārśva has continued to be very popular in Jaina worship.

The attendant ascetics in this Āyāgapaṭa are the gaṇadharaś of Pārśva, one of whom may be Śubha, Svayambhū or Dinna. It is noteworthy that these gaṇadharaś are represented naked and carry no piece of cloth on one hand to cover their nudity whereas in other sculptures from Kankali Tila we often meet with figures of monks carrying such a piece on one hand. For example, in the Āyāgapaṭa representing the ascetic Kanha (fig. 21) we find Kanha Samaṇa holding such a piece of cloth. In this Tablet which was the gift of Dhanasrı in Samvat 95, the upper panel shows a Stūpa with two miniature figures of Jinas on each side, the figure on the left side of the Stūpa shows seven snake-hoods overhead and therefore is to be identified as Pārśvanātha.

Figure 23 illustrates a loose sculpture of Pārśva (no. J.39 in the Lucknow Museum), from Kankali Tila, showing seven snake-hoods over the head and the coils of snake on the back of the Jina. This sculpture formerly published by Coomaraswamy belongs to the Kuśāna age. Nos. J.69 and J.77 are sculptures of this Jina, from Kankali Tila, in the Lucknow Museum. Nos. J.96, J.113 and J.114 are loose heads of Kuśāna age in the same Museum. No. B.62 Mathura Museum is another loose head of Pārśva from Kankali Tila. Marks of svastika, śrī-vatśa, dharmacakra, triratna etc. are also found on snake-hoods of this age.

A Sarvatobhadra Pratimā (quadruple image) from the same site, no. B.70, Mathura Museum shows, on one side, Pārśvanātha standing with a śrī-vatśa mark on his chest. There is no usṇīsa and the hair on the head are arranged in schematic curls. Snake-hoods over head are mutilated and only partly visible. Another such sculpture of the Kuśāna age is no. B.67 in the Mathura Museum. A third such sculpture (no. B.65) of Pratimā Sarvatobhadrikā shows the Jina Pārśvanātha in a sitting posture upon a simhāsana supported by crouching lions. The sculpture is later in age than the two Caturmukha images mentioned. There are similar quadruple images from Kankali Tila in the Lucknow Museum (e.g., nos. 230, 231 etc.). But in none of these sculptures are represented separately the attendant figures of Dharanendran and his queens. The Kalpa sūtra does not refer to the upasarga incident in the life of Pārśvanātha, so familiar to later texts and to representations in sculptures and paintings. But the association of Pārśva with snake undoubtedly dates from very early times and it is reasonable to acknowledge Pārśva’s early association with the Nāga-cult (Serpent-worship) and/or with Nāga tribe. Mathura is known from Hindu sources as a haunt of the Nāgas (compare the story of subduing the Kālīya Nāga by Kṛṣṇa, popularly known as Kālīya-damana), and statues of Dadvikṣa Nāga etc. are recovered from Mathura. Again, excavations at Sonkh nearby have revealed the existence of a Nāga shrine and a beautiful long panel with a Nāga king enthroned in the centre.

This association of Pārśva with the Nāga-cult and the fact that he lived in the eighth century B.C. should suggest a line of further investigation into the origin of his sect. It is said that the ancient city of Ahicchatrā was so called because at this place, as mentioned by Devabhadra, Dharanendran came to worship Pārśva standing in meditation and in order to protect the Lord from the heat of the tropical sun the snake-king (ahi) held his hoods as an umbrella (chakra) over the Jina engaged in meditation. Since then the place was formerly known as Śivapuri, came to be called Ahicchatra.

Pārśva hailed from Varanasi and is reported to have widely travelled in eastern parts of India and in Kalinga. Both U.P. and Magadha were known to have been inhabited by Nāga tribes and by followers of the Nāga cult from ancient times. In the Vasudevahṛidi it is said that when Bhagiratha brought the Ganges to the plains abodes of Nāgas were swept away in the forceful current of the river.

The story of Kamaṭha’s attack on Pārśva reminds one of the attack by Māra on Buddha, both
accounts are essentially similar. At the end of the attack both attain perfection, the supreme knowledge. Both themes have been popular in Indian art.\textsuperscript{804}

The Jaina cave at Aihole, Bijapur district, Karnataka, contains one of the earliest known representations of the scene of attack on Pārśvanātha (Panorama of Jaina Art, fig. 121). The relief shows Pārśva standing in meditation while Kamātha attacks him from upper left corner. Dharanendra shields Pārśva by holding his five snake-hoods over the head of the latter. His queen, represented in human form with a snake-hood above her head, stands on the right of the Jina and holds a big parasol over the lord. Behind the snake-queen is seen the head of another figure with a snake-hood above the head. The male figure sitting with folded hands on the left of the Jina represents the unsuccessful Kamātha bowing down and repenting. The sculpture dates from c. late sixth or early seventh century A.D.

But perhaps the finest known and very elaborate sculpture of this theme of Kamātha's upasarga is preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (see Frontispiece). On both the sides of the standing sage are shown hosts of ferocious beings taking part in the attack at the bidding of Kamātha. The figures are carved in classical Gupta traditions. The sculpture is reported to have come from Bihar but it is not a specimen of Pāla art as can be seen from the figure of the snake-queen holding a parasol (with a long handle) over the head of Pārśva. The sculpture is sometimes assigned to the 5th-6th cent. A.D. as in Panorama of Jaina Art, figs. 38 and 39, but the rendering of the figure of the snake-queen suggests a post-Gupta date in c. early seventh century A.D.

Most of the early reliefs of this theme from South India are simpler than the Indian Museum specimen just discussed. As in the Aihole Cave panel there is only one figure attacking with a big rock, and not the army of goblins, etc. In the Jaina cave at Badami there is a big panel representing this scene of Kamātha's attack (JAA, I, pl. 115; Panorama of Jaina Art, fig. 128) dating from late sixth or early seventh century A.D. The Nāga figure behind the snake queen shown in the Aihole relief is not found here. This big figure of Pārśva is a typical specimen of early Western Chalukyan art. There is a beautiful relief panel of this scene on a boulder at Tīrakkol, North Arcot district, Tamil Nadu, which shows the treatment of this theme in Pallava art of c. eighth century A.D. Kamātha flying in the air carrying a big rock, about to throw on Pārśva, is shown here in the upper corner to the right of the sage while the snake queen holding the umbrella stands to the left and the kneeling figure of Kamātha filled with remorse is near the right foot of Pārśva standing on a double-lotus.

In the Pandyan territory, though a similar simple treatment of the theme is seen at places at Kilakkuḍu, Ummanamalai hill, Madura district, Sannar-Koyil, Anamalai, Madura district, at Karaikoyil and at Kalugumalai, Tirunelveli district, yet one important departure from the Tīrakkol and Badami reliefs lies in the beautiful and powerfully carved head and bust of the snake demi-god Dharanendra protecting Pārśva from behind and shown above the latter's body in the beautiful rock-cut relief at Kalugumalai (see Fig. 50, and Panorama of Jaina Art, figs. 1 and 37), or at Sannar-Koyil, Kilakkuḍu etc. The Kalugumalai relief and the Sannar-Koyil reliefs date from c. eighth century A.D. The Karaikoyil relief (Panorama of Jaina Art, fig. 81) of c. 8th century A.D. however follows the tradition of Badami and Aihole reliefs and does not show the human bust and head of Dharanendra. Among the row of rock-cut Jain sculptures at the cave front at Annamalai (Madurai district) is a relief of this incident with the head and bust of Dharanendra protecting Pārśva.\textsuperscript{306} In this relief the defeated Kamātha is kneeling on all fours before Pārśvanātha. The cave temple is known as Sannar-Koyil and probably dates from the eighth century. At Ummanamalai hill (Kilakkuḍu, Madurai district) one of a few relief sculptures shows Pārśva standing with head and bust of Dharanendra behind but omits the other figures like the snake-queen, Kamātha attacking and Kamātha repenting. But the head and bust of Dharanendra suggest that the relief was intended to indicate the incident of Kamātha's upasarga. At this place there is another rock-cut relief showing the other figures also but not the head and bust of Dharanendra. At Chitharal in Kerala we have a few rock-cut reliefs, one of these is a scene showing Kamātha (reborn as Sāṃvara) hurling the rock, the snake-queen standing with the umbrella, and Kamātha praying after defeat.

The theme of Kamātha's attack became very popular among the Digambaras, especially in the South. At Ellora in the group of Jaina caves are found several big panels of this scene, usually more
elaborate and showing a host of attacking spirits of Kāmaṇṭhā’s bidding carved on three sides of the figure of Pārśvanāthā (Panorama of Jaina Art, figs. 136, 138, 142, 422; JAA, I, pl. 118A, Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art, December, 1970, p. 309, figs. 10, 11, 12). It will be seen that in all these panels in the Ellora Jaina Caves, the figure ultimately sitting near the legs of the Jina and paying him respects with añjali mudrā, identified as the soul of Kāmaṇṭhā reborn as Samvara or Meghamālā, is here accompanied by a female. We might therefore regard this as an innovation by Ellora artists and identify this female as the queen of the demi-god Samvara or Meghamālā. In one of the panels at Ellora we find two smaller figures of females with half-snake and half-human bodies, by the sides of the standing snake-king holding the parasol. They may be some of the other queens of Dharaṇendra or attendants of the snake-queen. Whereas at Aihole and Badami Pārśva has a canopy of five hoods of Dharaṇendra, at Ellora he has a canopy of seven snake-hoods overhead.

Dhaky has published two beautiful elaborate sculptures of Santara art from south Karnataka, representing the theme of attack on Pārśva. Both these stelas are in worship in the temple of Pārśvanāthā at Humca (J.I.S.O.A., new series, Vol. IV, pl. XVIII, fig. 9 and pl. XIX, fig. 13). Dhaky has assigned them to the period of Vikrama Samanta (c. 878-920 A.D.). In fig. 9 of J.I.S.O.A., op. cit., Pārśva sky-clad stands on a double-lotus upheld by two handsome nāgas in human form thus suggesting that the body of Pārśva was lifted above the flood waters which had reached up to his neck (or chithi). Behind the Jina is Dharaṇendra spreading his seven hoods over the sage’s head to form a canopy sheltering Pārśva against the attacking hosts of Kāmaṇṭhā. On the right side of Pārśva absorbed in meditation we find a charging bull, a leaping lion, a demon shooting a dart and, above, another demon menacingly balancing a huge boulder aimed at the figure of the sage. To the left of the sage Kāmaṇṭhā’s fury has sent a rushing tiger, a maddened elephant, a demon carrying a dagger in his right hand and releasing a venomous serpent with the left, and above him a Kumbhāṇḍa monster carrying a heavy mace over his shoulder. At the lower end, stand Dharaṇendra and his consort, on the right and the left respectively of the sage, the consort holding the long handle of the parasol passing behind the coils and hoods of the Nāga-king. At the base is depicted Kāmaṇṭhā, sobered after failing to shake Pārśva from meditation, remorseful at heart and bowing down asking for forgiveness; his consort on the opposite side, half-kneled, is shown raising her right hand in praise of the great sage.

The other stela, somewhat varying in detail but repeating the same theme, is the work of another craftsman. The closest analogues, iconographically speaking, of these two stelas are carved panels of the Indra-Sabhā cave at Ellora (Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum, op. cit., figs. 10, 12).

An elaborate but different treatment of the theme is found in a c. ninth century sculpture from probably Madhya Pradesha, now preserved in the Cleveland Museum of Art, U.S.A. (Museum no. 61.419, stone, 63-1/4 × 26-3/8 inches). It is a well preserved beautiful sculpture. The topmost figures, in this image, with their heads mutilated and lost, show heavenly worshippers, gandharva-pair, conch-blower, etc. In the centre is the triple umbrella below which is the canopy of seven cobra-hoods of Dharaṇendra whose long coiled body is shown behind the whole, almost life-size figure of Pārśvanāthā standing in the kāyotsarga mudrā.

On the sides of the serpent-hoods are two flying celestial garland-bearers (mālādharas) whose head-dresses are similar to and derived from the headdress found on early Gūrjara-Pratihara sculptures, both male and female figures, of which a typical specimen of c. late seventh century is seen on the bronze figure of a female chowrie-bearer (cūmarādhārīni) from Akota. Below the flying garland-bearers (accompanied by their wives) are figures of rādās standing on hind legs upon elephants, all atop a pilaster on each side.

By the side of this rādā and elephant motif and the pilaster, females in various attitudes are shown on each side playing musical instruments or singing, or holding a lotus etc. They are Nāginiṣṭhā, queens of the snake-king Dharaṇendra Nāga, who is protecting Pārśvanāthā from the attacks of Kāmaṇṭhā and his hosts of goblins etc. Near the feet of the Tīrthaṅkaras are standing two yakṣas carrying fly-whisks (cūmarādhāra yakṣas), and four more snake-queens. It is likely that all the small figures of Nāginiṣṭhā were not intended to represent queens of Dharaṇendra but were attendants of the queens.
Of about the same age as the Cleveland Museum Pārśvanātha and possibly hailing from Eastern Rajasthan is another sculpture, no. 59.202 in the National Museum, New Delhi. On both sides of the Jina are shown Nāgas and Nāgins, half-snake and half-human, dancing, playing music or carrying garlands. The top portion is less elaborate than in the Cleveland image (Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum, op. cit., fig. 16). The ornaments and drapery suggest that it may be somewhat earlier in age.

In the Rajputana Museum, Ajmere, is preserved a partly mutilated sculpture, obtained from Arthuna (now in Rajasthan, formerly in the Banswada state). It is a beautiful specimen of Gurjara-Pratihara art with minute carving of the details on the skin of the cobra's body beautifully arranged to form a full back-rest or stela behind the Jina's figure. Dharaṇendra stands on the right while his chief queen stands on the left of Pārśva, with folded hands (Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum, op. cit., fig. 15). They are recognised by the presence of a cobra-head over their crowns. Below, on the pedestal are more queens of Dharaṇendra, all shown with half-human and half-snake bodies.

The possibility of obtaining more examples of this theme from Digambara sites in Northern India cannot be ruled out. In fact a badly mutilated sculpture of this scene, dating from c. ninth century, preserved in the beautiful Mālādevī temple at Gyaraspur, in Madhya Pradesh, was discovered by Klaus Bruhn who kindly gave me its photograph which I have published in the Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum, op. cit., p. 310, fig. 14). It is however significant to note that scenes of attack on Pārśvanātha or on Mahāvīra are hard to obtain in Śvetāmbara sites. It is true that a ceiling of one of the shrines at Kumbhārjā, north Gujarāt, giving incidents from the life of Mahāvīra shows different scenes of upasargas of Mahāvīra. It is also true that in the ceilings of the Śāntinātha and Mahāvīra temples at Kumbharā it we find sculptured narration of scenes from previous births of Pārśva and Kamātha and scenes from his life as Pārśva including attacks by Kamātha's soul when Pārśva was meditating. Tiwari has noted a few scenes from Pārśva's life on the wall of the eastern Devakulikā of the shrine of Mahāvīra at Osiā.

In the ceiling in front of Devakulikā no. 16 at Līna-vasahi, Mt. Abu, is carved the story of the origin of Hastikalikūdu-tirtha and the city of Ahicchatrā, connected with the life of Pārśva.110 It is also true that in the miniature paintings of the Kalpa-stātra we have scenes of attack on Pārśva but not a single loose relief sculpture like the ones described above is as yet found from Śvetāmbara shrines. It seems that the Śvetāmbaras tried to avoid carving such sculptures because in them they would be required to depict the figures of Pārśva or Mahāvīra as nude since they were practising rigorous austerities and observing total aparigraha as sādhus following the Jina kalpa.

Buddha is also associated with a snake—the Mucalinda Nāga who protected him during a storm. Images of Buddha with cobra-hoods over the head, as in the case of Pārśvanātha, are known from sites like Nagarjunikonda, Amaravati etc. Thus we have parallels in Buddhist art and traditions. In Hinduism, the snake Kāliya was subdued by Kṛṣṇa. But when Kṛṣṇa was born and was being immediately transferred by his father from prison to Gokul across the river Yamuna, the serpent Śeṣa is said to have acted as a canopy over the child Kṛṣṇa being carried in a basket and protected him from rains pouring at that time. Śiva is also associated with snakes. Viṣṇu rests on the coils of the great Śeṣa Naga whose thousand heads are held as a canopy over the Lord.

During the Vedic period, we have the famous Indra-Vṛtra fight. Vṛtra, conceived as a snake, is malevolent, like Kāliya of the Yamuna river, and not benevolent like Dharaṇendra or Mucalinda. There is an ever existing contest between forces of light and darkness, between good and evil, between gods and demons, between forces of life and death. Kṛṣṇa, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Indra, Buddha and Pārśvanātha represent forces of life and light, of good and immortality, while Vṛtra, Kāliya, Māra, Kamātha and others represent forces of evil, darkness and death.

Nāga with his thousand snake-heads represents mind with its innumerable evil instincts, attitudes, feelings, tempers, and thoughts. When subdued, reformed and sublimated the same mind is transformed from a malevolent to a benevolent force. Mythology of Buddha or Pārśvanātha or of Śeṣaśāyi-Viṣṇu, Śiva and baby Kṛṣṇa carried across the river Yamuna, represents an advancement upon the earlier Vedic conception of the Indra-Vṛtra contest. In later conceptions it is recognized that the mind which is a bondage and an obstacle can be transformed into a protector, friend or benefactor. So says the Gita:
mana eva manusvānām kāraṇam bandha-mokṣayoh (the same mind is the root-cause of bondage as well as emancipation).

There are some sculptures of Pārśvanātha which do not show Kamatha's hordes attacking the sage but which show the queen of Dharaṇendra standing on one side of the sage and holding an umbrella with a long handle as in the relief panels from Ellora etc. Of this type is a sculpture of Pārśva standing, obtained from Buirgh, Managedre district, M.P., age c. 10th century A.D., now in the Bhanpura Museum, no. 42 (American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi, photo no. 234.3). Of course Dharaṇendra with his coils at the back and the cobra-hoods over the head of the Jina figures in all such sculptures. In the Mathura Museum there is a sculpture (no. 1505) from Kosi Kalan showing Pārśva sitting in the padmāsana on a lion-throne with a canopy of seven cobra-hoods overhead and a male standing cāmaradhara on the right side. On the left of the Jina stands the Nāga queen in graceful tribhanga, holding the umbrella. The sculpture dates from c. late seventh century. Of about the same age, perhaps somewhat earlier, is a beautiful sculpture of this Jina in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, obtained from Gyaraspur, M.P. Here also the Jina sits in padmāsana on a lion-throne and has a canopy of seven cobra-heads. A male cāmaradhara stands on each side. Behind the chowrie-bearer on the left stands snake-queen holding the umbrella with a long handle. These sculptures may be regarded as suggestive of the scene of Kamatha's attack.

Lucknow Museum no. G.310 shows Pārśva sitting in the padmāsana and having a canopy of seven snake-hoods above which is seen one umbrella and still above the usual triple umbrella. Usually the umbrella held by the snake queen is shown above the triple umbrella as in the Gyaraspur image just discussed. In this sculpture, a human figure of a Nāga with three snake-oods overhead stands on the right of the Jina waving a chowrie with his raised left hand, while to the left of the Jina stands the snake-queen with three snake-oods overhead and holding the umbrella with her raised right hand.

In the last cave at Ellora is a small relief panel sunk into the wall. Pārśva stands in meditation on a lotus. Dharaṇendra’s coils are shown behind the Jina’s body. There is a canopy of seven snake-oods above which is the umbrella with a long handle held by the snake-ood standing on the right of the sage. To the left of Pārśva stands a figure of a tāpasa in aṅjali mudra and carrying a water-vessel with his right hand. This could be Kamatha humbled and repenting.

Klaus Bruhn, besides discussing Pārśva images at Devgadh in his book, The Jina Images of Deogarh, contributed a paper entitled Further Observations on the Iconography of Pārśvanātha, and discussed unusual images, one from a temple in Golakot and two images from Devgadh. In all the three sculptures there is a figure of a Rṣi standing on the right of Pārśva standing in meditation. The standing Rṣi carries a water-vessel in his left hand and the right hand raised in the ahubaya mudrā carries an aṅkṣamālā (rosary of beads). Of the two Devgadh figures, one is in a panel on the door-frame of temple no. 18 while the other, a loose piece, is badly mutilated and both the hand-attributes of the standing Rṣi have disappeared. In view of the Ellora figure discussed above we might identify this Rṣi-like figure as that of Kamatha tāpasa.

No. 2502 in the Madras Museum is a well preserved sculpture of Pārśva sitting in the ardhapadmāsana under a canopy of seven snake-oods crowned by a triple umbrella. On each side behind the Jina stands a towering male figure with both hands folded and having a big cobra-ood above the crown on his head. Obviously these are supposed to be attendant figures of Nāgas. We have already seen that some Jain texts do refer to Nāga figures attending upon the Jina image. The Jina image may be of any Tīrthaṅkara. So this sculpture need not be regarded as referring to the Kamatha-upasarga.

We have referred to some old images of Pārśva from Kankali Tila, Mathura, which date from the early centuries of the Christian era, the Kusāna period. Of perhaps first century B.C., or early first century A.D. is a partly corroded and mutilated bronze of Pārśva standing with a canopy of seven snake-oods, obtained in the Chausa hoard, now preserved in the Patna Museum (Arch. no. 6331), illustrated in figure 8. A metal image of Pārśvanātha standing in the kāyotsarga posture, preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, illustrated in figure 3, dates from c. first or second century B.C. as we have argued elsewhere. There is one more bronze of Pārśvanātha standing in kāyotsarga mudrā, in the Chausa hoard.
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preserved in the Patna Museum (Arch. no. 6533). The Jina stands on a rectangular pedestal. All along his back are a serpent’s coil with the cobra-hoods broken and lost. All the standing Jaina bronzes in this hoard are Digambara, i.e., they show no garment on the person of the Jina. These standing figures are mostly of the Kuśāna age.

Pramod Chandra published a stone sculpture of standing Pārśva from Patna, now in Shri Kanodia’s collection. The image shows snake’s coils all over the back of the Jina. The sculpture dates from c. fourth century A.D.314 At Sira Pahari near Nachna Kuthara, Madhya Pradesh, is a standing Pārśva image assignable to c. fourth century A.D. There is an almost circular canopy of seven hoods behind the head of the Jina. Over the hoods is a single umbrella. Thick coils of the snake, carefully arranged one above the other on the back of the Jina, leave no intervening space and form as it were an artistic stela behind the figure of the Jina (JAA, Vol. 1, pp. 129-130, pl. 64).

Pārśva images show what Klaus Bruhn calls “hood-circle” in a conventional manner or unconventional manner. The snake coils behind the body of the Jina are indicated either in a cursory manner or they are missing altogether (see Bruhn’s The Jina Images of Deogarh, fig. 225) or in an unconventional manner as in Bruhn’s Deogarh, figs. 338, 339. The Rajgir image (see Bruhn’s fig. 341) seems to show two snakes. But the two smaller snakes near the shoulders of the Jina in Bruhn’s fig. 338 (drawing of a Vasantagadh image of Pārśvanātha) are actually two queens of Dharana or Dharana and his queen in aśālī mudrā. Bruhn’s figure 260 shows a standing Pārśva flanked by two theriomorphous Nāgas. Here Pārśva has no canopy of snake-hoods nor coils behind his body. This is a very rare type of Pārśvanātha image (Bruhn’s p. 198).

An image of standing Pārśvanātha, no. 1.100 in Lucknow Museum, is assignable to c. 4th-5th cent. A.D. On the right of the Jina is a male figure and on the left a female with a snake-hood overhead (a Nāginī) holding an umbrella with both the hands. In the Puṣukkoṭṭai Museum, Tamil Nadu, is a bronze image of standing Pārśva with five snake-hoods overhead and coils of the snake on the back. With thin, slender limbs and typical nígrodh face, the style of this bronze obtains comparisons with the style of Nīlgiyī terracottas in the British Museum and to some extent with the archaic style of face (and limbs) of the Mohen-Jo Daro and Chhāhnu-Daro dancer figurines and the bronze figure of Chalcolithic period from Adicchanallur. We have assigned this bronze to a period around third or fourth century A.D. 315

In the Tulasi Samgrahālaya, Ramvan, Satna, M.P., is a sculpture of Pārśva sitting in dhyāna mudrā on snake coils. Two dhyāna bearers attend on him. The image is assigned to c. 5th-6th cent. A.D. 316

Of about 600-625 A.D., we have from Akota (Gujarat) an important bronze image of Pārśva gifted by a śrávikā of the Nīvṛti kula according to an inspiration on the partly mutilated pedestal. Pārśva stands on a lotus pedestal in kāyotsarga pose (Akota Bronzes, pls. 17a, 17b). The arrangement of the dhothi folds is analogous to that on the Jina installed by Jinabhadrā obtained in the Akota hoard (ibid., pl. 12b), assigned to c. 550-600 A.D. Both are modelled in the same style though the head of the latter is more beautiful. Dharanendrala, the snake-king who protected Pārśva from the attack of Kamaṭha, is shown with a beautiful coiled body and seven snake-hoods held like a chatra over the Jina. The two Nāga figures on top of the pedestal also represent Dharanendrala and his chief queen, both wearing ekāvalis. They have half-human and half-snake bodies and their tails are entwined into a fine knot (nāga-pāśa) in the centre. Dharanendrala on the right has one snake-hood overhead and holds an indistinct object in each hand, the right hand extended a little was perhaps meant to show the abhaya mudrā. Dharanendrala’s queen on the left of the pedestal also shows the abhaya mudrā with her right hand and holds a lotus-like object in her left hand. In front of the pedestal are small standing figures of the (eight) planets excluding Ketu. On a lower level in the centre and on a full-blown inverted lotus motif is the dharmacakra flanked by a deer on each side.

A type of Tri-Tīrthika image of Pārśvanātha became very popular probably from the seventh century in Gujarāt and Rajasthan. A beautiful Tri-Tīrthika brass or bronze image of Pārśvanātha, gifted by the arjikā Khambhili in c. middle of seventh century A.D., is obtained in the Akota hoard (Akota Bronzes, pls. 22, 23a, 23b). The image is almost completely preserved except for the seven partly mutilated hoods of the snake-canopy and the haloes of the two Tīrthaṅkaras standing on the sides of Pārśva seated in
padmāsana in the centre. Silver is inlaid in the eyes, on the cushion and in the drapery hanging on the simhāsana. The simhāsana of Pārśva is placed on a broad pedestal. In the centre is the dharmacakra with two deer. From the sides spring two lotuses with long stalks on which stand two Tirthaṅkaras—Rṣabhanātha on the right and Mahāvīra (?) on the left. On top of the big pedestal, on its right end, sits a two-armed figure of yakṣa Sarvānuḥbūti showing a citron in his right hand and the nakulikā (money-bag) in his left. On the corresponding left side sits a figure of two-armed yakṣī Ambikā carrying an āmra-lumbi (mango-bunch) in her right hand and holding the child on her lap with the left hand. Both the yakṣa and the yakṣī sit on full-blown lotuses springing from the sides of the pedestal. In the centre of the simhāsana is the dharmacakra flanked by two deer. On a lower level, on top of the pedestal are heads of the eight planets. Introduction of planets, either on pedestals as in Western India or on two sides of the Jina-figure as in Eastern India, is seen from c. seventh century a.d. and may have started a little earlier in the latter half of the sixth century after Varāhamihira’s works on astronomy and astrology became popular. The treatment of the knot of tails of Dharana and his queen is also a favourite motif of Western Indian artists. For another Tri-Tirthika metal image of Pārśva from Akota and assignable to about the same age, see Akota Bronzes, fig. 25. Fig. 26a from the same book is a single image of Pārśva with snake-coils on his back and the canopy of hoods broken, inscribed and gifted by Sagabhārjikā in c. 625 a.d. In this image as well as in Akota Bronzes, figs. 30b, 31a, 32c, 46a, the attendant yakṣa and yakṣī are Sarvānuḥbūti and Ambikā, each two-armed and carrying the same symbols. These images are Eka-Tirthika images of Pārśvanātha sitting in padmāsana and date from the seventh and eighth centuries a.d. Akota Bronzes, fig 34 is an image of Pārśva standing with Dharana and his queen, half-human, half-snake, each in ajjali mudrā, shown at ends on top of the pedestal with their tails tied in a typical nāga pāśa in the centre.

More elaborate and ornamental Tri-Tirthika metal sculptures however are found in the Vasantagadh hoard (Lalit Kala, nos. 1-2. pp. 55ff, pl. XIII, fig. 12; Akota Bronzes, fig. 49, Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, figs. 11-12 of Paper 26). One of these is dated in Samvat 726 and another in Samvat 756 (=699 A.D.). These brass or bronze images also are silver studded as in the Akota bronze mentioned. Besides the figures seen in Akota Bronzes, pl. 25 mentioned above, a standing four-armed Vidyādevī is added on each end behind the yakṣa and yakṣī figures. A similar very elaborate and well preserved Tri-Tirthika metal sculpture of Pārśva is also found in the Akota hoard (Akota Bronzes, pl. 54, 55). Inscription on the back shows that it was installed by one Regata. Paleographically the inscription can be assigned to c. 890-920 a.d. Beautiful small figures of a male and a female donor are also added on the pedestal. A very beautiful Tri-Tirthika metal image of Pārśva, showing similar composition, formerly in Kadi (Gujarat), has now reached the Los Angeles Museum, U.S.A. (Akota Bronzes, fig. 56b). It was installed in Bhrgutṛtha (modern Bharuch, Gujarat) in Śaka year 910 (a.d. 988) by Pārśvīlā gaṇī. (For a few more Tri-Tirthika bronzes from Akota, see Akota Bronzes, figs. 56b, 57b, 60.) Figure 87, illustrated in this book, is a beautiful Śaṭ-Tirthika bronze of Pārśva with an artistic torana in front, dated in v.s. 1088 (a.d. 1031).317 Fig. 68, Akota Bronzes, is an Ashta-Tirthika image of Pārśva with seven miniature Jinas installed in niches on the torana.

Pārśvanātha has been popular in Western India, in fact in the whole of India. At Chārāṇa in North Gujarat there is an early stone sculpture of Pārśva installed in c. eighth century a.d. In Patan, North Gujarat, is the famous temple of Paṁḍāśari Pārśvanātha, the image was formerly worshipped in Paṁḍāśari, the capital of Cāpokta rulers of Gujarat. The temple of Pārśvanātha at Śāṅkhēśvara, North Gujarat, is very popular amongst devout Jainas of Gujarāt. At Bhilādīyā in the Banaskantha district, North Gujarat, is a popular Tirtha of this Jina. Temples and images of Cintāmaṇi-Pārśvanātha are at many places in Gujarāt.

At Dhand, Saurashtra, Gujarāt, is a rock-cut figure of Pārśva standing without any garment on his person (Digambara tradition) and attended by smaller figures of Sarvānuḥbūti and Ambikā (both two-armed) by his sides. The relief dates from c. seventh century a.d.316 In Rajasthan, about 40 miles from Rṣabhadeva (Kesariyā) tirtha, near Vīchhūvāda on a hill is a shrine of Nāgaphāna-Pārśvanātha. The image in worship is a two-armed Nāgarāja sitting in the lalitasana and having a canopy of seven snake-
hoods. On his head is a miniature figure which seems to be of a Jina in padmāsana. If this miniature figure is of a Jina (and not of Buddha) then the Nāgarāja can be identified as a figure of Dharanendra as the Jainas have done. The sculpture seems to date from c. sixth century A.D. Further exploration on the hill is necessary as this seems to be a promising early Jaina site of about the sixth century A.D.319

Between Kuśalagadh and Kāliṅjara, in the Banswada district, Rajasthan, is a Jaina shrine of Andeśvara-Pārśvanātha on a small hill. Pārśvanātha is so called because of the place-name of Andeśvara. The sculpture dates from c. 12th-13th cent. A.D.320 Between Zalavad Road station and the Zalrapatan town, Rajasthan, is a place known as Nasiyān which has a shrine of Pārśvanātha. The inscription on the sculpture shows that it was installed in Samvat 1226 (1169-70 A.D.). This is a Covāsi sculpture of Pārśvanātha sitting in the padmāsana. On two ends of the lion-throne are figures of Dharanendra and Padmāvati, the yakṣa and yakṣīṅī of Pārśva.321

In the Bhilvada district, Rajasthan, near a place called Paraulī, is a shrine of Cambalesvara-Pārśvanātha. It is said that the temple was formerly known as Čalēsva-Pārśvanātha. Situated on a small hill and with beautiful natural surroundings of Aravalli hills around it, the temple belongs to the Digambara sect. The sculpture in the sanctum was installed in Samvat 1007, i.e. a.d. 956.322 In the gūdhamaṇḍapa of Mahāvira shrine, Ośia, are two figures of Pārśva seated on coils of the snake. On the wall of Devakulikā no. 1, of this shrine, is a figure of seated Pārśva, of about eleven centuries a.d., accompanied by Sarvānuḥbūti and Ambikā. Tiwari has noted that in the balānaka of Mahāvira shrine, Ośia, is a sculpture of Pārśva seated in padmāsana and dated in the Samvat year equivalent to 1031 A.D. On two ends of the pedestal are two-armed yakṣa and yakṣī each with snake-hoods overhead. In the Rajputana Museum, Ajmere, is an interesting sculpture of this Jina with four more miniature Jinan figures each with three snake-hoods overhead. On side of the central image of Pārśva is a cāmarāchāra with three snake-hoods overhead. On the pedestal are figures of two-armed Sarvānuḥbūti and Ambikā. The sculpture is assignable to c. 10th-11th cent. and hails from Bharatpur.323

In Jaisalmer, Rajasthan, there is a temple of Pārśvanātha consecrated in A.D. 1416.324 The image is said to have been brought from Lodrāvā village near Jaisalmer. At Lodurva (same as Lodrāvā) itself there was a gorgeous temple of Pārśvanātha which was destroyed during the upsurge of Ghori in A.D. 1152. A new temple was built for this Jina in A.D. 1615.325

A big stone plaque of Sahasrāpanā-Pārśvanātha with intertwined coils all around the standing figure of Pārśva, installed in the famous Dharana-vihāra temple at Ranakpur, Rajasthan, was published by U.P. Shah in J.I.S.O.A. (old series), Vol. VI (Studies in Jaina Art, fig. 79).

In cell 23 of Pārśvanātha temple, Kumbharia, is an image of Pārśva dated in 1179 A.D. A twelfth century sculpture of this Jina in standing posture is preserved in the gūdhamaṇḍapa of this shrine. Here Sarvānuḥbūti and Ambikā figure as sāsana-devatās but they have been given snake-hoods overhead. In the gūdhamaṇḍapa of Nemināth temple, Kumbharia, there is a standing Pārśvanātha dated in 1157 A.D. and accompanied by Sarvānuḥbūti and Ambikā on the ends of the simhamāna. In the parikara are some four-armed figures including Vidyādevīs like Aparicākra, Vajraśṛṅghalā, Sarvāstra-Mahājñālā, Rohinī and Vairotyā. This practice of carving miniature figures of Vidyādevīs on two sides of the Jina in small niches of the pillars supporting a torana or a simple semi-circular arch seems to have been popular in Western India during eleventh and twelfth centuries as can be seen from various specimens at Kumbharia and Abu. In the Śaj-tirthikha bronze of Pārśva, dated in v.s. 1008, from Vasantagadh (Akota Bronzes, fig. 63a), the two-armed standing females also seem to be Vairotyā and other Vidyādevīs. We also find Aparicākra, Rohinī, Vajraśṛṅghalā, Vairotyā, etc. on a sculpture of standing Ajitanātha, dated in v.s. 1176 (a.d. 1126), in worship in the Pārśvanātha temple, Kumbharia.326 Similar miniature figures are also found on door-frames of cells in these temples.327

In the Devakulikā no. 4, Vimala Yasahi, Abu, is a sculpture of Pārśva dated 1188 A.D. and accompanied by Pārśva yakṣa and Padmāvati yakṣī. In cells 25 and 53 of the same shrine there are images of Pārśvanātha. An image of this Jina was installed in cell I in Samvat 1389, the image is lost but the parikara and throne etc. with inscription remain (Jayantavijaya, Arbudaśala-Pračīna-Jaina-Lekhasamodha, inscr. no. 25). Similarly, we find that images of Pārśva were installed in cells 11, 39, 44, and 54 in
Samvat 1245, s. 1319, s. 1245, and s. 1222 respectively (ibid., inscriptions nos. 55, 135, 147, 171 respectively). It is not necessary to list here a large number of stone and metal images of this Jina from various temples in different States of India. No complete survey of all images of all the different Jinas in each and every Jaina temple of India is made. It is therefore not advisable every time to draw final conclusions regarding beginning and/or popularity etc. of images of each and every Jina in the different States of India. However from a study of different sites and museums and a few temples in each State it seems that Ṛṣabha, Nemi, Pārśva, Mahāvīra and to a lesser extent Śāntināthā were more popular in Jaina worship. This is supported by two famous verses in the Rūpamāndana:

Jinasāya mūrttayo = anantāb pūjitāh sarvasaukhyadāh/
Catastro = atisyayiryuktāstasm pūjā viśesataḥ/ 25
Śrī-Ādinātho Nemiṣa Pārśvo Vīraścaturdhakāh/
Cakreśvari-Ambikā Padmāvatī Siddhayiketi ca/ 26

Rūpamāndana, adh. VI, vv. 25-26, p. 45

In the National museum at Kota, Rajasthan are four sculptures of Pārśva assignable to c. 9th-10th cent. A.D., obtained from Ramgadh and Ataru. Similarly there are seven images of mediaeval period in the museum at Bikaner. Bronzes from Lilwādevā, North Gujarat, preserved in the Baroda Museum, include three beautiful bronzes of Pārśva—one datable in the 11th cent., another assignable to c. end of 8th century and a third elaborate Tri-Tirthika dated in v.s. 1093 gifted by one Māika of Siddhasena-Divākara-gaccha in the Nāgendra kula. 328

The National Museum, New Delhi has a few interesting bronzes of Pārśvanāthā. No. 68.89 in this museum is a c. 8th century bronze of Pārśva in padmāsana with Sarvānuhbūti and Ambikā as śāsanadevatās. Dharanendra and his queen, each with a snake-hood overhead with half-human and half-snake body, spring from the coils on the back of the Jina and have both the arms folded in anjali mudrā. 329 No. 64.357, No. 64.355 and No. 63.37 are Tri-Tirthika bronzes of Pārśva from Western India; the first is assignable to late 11th cent. A.D., the second is dated in Samvat 1112, and the third in Samvat 1126. No. 63.1081 is a single image dated in s. 1180. 330 We have already referred to the elaborate stone sculpture from Rajasthán, in the National Museum (no. 39.202), showing Pārśva standing with a background of snake-coils and having in the parikara small figures of snakes playing on viṇā and veṣu.

From Astal Bohr, Rohtak, was discovered a fine sculpture of Pārśva standing with a canopy of seven cobra-hoods. The sculpture dates from c. 8th-9th cent. A.D. 331 Two cāmaradhara stand near the legs of the Jina. In front of these two are two smaller standing females, one carrying a lotus and the other holding a sword. In front of these females are smaller seated figures of two-armed Sarvānuhbūti and Ambikā. In another sculpture from the same spot, Pārśva sits in padmāsana on a lion throne. There are two standing attendant cāmaradhara, flying garland bearers, triple umbrella etc. The Jina has a canopy of seven snake-hoods. A cloth hanging on the pedestal shows, in the centre, small half-snake and half-human figures of Dharana and his queen sitting in anjali mudrā. On two ends of the throne are two-armed figures of Sarvānuhbūti and Ambikā.

In the Lucknow Museum there are several images of Pārśvanāthā. Of these nos. J.846, J.859, J.882, G.223, G.310, no. 48.182, no. 40.121 are assignable to a period ranging from eighth to tenth cent. A.D. No. J.794 from Vatēśvara, Agra district, represents Pārśva in kāyotsarga pose and is assignable to c. 11th cent. A.D. Yakṣī Padmāvatī figures on the lion-throne and has five snake-hoods. Dharanendra yakṣa with five snake-hoods figures on one end of the simhāsana. No. G.223 dated in 1196 A.D. shows Pārśva with hair-locks on shoulders and standing in the kāyotsarga mudrā. The snake cognizance is shown on the pedestal.

There are several images of Pārśva at Devgadh. In most of them he is shown in a standing posture. Sometimes he is attended by Dharana’s queen holding the umbrella and a cāmaradhara with snake-hoods overhead. In Pārśva images from temples 6 and 9, Devgadh, the Jina shows hair-locks on shoulders. We have already noted before some sculptures of Pārśvanāthā from Devgadh discussed by
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Klaus Bruhn. There are also some images of Pārśva in Devgadh temples 3, 4, 8, 9, and 12.

Image no. 2874 from Kagral in Mathura Museum shows Pārśva with figures of the usual two-armed yakṣa and yakṣī on the pedestal. This is a sculpture of Pārśva sitting in padmāsana on coils of the snake Dharaṇendrā holding a canopy of cobra-hoods from the back. On the ends of the pedestal are figures of two-armed Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā.

In the State Museum, Bhanpur, M.P., there is a sculpture (Mu. no. 36) of Pārśvanātha assignable to c. 10th cent. A.D. obtained from Buj Gund, Mandsore district. Surface of the pedestal and parts of attendants are mutilated but it is a beautiful sculpture with artistic representation of the canopy of snake-hoods over Pārśva's head. In the same museum there is another sculpture (Mu. no. 290) of this Jina from Hinglajgadh, assignable to c. 9th century A.D. Beautiful coils of snake are shown at the back. Cāmara- dhāras standing on lotuses on two sides of the Jina are mutilated but beyond them on lotuses sit lay Jaina worshippers. Near the right end of the simhāsana is a two-armed yakṣa showing a purse in one hand and having three snake-hoods overhead. On the corresponding left end is a four-armed yakṣī with three snake-hoods, carrying a lotus in the right upper hand and showing the abhaya mudrā with the right lower one. Symbols of the two left hands are mutilated.

An early interesting sculpture of Pārśvanātha with seven snake-hoods is found at Tumain, district Guna, M.P. Pārśvanātha sits in padmāsana on a simhāsana and is attended on each side, not by a cāmara- dharā or a Nāga, but by an elephant carrying, in its raised trunk, a lotus-bud with a long stalk. The upper parts of this sculpture are badly mutilated; however, on the left upper end is seen a figure of an elephant. Perhaps there was an elephant on the other side and both the elephants were performing an abhiṣeka on the Jina. The sculpture is assignable to the seventh century A.D.

The Jainah cave at Udayagirī near Vidisha has on its wall a relief sculpture of Pārśvanātha sitting in padmāsana on a simhāsana, with an attendant standing on each side of the Jina. The sculpture is badly worn out and mutilated. An inscription in this cave records its excavation in Gupta Era 106 (reign of Kumāragupta I) along with a figure of Pārśvanātha. At Kahaon in U.P. is a free-standing pillar, a mānastambha, with an inscription dated in G.E. 141, and having a standing figure of Pārśvanātha at base and four Jina figures on top.332

A beautiful sculpture of Pārśva standing is preserved amongst the ruins at Budhi Chanderi (Old Gwalior State negative no. 51/81). On two ends near the simhāsana are small figures of two-armed Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā. The sculpture is assignable to c. 9th century A.D. A Tri-Tirthika sculpture of standing Pārśva, obtained from Bhajpur, Raisen district, and assignable to 10th-11th cent. A.D. is preserved in the Vidisha Museum (no. 349/1287). On the pedestal is the snake cognizance and coils of snake are along the back of the Jina. Near the feet are two devout worshippers who may be the donors of the image. A beautiful Pañca-Tirthi of Pārśva standing, with cāmara- dharās on two sides of the mutilated legs of the Jina, is preserved in the State Museum (no. G.D.P. 81) at Gandharvapuri, Dewas district, M.P. It was obtained from the same place, and dates from c. 11th cent. A.D. A sculpture of Pārśvanātha sitting in padmāsana on a cushion placed on a simhāsana is found at Padhāvali (old Gwalior State negative no. 784). The front rim of the cushion-like device shows a twisted design which may be of the snake's body. On two sides of the Jina are standing attendants, the one on the left side is badly mutilated. The attendants are Nāga figures with snake-hoods overhead. The figure on the right side, better preserved, shows in his raised left hand an object which is a lotus or a kumbha. All the four small figures of standing Jinas in this sculpture show snake-hoods overhead and thus this is a rare example of Pañca-Tirthi of Pārśvanātha with all the five Jina figures representing the same Jina, namely, Pārśvanātha. On the cloth hanging on the centre of the simhāsana is a miniature figure of a gāṇadhara or an ācārya sitting. Such a practice was very popular in mediaeval period in M.P. as can be seen from various sculptures obtained from Shivpuri, Hinglajgadh, etc.

A Caturvīra-Pattā sculpture of Pārśva sitting in padmāsana on a simhāsana (old Gwalior State negative no. 61/93) preserved in the Archaeological Museum, Gwalior, has on its pedestal a four-armed yakṣī on the right end and a figure of Ambikā yakṣī (two-armed) on the left end. In front of the cloth hanging on the centre of the simhāsana is a small figure of Kṣetrapāla, two-armed and standing and
holding a stick-like object in the right hand and a dog with a chain with the left hand. The sculpture
dates from c. 12th century A.D.

A Covist sculpture of Pārvanātha standing, preserved in the Jhansi Museum, shows, on the right end
of the pedestal, a small figure of two-armed Śarvāṇubhāti and on the left end a two-armed Ambika. The
sculpture dates from c. 11th cent. A.D. There is a partly mutilated but finely carved sculpture of Pārśva
in kāyotsarga mudrā, a Caturvinsāti-Paṭīla, from Narwar, in the Shivrūti Museum, M.P. (no. 15), with
a small figure of a ganadhara in the centre of the simhāsana. The sculpture dates from c. 12th-13th
cent. A.D.

A sculpture of Pārśvanātha, with full parikara and figures of eight planets in a row on top of the
simhāsana and below the cushion on which the Jina sits in padmāsana, hail from Jabalpur district and is
preserved in the Rani Durgavati Museum, Jabalpur, M.P. The sculpture dates from c. 11th cent. A.D.
On the right end of the pedestal is a four-armed Dharaṇendra yakṣa with a snake-hood over head. His
left hands show the snake (?) and the water-pot. The right hands are mutilated. On the corresponding
left end of the pedestal is sitting the four-armed yakṣi Padmāvatī with three snake-hoods over the crown.
Her right upper hand holds an indistinct object, the right lower hand is in the abhaya mudrā. Symbols of
the two left hands are mutilated. On the cloth hanging on the centre of the pedestal is the snake
cognizance of this Jina.

In the Jardine Museum, Khajuraho, is a sculpture (no. 1668) of Pārśva sitting with six more Jina
figures. There are about ten sculptures of Pārśva at Khajuraho. Five of them show Pārśva sitting on
coils of the snake. In temples 28 and 5, Khajuraho, are two sculptures of Pārśva in a standing posture.
On two sides of the Jina are attendant cāmaradhara female figures with three snake-hoods above each
of them. In the Jardine Museum image noted above there is a cāmaradhara Nāga on one side and a Nāga
holding an umbrella over the Jina from the other side. No. K.68 in the Khajuraho Museum has four-
armed Dharaṇendra and Padmāvatī as the yakṣa and yakṣi and has 20 other Jina figures in the parikara.
An image of Pārśva in temple 5 is more elaborate and shows on two sides of the sitting Jina two cāmar-
adhara yakṣas and two more figures of cāmaradhara yakṣa and yakṣi near the latter, each having seven
snake-hoods. Śāntidevi figures in the centre of the pedestal. According to Tiwari, No. K.9 in the
Khajuraho Museum is a sculpture of Pārśva with 46 other miniature Jina figures in the parikara and
figures of 4 planets on the pedestal.

In the Pañcamaṭha temple, Singpur, Shah dol district, M.P., is a stone sculpture of standing Pārśva
with two cāmaradhara near the legs and a canopy of snake-hoods overhead, surmounted by triple-
umbrella etc. Coils of the snake are shown at the back of the whole body. The snake cognizance is
shown on the pedestal. No yakṣa and yakṣi are carved. The sculpture dates from c. middle tenth
century A.D. An Eka-Tirthti sculpture of Pārśva standing is preserved at the Collector's bungalow,
Shah dol, M.P. The sculpture dates from c. 10th-11th cent. A.D. Here the tail end of Dharaṇendra's
coils is shown on the pedestal to represent the snake cognizance of Pārśvanātha.

At Rajgir in Bihar are some interesting sculptures of Pārśvanātha. A ninth century sculpture of this
Jina on Udayagiri, Rajgir, shows the Jina sitting in padmāsana on a viśva-padma with typically arranged
coils of the snake on his two sides and below the viśva-padma with a central nāgarpaśa knot. A beautiful
almost circular canopy of finely carved cobra-hoods rises from the back. No other member of the
parikara is shown. Indian Museum, Arch. Section, Neg. no. 680 shows a photograph of an architec-
tural piece from Rajgir. The Jina sits in padmāsana in a niche with an ornamental caitya-arch above,
assignable to c. sixth century A.D. Over the arch, in a row, are small figures of three Jinas sitting in
padmāsana. The Jina figure in the niche has five snake-hoods overhead and below his seat is a drharma-
cakra flanked by a conch on each side. The Jina in the niche can be identified as Pārśvanātha whereas
the conch cognizance flanking the dharmacakra is not prescribed for Pārśva images in any Jaina tradition,
the conch is unanimously regarded as the lāñchana of Neminātha. This sculpture therefore demonstrates
that the cognizances were not yet finally settled up to the sixth century or that this is a case of mistake of
the sculptor. Since there is one more such case at Rajgir we have to prefer the first alternative. There
is a sculpture of Pārśva sitting in padmāsana, preserved in the old Jaina temple at Rajgir, illustrated as
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Fig. 24 in this book. Part of the pedestal is mutilated but we find an elephant just to the left of the place where the dharmacakra was but is now mutilated. Thus here also the cognizance of Pārśva is not seen but instead an elephant is flanking the dharmacakra. There are four planets on each side of the Jina. In eastern India the planets are shown on two sides of the Jina, in central and western India they are generally placed on top or bottom of the pedestal. In temple no. 7 at Vaibhāgarī, Rājgir, there is one more sculpture of Pārśva of a somewhat later date. The Jina sits under a canopy of seven snake-hoods on a simhāsana. There is no dharmacakra and no cognizance. On the right end of the pedestal is a female with folded hands and three snake-hoods overhead. On the left end is a male worshipper carrying a garland.336

Large Jaina ruins exist in the village Chatra (Charra) near Purulia in the Manbhum district. Built into the walls of a late Hindu temple are Jaina sculptures of c. 10th-11th centuries, including images of Parents of a Jina, Sāntinātha, and monumental figures of Pārvanātha and Ṛśabhanātha.336 Pārvanātha village, Ambikanagar, Kedua, Bārkola, Harmashra and Dharapat in Bankura district, West Bengal have several Jaina ruins of temples and sculptures. The village of Pārvanātha, northwards after crossing the confluence of Kumari and Kangsvati rivers, is named after the shrine of Jina Pārvanātha. Here are lying fragments of a gigantic sculpture of this Jina. That the Jain Tīrthankara Pārvanātha was greatly venerated by the Jaines of this district is corroborated by the presence of this deity enshrined in temples at Bahulara and Dharapat situated near Vishnupur, now worshipped as Manasī-devī. In Studies in Jaina Art, fig. 38, we have illustrated a sculpture of Pārvanātha from Bahulara, showing him standing in kāyotsarga mudrā with miniature figures of four planets on each side. On the pedestal are small figures of Dharanendra and his queen, half human with tails of their lower snake-half tied into a nīgā-pāśa knot in the centre. Pārśva has coils of the big snake at the back with a canopy of seven snake-hoods held over his head.337

Worship of Pārśva was also popular in Bihar. Amongst Aluara bronzes in the Patna Museum we have two images of Pārśva sitting in the padmāsana and two more bronzes representing him in the standing posture (Patna Museum, nos. 6531, 6533, 10678, 10679).338

Worship of Pārvanātha remained popular in Orissa also. There are several reliefs of Pārśva in the Bārbhuiji, Navamuni and Triśūla caves at Khadagiri, Orissa. In the Navamuni cave, right wall, is a relief of Pārśva sitting in padmāsana on a double lotus under a canopy of seven snake-hoods. On two sides are two cūma-radhāras and below the double-lotus, in the centre is a partly defaced figure which looks like a kumbha (water-pot). On the right and left ends of this are figures of Dharanendra and his queen, half-snake and half-human with snake-hoods overhead. Dharanendra has his hands folded in aṭṭālī mudrā while his queen at the other end (also sitting) carries the long handle of the umbrella held over the Jina. What is especially noteworthy is the crown-like motif on the head of the Jina. It may be a jatā or usniṣa on the head of Pārśva. In cave 7, there is another figure of Pārśva sitting on a double lotus. Below the lotus is a dharmacakra carved like a lotus to the right of which is a figure of Dharanendra sitting with folded hands while to the left is a small rudely carved kukkuta-sarpa. At the left end is the snake-queen sitting with folded hands. In the Bārbhuiji cave is a figure of standing Pārśva with coils of the snake all along the back of the Jina who has a fine canopy of seven snake-hoods overhead. On two ends near the legs of the Jina are Dharanendra and his queen, both with folded hands and having half-snake and half-human bodies.339

On a wall of the Bārbhuiji cave is another figure of Pārśva sitting in padmāsana on a big double-lotus which has a thick long stalk. The stalk seems to have been mistaken for a snake by Tiwari.340 At two ends the two lions standing on their hind legs seem to represent the simhāsana. To the right of the lotus stalk is a half-human half-snake figure with folded hands. A little below this relief is a relief of Padmāvati, the yakṣī of Pārvanātha.

Arun Joshi has published a sculpture of standing Pārśva from Khijjinga, Orissa. There are three standing miniature Tīrthankaras on each side of Pārśva. Snake-hoods are partly mutilated. The sculpture dates from c. 10th cent. A.D. This sculpture is thus a Saptā-Tīrthika image of Pārśva.341 There is a sculpture of standing Pārśva at Badasahi in Mayurbhanj district. R.P. Mohapatra has published
some more sculptures of this Jina in his *Jaina Monuments of Orissa*, fig. 56 from Kakatpur in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubanesvara, fig. 58 from Śiśupalagadh in the same museum, figs. 70, 72 from Cuttack Jaina temple, fig. 79 bronze from Bhanpur, fig. 78 from Pratapnagar, district Cuttack, fig. 90 from Ana and figs. 93, 94 from Sainkul, fig. 92 from Vaidkhaia and figs. 82, 84 from Podasingidi, all in Keonjhar district, fig. 88 from Gadachandi Vaidkhaia, Keonjhar district, figs. 100, 101 from Ayodhya, district Balasore, 105, 107 from Baripada, district Mayurbhanj, 108 from Khuntapal, district Mayurbhanj and fig. 110 Sapta-Tirthika standing Pārśvanātha from Khiching in the Khiching Museum, discussed also by Arun Joshi, referred to above. Mohapatra's fig. 135 is partly mutilated on its right half. The sculpture is obtained from Jamuda, Koraput district, and is now in the Jeypore Museum. Pārśva sits in the padmāsana on a simhāsana and has a standing cāmaradhāra on each side. In the centre of the simhāsana sits four-armed Padmāvatī with three snake-hoods overhead. On the left side of the simhāsana is a two-armed Nāgini with folded hands. There is no dharmacakra.

Two figures in sitting position in Bada Jagannatha temple, Baripada, have canopies of nine and thirteen snake-hoods. The one with 13 snake-hoods may be of Pārśvanātha (Mohapatra's fig. 105) while the other with nine hoods could be of Supārśvanātha. Fig. 107 of Mohapatra from Jagannatha temple: Baripada shows Pārśvanātha standing with snake-hoods overhead, coils of snake at back, planets and cāmaradhāras on two sides and on the pedestal the lower snake-halves of the bodies of Dharanendra and his queen are tied into a nūga-pāśa knot at the centre of the pedestal just below the double-lotus on which stands Pārśvanātha. Of this iconographic type is the beautiful standing Pārśva figure from Ayodhya, Balasore district, illustrated by Mohapatra, op. cit., fig. 100. Here on the right end of the pedestal we have a female worshipper sitting with folded hands in front of a vessel of flowers or sweets (?) while on the corresponding left end is a similar object and flaming objects only. The cāmaradhāras on the sides of Pārśvanātha in the image from Vaidkhaia now in the State Museum, Bhubanesvara, stand on elephants. The Pārśvanātha image of Vaidkhaia is depicted with figures of Rṣabhanātha, Śāntinātha, Mahāvīra and Cundra-prabha each having his cognizance clearly carved below his figure. For another standing Pārśvanātha from Ayodhya, see Fig. 47 illustrated in this book.

In Maharashtra there are several images of Pārśvanātha. Pārśva was very popular at Ellora as can be seen from several reliefs of this Jina in the Jaina caves at Ellora. Sculptures of Pārśvanātha are found at Erandol in East Khandesh. There is a Digambara Pāncatīrthī of Pārśva with two Jinas standing by the sides of Pārśva and two above the standing Jinas. Coils of the big snake with five-hoods are seen behind the figure of Pārśvanātha. There are no members of the usual parikara, the beautiful sculpture dates from c. 10th cent. A.D. All the Tirthāṅkaras in this rare sculpture have snake-hoods over their heads (Photo Negative no. 8390 of 1934-35, Western Circle, Arch. Survey of India). There is a sculpture of Pārśva in padmāsana at this site. Here also the two standing Tirthāṅkaras by the sides of Pārśva have snake-hoods over their heads. There are two more sitting miniature Jina figures above but since the top portions over their heads are damaged it is difficult to say with certainty whether they had snake-hoods overhead or not. Pārśvanātha here sits on a simhāsana having in its centre a dharmacakra flanked by a male and a female worshipper.

From Anki Tankai, in Maharashtra, also beautiful Jaina sculptures of Western Chalukyan influence and assignable to c. 10th-11th cent. A.D. were found. Most of them are now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. One of these is a beautiful sculpture of Pārśva standing under a canopy of five snake-hoods (as in both the sculptures from Erandol discussed above) and a caitya-tree above. Near the shoulders are flying garland-bearers and near the legs are small figures of cāmaradhāras. Stylised marks of hair are shown on the shoulders. In a Pāncatīrthī sculpture of Pārśva sitting in padmāsana preserved in the Nagpur Museum (no. B.23) we also find hair-locks on the shoulders of Pārśvanātha. There is also in this museum a standing Pārśva with coils of cobra behind his back and seven cobra-hoods above. The sculpture hails from Rajnakin Khikhinui, Akola district, and dates from c. 11th cent. A.D. No other member of the parikara is shown.

A beautiful sculpture of Pārśva in *ardha-padmāsana* with a fine canopy of seven snake-hoods and snake-coils behind serving as a sort of back-rest is in worship in the Pārśvanātha Basadi at Yamakana-
maradi in Belgaum district. The sculpture is assignable to c. 10th cent. A.D. A later sculpture of standing Pārśva, with a canopy of five snake-hoods and the coils of Dharanendra behind, is in worship in Pañca Basadi, Stavanidhi, Belgaum district, Chikkodi Taluq. The Jina here stands under an arch supported by two pillars on tops of which in niches are two small sitting Jina figures. Near the right leg of Pārśva sits four-armed Dharanendra yakṣa while on the corresponding left end sits four-armed Padmāvari yakṣi, both of them having a snake-hood above the crown. The sculpture dates from c. 13th cent. A.D.

A somewhat earlier and more beautiful sculpture of Pārśva, from neck upwards and with feet and pedestal also broken, is preserved in the museum at Bidar and hails from Basavakalyana in the Humnabad Taluq of Bidar district. This is a Cori Candigambara sculpture with rows of sitting Tirthaṅkaras on two sides and an attendant male cāmaradhara on each side. A much later figure of standing Pārśva with four-armed yakṣa and yakṣi near his legs is in worship at Roua in Dharwar district. Here small figures of sitting Jinas are shown in the hollows of the torana arches above and one more row on lotuses springing from them, thus making this a Caturvimśati-Puṭṭa image of Pārśvanātha. Another late sculpture of standing Pārśva with four-armed yakṣa and yakṣi is in worship in the Adinātha Basadi, Mugadi in Dharwar district. Another Eka-Tirtha of Pārśvanātha with a canopy of seven hoods and four-armed yakṣa and yakṣi sitting near the legs is found from Lakkundi in Dharwar district. The beautiful sculpture dates from c. 12th century A.D.

Of about thirteenth century is a standing Pārśvanātha with standing four-armed yakṣa and yakṣi by the side of his legs in worship in Sankesvara Basadi in Dharwar district. A much later stone sculpture of Pārśva sitting on a big seat is preserved in the Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar. Here also four-armed Dharanendra yakṣa and Padmāvari yakṣi are standing on two sides of the high seat.

A beautiful sculpture of standing Pārśva with a fine circular canopy of seven snake-hoods is found from Lakkundi. The sculpture of fine Chalukyan style dates from c. ninth century A.D. There are no other members of the pañca kara nor a back slab. This is a sculpture in the round unfortunately broken below the knees. It is now preserved in the local museum. Of about the same age is a similar sculpture in the round with part of the snake-hoods mutilated and broken from below the knees. It is found from the site of the ancient Jain Tirtha Kuluk in the Nalgonda district. It is now preserved in the local site museum of Someśvara temple. Kirit Mankodi has published two single figures of Pārśvanātha from the wall of the Jainas temple at Hallur in north Karnatakā.343

A beautiful standing figure of this Jina with seven snake-hoods and coils of the snake behind his body is preserved in the Pañchakūta Basadi at Kambadahalli, Karnatakā. In a small village known as Bellur on the way to Bangalore from Kambadahalli is a fine sculpture in the round of Pārśva sitting in ardhapadmāṣana with five snake-hoods overhead and coils of the snake at his back. Dating from c. 10th century and of the style under the Gangas, this sculpture is said to have been brought here from Nagamangalam.

A beautiful early sculpture of Pārśva seated in the ardhapadmāṣana against a back seat made of a horizontal bar supported by two dwarf pillars with lions standing on hind legs is found from a ruined Basadi at Bankur, Chitapur Taluq, Gulbarga district. Between the back-rest and the body of the Jina are the coils of the seven-headed Dharanendra at the back of the Jina. From two ends of the back-rest spring two cāmaradhara yakṣas. There is a triple umbrella over the snake-hoods. The sculpture dates from c. 8th cent. A.D.

There is a beautiful sculpture of Pārśvanātha standing with coils of Dharanendra at the back in worship in a shrine at Śravana Belagola. The canopy of seven snake-hoods is arranged in an almost complete circle. The sculpture is a beautiful specimen of the Ganga art of c. 10th cent. A.D.

Of c. late 11th century is a fine sculpture of Pārśva standing preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (see fig. 46). Four-armed Dharanendra yakṣa and Padmāvari yakṣi are sitting on two sides near the legs of the Jina. The sculpture hails from northern Karnatakā.

Of about the 11th cent. A.D. there is also a sculpture of Pārśva sitting in the ardhapadmāṣana against the back-seat with a horizontal bar supported by two pillars. On the back of the Jina is also a big cushion. Two cāmaradharas are shown springing as it were from the back-seat. In all these cases the Jina has canopy of seven snake-hoods. This sculpture is preserved in a shrine in Śravana Belagola. In
the Bhandare Basti at Šravaṇa Belagola in the set of 24 standing Tīrthāṅkaras we find an image of Pārśvanātha standing with four-armed Dharanendras and Padmāvatī standing on his two sides near the legs (see fig. 78). Such figures of this Tīrthāṅkara are in worship in the sets of Jinas in the Suttālaya of Gommata, Šravaṇa Belagola, at Venur, Kārkala, and other places in South Karnataka. Dhaky has published two beautiful sculptures of Pārśvanātha sitting from temples in Humca. They are specimens of Sāntara art of the eleventh and twelfth century A.D. Dhaky has also published a sculpture of standing Pārśvanātha from Hiriya Basadi at Gerrosoppe in Karnataka. Four-armed yakṣa and yakṣī stand near the legs of the Jina. The Jina is worshipped as Cāṇḍogra-Pārśvanātha. The sculpture is assigned to c. 14th-15th cent. A.D. An inscription refers to Cāṇḍogra-Pārśvanātha of Hiriya Basti. A twelfth century sculpture of the same iconographic type is preserved in the site museum at Halebid (Basti-Halli).

C. Sivaramamurti has published an exquisitely carved elaborately sculpted standing Pārśvanātha from Karnataka, in his Panorama of Jaina Art, South India, fig. 18. The Jina stands under an illikāvalayatorana arch supported by two pillars. In front of the pillar on the right is sitting four-armed Dharanendra yakṣa and on the left side of the Jina is the four-armed Padmāvatī. Of Western Chalukyan style and assignable to c. 11th-12th cent. A.D., the sculpture hails from Pattankudi in Karnataka.

P. Gururaja Bhatt has listed several images and temples in Tulu-Nadu, South Karnataka; for example, Mudabidri in the Guru-Basti, the Mathada-Basti, the Tīrthāṅkara-Basti, in the Hosangadi-Basti at Hosangadi, in the Jaina Basti at Belli-bidu, in Venur in the Kelagina-Basti and the Tīrthāṅkara-Basti, in the Dodd-Basti at Aladangad, the Tīrthāṅkara-Basti at Bangavadi, Chikka-Basti at Buleri-Puddabettu, Jaina Bastis at Arikallu, Kudi-bailu, Mijaru, etc., in the Pārśvanātha Basti at Manjeśvara, in Hallara-Basti and Adda-keri Basti, Bommaraja-Basti etc. at Karkala, and so on. He has also illustrated some stone and metal images of this Jina in his book Studies in Tuluva History and Culture, pl. 409, figs. a, b, pl. 413, fig. c, pl. 417, fig. b, pl. 418, fig. a, pl. 420, fig. b, pl. 423, fig. a, pl. 425, fig. a, pl. 431, fig. b, pl. 432, fig. b, etc.

We have already referred to some sites in Tamil Nadu which have rock-cut reliefs of the scene of attack of Kamaṭha. Besides these there other reliefs and sculptures of this Jina found from different sites. Sivaramamurti, op. cit., fig. 83 illustrates a standing Pārśva with attendant Cāmaṇḍarāhas in worship at Tirumalai. The sculpture dates from c. 10th-11th cent. A.D. Here Pārśva has a canopy of five snake-hoods. His fig. 43 illustrates Pārśva seated with five snake-hoods in recess in the side wall of the front wall of the Pallava period cave at Sittannavasal, Tiruchirapalli district. The sculpture dates from the seventh century A.D. A beautiful head of this Jina with five snake-hoods from Chettipatti is illustrated by Sivaramamurti in his fig. 61. This is a Chola sculpture of c. 9th cent. A.D. In the National Museum, New Delhi is preserved a beautiful Chola period sculpture of Pārśva standing in kāyotsarga mudrā with five snake-hoods overhead. The Jina is flanked by padma and śaṅkha nīdhis. This is a very rare type of Tīrthāṅkara image assignable to c. 10th cent. A.D., illustrated by Sivaramamurti, op. cit., fig. 13.

The Madras Museum has two partly mutilated sculptures in the round of Pārśvanātha from Danavulpadu in Cuddapah district. Sivaramamurti's figs. 55, 56 and fig. 69 are illustrations of rock-cut Jaina reliefs from Vallimalai in Andhra Pradesh. They include sculptures of Pārśvanātha, assignable to 9th-10th cent., Chola-Pallava transition style. In the Khajana Building Museum, Golkonda, is a colossal sculpture of standing Pārśva, carved in the round, assignable to c. 9th century A.D. Another big free standing Pārśva sculpture from Pattancheru, A.P., assignable to 11th cent. A.D., is preserved in the Government Museum of Archaeology, A.P. State, Hyderabad. In the office of the Department of Archaeology, A.P. State, Hyderabad there is an interesting black stone Covīśi of Pārśvanātha standing under a canopy of seven snake-hoods. Two small figures of Cāmaṇḍarāhas stand on elephants by the side of Pārśva's shoulders. On both the sides and on top are small figures of other 23 Jinas in sitting postures. On two ends of the back stela, near the legs of Pārśvanātha are standing four-armed figures of the yakṣa and yakṣī. The sculpture is assigned to c. 12th cent. A.D. At Durgakonda, Ramatirtham, Vizagapatnam district, is a figure of Pārśva standing on a full-blown lotus. The sculpture dates from c. latter half of the eleventh century A.D. Sivaramamurti, op. cit., figs. 282, 282A. 534 illustrate a beautiful sculpture of standing Pārśva from Penukonda, Anantapur district, A.P. The sculpture is assignable to
c. 11th cent. A.D. and is a fine specimen of Western Chalukyan art. Sivaramamurti’s fig. 285 illustrates rock-cut seated Pārśva with princely attendant and his consort, believed to be Mallamadevi and Betana, from Hanumkonda, assignable to 12th-13th century, of art under the Kakatiyas. Fig. 288 from Hanumkonda is a rock-cut standing Pārśva, Kakatiya, c. 12th-13th cent. A.D., and Sivaramamurti’s fig. 289 is of a standing Pārśva from Hindupur, Anantapur district.

Pārśvanātha is said to have visited the Kadambari forest where there was a mountain named Kali with a tank (kūnda) nearby. Here an elephant worshipped him. King Karakandu, of Campa, nearby, knowing this, visited the spot but by this time Pārśvanātha had left the place. The king was dejected but on digging near the spot a beautiful jewel-image of the Jina was discovered which was then installed in a big shrine and the image came to be known as Kalikūnda-Pārśvanātha. Even today, almost all over India, there are several shrines of Pārśvanātha known as Kalikūnda-Pārśvanātha temples. Since Pārśvanātha is invoked for obtaining various desires, especially in different Tantric rites, he is verily regarded as a Cintāmani, a wish-fulfilling gem, and a Tantric diagram known as Cintāmani-Yantra is also worshipped. Often some images of this Jina are also called Cintāmani-Pārśvanātha and temples are named after him. There is no special iconographic significance behind these names.

Artists introduced some variations in the representation of the canopy of snake-hoods for Pārśvanātha. Thus a Sahasrāpana-Pārśvanātha image came into being. This enabled the artists to create beautiful arch-like hoods or a thick cluster of hoods over the head of the Jina. At Satpurāya there is a Sahasrāpana-Pārśvanātha sculpture of late mediaeval period. A painted Pata of Sahasrāpana Pārśvanātha was published by Sarabhai Nawab in Jaina Citrakalpadruma, Vol. I. A big stone plaque, with an inscription dated in v.s. 1903 (A.D. 1847) installed in the Caumukha shrine at Ranakpur is illustrated in Studies in Jaina Art, fig. 79.

Stambhana-Pārśvanātha, worshipped at Cambay (Khammad) in Gujarat, is so called because, originally, Nāgarjuna, a great Jaina monk pupil of Pādalipta, is reported to have solidified mercury with the help of miraculous power of an image of this Jina. The process of solidifying is called stambhana, whereby the image was known as Stambhana-Pārśvanātha and in course of time it was installed in Cambay. Pārśvanātha is an eminent deity in Jaina Tantra. He is especially invoked for protecting a worshipper from supernatural beings like Bhūta, Preta, Śākini, Vetāla, etc., from epidemics and other mishaps and for fulfilling various desires of the worshipper. Pārśvanātha is the deity par excellence of the Jaina Mantraśastra.

Jinaprabha suri gives the following list of various shrines of this Jina situated at different places: Navaṇṇidi-Pārśvanātha at Ajagratha, Bhavabhayahara-Pārśvanātha at Stambhanaka, Viśvakalpatāla-Pārśvanātha at Falavardhi (modern Falodi in Rajasthan), Upasargahara-P. at Karahetaka (Karhad in Maharashtra), Tribhuvanabhadra-P. at Ahicchatra, Śri-Pārśvanātha at Kalikūnda and Nāgahorda, Viśva-gaja-P. at Kukkutēśvara, Chāyā-P. on the Mahendra mountain, Sahasrāpani-Pārśvanātha on the Omkara parvata (on the banks of Narmada, in M.P.), Bhavyapūrkaravartaka-P. at Dandakata in Varanasi, Patālacakra-vartā-P. in the Mahākāla shrine (Ujjain), Kalpadruma-P. at Mathura, Aśoka-P. at Campa and Śri-Pārśva on the Malayagiri.

Scenes from the life of Pārśva are found in Kalpasūtra miniatures and in paintings on wooden book-covers of palm-leaf manuscripts. One such book-cover is preserved in the collections of the L.D. Institute of Indology. Scenes from Pārśva’s life including some of his previous births are carved, with labels, in ceilings in the Mahāvīra and Sāntinātha temples at Kumbhariya and in a ceiling of a devakuli (no. 16) of Lūnavasaht, Abu. Tiwari thinks that on the wall of the eastern devakuli of Mahāvīra shrine, Osia, there are scenes from the life of Pārśva.

24. TWENTY-FOURTH TIRTHAṆKARA: MAHĀVĪRA VARDHAMĀNA

The twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkara Vardhamāna Mahāvīra was a senior contemporary of Gautama Buddha. Both Mahāvīra and Buddha were contemporaries of Bimbisara and Ajātāśatru of Magadha.
According to traditional Śvetāmbara calculations, the date of Mahāvīra’s Nirvāṇa, at the age of 72, falls in 527 B.C.\textsuperscript{355} 

Mahāvīra was born as the son of Siddhārtha and Triśalā, leaders of the Jāṇātr clan of the Kṣatriyas of Kuṇḍapura (Kuṇḍagrama), probably a suburb of the ancient city of Vaiśālī, the capital of Videha country. Śvetāmbara Jaina accounts show that Mahāvīra was first conceived in the womb of Devānandā, a Brāhmaṇa lady residing in another suburb of Vaiśālī, known as Brāhmaṇakuoṇḍagrama. Seeing that no Jaina Patriarch was ever born of Brāhmaṇa blood, Śākara-Indra ordered his Commander of Infantry, Harinégamaśin or Negamaśin by name, to transfer the embryo to the womb of Triśalā, wife of Kṣatriya chief Siddhārtha. This Śvetāmbara legend of the Transfer of Embryo is not known to Digambara sources who describe Mahāvīra as the son of Prince Siddhārtha and his wife Priyakārīni, ruling at Kuṇḍapura.\textsuperscript{366}

According to Śvetāmbara Jaina canon, Triśalā was the sister of king Cetaka of Vaiśālī,\textsuperscript{357} the capital of Videha and was, therefore, known as Videhadinnā (Videhadatta). The Digambara Purāṇa Harivamśa (of Jinasena), composed in 783 A.D., addresses the mother of Mahāvīra as both Triśalā and Priyakārīni. According to this text as well as the Uttarapurāṇa of Gunabhadrā, Priyakārīni was the daughter of Cukula.\textsuperscript{358}

Golden in appearance, Mahāvīra descended from the Prānata heaven, in the Hasta nakṣatra according to Śvetāmbara belief and in the Uttraśālīṣṭa according to Harivamśa. His parents called him Vardhamāna or the prosperous one because wealth, fame and merit of his family began increasing with his birth. Gods called him Mahāvīra or the Great Hero on account of his great valour, fortitude and hardiness in enduring hardships.\textsuperscript{359} He was also known as Jāṇātr-putra or the Scion of the Jāṇātr Sect of the Kṣatriyas.

An incident demonstrating his great valour in childhood is narrated by Jaina texts. Śvetāmbara accounts call it Āmalaki-krīdā (the game known as Āmalaki) and describe it as follows:

Vardhamāna was playing the Āmalaki game near a tree with a group of lads when a god came to test the valour of the young would-be Jina. He first assumed the form of a big snake and went round the stem of the tree. All the boys except Vardhamāna were frightened and ran away while Vardhamāna boldly approached the cobra, caught him and threw him away.\textsuperscript{360} According to Digambara account, god Sangamaka, who came to test the valour of Vira, assumed the form of a huge snake and entwining his body round the whole length of the stem of the tree frightened the lads playing on the branches. Vira, unperturbed, danced on the cobra’s hood (compare the Hindu legend of Kṛṣṇa dancing on the hoods of the Kaliya snake). The god was pleased at the courage and valour of the Lord and called him Mahāvīra.\textsuperscript{361} Śvetāmbaras narrate one more test taken by this god. Leaving the form of a cobra, Sangamaka assumed the form of a human lad and joined the boys in their new game called the Tindusaka,\textsuperscript{362} played between two boys every time wherein the victor was to be carried on shoulders by the vanquished. The god was defeated and Vardhamāna mounted himself on the former’s shoulders. Immediately the god assumed the form of a Piśāca (demon) and grew taller and taller. Undaunted, Vardhamāna gave with his fist such a strong blow on the back of the Piśāca that the latter was obliged to give up all further attempts at mischief. The god then praised Vardhamāna and called him Mahāvīra.\textsuperscript{363}

In school, Indra came in the form of a Brāhmaṇa and asked Mahāvīra certain difficult questions on grammar which were immediately answered by young Mahāvīra, to the surprise of the teacher and other pupils. Indra informed the teacher that Mahāvīra was a would-be Tirthaṅkara.\textsuperscript{364}

According to Śvetāmbara belief, Mahāvīra was married to a princess named Yaśodā from whom he had a daughter Priyadarśi or Anojā by name. Anojā was given in marriage to one Jamālini who later became a disciple of Mahāvīra and was responsible for the first schism in the Jaina Church.\textsuperscript{365} The Digambara sect does not believe that Mahāvīra was ever married but according to some scholars the difference is due to a misunderstanding of certain verses in the Paumacariyam, the Padmacarita of Raviśena and the Āvaśyaśa Niryuktī.\textsuperscript{366}

According to both the sects, Mahāvīra took dikṣā at the age of thirty. The Śvetāmbaras say that his parents died when he was 28 years old; at the request of his elder brother Nandivardhana and others he stayed at home for about a couple of years. During this period he spent his time at home in observance of vows and in standing in meditation.\textsuperscript{367} The Kalpa-sūtra says: “A year before the Jinas retire from the
world, they continue to give away their property in charity, from the rising of the Sun. One crore and eight lacs of gold is his gift at the rising Sun, as if it were his daily meal. 388 crores and 80 lacs were given in one year.”

Mahavira similarly gave charities for one year. Then the Laukantika gods approaching him requested him to propagate the religion. Mahavira, mounting on a palanquin called Candraprabha, went to a garden outside the city, removed all ornaments etc., and plucked out his hair in five handfuls.

According to the Digambara sect, Mahavira practised rigorous austerities for twelve years. An obstacle (upasarga) from Mahadeva or Sthanu, created with a view to test Mahavira’s steadfastness, at Ujjain in the cremation ground known as Atimukta-smaśāna, is narrated by the Uttarapurāṇa. Śiva tried to frighten Vardhamāna with forms of Vetalas etc., but the sage remained unperturbed and steadfast in meditation at which Mahadeva called him a great hero (Mahā-Virā) and praised in many ways. This Digambara account suggesting some strong Śaivite opposition has its parallel in the Śvetāmbara account of upasargas from yakṣa Śūlapūj (one with trident in hand, a name of Śiva) at Asthikagrāma, known as Vardhamānapura (modern Burdwan).

Says the Kalpa-sūtra: “The Venerable ascetic Mahāvira for a year and a month wore clothes; after that time he walked about naked, and accepted alms in the hollow of his palms.”

Śvetāmbara texts, Kalpa-sūtra, Avāṣyaka niṣyutika and Avāṣyaka-Cūnti, as also later commentaries and biographies of Mahāvīra, give more interesting details about Mahāvīra’s itinerary which have been discussed by Muni Kalyanavijaya in his Śrāmaṇa Bhagavāṇa Mahāvīra and summarised by J.C. Jaina in his Life in Ancient India as depicted in Jaina Canons.

In the second year after taking dikṣā, on his way to Uttaravācāla and Śvetāmbara, Mahāvīra met a deadly huge serpent called Canda-Kaúśika, whose very sight and breath were poisonous enough to kill any living being (dṛṣṭi-vīsa-sarpa). But even repeated bites by the serpent bore no effect in the case of Mahāvīra and the serpent was converted. The snake then remembered his past existence and, following the Jaina path of virtue, died of starvation. The Jina’s first meeting with Gośāla (leader of the Ājivika sect) took place at Nalanda in the second year of Mahāvīra’s monkhood. In the fifth year Mahāvīra and Gośāla went to Haleduga from Sāvatthī. Here under a turmeric tree, while Mahāvīra was standing in meditation, his feet are said to have been burnt by some fire. Wandering they both reached Corāya Sannīveśa from which place they went to Kalāmbuka Sannīveśa where both were tied and beaten by one Kālahasti and were later on set at liberty by Megha. Then both of them proceeded to the country of Lāḍha (Rādhā). Here Mahāvīra had to endure various kinds of sufferings. Dogs were let loose on them and they were molested in various ways. While leaving the country, two thieves, in a border village, tried to assassinate them but were saved at the intervention of the god Śakra. They then went to Bhaddiya or Bhadadiyapura. In the sixth year Gośāla went away and Mahāvīra wandered alone. At Salistiyagāma he met with an upasarga from a Vyantara demi-goddess Kaṭāpūtanā. It seems that this Śālīśīra was a centre of worship of this child-devouring deity and that Mahāvīra met with some opposition from worshippers of these Bāla-grahas. Again Gośāla joined Mahāvīra. In the ninth year both of them proceeded to Lāḍha and wandered in Vajabhumā and Subbabhūmi where Mahāvīra had to undergo all sorts of tortures. Sometimes people set dogs on him and did not give him shelter. The ninth rainy season was spent in this country. In the eleventh year Mahāvīra went to Sānuḷatthī from Śravasti and thence to Dṛḍhabhumī, a land of the Mlecchas. From here he proceeded to Pāḍhālagāma and stood in meditation in the Polśa caitya. A god, Sangamaka by name, thinking that no human being can stand divine tests, created obstacles (upasargas) and caused unbearable severe pain to the person of Mahāvīra, with several insects, ants, scorpions, lions, elephant etc. as also by blowing terrific winds, by throwing heavy stones and weapons on him and so on. For six months from here the god followed Mahāvīra and put obstacles even in obtaining alms from local population. But all his attempts to deviate Mahāvīra from his path failed. In the thirteenth year Mahāvīra went to Chhamānigāma where a cow-boy left his two bullocks by the side of Mahāvīra meditating and entered the village. The bulls ran away. Returning, the cow-boy inquired of Mahāvīra about his animals but the sage, in meditation and observing silence (māma-vrata), gave no reply. Enraged, the villager thrust a long nail in each ear of the sage. Mahāvīra then
went to Madhyama-Pavā where a physician, Kharaka by name, removed the nails and cured the wounds. Next, Mahāvīra proceeded to Jambhiyagāma (Jambhipāragāna) on the northern bank of the river Rupalīkā (Ujupāliyā). In the field of the householder Sāmāga, in a north-eastern direction from the Veyavattā shrine (i.e. shrine of Vaiyāvītta = yakṣa), under a Śāla tree (Shorea Robusta), Mahāvīra obtained Kevala-jñāna during deep meditation in a squatting position with knees up (ukkuda-jānu), known as Godhihikā position.\(^{379}\)

Representations of some of the upasargas suffered by Mahāvīra are available in miniature paintings of the Kalpa-sūtra,\(^{380}\) but stone plaques depicting these are rare. However in a ceiling slab of a bay in the Mahāvīra temple at Kumbharia, and in the Śāntināthā temple at the same place we find, elaborately carved with appropriate labels incised below each figure, scenes from previous births as well as this birth of Mahāvīra. The reliefs date from the eleventh century A.D. These reliefs include scenes of upasargas of Mahāvīra, but unlike the upasargas by Kamathā to Pārśvanātha, the upasargas suffered by Mahāvīra did not become popular in Śvetāmbara and Digambara shrines.

According to both the sects, Mahāvīra had eleven Gavādhāras headed by Gautama Indrabhūti Candaṇā or Candanaballā is reported to have been the head of Mahāvīra's order of nuns. According to the Digambaras, Mahāvīra obtained Nirvāṇa at Pāvāpura in the Manohara-vana, on a jewelled platform (mahāmāntiśalā) in the midst of a lake.\(^{381}\) According to the Śvetāmbaras, Mahāvīra died in the town of Pāpā (Pavā) in king Hāṣṭipāla's office of writers. In that night in which Mahāvīra died, the eighteen confederate kings of Kāśi and Kośala, the nine Mallakiś and the nine Lichāvis instituted an illumination.\(^{382}\) This is now celebrated as Dipavali Pastra, according to the Jinaśas.

Mātaṅga was his yakṣa and Siddhāyikā was his yakṣini according to both the sects, though the symbols held by them are different in the two traditions.

A pedestal of a Jina image, with only the feet of the Jina left on it, obtained from Kankali Tila, Mathura, is now preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow (Mu. no. J.2). There is no trace of a cognizance anywhere on the pedestal or below the feet of the Jina but the inscription on the pedestal records, after an invocation to Siddhas, the setting up of an image of Arhat Mahāvīra in the temple of the Arhat.\(^{383}\) The image is dated in Śamvat 299. Referred to the era of 57 B.C. it would be dated in 242 A.D., but if referred to the era of 78 A.D. the date would be 377 A.D. The pedestal with the inscription is partly mutilated but it seems that the daughter of Okhārīkā and the lay sister of Ujhātikā and Okhā and Sirīka and Śivadina were amongst the donors of this image as well as the Devakula referred to in the last line of the inscription.\(^{384}\) J.E. Van Lohuizen-De Liece referred the inscription to the old Śaka era of 129 B.C. and read the date as 199 A.D.\(^{385}\) But as R.C. Sharma has proved the date is 299. When referred to the old Śaka era this date would then be 170 A.D.

Another noteworthy image of Vardhamāna is the one set up by Okhārīkā, daughter of Damitra (Demetrius) in the year 84 of the reign of Vāsudeva. The sculpture was obtained from Kankali Tila, Mathura, and is now in the Mathura Museum (no. 490). The date would be equivalent to 162 A.D. acc. to its usual calculation in the era of 78 A.D. Then Okhārīkā of this inscription and Okhārīkā of J.2 Lucknow Museum just discussed could be contemporaneous or identical.\(^{386}\) This sculpture is also mutilated with only the pedestal and the crossed legs and palms of hands remaining. A lotus and a cakra are carved on the soles of each foot as marks of a Mahāpurusa. In the centre of the simhāsana is a dharmacakra on pillar on two sides of which are two worshippers sitting with folded hands. Next in order on the right is standing a naked Jain monk with a piece of cloth hanging from his hand and concealing his nudity. The monk further seems to have carried a broom (rajkaranā) in one of his hands. Two more standing males represent lay Jaina worshippers (Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, Paper no. 6, fig. 16). On the corresponding left side of the dharmacakra stands a lady with an object in one hand (possibly a rakhara) and two more ladies with hands folded in adoration represent Jaina female lay worshippers (śrāvikās). Thus the pedestal shows worship of the Jina above and/or the dharmacakra by all the four constituents of the Jaina Sangha, namely, the sādhu, the sādhvi, the śrāvaka and the śrāvikā. The dharmacakra is placed on a pillar in this and many other specimens from Mathura. The conception of cakra-pravartana, religious or political, was common to all sects.
Iconography of 24 Tirthankaras

Nos. J.14, J.16, J.22, J.31, J.53 and J.66 from Mathura in the State Museum, Lucknow, are also images of this Jina, called Vardhamāṇa in the inscriptions on them, and date roughly in the Kuśāṇa period. In the inscription on J.2 noted above the Jina is called Mahāvīra. Figure 78 illustrated in this book is no. J.16 in the Lucknow Museum. Of the images and fragments of images of Mahāvīra discovered from Mathura of the Scythian period, one is dated in the year 50 (?) (Luders List, no. 50), another in the year 20 (Luders list, no. 28), a third in the year 5 of Kaniska (ibid., no. 18), a fourth in the year 29, while one more gives the year 22 (ibid., no. 31).387

A dated specimen of Mahāvīra image of the early Gupta period, preserved in the Lucknow Museum, is published by R.D. Bannerji in his Age of the Imperial Guptas. It shows the Jina seated in dhyāna mudrā on a lion-throne having two lions standing near its ends and a dhammacakra placed on a small platform in the middle. On both sides of the Wheel of Law are devotees with folded hands. The inscription shows that it was dedicated at Mathura, in the Gupta year 113, by a Jaina lady named Samādyā.388 There is neither a recognising symbol nor a yakṣa pair on the pedestal of this sculpture of early Gupta period (433 A.D.).

In Chhabl Vol. I, U.P. Shah published a beautiful sculpture preserved in the Bharata Kala Bhavan, Varanasi (no. 161). The Jina sits on a high pedestal in front of which is spread a big part of a large double lotus suggesting that the Jina sits on the viśva-pādaṃsa. The motif can also be interpreted as a carpet or an embroidered cloth spread over the seat. There is a standing cāmaradhara on each side of the Jina and a mālādhara on each side of the halo. On the lower end of the pedestal in the centre is a dhammacakra flanked by two lions. Near the end of the pedestal on each side is a small seated Jina figure. This is thus a Tri-Tirhikha image of Mahāvīra, assignable to c. sixth century A.D. The image is said to have been found in Varanasi.

Two Jivantasvāmī images of Mahāvīra, assignable to sixth century A.D. obtained from Akota near Baroda (Vaḍodarā), published in Akota Bronzes, pp. 26-28, are illustrated as Figs. 29, 30 in this book. Of these fig. 30 can be assigned to c. 500 A.D. Many later images of Jivantasvāmī-Mahāvīra are found from places like Osiya, Jodhpur, Sirohi, etc. which have been referred to and discussed in Chapter 2 above. A beautiful seventh century sculpture of Mahāvīra in padmāsana is being worshipped as Jivantasvāmī, in the sanctum of the Jaina temple at Nāndī, Rajasthan.

A relief sculpture of Mahāvīra standing is seen among the group of rock carvings at Dhanī, Saurashtra, Gujarat. The lion cognizance of Mahāvīra is carved in the centre of the simhāsana represented by two more lions at the two ends of the seat. The Jina sits in padmāsana and is attended by two standing cāmaradharas on two sides. Over the head of the Jina is a triple-umbrella with branches of the Caitya-tree carved on its sides. Below the figure of the lion cognizance is a dhammacakra with its rim facing us, very much weather-worn and not easily recognisable. The relief dates from c. seventh century A.D.

All the Jainas in India take pride in calling themselves followers of Mahāvīra. He is popular throughout India. Temples and images of Mahāvīra are found all over India wherever Jainism has spread and survived.

A relief sculpture of Mahāvīra in the sanctum of the Jaina Cave at Aihole is noteworthy. It shows the Jina seated in ardha-padmāsana in front of a big cushion placed against an architectural device of a horizontal cross-bar supported by two pilasters and having makara-motif at the ends of the bar. There is a cāmaradhara on each side behind the figure of Mahāvīra. There is one more male figure on each side standing with both the hands folded in adoration. The pedestal shows three lions, two at the ends suggesting that this is a simhāsana and one in the centre. On the right side of the throne is a bust of a female (?) with folded hands and five snake-hoods overhead while on the left is another bust with one snake-hood overhead. There is a simple prabhāvali behind the head of the Jina and a triple-umbrella above. The sculpture is interesting as an old specimen from Karnataka and shows an early stage in the iconography of Tirthaṅkara sculptures. The attendant figures with snake-hoods cannot be identified, but they seem to be Nāgī attendants mentioned in early Jaina texts and referred to before. The sculpture certainly represents Mahāvīra because of the lion cognizance in the centre of the pedestal.
Absence of the Caitya-tree and other members of the parikara as well as of the yakṣa and yakṣi may be noted. This elaborate sculpture dates from c. seventh century A.D. or earlier.

In the sanctum of the Badami Jaina cave (cave no. IV) is another beautiful elaborately carved sculpture with Mahāvīra sitting in ardhapadmāsana in the centre, and resting against a big cushion behind which is the back-seat with a horizontal bar resting on two dwarf pillars. Lions standing on hind legs are attached to these pillars while the bar has makara-ends. The Jina has a plain halo and sits under a triple umbrella and a Caitya-tree. On two sides of the tree are flying mālādhāra (garland-bearing) couples. The simhāsana shows, besides the two lions at the ends, a lion in the centre, facing us. The central lion is the cognizance of Mahāvīra. Behind the back-rest stand two male cāmarādhāras. The sculpture dates from c. late sixth century A.D. and is an early iconographic specimen from Karnatakā. Representation of the lion cognizance in the centre instead of the usual chamacakras in north India is typical of all sculptures of Mahāvīra in the different areas of South India but there are a few exceptions which cannot be explained satisfactorily at present. One such case is fig. 235 in Panorama of Jaina Art, South India, showing seated Pārśvanātha with chowrie-bearers, Calukya, 11th century, from Candhagiri. The Jina sits on a cushion with lotus petal design, placed on a simhāsana having in all five lions in different compartments. The Jina has a canopy of seven snake-hoods and represents Pārśvanātha. But in the centre of the simhāsana is the lion cognizance. It is just possible that the sculpture of Pārśva is placed on a simhāsana which once had on it a sculpture of Mahāvīra. Another such case is of a sculpture of Pārśvanātha, Calukya, from Huncha in Shimoga district, illustrated as fig. 248 in Panorama of Jaina Art, South India. A third case is of fig. 235 in the same book illustrating rock-cut seated Pārśvanātha, with princely attendant and his consort, Kakatiya, from Hanamkonda, A.P., which shows a central lion on the simhāsana. In this case there is no question of replacement of another sculpture on a pedestal of Mahāvīra. So this is one of the exceptional cases. Of course in most cases the lion in the centre would indicate that the Jina above is Mahāvīra. Of this type is a very important Jaina bronze in the Brooklyn Museum, published as fig. 10, Paper no. 26, Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, pp. 269ff. This is a late Pallava bronze with inscription on three sides of the simhāsana with three lions in three compartments. The bronze dates from late 8th or early 9th century A.D. In the same paper, fig. 33, U.P. Shah has published a bronze image of Mahāvīra with a Kannada inscription, from the collection of Shri Bijoy Sinh Nahar, Calcutta. The image shows four-armed yakṣa and yakṣīni of Mahāvīra. The bronze dates from c. 10th century A.D. Fig. 61 in the same paper is another bronze of Mahāvīra from south Karnatakā, now preserved in Musée Guimet, Paris. The yakṣa and yakṣī in this case are two-armed Sarvāṇubhūti and Ambikā. On one side of Mahāvīra (seated in the centre) stands Pārśvanātha with seven hoods above head while on the left stands Bāhubali in the kāyotsarga mudrā.

In C. Sivaramamurti's Panorama of Jaina Art, referred to above, we find several sculptures and rock-cut figures of Mahāvīra with the lion in the centre of the simhāsana, instead of the chamacakra. In this book fig. 73 shows two rock-cut figures of Mahāvīra with a separately carved figure of two-armed Sarvāṇubhūti on the right side, and Ambikā with lion vehicle on the extreme left. These reliefs from Vallimalai, Chittoor district, A.P., date from c. 9th-10th century A.D. Sivaramamurti's figures 74, 75 illustrate rock-cut sculptures of Mahāvīra at Kulugumalai, Tamil Nadu. They are of c. 8th-9th century, Pandyan style. Fig. 95 in the same book illustrates an early relief from Chera territory, Chitharal, Kerala, dating from c. 7th-8th century A.D. and fig. 181 is of seated Mahāvīra from Hemavati, c. 9th century A.D., Nolamba style.

In a ceiling of the Pañcakūṭa Bāsti, Kambadahalli, Mändya district, Karnatakā, is an elaborately carved sculpture of Mahāvīra sitting in ardha-padmaśana with seated figures of two-armed Sarvāṇubhūti and Ambikā on the right and the left side respectively of the simhāsana. Full parikara is shown. The whole relief is in the centre of the ceiling and on all sides of this relief are figures of the eight Dikpalas in separate compartments. The whole ceiling panel dates from c. 10th cent. A.D. (Fig. 49 in this book).

Figure 442 of Sivaramamurti, op. cit., illustrates a Tri-Tirthi bronze of Mahāvīra from Hunchalige in Gulbarga district, and fig. 484 a bronze Caturvimśati-Pañña, c. 12th cent. A.D., from Yadwad in
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Belgaum district, while fig. 490 is a stone sculpture of seated Mahāvīra from Hūmcha, Shimoga district, Karnataka.

The Jaina cave at Badami has two more big relief panels of Mahāvīra standing. In addition to the lāṅchana, in the centre of the simhasana, are found, near the feet of the Jina, figures of a yakṣa and a yakṣī. One of these panels is a big Caturvimsati-Patī assignable to c. 10th century A.D.

Sculptures of Mahāvīra are found at Annvasal and Marur in Tiruchi district, at Villivakkam in Chingleput district, at Chettipatti in old Pudukkottai territory, Tamil Nadu, also at Mavilapatti in the same district, at Korkai and Tenkari in Tīnnevelly district, at Karadipatti in Madurai district, at Poddatumblam in Bellary district, at Sālada in Ganjam district, and many other places in south India. In Karnataka at Śrāvāna Belagola, Venur, Mudabidri, etc. sculptures of Mahāvīra standing with his yakṣa and yakṣī by the sides are found amongst the groups of images of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras and even separately in temples as at Kambadaballī, Akkana-Basti, Śrāvāna Belagola etc.

In Gujarāt and Rajasthan there are several temples and images of Mahāvīra at Osia, Ghanerao, Abu, Sattruṣṭaya, Akot, Baroda, Ahmedabad, Surat, Bharatpur, etc. No. 279 in Ajmer museum is from Katara in Bharatpur district and is dated in 1004 A.D. Two-armed yakṣa and yakṣī figure on two ends of the simhāsana; there is a nude standing Jina on either side of Mahāvīra seated in the centre. There is an image dated 1186 in a niche on the wall of the Nemīnāṭha temple at Kumbharia. In devakulika no. 24 of Pārśvanāṭha temple, Kumbharia, is an image of Mahāvīra dated 1179 A.D. An image of Mahāvīra was installed in v.s. 1212 in cell 47 of Vimala Vasūli, Abu, according to an inscription on the pedestal. There is an image of this Jina installed in v.s. 1394 in cell no. 50 of the same temple. Also in cell 57 an image of Mahāvīra was installed in v.s. 1394.

In the State Museum, Lucknow, there are about five images of Mahāvīra. No. J.808 has a yakṣa and yakṣī on the pedestal. No. J.880 in the same museum is dated in 1097 A.D. This is a Paṇca-tīrthī of Mahāvīra with Mahāvīra sitting in the centre with other Jinas standing. In no. J.782 we find a two-armed goddess standing in the centre of the pedestal instead of the drhmacakra. This sculpture from Itava is dated in 1166 A.D. There is a figure of standing Kṣetrapāla on the left end of the sculpture. According to Tiwari, figures of Cakreśvarī, Ambikā and Padaṁavati are also found in this sculpture.

At Devgadh there are a few sculptures assignable to c. 12th century A.D. They not only show the lion cognizance but also show the yakṣa and yakṣī on most of the pedestals. In temple 1, there is a sculpture of Mahāvīra assignable to c. 10th cent. A.D. In temple 11, on an image dated =1048 A.D. we also have figures of Ambikā and Padaṁavati. Mahāvīra has hair-locks on his shoulders. Mahāvīra sculptures here are also sometimes Paṇca-Tīrthika, or have also 2 or 4 or 8 or 15 or 20 more Jina images. There is a fine sculpture of Mahāvīra on a wall of the Mālādevi temple, Gyaraspur.

At Khajuraho Mahāvīra is generally found in a sitting posture. Sometimes he has Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā as the yakṣa and yakṣī. In temple no. 2 at Khajuraho, on a sculpture of this Jina dated =1092 A.D., we have a figure of a four-armed goddess (Śāntidevi ?) besides the four-armed yakṣa and yakṣī on the pedestal.

In the cave adjoining the Son Bhandar cave at Rajgir, Bihar, there is a relief sculpture of Mahāvīra on the back wall. Ravindra Nath Choudhari has noted a standing Mahāvīra figure at Dharpat temple in Viśnupur, Bankura district. Five bronze figures of Mahāvīra are preserved in the Aluara board in the Patna Museum. A Mahāvīra image from Carmpā, Orissa, is preserved in the State Museum, Bhuvaneswar. In the Bārābhūji Cave, Kendrāgiri, we have a relief of Mahāvīra.

A Dvi-Tīrthī of Rṣabhā and Mahāvīra is in the British Museum, London. It seems to have hailed from Orissa. A Dvi-Tīrthī of Śāntināṭha and Mahāvīra (c. 12th cent. A.D.) from Narwar, M.P. is in the Shiyopuri Museum, M.P. A standing Mahāvīra from Bihār, Jabalpur district is in the Rāṭī Durgāvati Museum, Jabalpur.
REFERENCES

1. Trishapalakāparvacarita, parva 1; Tilakapamatsi, 4.51ff., pp. 205ff.; Harivamsa, sargas 8-13; Padmacarita of Raviçāna, parva 4, pp. 50ff.; Paumacariya of Vimāla sūri, uddesa 3-4.
Kalpaśūtra describes the lives of all the 24 Tirthankaras, for which see Jacob, Jaina Sūtras, S.B.E., vol. XXII, pp. 217-311 for life of Rāhapa. Lives of only Rāhapa, Nemi, Pārśva and Māhāvīra are given in greater detail. Being the earliest known source for lives of the Jinas, it would be interesting to compare this source with later accounts. For a standard text of Kalpaśūtra refer to Paññita Kalpaśūtra edited by Muni Punyatīvijayā with a vol. Arkīlī Cūpī by Agastyaśimha sūri.


7. Cf. Śrīnivāsa, 10.138; Śrīnivāsa, 10.138; Śrīnivāsa, 10.138; Śrīnivāsa, 10.138.

9. Ibid., 15.86; Avatsyakā Nīryukti, v. 435 and Mahabhāsya gāthā 45; Haribhadra’s Avatsyakā Vṛttī, p. 169.

10. For Agistapa, see Asitapada gīt-kālpa in Vīvidhā-Tīrthaka-Kalpa (ed. by Muni Jivinjivāya in Singhi Series), pp. 91ff.
11. Ibid., pp. 1-6.

15. Ibid., p. 97.
20. Also see Haribhar Singh, Jaina Temples of Western India (Varanasi, 1982).
24. Published in the Journal of the University of Bombay, vol. IX, September, 1940, pp. 147-169.
30. Ibid., fig. 14.
34. IAA, vol. I, p. 73ff.; Debata Mitra, Udayagiri and Khundagiri (New Delhi, 1960); Mohapatra, R.P., Udayagiri & Khundagiri Caves (Delhi, 1981); R.P.
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Mohapatra, Jaina Monuments of Orissa (Delhi, 1984).
35. Arun Joshi, History and Culture of Khijningakottu under the Bhanjas (Bombay, 1983), figs. 40, 45, 47 and pp. 156-160.
37. Mitra, Debata, Bronzes from Achutrapur, Orissa (Delhi, 1978), fig. 31.
43. See Jaina Journal, Vol. III.4 (1969), Mahavir Jayanti Special Number, for Jainism in Madhya Pradesh (pp. 175-182), Jainism in Uttar Pradesh (pp. 183-190) and Jainism in Punjab (pp. 190-198). Also see Jaina Art and Architecture (JAA), ed. by A. Ghosh, Volumes I and II.
46. In JJ, XVI.1, p. 22. For the Devagadh image discussed here, see K. Sivaramamurti, Panorama of Jaina Art, fig. 17. See JAI, III.4, for Jainism in Mysore (pp. 227-237), Jainism in Andhra Pradesh (pp. 238-247), Jainism in Tamil Nadu (pp. 248-257), Jainism in Kerala (pp. 258ff).
49. Ibid., p. 298.
51. तिरिश्चि, parva 2, 2.579
52. Triṣaṣṭi, parva 2, 2.579
In his commentary on Abhidharma Čintāmaṇi, 1.26. Hemacandra explains the name as:
स्वमस्वमस्वावलोकनम् यथात् अवलोकनम् ।

—Triṣaṣṭi, parva 2, 2.579
53. क्षेत्राधिकारम् भीतेन्द्रवित्तम् भृत्तिः ।

—Triṣaṣṭi, parva 2, 2.579
54. Cf.: वर्ण: क्षेत्राणि यो व्यङ्ग्यविद्यमानिणि वा प्रसंगविद्यमानिणि ।

—Uttarasāraṇa, parva 48
55. Tiloyapannatti, 4.508ff, 911ff. According to Triṣaṣṭi, the tree is Saptacchada.
56. Tiloyapannatti, 4.964, 1178; Samayavangya sûtra, sū. 157.
Images of Sambhavnathath at Khajuraho, Elements of Jaina Iconography, pp. 38-40.
75. Ibd., p. 39.
77. Trīṣṭiṣṭi, purva 3.2; Uttarapurāṇa, parva 50; Tīloyapaṇṇati, 4.52ff.
78. Abhi, Chin., I.26 and comm. Also see Trīṣṭiṣṭi, III.2.63.
79. Piya or Priyāka (Piya in Pāṇḍī) according to Samaṇavānga śūtra, śūtra 157; Piya according to Hemacandra, Trīṣṭiṣṭi, parva III.2.119. Ramachandran, T.N., Tirupurutikuram and its Temples, pp. 192-193 gives Prayāla as the Cāitya-tree of Sambhava and Priyaṅgu of Abhinandana. Sāla which is the Cāitya-tree of Sambhava is given as the tree of Ajita. The Table referred to above does not agree with either Hemacandra or with the Uttarapurāṇa etc. Possibly there was some mistake due to oversight in the above Table. The Tīloyapaṇṇati, 4.916, p. 264, gives Sāraṇa as the Cāitya-tree of Abhinandana.
81. Trīṣṭiṣṭi, parva III.2; Uttarapurāṇa, parva 50; Tīloyapaṇṇati, 4.52ff for details about this Jina in both the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara traditions.
82. Dōmānān hitāyaurya śuriṇuṣṭāḥ; yātā parāśe jñānaḥ: yuṣṭīrāvatsa nārīrī: yuṣṭīrī: śurīṣṭi śūnyatāḥ.
83. Abhi, Chin., I.26 and comm. Also see Trīṣṭiṣṭi, III.3.196; Stevenson, Heart of Jainism, p. 52.
84. Ramachandran, T.N., Tirupurutikuram and its Temples, Table on pp. 192-93.
85. Ramachandran, T.N., op. cit., gives the Sālu tree. There seems to have been a mistake due to oversight from no. 2 onwards in the printed table, and it continues further.
86. Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India, for 1907-1908, pp. 113ff.
87. Mānapatra, R.P., Jaina Monuments of Orissa, pp. 64ff, fig. 39. Also see his Udayaṇīgiri and Khandagiri Caves for references to all Jaina sculptures in these caves.
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published under the title Mahapurāṇa, vols. I-III, by the Bhāratīya-Jānāmiṣṭha, Delhi, parva 52; Tīrayatapassati, 4.52ff., pp. 217ff for details about this Jina.


92. Tīrayatapassati, op. cit., pp. 217ff; Tīrayatī, III, sarga 5; Uttarapurāṇa (also called Mahapurāṇa of Jinasena), parva 53, Kalolakapakāśa, 32.454ff.

93. Cf.: गृहस्तेस्वरूप नावनो वनकाव्यचतुर्भूती।

Also see Bhattacharya, B.C., op. cit., pp. 43-44.

94. Kav erm 4 जानन कर दुरुस्थ देखो गुप्तिकिरनी।


96. According to Tīrayatapassati, Nandyāvarśa is the cognizance of Supārśa.


98. Also see Coomaraswamy, A.K., History of Indian and Indonesian Art, fig. 85, and no. 3.77 from Kankali Tila in the Lucknow museum showing the Jina (Pārśva) with seven snake-hoods.


100. Also see Shah, U.P., Studies in Jain Art, pl. 12.


104. Ibid., p. 102.


106. Ibid., fig. 121. Fig. 81 represents Kamañ̄a's attack carved on the rock at Karakoyāl (Pandya, 8th-9th cent.). Here Pārśva has a canopy of five snake-hoods, so also in fig. 1 from Kalogumalai (Pandya, 8th cent.), and fig. 44 from Tirakkot (Pallava, 8th cent.), or fig. 48 from Melkattam, south Arcot district, TN (Pallava-Chola transition, 8th-9th cent.), or fig. 85 from Kilakukulul (Pandya, 9th cent.).

107. Ibid., fig. 43.

108. Tīwāri, op. cit., p. 102 identifies J.935 as Pārśvanātha.


110. Tīwāri, op. cit., identifies as Supārśvanātha.


112. Tīrayatapassati, 4.512ff., pp. 206ff; Uttarapurāṇa, parva 54; Tīrayatī, parva III, sarga 4.

113. Cf.: गृहस्तेस्वरूपाश्रयत्वोद्वित्तीयोऽक्रमाणि विशंकतुः

Also cf.: कृष्ण कुमार यथा संभोग वस्त्रसिद्धार्थम्

—Tīrayatī, III.6.49

114. Punnāga, probably Calophyllum inophyllum, a large tree of Coromandel coast with beautiful white fragrant blossoms and numerous stamens arranged in rows.


116. Ibid., pp. 53-54, 85.


For a sculpture of standing Candraprabha from Sānagāri, Raigir, see Voice of Akṣamā, vol. 12, no. 9.


119. JAA, vol. II, pl. 159, fig. A.

120. Studies in Jain Art, fig. 44.

121. Mohapatra, R.P., Udayagiri & Khandagiri Caves, pl. 84, fig. 2; pl. 89, fig. 1; pl. 98, fig. 1.


124. Tīrayatapassati, 4.512ff; Uttarapurāṇa, parva 55; Tīrayatī, III, parva 7.

125. कुक्षीय कर्मविद्वत्ता तत्त्वसंस्कार धातुशुचिः

Also cf.: कृष्णविविभाषतो वस्त्रसिद्धार्थवस्त्रसिद्धार्थम्

—Uttarapurāṇa, 55.28


131. Gai, G.S., op. cit.


134. Tiloyapāṇattī, 4.5122ff, Uttarāpurāṇa, parva 56; Tristāṇī, III.8.

135. रासा सर्वव्यापकता नादवचनों नाचारसृजन नादवचनों।

— Tristāṇī, III.8.47

136. Samavāyāṅka śūtra, sū. 157 for a list of Cātayya-trees of all the 24 Tirthankāras. Tiloyapāṇattī, 4.916-918, gives a list of all the 24 Cātayya-trees. Ramachandran, T.N., op. cit., pp. 192f.

137. Samavāyāṅka śūtra, sū. 157 calls them Ananda and Ānanda.

138. Jaina Pratīma-Viśāna (Hindi), p. 105. He refers to Anderson's Catalogue, p. 206. It seems that Anderson could not identify the image correctly and somebody might have done the identification for him. Also see Bhattacharya, B.C., Jaina Iconography, 2nd ed., p. 47, note 1.


140. Mitra, Debala, op. cit.; Mohapatra, R.P., op. cit., pl. 89, fig. 2, and pl. 98, fig. 2.


142. Tiloyapāṇattī, 4.512ff, pp. 206ff; Uttarāpurāṇa, parva 57; Tristāṇī, IV.1; Bhattacharya, B.C., op. cit., p. 48.

143. विषयानां भाषातितानि विश्लेषणात्मक शैलीः

— Tristāṇī, IV.1.88

(For the story regarding this bed, see Stevenson, Heart of Jainism, p. 53; Bhattacharya, B.C., op. cit., p. 47.)


145. Mohapatra, R.P., Udāyagiri & Khādigarī Caves, pl. 89, 2 and pl. 102, 2; Mitra, Debala, Journal of the Asiatic Society, op. cit., p. 47.

146. Bhattacharya, B.C., op. cit., p. 47.


148. Tiloyapāṇattī, 4.512ff, pp. 206ff; Uttarāpurāṇa, parva 58; Tristāṇī, IV.2.

149. बवुद्ध-नामेको नानावलय इति रवसः

यथा नाम नां भाषाय दुभवहृदय नमसे।

— Tristāṇī, IV.2.56

शक्तिरिद्वस्ती पूजयों बवुद्धस्वरुप यस्य श्रावः

नामानुसार: सत्तो गुप्त्य संस्कृत: च पुनः सः।

— Uttarāpurāṇa, 58.1

150. Uttarāpurāṇa, 58.51-52.

151. Tristāṇī, IV.2.359-60.


153. Tiwari, M.N.P., Jaina Pratīma-Viśāna (Hindi), p. 106. He refers to fig. 17 of his book but that is Candrawabha from Kausambi. He also refers to Photographs nos. 59.36 and 102.6 of the American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi, for the Shabhdol image.

154. Mitra, Debala, Śāsmādeviś in the Khādigarī Caves, op. cit., p. 131, pl. IVB; Mohapatra, R.P., Udāyagiri & Khādigarī Caves, pl. 89, fig. 2, and pl. 99, fig. 2.

155. Tiloyapāṇattī, 4.512ff, pp. 212ff; Uttarāpurāṇa, parva 59; Tristāṇī, IV.3.

156. नाशासं ब्रह्माण्यानं तत्र तत्त्वं स्वस्सत् अश्वतः

— Tristāṇī, IV.3.48

157. Uttarāpurāṇa, 59.22.


159. Mitra, Debala, ibid., p. 131, pl. IVB; Mohapatra, R.P., ibid., pl. 90, fig. 1 and pl. 100, fig. 1.


162. Tiloyapāṇattī, 4.512ff, pp. 206ff; Uttarāpurāṇa, parva 60; Tristāṇī, IV.4.

163. श्रवणे केलितरिद्वस्ती श्रावः

— Tristāṇī, IV.4.47


165. Kinnara according to Tiloyapāṇattī, 4.945, p. 216.

166. Tristāṇī, IV.4.197.


168. Mohapatra, R.P., op. cit., pl. 90, fig. 1 and pl. 98, fig. 1.


170. Only the pedestal remains. Later in samvat 1394 an image of Kunthunathā was installed in the cell according to inscription no. 117 of Muni Jayantivairya.

171. Tiloyapāṇattī, 4.512ff, pp. 206ff; Uttarāpurāṇa, parva 61; Tristāṇī, IV.5.

172. श्रवणे केलितरिद्वस्ती श्रावः

— Tristāṇī, IV.5.49


177. Mohapatra, R.P., op. cit., pl. 91, fig. 1; pl. 100, fig. 2.

178. Tiloyapāṇattī, 4.512ff, pp. 206ff; Uttarāpurāṇa, parva 63; Tristāṇī, V.1.


180. अव श्रवणे केलितरिद्वस्ती श्रावः

— Uttarāpurāṇa, 63.406

180a. अव श्रवणे केलितरिद्वस्ती श्रावः

— Uttarāpurāṇa, 63.406

कथा नामान्यात्तत्त्वं तत्त्वं स्वस्सत् अश्वतः

— Tristāṇī, V.1.104


Also compare: Jain Education International

—Lahguśānti, 3-6

183. Cf.:

Also compare:

—Ajita-Śánti-stava, v. 12

184. Sāntinatha Acāra-Dinakara's expression of his knowledge of dogma and practice in connection with the Śaiva tradition. The text of the Śaiva-Dinakara is found in the Sānti-stava, v. 1.


187. Shah, U.P., Akota Bronzes, figs. 7a, 7b.

188. Ibid., figs. 11 and 74a for the Jina installed by Jina-Śrīśekhara Varānāsīṣyaṇa, and fig. 41b for Ajitānatha. Figs. 34 and 31b and 36a show no dharmanātra motif at all.

189. Lunders' List, no. 27. The image is now preserved in the Lucknow Museum. Also see New Jain Inscriptions from Mathura, Epigraph., I, pp. 371ff. As shown by J.E. van Lohezen de Leeuw, The Scythian Period, pp. 269ff, the inscription belongs to the group in which the number for 190 is omitted and therefore gives a date 119-197 A.D.


194. Chandra, Pramod, op. cit., p. 158.


196. Tiwari, op. cit., p. 110.


204. Ibid., p. 40.

205. Ibid., p. 149.

206. Ibid., pp. 364-65, also p. 345 for an image of Sānti-Jīna set up by Sānti-deva Raya at Gerāsoppe.


208. Muni Śilavijaya's book on these paintings is being published by the L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad. U.P. Shah's article on these two pattiśas is being published in the Pandit Bhagawati Indrajit number of the Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bombay (forthcoming issue).

209. Tiloyapannatti, 4.512ff, pp. 206ff; Uttarapurāṇa, parva 64; Trisastī, VI.1.

210. Trisastī, VI.1.50


212. Vividha-Tirtha-Kalpa, p. 86.

213. Mohapatra, R.P., Udayagiri & Khandagiri Caves (Delhi, 1981), pl. 92, fig. 1, pl. 101, fig. 1.


218. Ibid., p. 450.

219. Ibid., p. 452.

220. Tiloyapannatti, 4.512ff, pp. 206ff; Uttarapurāṇa, parva 65; Trisastī, VI.2.

221. Trisastī, VI.2.42

222. Burgess, on the evidence of Canarese (Kannada) dhūyana-śilokas, gives the deer symbol, Indian Antiquary, Vol. 32, pp. 460ff, but Ramachandran who also referred to some Canarese traditions, omits the deer and only gives the fish (Dīgha) or Nandāvarta (Sve).

223. Tiloyapannatti, 4.605, p. 219. Tagarakasauna — fish according to translators of this text. Tagara plant is Valaria Hardwickii (Indian Medicinal Plants, p. 667). Tagara plant is not known to have been depicted as a cognate of this Jina in any known sculpture.

224. Vividha-Tirtha-Kalpa, p. 86.


231. Mohapatra, R. P., op. cit., pl. 92, fig. 1, pl. 101, fig. 1.

232. Tiloyapataññī, 4.512ff, pp. 206ff; Uttaraparāṇa, parva 6; Tīrāṣṭi, VI.6; Nāyārakamakaraḥ, 8 (Vaidya's ed.), pp. 90ff.

233. Pūjānukalpanaṃ Śvetadvīpānāṃ

234. Ṭhānācchanaṃ nāma matrānūṣaḥ padmaḥśūlaṃ n. 11


236. JAA, III, p. 591.

237. JAA, III, p. 562.

238. Mohapatra, R. P., op. cit., pl. 93, fig. 1, pl. 101, fig. 2.

239. JAA, III, p. 575.


243. Tiloyapataññī, 4.512ff, pp. 206ff; Uttaraparāṇa, parva 67; Tīrāṣṭi, VI.7.

244. Saṃvatānāmavatā mārā mūrṇānubhūtaṃ padmaḥ

245. mūrṇānubhūta mahākāyaṃ devatāya śivēsāmīr mūrṇānubhūtaṃ padmaḥ

246. Tīrāṣṭi, VI.7.141


248. Saṃvatānāmavatā śūnya, sū. 157. Also see Malavaniya, Dalaṅkha D., Saṃvatānāmavatā, pp. 696ff.

249. Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa, p. 86.


251. Āvāyaka Nirvākā, vv. 949-51; Haribhadra’s Vṛtti, p. 437; Āvāyaka Cūṇi, p. 567.


253. See note 250 above.

254. JAA, III, p. 578.

255. JAA, III, p. 588.

256. Tiwari, op. cit., p. 115.

257. JAA, III, p. 591.

258. JAA, III, p. 572, plate 358B.

259. For detailed account about the stories connected with the Pañca, see Holy Abu, by Muni Shri Jayantvijaya (transl. in English by U.P. Shah, Bhavanagar, 1954), pp. 100-105; Tīrāṣṭi dīkṣāpatīpatracarita, parva VI, saṅga 2; Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa, pp. 207ff; Bhandarkar, D.R., Jaina Iconography, Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1905-06, pp. 141-149.

260. Tiloyapataññī, 4.512ff, pp. 206ff; Uttaraparāṇa, parva 69; Tīrāṣṭi, VII.

261. B.C. Bhattacharya, The Jaina Iconography (2nd ed.), p. 57, noted that “according to the disputed opinion, the place was not Mithila but Mathura.” He has however not cited reference to the disputed opinion against the Uttarapurāṇa tradition noted by him. Tiloyapataññī, 4.546, Vol. I, p. 210 also gives Mithila and not Mathura. Cf.

262. Abhidhāna Cintāmanī, I.26ff and comm. of Hemacandra

263. Also see Uttaraparāṇa, 69.1 and 69.72.

264. Bhattacharya, B.C., op. cit., p. 56.

265. Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa, p. 86.


268. Tiwari, op. cit., p. 117.

269. Mohapatra, R. P., Udayagiri & Khandagiri Caves, pl. 94, fig. 1 and plate 101, fig. 2.

270. Tiloyapataññī, 4.512ff; Uttaraparāṇa, parva 70 & 71; Tīrāṣṭi, Neminicārita; Vasudevaḥsāti, p. 71; Horivamśāpurāṇa, of Jinasena, chp. 37ff.

271. For such scenes see the Vimala Vasāhi and the Luṇa Vasāhi, see Holy Abu, pp. 67ff etc. Also see Sankalia, H.D., Archaeology of Gujarāt, fig. 50.


276. Elements of Jaina Iconography, p. 44, fig. 13.

277a. Ibid., pp. 41-43, 48-49.


279. Ibid., p. 327, also see p. 346 for a Nemisvara-Caityālaya erected by Yojana Sreṣṭi at Gerasoppa. The builder was an ancestor of Ambavana Sreṣṭi, a business magnate of the time of Salva Inmaḍi Deva Raya.

280. Bhatt, P. Gururaja, Studies in Tulwa History and Culture, pp. 438-441. Also Ibid., pl. 412a, c, for figures of
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Neminātha in the Śaṅkunīthā-Bastī, Bengali; pl. 414a, for Nemi in sitting posture in the Neminātha-Bastī, Hīrinyaṅgādi, Karkal; pl. 428b, c, for Neminātha in the Neminātha-Bastī, Varanaga.

281. Jain Art and Architecture (JAA), Vol. II, p. 229; also see p. 228 and pl. 135B.
282. Ibid., pp. 227, 328-329.
285. Avaśyaka Cārī, p. 273. Upanaśa was a Pāśavaccijja who after giving up monastic life became a householder and earned his living from fortune telling (nimitta) in Athithyagāna. His two sisters Somā and Jayanti who had once joined Pārśva's Order are reported to have rescued Gosāla and Mahāvīra in the Corayasanamāsā (ibid., p. 286). Muniacandra, who called himself a Samaṇa Nigaṇṭha, was a follower of Pārśva. Also see Avaśyaka Cārī, p. 291.
286. Bhogavati sūtra, 9.32. For Kalasasvayamputta, another follower of Pārśva, converted by Mahāvīra, see ibid., I.9. Pundarīkya was a follower of the four vows, according to Nārāyanaśrīmānbadhū, XIX.
287. Kalisuputta, Mēhilī, Anandarakkha and Kagava were chief amongst them, Bhagavati sūtra, 2.5. For references to lay women and female ascetics of the order of Pārśva, see Nārāyanaśrīmānbadhū, II, Nirayavajjaya, 4.
288. Suyogadāma sūtra, II.7.
289. Rājaparśayāya sūtra, sū. 147f. refers to him as a young monk of the order of Pārśva and states that he knew the fourteen Pārśvas.
291. Tilokaparnāti, 4.512ff., pp. 206ff.; Uttarapuruṣa, parva 73; Triṣṭī, parva 8; Sīrī-Pāsanahe-čarīyam (Prakṛti) of Devabhadrā sūri (Sve.; Pārśvanāthacaritam (Sanskrit) of Vādīrāja sūri (Dig.)).
292. अत्र नामः प्रत्येकन श्रद्धा अवशेषभाव गता पाश विशेष, चक्रवत्त्य देवोहि देवताओऽभ्रातः वाचयति नायिकानि।
293. Kaṇḍaśūtra-Subhedinī, p. 128
294. Saṃśāra-dhāma, Saṃśāra-sāṃśāra-dhāma, तद्रसविधानं, नाम सावित्री, वाक्यस्य ततः, नायिकाः
295. किरंतो विद्यां सयासतिः सत्त्वम्, नायिकाः
298. Both the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras give graphic accounts of this Uttarapuruṣa. Below are cited a few passages which would help one to understand and interpret representations of this Jaina version of the Buddhist theme of “The Attack of Mara”:
(1) दूषितकात्त्वसमोदिते गृहस्थोविवाहसत्त्वं।
(2) पायानम सया देवयास्तिः सत्त्वं।
(3) प्रवर्तकोचितानि कामस्थितिः।
(4) अन्यत्र यथा देवशोभो देवगिरि वसिताः।
(5) नानास्वयमस्रवस्य वितृषषिता, विवर्तकी।

—Uttarapurāṇa, 73.137-41

Also see Pārśvanāthacaritam of Vādīrāja sūri, canto XI, verses 51-87.

(2) पायानकश्रिां दुषितकात्त्वसत्त्वं।
(3) दूषितकात्त्वसमोदिते गृहस्थो देवयास्तिः।
(4) अन्यत्र यथा देवशोभो देवगिरिः।
(5) नानास्वयमस्रवस्य वितृषषिता विवर्तकी।

—Pārśvanāthacarita, of Vādīrāja sūri, XI.77-81

According to this work the attacking demi-god was called Bhūtānanda.

(3) पायानकश्रिां दुषितकात्त्वसत्त्वं।
(4) अन्यत्र यथा देवशोभो देवगिरिः।
(5) नानास्वयमस्रवस्य वितृषषिता विवर्तकी।

Also see Āvasyaka Nāyikā, gāthā 1091; Sīrī-Pāsanahe-čarīyam, prastāva 3, p. 152.

298. Sīrī-Pāsanahe-čarīyam, 3, p. 167 speaks of only one snake who became Dhaniendra after death. The Digambara texts speak of a pair of snakes.


—Comm. on Abhidhāna Cintāmani, I.26ff.
According to this work the attacking demi-god was called Bhūtānanda.

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208. Shah, U.P., Akota Bronze (Bombay, 1959), figs. 42a, 42b. Also compare *ibid.*, figs. 54-54g, ca. 800-920.


215. Pramod Chandra, *Some Remarks on Bihar Sculptures, Aspects of Indian Art* (Los Angeles, 1972), pp. 78ff, pl. XXVI.

216. Especially read our remarks on pp. 273-275 in our article, *Jaina Bronzes—A Brief Survey, Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture* (Ahmedabad, 1975). This bronze is very light in weight, though there is core inside. There is predominance of copper in the alloy and it looks like made of copper mostly. It is unlike all Jaina bronzes known so far, especially in the treatment of physiognomy and limbs, except the figure of Parshvanatha in the Pu’dhukkojjati Museum.


220. *Bharata ke Digambara Jaina Tirtha* (Hindi, Bombay, 1978), Vol. IV, pp. 103-105, fig. 26; Shah, U.P., *A Rare Naga Sculpture from Rajaunjan, Lalit Kala*, no. 13, p. 51 and pl. XXVI, fig. 1. This is being discussed again in Researcher (Jipur) forthcoming issue, by U.P. Shah.


227. See note 326 above.


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Museum, New Delhi, JOI, Vol. XXIV, nos. 1-2, pp. 238-242, figs. 1, 2, 5, 6.

331. Bhattacharya, B.C., Jainha Iconography, First Edition, pl. VI.


333. Jainha Pratima-Vijnana, p. 130.


335. Negative no. 676 of Indian Museum, Arch. Section.


341. Joshi, Arun, History & Culture of Khati Jingakota under the Bhanjas (Delhi, 1983), fig. 46.


349. See also Cintamani-Kalpa, of Dharmeghosa suri (c. 14th cent. A.D.), published in Mandradhūra-Cintamani, pp. 30ff.


351. For further details, see Shah, U.P., Superstructural Beings in the Jainha Tantras, Acharya Dhirwa Commemoration Volume, part 111.

352. Ibid., p. 83.


354. Called Seniya (Srenika) and Kupiya (Kunika) in Jainha works. For various accounts see Jaina, J.C., Life in Ancient India as depicted in Jainha Canons, pp. 378ff., 398ff.

355. The date has been a matter of great controversy. A noteworthy work on the subject is a critical essay by Muni Kalyanavijaya, in Hindi, entitled Vira Nirvaga Samvat aur Jainha Kalpavali, Nagar Pracharini Patrika, vols. X, XI. Also see Schubring, Der Lehrer Der Jainas, pp. 8, 30. According to some, including Jacob, the date is taken as 457 B.C. Also see Age of Imperial Unity, pp. 36-38; for dates of Buddha and Mahāvira and for their relations with Bimbisāra and Ajatashatru, ibid., pp. 19-28. Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 156. Muni Nagaraja, Agama aur Tripitaka, Vol. I.

356. Uttarapura, a, on Gunabhadra, 74, vv. 252-256.


358. खुलासा: हुसूली मूर्ति श्रावणसप्तमी (नवरात्री) वर्षाजी माता देविकी। चैत्रवीर्य यहाँ लोकों की परामर्श।

बताने की प्राणकाल की दर्शनीयता है।

ब्राह्मण महाभागी की प्राणकाल की दर्शनीयता है।

सर्वजयस्य निर्माणकाल की प्राणकाल की दर्शनीयता है।

— Harivansa, 2.16-18

This difference in Śvetāmbara and Digambara traditions is noteworthy. Also see Chp. I above, pp. 2ff. Uttarapura, 74. For Mahāvira’s relationship with Bimbisāra, Udana, Pradyota and others, see Jaina, J.C., op. cit., pp. 382ff.

For remarks on the legend of Transfer of Embryo, see above, Chp. I, pp. 2ff.

359. As usual in the Digambara tradition, Īndra named him Vira and Vardhaman, Uttarapura, 74. 276. For names of Mahāvira, see Kalpa-sūtra, 108, 110; Tripāṭti, X.2.100; cf. Aadvaka-Niyukt, 1091.


361. Uttarapura, 74. 287ff.

362. Also called Kanuka-kūṭa, see Kalpa-sūtra-Subhodhikā, pp. 264-265.

363. For uṣṣaya by Sangamaka, see Tripāṭti, X.2.106ff., Uttarapura, 74, 287ff.

364. The incidents are not described in the Kalpa-sūtra and the Ācāra-sūtra, but see Tripāṭti, X.2.119-122. Kalpa-sūtra-Subhodhikā (a comm. on Kalpa-sūtra), pp. 265-267.


366. For a discussion on this with citations, see Boll Chand, Lord Mahāvīra, pp. 28ff.


Cf. एवं ज्ञात्वायते यातृत्वादित्यतः

ज्ञात्वादित्यस्य निर्माणकाल कर्तव्यातः।

कार्यसंयोजः नियम ब्रह्मचारणः।

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Digambara sources merely state that he took dikṣā at the age of 30. Harivamśa, 2.47; Uttarāpurāṇa, 74.240ff.


369. Ibid., pp. 195-200; Uttarāpurāṇa, 74.266ff.

370. Uttarāpurāṇa, 74.331ff.

371. Also see Shah, U.P., Kapardī Yakṣa and Brahmatānti Yakṣa. Journal of the M.S. University of Baroda, Vol. 7, pp. 59-72. The upasarga by Sūlāṇaṇa took place in the first year after Mahāvīra’s renunciation, according to Śvetāmbara traditions.


373. The Kalpa-sūtra does not give details, see S.B.E., op. cit., pp. 260ff. But the Āvāyika Nirukti gives in a very concise form, by way of catch-words, the account of his itinerary and the various upasargas, see Āvāyika Nirukti, gathas 161ff., Haribhadra’s Āvāyika Vṛtti, pp. 188ff.

374. Kodivarsa was the capital of the Ladha country which was divided into Vajjabhami and Subbhabhami. Ladha or Radha comprised the modern districts of Hooghly, Howrah, Bankura, Bardwan and eastern parts of Midnapore. Ladha was regarded as an anayya-desa.


378. This is the Śvetāmbara version. Account of Sāŋgamaṇaka in the Digambara tradition is given before. This attack of Sāŋgamaṇaka (Śvet.) as described by Hemacandra may be compared with the attack of Kamaṭha on Pārśva-nātha discussed in the preceding section.

379. Āvāyika Nirukti, v. 526 and comm. of Haribhadra,
CHAPTER NINE

Śāsana-Devatās

A. YAKṢA WORSHIP IN JAINISM

Ancient Indian literature, Hindu, Buddhist, or Jain is full of references to Yakṣas, as also to other spirits like the Nāgas, Apsarasas, Gandharvas, and so on. Coomaraswamy in his excellent pioneer work on the Yakṣas has shown that the designation Yakṣa was originally practically synonymous with Deva or Devatā and no essential distinction can be made between Yakṣas and Devas. In the earlier Vedic texts there is a total absence of many of the most fundamental features of Hinduism properly so called, it is only in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads that the ideas of Sāhasrā, Karma, Yoga, Bhakti etc. begin to appear and the same applies to the cults of Śiva, Kṣiṇa, Yakṣas, Nāgas, innumerable gods and goddesses and localised deities. These ideas and deities derive, not from the Vedic Aryan tradition, but as De la Valée Poussin expresses it, 'From uncertainty fond common, très riche, et que non se connaissent pas par faîtement.' It must not be overlooked that in the Vedas, and in the literature before the second century B.C., we possess only one-sided view of the Indian religion and representing, quantitatively at least, the smaller part of the Indian religion. The mass of the people worshipped, not the abstract deities of priestly theology, but local genii, yakṣas and nāgas, and feminine divinities of increase and mother-goddesses. These popular beliefs and cults were probably of non-Aryan origin, at least a large number of them appear to be of Dravidian, non-Aryan or indigenous origin. It should be noted that the clans particularly associated with such beliefs and cults were by no means completely Brahmanised, and most of the earliest figures of the yakṣas, nāgas, vṛkṣa-devatās are to be found in the Buddhist remains at Bharhut.

The word yakṣa occurs several times in the Rgveda, Atharvaveda, Brahmaṇas and the Upaniṣads. The word yakṣa in the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa (iii.203-272) means nothing more than a 'wondrous thing'. In the sense of a spirit or genius, usually associated with Kubera, it does not appear before the age of the Grihya-sūtras where yakṣas are invoked together with the numerous other major and minor deities all classed as Būtās. In a somewhat later book they are possessing spirits of diseases—grahas (Mānava-Grihya-Sūtra, II.14), while the Śāṅkhyāna Grihya Sūtra mentions Māṇibhadra. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Kubera is a Rākṣasa and lord of robbers and evil doers which suggests that he was an aboriginal deity alien to Brahmanical pantheon. In the Sūtras he is invoked with Śāna for the husband in the marriage ritual and his hosts plague children.

In earlier Buddhist records, Yakkha as an appellation is, like Nīga, anything but deprecative. Not only is Sakka so called but Buddha himself is so referred to in poetic diction (Mañjihma Nīkāya, I.252, 353). In the Anguttara Nikāya, II.37, Buddha finds it necessary to say that he is not a Deva, Gandhabba or Yakkha. In the Anguttara Nikāya, Buddhist literature, Yakkhas are sometimes represented as teachers of good morals and as guardian spirits (Therā-Theri gāthā, XLIV). Tibetan sources cited by A. Schneifler (Tibetan Tales from Kah-gyur, Ralston, p. 81) show that the Śkyas honoured a yakṣa by name Śākya-vardhana as a tutelary deity. The inscription on the Bāwaya image of Māṇibhadra shows that the yakṣa was worshipped by the gaṇthas or merchants.

The Mahāmāyuri which gives a list of Yakṣas of different places—a list of well-known shrines of
different deities at different places, and of different sects—used the term Yakṣa in the sense of Deva, Deity of worship (e.g. Viṣṇu-yakṣo-Dvārikāyām).

The evidence collected by Coomaraswamy shows that Kubera's yakṣa followers possess the power of assuming any shape, they are kindly but at the same time can fight fiercely as guardians, and it is as guards and gate-keepers that they appear in the Buddhist art; they are sometimes specifically grouped with the Nāgas, more often with the gods, Gandharvas and Nāgas. The Rāmāyana (3.11.94) speaks of yakṣatva (spirithood) and amaratva (immortality) together as boons bestowed by a god or gods, while the Mahābhārata (6.41.4) tells us that men of the Sāttvika class worship gods or Devas, of the Rājasika class, the Yakṣas and Rākṣasas, and of the Tāmasika class, the Pretas and Bhūtas. The Yakṣas in the Epics are sometimes sylvan deities, usually but not always gentle. The Yakṣas are also known as Gahiyakas.

But the Yakṣas were regarded as both benevolent and malefic by all the three religions—Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jaina. Some Yakṣagrahas are attendants of Skanda, who is called Guha (Hopkins, Epic Mythology, pp. 145, 229). The Atanatiya suttanta (Dīgha Nikāya, III, 195) speaks of good and bad yakshas. If any of these assail a Buddhist monk or layman, he is to appeal to the higher yakshas. The text gives a list of Yakṣa chiefs which includes Indra, Soma, Varuṇa, Prajāpati, Māyūra-hanumāṇa, Alavaka etc. Here is an unequivocal attempt at assigning to some of the well-known Vedic gods the position of yakṣa chiefs who are said to be obedient to Vessavaṇa or Kubera.


The above list is also given in the comm. of Malayagiri on the Pannavaṇī (Prajñāpanā) sūtra where the sixth class is called Vyatipāṭikabhadras, other names being the same. According to the Kalpa sūtra, from the moment of the descent of Mahāvra into the mother's womb, many Jīmbhaka-gods in Vaiśramāṇa's service, residing in the tiryak (lower) world, brought, on Śakra's command, to the palace of King Siddhārtha, old and ancient treasures from various places.

The benevolent character of yakṣas, nāgas and others is referred to in a number of stories. Bhādā, the wife of a merchant (satthavāha) Dhanva, worships with flowers, scented pastes etc. several representations, outside the city of Rājagaha, of Nāgas, Bhūtas, Yakṣas, Indras, Skandhas, Rudras, Sivas, Vaiśramāṇa (Vesamaṇa), in order to obtain a child. The shrines are referred to as Nāgaghara, Bhūyaghar, Kakkhadewula and so on. Subhadrā promised Surambara Jakkha one hundred buffaloes if she would be blessed with a son. The Vivāgasūya says that one Gangadatta, who had no issue, visited the shrine of Umbaradatta Jakkha outside the city of Pātalihānda, left in company of female friends of her caste and worshipped the yakṣa. She then bowed down to the image, and before it a brush of peacock-feathers (lomahatthā), bathed it with water, wiped it with a woollen cloth (Panahala-pakṣama), dressed it with garments, adorned it with flowers, garlands, scented powders, placed incense-burners in front and kneeling down, prayed for an issue. She promised a sacrificial rite (yāga), a gift (dāya), a part of income or grains (bhāga) or an aksayanidhi (a special fund deposited for the purpose of worship). It may incidentally be noted that this is the form of worship of Tirthankaras also as can be seen from the worship performed by Draupadi or the gods Sūryābha and Vījaya, noted in Jain canons. The Nāyādhammakāhā also refers to a shrine of Selaghe Jakkha, who had the form of a horse, situated in a forestgrov (vankhanḍa) of Rāmnadīpa. The Jakkha saved two merchants from the clutches of cruel robbers and carried them back to the city of Campā. A Jakkha Gaṅḍitinduga of Varanasi is said to have guarded the sage Mātanga in the Tinduva garden. The Uttarādhyayana further says that by practising self-restraint one is born among the yakṣas, and that the yakṣas, devas, dānavas, and kinnaras pay veneration to those who practise celibacy. According to the Āśāyaka Nirukti, the Vibhelaga Jakkha in the Gāmāya Sannivesa, paid reverence to Mahāvra when the latter was engaged in meditation.
The **Pindaniryukti** refers to the shrine of Mānibhadra yakṣa which lay outside the town of Samilla in a garden (udāna) and was furnished with an assembly-hall (sabhā). When small-pox broke out in the town, he was requested by the inhabitants to save them from the epidemic. When the trouble subsided, the citizens besmeared the hall with cow-dung on every aṣṭami and other days.\(^1\)

The Yakṣas are reported to be constructive genii, skilled in town-planning and architecture. All through the ages, even to this day, folk-tales speak of construction of palaces, roads, etc., in a night by the yakṣas. The **Vasudevahindi** describes the city of Vīnīta, the capital of Rṣabhanātha, planned and constructed by Vesamana, at the bidding of Śakra.\(^2\) The yakṣas are famous for their function as gatekeepers in the Sāmahisaraṇa of a Jina,\(^3\) and as Lords of Vijaya, Vaijayanta, Jayanta and Aparājita dvāras or gates of the jagati of the Jambūdvipa.\(^4\) Kautīya’s reference to the shrines of Vijaya, Vaijayanta, Jayanta and Aparājita\(^5\) in the centre of the city-fortifications is especially noteworthy. They are Yakṣa-devatās as can be inferred from the Jaina data noted above. A **Yakṣa Anādhiya**\(^6\) (Anāḍya) is the Lord of the whole of Jambūdvipa according to the Jaina traditions, and it is obvious that this function as a superintending deity is based upon the conception that he is the protector of Jambūdvipa.

The malefic character of Yakṣas from earlier Jaina texts may now be examined. **Śūlapāni Yakṣa** at Ashthikāgrāma (bone-city) near Vardhamāna-pura used to kill the local people and those who stayed in his shrine. The village came to be so called from the heap of bones of such dead bodies. A shrine was built for this Yakṣa on the ashes of a bull who after death was reborn as Yaṅka Śūlapāni.\(^7\) He tried to disturb Maheśvara in his meditations when the sage spent a night in this shrine but the Yakṣa was ultimately overpowered and worshipped Maheśvara. A wooden statue of Yakṣa Surapriya which was carved along with attendant prāthihāyas (samhitapādīhere) was painted every year, the painter being finally killed by the Yakṣa himself. The shrine (Jakkhāyana) of Surapriya was situated to the north-east outside the city of Sāketa.\(^8\) A Yakṣa indulging in the habit of violating vows of Jaina monks is referred to in the Bṛhatkalpa-Bhūṣya.\(^9\) People were believed to have been possessed by Yakṣas (Jakkhāvessa, Yakṣagrahā), Bhūtas and other spirits; Ajanaya, a garland bearer of Rājagṛha, obsessed by Moggarapāni Yakṣa, killed six gangsters and his own wife with the iron-mace which the Yakṣa (statue of wood) held in his hand.\(^10\) The Jambudvipaprajñāpī\(^11\) refers to Indagaha, Khandagaha, Kumāragaha, Jakkhagaha and Bhūyagaha. Yakṣas used to enjoy sexual intercourse with girls.\(^12\)

While the Vāṇamantari (Vyantri Yakṣas belong to this Vyantri or Vāṇamantara class) Sāleṣṭhā is said to have paid reverence to Maheśvara, in the Sālavana-Udāna outside the village of Bahuśīlaka, another Vāṇamantari, Kālopīyanā (Katha-pūtanā) by name, caused him trouble but was ultimately subdued.\(^13\)

The Ādambara Jakkha, also known as Hiraṇikuṭa Jakkha, was the Yakṣa of the Mātangas,\(^14\) who were regarded as low-class people, similarly the people known as Dombas worshipped as their tutelary deity the Ghanājika Jakkha, who whispered in the ear when questioned about future.\(^15\) This Yakṣa seems to have been incorporated in Śaivism as a Vira, Ghanākārpa by name.\(^16\) Thus the deities of people who formed the earliest inhabitants of India, the Munḍas, Nāgas, etc. (perhaps Negritos, Austro-Tartars and others), were being incorporated gradually by Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. They were mainly popular deities, worshipped by various classes of the Indian masses, sometimes benefic and at times malefic in nature. As we shall see later on, Kāli and other Vidyās are regarded as Vidyās of the Mātanga class, at times called Cāndaḷas in Indian literature, and it is in the beliefs and practices of these ancient inhabitants of India that the origin of the worship of a large number of Hindu, Buddhist and Jain deities ultimately lies.

The railing pillar figures of Yakṣas and Yakṣāṇīs at Bharhat show that they had to be included in places of worship though an inferior status of decorative pillar sculptures was assigned to them. The same is the case with such figures from the Kankali Tila, Mathura.\(^17\) For want of names inscribed below them, it is not possible to recognise them, but it is noteworthy that they have vañhas (dwarf, elephant etc.) below their feet. The earliest known Yaṅka and Yaṅkī statues are the Didarganj Yakṣī, the Yakṣa from Baroda, near Mathura, the Parkham Yaṅka, the two Patna statues in the Indian Museum, the
Besnagar Yakṣi, the statue of Yakṣi Lāwayā still worshipped as Manasā devī, at Mathura, the Yakṣa from Noh, etc. \(^{22}\)

Some of these early free standing Yakṣa figures appear to have held the flywhisk, as suggested by R.P. Chand. \(^{33}\) (It is significant that the Jaina texts assign to Yakṣas the attendant position of flywhisk-bearers in the parikara of a Tīrthaṅkara image.) It seems however that in the Yakṣa-cult, fly-whisk was regarded as a mark of royalty or dignity since otherwise the ancient Yakṣa statues worshipped as deities would not hold them.

Of the Yakṣas mentioned in the Jaina texts, Māṇibhadra and Pūrṇabhadra invite special attention. They are said to be the two Indras of the Yakṣa class of Vyantarā gods, in Jaina Cosmography. Offerings (niveyanapinā) were made to them. \(^{34}\) The two Yakṣas are said to have paid their veneration to Mahāvira at Campā. \(^{35}\) A Caitya of Māṇibhadra stood to the north-east outside the city of Mithilā, the ancient capital of Tīrhub. \(^{36}\) The description of the Pūrṇabhadra Caitya to the north-east of the city of Campā given in the Aupāpātika sūtra \(^{37}\) is the stock description for all such Caityas mentioned in the Jaina canons. A temple of Bahuputrikā near Viśāla (Ujjain ? Vaiśāli ?) is referred to in the Bhagavati sūtra. \(^{38}\) The same text further refers to Bahuputrikā as one of the four chief Caityas in each of the two Yakṣendras, Māṇibhadra and Pūrṇabhadra. \(^{39}\) Māṇibhadra (Manivarā, Mānicara, Manimat) in the Mahābhārata (5.192,44f) is a Yakṣarāja and Kubera’s chief attendant. He is invoked as a patron of merchants; this may be, according to Coomaraswamy, the explanation of his statue from Pawaya, set up by a guild (gośha) who were Māṇibhadra-bhaktas. And the fact that one of his chief queens is called Bahuputrikā (one having many children) in the Jaina canon, at once suggests that the Jambhala and Hārīti or the Jaina Sarvāṅgha (Sarvāṅabhūti, or Mātanga or Gomeda) \(^{40}\) and Ambikā are based upon the ancient worship of Māṇibhadra-Pūrṇabhadra and Bahuputrikā. Elsewhere in this work \(^{41}\) the relation of Bahuputrikā with Revati-Saṭṭharā and Hārīti is shown. The Māṇibhadra-bhaktas continued at least up to the age of the Nīdesa commentary which mentions them, but the growing popularity of Buddhist Jambhala and Hārīti, of the Jaina Yakṣa pair of Sarvāṅha or Sarvāṅabhūti and Ambikā and of Śiva, Ganeśa, Gauri and Lakṣmi in Hinduism, seems to have wiped off their separate cult. \(^{42}\)

Offerings to Yakṣas, with a long list of other beings, are referred to in the Gīhya-sūtras as being made at the end of Vedic studies; the Śāṅkhyayana śrauta sūtra (1.II.6) mentions Māṇibhadra. \(^{43}\)

It would be useful to collect the names of the different Caityas of different places, mentioned in the Jaina Agamas, especially where Mahāvira is reported to have stayed. The following are mentioned in the Bhagavati sūtra:

**Caitya**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Town or Village</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Dūtipalāsa</td>
<td>Vāṇijya-grāma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kośṭhaka</td>
<td>Śrāvasti (Sahet-Mahet)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Candrāvataraṇa</td>
<td>Kosāmbi (Kauśāmbi—Kosam)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Pūrṇabhadra</td>
<td>Campā (near Bhagalpur)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Jambuka</td>
<td>Ulluka-tira-nagara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Bahuputrikā</td>
<td>Viśāla (Ujjain) (or Vaiśāli)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Guṇāśila</td>
<td>Rājagrha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Bahuśālaka</td>
<td>Brahmaṇaṅkudagrāma (near Vaiśāli)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Kuṇḍiyāyana</td>
<td>Vaiśāli (Baśāri)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Saṅakoṣṭhaka</td>
<td>Mendoṅkha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Nandana</td>
<td>Mokā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Puṣpavatī</td>
<td>Tungikā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Maṇḍikukṣi</td>
<td>Rājagrha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Candrāvataraṇa</td>
<td>Uddāṇḍapura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Āgamaṇḍirā</td>
<td>Campā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Prāpatakāla (?)</td>
<td>Ālabhikā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
17. Saśākhavana
18. Chhatrapalāśa

All the Caityas above may or may not be Yakṣa-temples, they may be temples of deities of the allied groups, Nāgas, Bhūtas and others, nor do the names of shrines always represent the names of deities enshrined in them. This is evidenced from the following analysis of shrines referred to in the Vivāgasūra (Vipāka sūtra):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Udyana</th>
<th>Auyatana of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Campa</td>
<td>Gandanapāyana</td>
<td>Pūrnabhadrā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Miyagāma (Mṛgagāma)</td>
<td>Dūtipalāśa</td>
<td>Suhāma-jakkha (Cirāttam, ancient)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Vāniyagāma</td>
<td></td>
<td>Suhāma jakkha (Sudharmayakṣa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Purimatāla</td>
<td>Amohadamsi</td>
<td>Amohadamsi-jakkha (Amoghadarśi yakṣa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Sahanjant</td>
<td>Devaramana</td>
<td>Amōhā jakkha (Purāye—old)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Kosambi</td>
<td>Gandotarayānam</td>
<td>Śvetabhadrā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Mathura (Mahāra)</td>
<td>Bhandira</td>
<td>Sudārāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Pātalikhaṇḍa</td>
<td>Vanakhaṇḍa</td>
<td>Umbaradatta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Saurīkapura</td>
<td>Soriyavadīmsaganam</td>
<td>Soriya-jakkha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Rohitaka-Rohitak</td>
<td>Pudhavaiḍamsa (Pṛthivyāvatamsa)</td>
<td>Dharana-jakkha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Vaiḍāmānapura</td>
<td>Vijayavaiḍhamāna</td>
<td>Māṇibhadrā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Vardhamānapura)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Hatthiśīsa (Hastiśīra)</td>
<td>Pupphakarananda</td>
<td>Kavyavanamālapīya (Kṛtvanamālapīya)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Usabhapura (Viṣabhapura)</td>
<td>Thūbhakarananda (Śūpa-Karandaka)</td>
<td>Dhanna (Dhanya)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Vīra or Vijayapura</td>
<td>Manorama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Vijayapura</td>
<td>Mandanavanam</td>
<td>Asoga (Aśoka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Saugandhiya (Saugandhika)</td>
<td>Nilāsogam</td>
<td>Sukala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Mahāpura</td>
<td>Rattasogam</td>
<td>Rattapao (Raktapadāh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Kaṇagapura</td>
<td>Setāsoyam (Śvetāsoka)</td>
<td>Virabhaddo (Virabhadrāh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Sughosā</td>
<td>Devaramana</td>
<td>Virāsenā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Campa</td>
<td>Pūnabhadra</td>
<td>Pānabhadra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Sāyam (Sāketa)</td>
<td>Uttarakuru</td>
<td>Pāsāmiyo (Pāsawsamgāh)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that the Vipāka has often used the term uḍyāna for Caitya of other texts.33 The descriptions of Caityas show that they are made up of a garden, grove or park (uḍyāna or vanakhaṇḍa), a shrine and attendants’ houses. Cēiya, Ujjāna and Vanasaṇḍa are often used as synonyms as in Vipāka, II.2, where Duipālīsa Cēiya is called Dūtipalāśa Ujjāna. But more noteworthy is the fact that the name of the Yakṣa is often different from that of the Caitya-Uḍyāna.

This list further helps us to find out that most of the thirteen classes of Yakṣas of the Bhagavatī sūtra are taken from the known famous ancient shrines at various places. It is interesting to note that there existed a shrine of Dharana-jakkha at Rohitaka, the Mahāmyārī list speaks of Kumāra as the Yakṣa of this place. Only further research can show whether Dharana and Kumāra are identical or different. However it seems that the lists of Caityas in the Bhagavatī, Vipāka, Ḫaṭādharmanātha,
Upāsakadaśā and such other Jaina canonical texts represent traditions which are older than the Mahāmāyūrī, even though parts of the available text editions may be of a later date.

The Mahābhārata (3.83.23) speaks of a Yakṣīnī shrine at Rājagṛha as “world renowned”. The Bhagavati refers to the Gunaśīla Cāitya at Rājagṛha, but we do not know to whom it was dedicated. However, it seems that the Mahābhārata probably referred to the ancient Yakṣīnī shrine of the tutelary goddess of Magadha, called Nandā, whom, even in Hiuen-Tasang’s time, people prayed for offspring, she is called the wife of Panchika, a yakṣa, and is represented in Buddhist legend as a devourer of children by small-pox, an ogress, whom Buddha converted and promised offerings as a patroness of fertility and children. If a conjecture be allowed this Nandā is the same as Revati or Śaṣṭhi of the Kāśyapa Samhitā. Hārīti of the Buddhists, Bahuputrikā, the queen of Māṇiprabha-Pūrabhabhadra according to Jaina texts who in her malefic aspects was known as various Patañas, and who in Jainism became popular in the benefic form of Ambikā-devi. The very fact that Ambikā sits under the shade of a mango-tree is reminiscent of the old practice of worshipping the yakṣas and yakṣinis on stone platforms under trees.

Coomaraswamy, after a careful analysis of Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina evidences, wrote: “The essential element of a Yakṣa holyseat is a stone-table or altar (veyaddi-manca) placed beneath the tree sacred to the yakṣa. The bhavanam of the yakṣa Sucilaoma at Gaya is particularly described as a stone couch (dīs or altar) by or on which the Buddha rested, the words used are tākita marca, explained in the commentary to mean a stone slab resting on four other stones (Samyutta Nikāya, Yakkha Sutta, Chp. X, Kindred Sayings I, p. 264). At the Pūṇabhaddaceiya . . . there were not only altars (and probably an image) in an elaborate temple, but also a decorated altar beneath an Aśoka tree in the grove. It was just such an altar beneath a sacred tree that served as the Bodhisattva’s seat on the night of the Great Enlightenment; Sujātā’s maid-servant, indeed, mistakes the Bodhisattva for the tree-spirit himself (Nidānakarhā). It is very evident that the sacred tree and altar represent a combination taken over by Buddhism from older cults, and in the case of the Bodhi-tree we see the transference actually in progress.”

This obtains confirmation from a passage in the Jaina Vasudevahindi which says: “In the Salīgāma in the Magha (Magadha) Janapada, of the Bharata (Keteṣa), there is the Jakkha called Suman (Sumanah), his platform (silā-altar, vedikā) under the Aśoka-tree was called Sumana-silā, there the people worship him (tattva nam janā pūjyati).”

This then is the reason for regarding the Jaina Ambikā, sitting under a tree and accompanied by children, as being modelled after an earlier most popular Yakṣīnī image, associated with children, who must be Bahuputrikā, or Revati-Śaṣṭhi or Nandā. Possibly these are different names or aspects, evolved in different periods, of one and the same ancient goddess.

Coomaraswamy’s remarks about the Buddha image apply equally to the Jina image. The canonical works note the Cāitya-trees of each of the twenty-four Tirthankaras and in the description of the Samavasarana, the Aśoka tree spreads over the cāitya-trees. It is one of the Eight Mahā-Prāthīhāryas of a Jina. The conception of the Prāthīhāryas is again borrowed from the ancient Yakṣa worship, for, as we have seen, the yakṣa image is often described as Sannhiya-pādihere.

Older forms, beliefs and practices continue for ages in art and society with changes effected according to the requirements of the age and the sect adopting them and are revived over and over again in different ways. A similar instance is the type of the Tirthankara image once very popular in the South, occasionally also met with in the North in Gujarāt, wherein the Jina sits on a big pīṭha, under a big tree whose foliage is spread out over the figure of the Jina. Some of the icons of this type found in the Puddhukotta State go back to the post-Gupta age and it would appear they had as their model the tree and Yakṣa worship of ancient times obtained in the South.

To revert to Nandā who was converted by Buddha and who was the tutelary goddess of Rājagṛha, it must be remembered that Nandā is an ancient goddess. She is one of the forms of Devī, a name of Gaurī, her name signifies joy, affluence, prosperity. In the Kubera-Hārīti group of sculptures, described by Dr. Agrawala from the Mathura Museum, the wives of Kubera have been identified as Lakṣmī, Hārīti and Bhadrā. They might be called Lakṣmī, Nandā and Bhadrā, all the three signifying Beauty, Prosperity and Auspiciousness, or Beauty, Abundance, Bliss and Auspiciousness. The first, sixth and eleventh days
of the lunar fortnight are called Nandā-tithis, possibly because they were the days sacred to this goddess.
The second, seventh and twelfth are Bhadrā-tithis, sacred to the goddess Bhadrā. The Jaina list of the
fifty-six Dik-Kumāris is an attempt to include in the Jaina pantheon a number of foreign goddesses, that
is, those popular in worship amongst the masses, and originally non-Jaina, are adopted in Jaina
mythology. The names include such known Vedic goddesses as Sīvā, Pṛthvi or Ilā. Nandā is included in
this list. Nanaia, the ancient Iranian mother-goddess, has perhaps the closest parallel in the name
Nanda. In the discussion of the Iconography of Ambikā-Yakṣi, the relations between Ambikā, Umā and
Nanaia have been discussed. In the light of all these facts, the tutelary goddess of Rājagṛha, whose
shrine according to the Mahābharata was very famous, can be clearly identified.

A temple of Hundi-yakṣa was erected at Mathura, in front of Deva-nimmī (stupa), according to
the Āvāṣyaka Cūrṇī. A chief Hundi or Hundiya was reborn as this yakṣa by virtue of his muttering
Navakāra-Mantra at the time of death on gallowes. The Pustaka-Lekhaka's (scribe's) Nāmaskāra,
obtained at the end of the Bhagavati, pays homage to Srutadevā, Kumbhadhara-Yakṣa, Brahmāsānti,
Vairāyā vīyā and Amīyāyā. Probabil the shrine of Hundi-Yakṣa was very famous and continued in
worship for several centuries and the Yakṣa paid homage here as Antahundī. We hear of Bhaṇḍiravana
and Sudarśana Yakṣa at Mathura in the Vīpāka-sūtra. A yātra to Bhaṇḍiravana used to be celebrated
even in the age of Mahāvīra. The Bhaṇḍirī-vaṭa (tree) is said to be the object of this pilgrimage.

Worship of the Nāgas was equally popular and closely allied to that of the Yakṣas. They were also
approached for obtaining children by Bhadrā, wife of Dhanya. A big Nāga-ghara (Nāga-grha) to the
north-east outside Sāketa in the Kosala Janapada is referred to in the Nāyādharmakāhō. Queen
Pudmāvatī celebrates a Nāga-Yajña in this shrine, which again is said to be samthiyya-pādihere. Offering
of a Śrī-dama-ganḍa to this shrine is regarded as very auspicious and meritorious act. A Nāga-ghara
by the side of the high way at or near Tāmralipti is mentioned in the Vasudevahindi and is also called
deva-māla (devakuta). It is said that a lamp was hanging in the shrine which was filled with the fragrance
of continuously burning incense. It seems that offering of dhūpa (incense) was regarded as specially
sacred in Nāga-worship. It seems, from this and the reference to another Nāga-ghara at Kuṇḍinapura (on
the bank of the river Varadā in the Vidarbha country), in the Vasudevahindi, that maidens specially
worshipped the Nāga for obtaining best or desired husbands. Priyangusundari is said to enter the Nāga-
gha in an udāna at Mathura where she meets her lover Vasudeva and enters into marriage-relations
by Gandharvavivāha.

Bhagiratha is said to have brought the Ganges from Astāpada (Kailāsa-Himalayas) to the sea by
digging her forward course with the help of a Danda-ratna, and with the permission of the Nāgas' king.
Bhagiratha was the first person to start Nāga-bali or offerings to Nāgas.

Mathura is mentioned as a big centre of Nāga worship where a number of Nāga images have been
recovered. Ahicchatrā, the site of present Rannagar, is also associated with Nāgas, since the snake-king
Dharana is said to have protected Pārśvanātha from heat etc. (when he was in meditation) by holding his
hoods as a canopy over the sage. The Jaina texts refer to images and shrines of Nāgas, Yakṣas, Rudras
and others in various contexts and such shrines seem to have existed in almost every village, town or city.
Rājagṛha has been well known as the site of the worship of Muni-Nāga, as is proved by the excavations
of Manyāra Matha.

The legend of Dharana-Nāga, offering protection to Pārśvanātha during the latter's austerities, has its
parallel in the Buddhist legend of Mucilinda, the snake-king, sheltering Buddha against wind and rain.
It is especially significant to find that Jaina traditions speak of an ancient stūpa of Supārśva existing at
Mathura, and Supārśva again is associated with snake-hoods canopied over his head. As suggested by
us in Studies in Jaina Art, the stūpa belonged to Pārśvanātha who is so intimately associated with the
snake-king Dharana in Jaina Mythology. Pārśva's close association with the Nāgas is further noteworthy
because it suggests that this leader of a heterodox cult had a following of the Nāga-tribe or worshippers
of Nāga cult against the Aryans who followed Vedic ritualism.
Pārvanātha’s attendant Yakṣa and Yakṣī in Jaina iconography are the snake king and queen Dharaṇendra and Padmāvati. Pārvā’s birth-place is Vārānasi, and as the legend of the Ganges narrated in the Vasudevahanti shows, the Nāgas lived in the regions through which the Ganges flowed towards the sea, and in the first flow their buildings were often swept away. By the time of Mahāvira, the Nāgas were pushed further eastwards and southwards of Mahyadeva and Magadhā.

Nāgas are intimately associated with waters. And as the late Dr. Coomaraswamy has shown, the Yakṣas are also similarly intimately associated with water cosmology. As shown by him, the Atharvaveda (X.7.38) referring to Varuṇa, Brahma or Prajāpati as the supreme and ultimate source of life says: A great Yakṣa in the midst of the universe, reclining in concentrated energy (tapas) on the back of the waters, therein are set whatever gods thereby, like the branches of a tree about a trunk. “Significance is to be attached to this concept of the tree of life springing from a navel. For Yakṣas are primarily vegetation spirits, guardians of the vegetable source of life, and thus closely connected with the waters.”

He writes, “we have recognised that all these Yakṣas, great or small, are vegetation spirits, directly controlling and bestowing upon their bhakta’s fertility and wealth, or to use a single word, abundance... Kubera’s inexhaustible treasures are a lotus and a conch, innumerable Yakṣī have a makara or other fish-tailed animal as their vehicle, Kāmadeva has the makara as his cognizance, the greater tutelary Yakṣas control the rains essential to prosperity and in the earliest mythology “that germ which the waters held fast, and in which all gods exist”, rose like a tree, “from the navel of the unborn”, who in the oldest passage is Varuṇa and in the Atharva Veda is called a Yakṣa; moreover in the Indian “decorative art”, vegetation is represented indifferently as springing either (1) from the mouth or navel of a Yakṣa, or (2) from the open jaws of a makara or other fish-tailed animal, or (3) from a “brimming-vessel” or (4) from a conch, but never directly from any symbol representing earth... A priori it might have been supposed that the Nāgas, who are water deities, and who control the activity of the waters, should have been the gods of abundance, but they are not, as the Yakṣas are worshipped by those desiring children.”

“Closely connected with the water cosmology and with Yakṣas, is the idea of the productive pair, mithuna: the prominance of such procreative pairs in later art has been discussed by Ganguly, while in the earlier art, such pairs are constantly recognisable as a Yakṣa and a Yakṣī, and it may be remarked that the formula appears commonly in Śunga terracottas.” The most famous of all yakṣa pairs is the Buddhist Jambhala and Hārīti. Kubera with Hārīti or Kubera with Lākṣmī, Bhadrā or Hārīti, assignable to the Kuśāṇa age, are obtained from Mathura. Kubera or Jambhala and Hārīti are also obtained from Gandhara. The Sabri-Bahlol sculpture shows Hārīti and Kubera with at least five children, one being on the lap of the goddess. The sixth child on the right shoulder of Kubera, corresponding to the one on Hārīti is lost. Hārīti held in her hand some object which is lost and whose long end alone remains. At Mathura, in the numerous figures of this group, we find that the goddess either shows one hand in abhaya mudrā or carrying a cup. The other hand remains engaged in holding a child.

In Jaina iconography, before the end of the fifth century A.D., we do not find any attendant yakṣa and yakṣī accompanying a Tirthāṅkara; nor do we find separate sculptures of any Śāsanadevatā which can with confidence be assigned to a period before c. 500 A.D.

A headless statue of Mahāvira in the Lucknow Museum, inscribed and dated in the Gupta year 113, is perhaps the only known Jaina sculpture of the Gupta period, discovered hitherto, which bears a date. It does not show the śāsanadevātās on the pedestal. Nor do we find śāsanadevātās with the Tirthāṅkara figures on the Kahaon Pillar dated in the year equivalent to 461 A.D. A seated figure of Nemānātha on the Vaiśāhīra hill, Rajgir (Fig. 26), bears a fragmentary inscription, in Gupta characters, referring to Chandragupta (the second). This is the earliest known sculpture of a Jina showing the cognizance on its pedestal but the attendant śāsanadevātās are absent.

None of the known Tirthāṅkara images of the Kuśāṇa period show on their pedestals either the lāñchunas or the attendant yakṣa pair, even though yakṣa Kubera and a two-armed yakṣī, perhaps a prototype of Ambikā, were known and were probably worshipped by the Jainas also as yakṣa-deva and yakṣī devi but not as śāsanadevātā of a Tirthāṅkara.
Sásana-Devatás

Agama texts of the Jainas are silent about attendant Yakṣa pairs. Even the Kalpa-sūtra which could have referred to them is completely silent about the sásanadevatas and the lānexanas of the different Tirthāṅkaras even though the text deals with lives of the 24 Jinas. Nor do we find them in the Vasudeva-bindi which also gives lives of some of the Tirthāṅkaras. We can, therefore, safely assume that the sásanadevatas were not evolved before c. 500 A.D.

The brass or bronze image, from Akotā, of standing Rṣabhanātha (?) illustrated in Fig. 35 is as yet the earliest known Jaina image showing sásanadevatas accompanying a Tirthāṅkara. The inscription on the back of this image, in Brāhmī characters of c. 550 A.D., shows that “it belonged to” (i.e., was being worshipped by or was installed by) Jinabhadravācancārya who is identified as Jinabhadravācana Sanghāśāman, the author of Vīcāravāṣyaka-bhāṣya. Of about the same age, c. sixth century A.D., is obtained a separate metal image of Ambikā yakṣi from the Akota hoard. An elaborately carved beautiful sculpture of Ambika yakṣī is preserved in the Meguti temple at Aiho (Fig. 88), dating from the seventh century A.D. Of about the same age is the Dhaṅk group of sculptures in Saurashtra where the Kubera-like yakṣa and two-armed Ambika-yakṣi are shown on the right and the left of Pārśvanātha standing in the kāyotsarga posture. The same pair accompanies Rṣabha (?) from Akota just noted (Fig. 35) and in other bronzes from Akotā or Vasantagadh we obtain the same yakṣa-yakṣi pair for Pārśvanātha and other Tirthāṅkaras, and also in the bronze installed at Brouch in Śaka year 910 = 983 A.D., discussed elsewhere by us and now preserved in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Upto the end of the tenth century at least, and even a little later, we do not find any specimen showing different attendant yakṣa-yakṣi pairs for different Jinas, the only exception being the yakṣīṇīs (with their names and the names of their respective Tirthāṅkara masters inscribed), obtained on the wall of Temple no. 12 at Devagadh; the original shrine is assigned to the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. by Michael Meister. Later repairs include a doorway dating from 994 A.D. The yakṣīṣī set seems to date from c. late eighth century and is a very early attempt to differentiate the sásanadevatas for different Tirthāṅkaras, but the attempt did not become popular for two or three centuries more. In the Mahāvīra temple at Osiā (which dates from eighth or ninth century according to different scholars and which may in our opinion be assigned to the late eighth century A.D.), we find represented the Kubera-like yakṣa Sarvāṇubhūti and amongst yakṣīs only Ambikā and Padmāvatī. Some of the forms of Cakreśvari are common to Cakreśvarī Vidyā and the yakṣī Cakreśvarī. Images of most of the Vidyādevīs are found on the walls of the Mahāvīra temple and its adjoining Devakulikās. The Devakulikās to the east and west of the Mahāvīra shrine and the Torāṇa in front (now removed and stored elsewhere) were erected in 1018 A.D. and the jhalānaka as well as the Devakulikā to its east were erected in v.s. 1013 = A.D. 956.

In the Jaina cave at Badāmi, Karnatakā, we have a big relief panel of Mahāvīra standing with attendant yakṣa and yakṣi who are different from the original pair. But the whole relief is later and the difference in style and motifs from the earlier reliefs in this cave can be easily marked out. The Mahāvīra panel dates from c. tenth century or a little later. At Ellora in all the Jaina caves one finds only the original sásanadevata pair of Kubera-like two-armed Sarvāṇaṇa yakṣa riding on the elephant and the two-armed Ambika with the lion-vehicle. In the paper on the Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Ambikā, published in the Journal of the University of Bombay (Sept. 1940), it was already shown that for a long time this pair was common to all the Tirthāṅkaras. In sculptures and bronzes, at least up to the end of the ninth century A.D., only this pair of sásanadevatas is found.

This pair in Jainism is later than the Jambhala and Ṣākīti in Buddhism, as no such Jaina sculpture assignable to an age earlier than the sixth century A.D. is found.

This would suggest that for a long time Jaina worship could remain unchanged. But it does not mean that Jaina lay worshippers did not worship the yakṣas, nīgas etc. or had no superstition beliefs common to human beings of all places and ages. Jaina story literature is full of references to Yakṣas, Nīgas, Vidyādhāras, etc. We are told that the Jainas of Mathura had erected a shrine of Ṣūndikā Yakṣa at Mathura. It seems that all these beliefs and practices were tolerated because theoretically a Tirthāṅkara could not be approached for fulfillment of worldly desires. The Jina was himself detached from all such attachments that lead to bondage. His worship only roused higher sentiments and held an ideal
before the worshipper. But maidens pined for their cherished husbands, ladies longed for male issues, merchants on voyages wanted immunity from shipwrecks and other calamities, mothers were anxious to see their babies safe from small-pox, separated lovers wanted to unite again, kings wanted to ensure victory for their armies—for all these we find Yakṣas, Nāgas, Vidyādharas and a host of other gods and goddesses invoked, and the deities taking active part in the well-being of their worshippers. But there must be scriptural sanction for the introduction and assimilation of these deities in Jaina worship and this was achieved with the help of Jaina cosmological and cosmographical accounts.

The period of transition from the Gupta age to the middle ages, i.e., from c. sixth century to c. eleventh century A.D., is a period of new impetus to Tantrism in all the three main Indian sects, namely, Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. This brought into existence worship of new deities and additions to the existing number of iconographic varieties of old ones. The new activity continued even up to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A.D., which period (6th-7th to 13th-14th centuries) has witnessed temple-building activity on a large scale all over India. The earlier simplicity of forms in architecture and sculpture was gradually replaced by complex forms overloaded with ornamental details. The two or four arms of gods and goddesses multiplied so much that we had deities like the thousand-armed Avalokitëśvara!

The different sects vied with one another in the race for multiplication of their respective pantheons and mystifying their rituals with complex details. Jainism, which has shown greater conservatism than other sects in preserving their āchāra-vidhi, was also obliged to introduce new deities, though of course in a role subordinate to the Tirthankaras, or to compose Tantric works like the Jvālini-kalpa, or the Bhaivava-Padināvot-kalpa, the Sarasvatī-kalpa, the Ambikā-devi-kalpa, or the Vidyānāśāsana. The Ācāra-Dinakara of Vardhamāna sūri is a product of this spirit and was composed in v.s. 1468 (A.D. 1411). It is full of Brahmanical influence. The Nirvānakalika, ascribed by some to the Old Pādālīpta sūri, but composed in c. eleventh century A.D., and works like the Pratisthāsāroddhāra of Pandit Āśēdhara were also composed under similar influences.

It was towards the end of the Imperial Guptā rule and the beginning of the transitional period that this śāsanadeva-pair was introduced in Jaina iconography. The two-armed Kubera-like yakṣa was called Sarvanubhūti alias Sarvāṇha by us84 from several considerations: (1) There is no early tradition in Jain literature which describes this yakṣa as Gomeda or Mātanga yakṣa who are attendant yakṣas of Neminātha and Mahāvīra respectively. Since this early yakṣa accompanies Ambikā, the yakṣiṇī of Neminātha in later iconography, one would expect that in the early pair also he was Gomeda the yakṣa of Neminātha. But the iconography of Gomeda in both the sects is different. One would also expect that this early yakṣa was either Mātanga, the yakṣa of Mahāvīra in later iconography or Gomukha, the yakṣa of Ādinātha or Pārśva or Dharana, the yakṣa of Pārvanāthā. But the iconography in all the above cases is different. (2) We have a verse addressed to one Sarvāṇha Yakṣa in the Snātasya stuti included in the daily worship of the Śvetāmbara sect, in its Pañcapratikramana sutra. Sarvanubhūti is two-armed and rides on the elephant. (3) Sarvanāha yakṣa in Digambara worship has the same iconography as this early yakṣa and as the Sarvanubhūti yakṣa. He is very popular in Digambara worship and installed even on the Mānastambhas as shown by Settar.85 (4) The Kṣamāśramaṇa-Mahattariya-ākā of the Viṣeṣāvāyaka-Mahābhāṣya of Jinaḥadhara gani Kṣamāśramana dates from the sixth century A.D. It refers to Amba-Kūsmāṇdi, Vidyārājah Harinagamesi, and Sarvēna (scribal error for Sarvāṇha) yakṣa. It is, therefore, quite certain that this earliest pair was known as Sarvāṇha yakṣa and Amba-Kūsmāṇdi yakṣi.

Some early descriptions of Ambikā came from the Śvetāmbara hymn Ācārakṣaśāsana of Bappabhaṭṭi sūri (c. 800-896 v.s. = c. 743-837 A.D.) and the Digambara Purāṇa Harivamsa of Jinasena (753 A.D.). Jinasena also refers to Apratikākṣa in the same verse in which Ambikā is referred to. But Apratikākṣa is also known as a Vidyādevi in ancient Jaina traditions, however it is certain that in the age of Harivamsa, Cakreśvarī was already introduced as the śāsanadeva of Śrabhanātha, as shown below.

Earlier reference to Ambikā comes from the Latāvarstara-āṭikā of Haribhadra sūri whose date is not later than 650 A.D. An Amba-Kūsmāṇdi Vidyā is referred to by the same writer in his āṭikā on the Āvaš-
yaka-niryukti, gäthä 931. In both these cases however neither the vähana nor the symbols or āyudhās are specified.

A still earlier reference comes from the Viśeṣāvaśyaka-bhāṣya with the Kṣamārama-Mahattariyā-jīka which says: yasmin mantra-devata śrī śa Viśyā Amba-Kūṃśāndi-ādih. Here Amba-Kūṃśāndi is referred to as a Viśyā but since we do not find Amba or Kūṃśāndi in the Jaina lists of Viśyādevis it is very likely that this refers to the tantric viśyā-sādhana of the same goddess Ambikā who accompanied the different Tirthāṅkaras as their śasanadevata and who later came to be recognised as the śasanayakṣi of Tirthāṅkara Nemināthā (alone). This last reference cited from the tīkā on the Viśeṣāvaśyaka-bhāṣya dates from the sixth century A.D.

The origin of the Ambikā yakṣi is an interesting subject of study. In a separate paper being published in the A. Ghosh Memorial Volume we have discussed the problem at length and shown that she is related to several ancient goddesses, Āryā, the peaceful form of Durgā, Nāni or Nanaia on the lion, Anihatā and Anaitis, Durgā as Kūṃśāndinī, and an Āmrā or Āmra-Kūṃśāndinī carrying a mango-bunch in one hand. A headless kaolin figure of such a yakṣi is found from the Sātavāhana site at Paithan.

In Brahmanical literature Ambikā is invoked as the Mother of Viśya. One of the ancient Vināyakas is called Kūṃśāndī-rāja-patra. Ambikā’s form further shows close iconographic relation with the form of Gangā in the Boston Museum or on doorframes of shrines of the Gupta period since the river goddess stands under a mango-tree and has a playful child or gāṇa beside her. The Jaina Ambikā is an assimilation of conceptions of several old goddesses.

These śasanadevatās or attendant yakṣas and yakṣinīs are said to protect the tīrthas of their respective Tirthāṅkara Masters. They are known as Śasanadevatās or Vaiṣyā-tyātakaras (Veyāvaccakaras). Vaiyāvṛtta means help in the practice of Dharma, both material and spiritual. The Bhagavati sūtra describes ten types of veyāvaccar or services to others which includes rendering service to ācārya, upādhyāya, tapasvi, gāna (sick), śaiksā (newly initiated) and others. According to the Uttarāṇāyanaya sūtra, a person accrues, by veyāvaccar, merit (karma) which makes him acquire Tirthāṅkara-nāma-gotra. It is therefore quite obvious that these yakṣas and yakṣinīs are given a subordinate position of service to the different members of the Jaina Samgha.

The next stage in yakṣa-worship amongst the Jainas is marked by a variation of forms of this first pair of Sarvānubhūti alias Sarvānha and Amba-Kūṃśāndi or Ambikā. The Yakṣa retains his Kubera-like appearance and the elephant vehicle for a long time and this tradition lingered on in some form or the other up to about the thirteenth century A.D. even when new names and forms with different vāhanas of yakṣas were evolved and carved. This is proved by the pedestals of numerous Tirthāṅkara images in the temples at Ābu, Kumbhārīa, Devgadh etc. The yakṣi often remained as Ambikā but the two arms were increased to four at Kumbhārīa and Ābu.

At Devgadh two more stages are marked—one replaced the old Yakṣi Ambikā for Tirthāṅkaras other than Nemināthā and inserted a two-armed yakṣi showing abhaya or varada and a pot or a citron; another stage was the evolution of different yakṣinīs with different iconography and new names. Temple no. 12 at Devgadh has on its back wall and the inter-columnations of the verandah a series of 24 yakṣinīs carved on different slabs. This set shows some forms of better workmanship and looking a little older than others which are crude, stiff, unfinished or of inferior workmanship. Each Yakṣi is represented as standing and above her is a figure of a sitting Jina (in a caitya-window ornament) whose attendant the yakṣi is shown to be. Names of the Jina as well as the yakṣi are inscribed on each slab. The dating of the labels on the basis of the script of or of the yakṣi figures on the basis of style is only approximate and tentative. All the figures are not of the same quality and either they are carved by different hands or some of them are later replacements. Again in texts like the Tilɔyapannattī etc. Jvalāmālīnī is the yakṣi of Candraprabha while here Sumālīnī is the yakṣi of Candraprabha and the Jina’s name with Jvalāmālīnī yakṣi in this set is not clearly read. In this set, Sīdhai (Siddhāyikā) is the yakṣi of Munisuvrata while she is generally the yakṣi of Mahāvīra; Bahūruapi is shown as yakṣi of Puṣpadanta while she is usually the yakṣi of Munisuvrata. But there are several names which are not found as yakṣinis in Digambara texts. Such names are Sarasvatī, Mayuravāhi, Himādevi or Bhimādevi, Śriyadevi, Surakṣitā, Abhogaratina or
Abhogarohini, Vahani or Vahni, Sumalini and Sulocanā. So it seems that this list of yakṣīṇīs represents a lost tradition and we cannot say with confidence that the labels were incised at a later date. We might tentatively assign the Devgada temple no. 12 set to the age of original construction of the shrine in c. late eighth century A.D., or in about 800 A.D., and not to any age of later repairs of this temple.

Thus this is the earliest known set of the twenty-four yakṣīṇīs. The Tiloyapannatti gives us another list of the 24 yakṣīṇīs and the list of another Digambara text Pratishthasroddhara also shows some variations. The age of the available text of the Tiloyapannatti, though assigned to c. sixth century in the introduction to its second part, is uncertain because at one place the text refers to Bīlacandra Saiklōnīkik who does not seem to be earlier than c. tenth cent. A.D.

The accompanying comparative table shows names of the yakṣīṇīs according to Devgadha Temple no. 12 (DT), Tiloyapannatti (TP), Pratishthasroddhara (PS) and Hemacandra’s Triṣaṣṭiśālakāpurussacarita (HT) (Śvetāmbara). DT, TP and PS represent Digambara tradition.

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<td>3. Sambhava</td>
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<td>Sarasvati</td>
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<td>Kālikā</td>
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<td>Puruṣatattā</td>
<td>Kali or Mānavi</td>
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<td>Bahurūpi</td>
<td>Kāli</td>
<td>Mahakali-Bhrukuṭī</td>
<td>Sutārakā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Śītala</td>
<td>Śrīyādevī</td>
<td>Īvālāmālinī</td>
<td>Mānavi or Camunḍa</td>
<td>Aṣokā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Śreyāmśa</td>
<td>Vahni-devi</td>
<td>Mahākāli</td>
<td>Gauri or Gomēdhak</td>
<td>Mānavi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Vāsupājya</td>
<td>Ābhogarohini (?)</td>
<td>Gauri</td>
<td>Gāndhāri or Vidyāmālinī</td>
<td>Canda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Vimala</td>
<td>Sulakṣanā</td>
<td>Gāndhāri</td>
<td>Vairoṭi</td>
<td>Vidītā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Ananta</td>
<td>Anantavīryā</td>
<td>Vairoṭyā</td>
<td>Anantamaṭi-Kumbhīnt</td>
<td>Aṇkuṭā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Dharma</td>
<td>Surakṣitā</td>
<td>Anantamāti</td>
<td>Mānasī</td>
<td>Kandarpā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Śānti</td>
<td>Śrīyādevi or Anantavīryā</td>
<td>Mānasī</td>
<td>Parabhūtā</td>
<td>Nirvāṇī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Kunthu</td>
<td>Arakarabhi</td>
<td>Mahāmānasī</td>
<td>Jayā-Gāndhārīni</td>
<td>Balā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Ara</td>
<td>Tārādevi</td>
<td>Jayā</td>
<td>Tārāvati-Kāli</td>
<td>Dhāринī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Mallī</td>
<td>Bhimādevi</td>
<td>Vijayā</td>
<td>Aparājīṭi-Māṭjulī</td>
<td>Vairoṭyā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Dhāravasapriyā)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jina</th>
<th>DT</th>
<th>TP</th>
<th>PS</th>
<th>HT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20. Mahisuvrata</td>
<td>Siddhāi</td>
<td>Aparājīta</td>
<td>Bahūrūpiṇī- Sugandhīni</td>
<td>Naradattā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Nemi</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Bahūrūpiṇī</td>
<td>Cāmunda- Kuṭumāmālīni</td>
<td>Gāndhārī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Pārśva</td>
<td>Ambāyikā</td>
<td>Kūśmaṇḍīnī</td>
<td>Āmra-Kūś-maṇḍīnī</td>
<td>Ambikā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Mahāvīra</td>
<td>Padmāvati</td>
<td>Padmā</td>
<td>Padmāvati</td>
<td>Padmāvati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Mahāvīra</td>
<td>Aparājīta</td>
<td>Siddhāyīnī</td>
<td>Siddhāyīnī</td>
<td>Siddhāyīkā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A later set of yakṣīs is obtained in the Bārābhūji Cave, Khandagiri, Orissa. As Debala Mitra has shown, these figures “may even be as late as the eleventh-twelfth century A.D.” The Navamuni cave, near the above cave, has reliefs representing only seven śāsanadevatās and contains an inscription dated in the reign of Somavamśi king Udyotakesari, assignable to c. eleventh century A.D. The reliefs in the Navamuni cave are however earlier in age and may be assigned to c. ninth-tenth century A.D. The Mālādevī Jaina temple at Gyaraspur, M.P., also shows that the twenty-four different yakṣins were already evolved in the tenth century A.D. We obtain there, on the pedestal of an image of Mahāvīra, the figure of yakṣi Siddhāyīkā. The earliest reference to the separate śāsanadevatās is obtained in the Harivamśa of Jinasena (783 A.D.) who speaks of śāsanadevatās of great prowess, like Aparājītaka and others, paying respects to Vṛṣabha, the Dharmacārvārī. It is therefore safer to conclude that the different śāsanadevatās were evolved in the eighth century A.D., but did not become very popular till about the tenth-eleventh century A.D.

Debala Mitra has listed and identified the Tirthāṅkaras with their cognizances and yakṣins in the Navamuni and the Bārābhūji caves. They are as follows:

**The Navamuni Cave, Khandagiri, Orissa**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tirthāṅkara</th>
<th>Cognizance</th>
<th>Yakṣī</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Rśabha (on back wall)</td>
<td>Bull</td>
<td>Cakreśvarī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ajita (&quot;&quot;&quot;)</td>
<td>Elephant</td>
<td>Rohīni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sambhava (&quot;&quot;&quot;)</td>
<td>Horse (damaged)</td>
<td>Prajñapti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Abhinandana (&quot;&quot;&quot;)</td>
<td>Monkey</td>
<td>Vaijraśrākhalā (Vaiṇḍavī?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Vāsupujya (&quot;&quot;&quot;)</td>
<td>Buffalo (damaged)</td>
<td>Gāndhārī (Kaumārī?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Pārśvanātha (&quot;&quot;&quot;)</td>
<td>Nāga (snake)</td>
<td>Padmāvati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Neminātha (&quot;&quot;&quot;)</td>
<td>Conch</td>
<td>Ambikā or Āmra x x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Pārśvanātha (right wall)</td>
<td>Snake</td>
<td>x x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Rśabhanātha (right wall)</td>
<td>Bull</td>
<td>x x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Candraprabha (&quot;&quot;&quot;)</td>
<td>Moon</td>
<td>x x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The Bārābhūji Cave, Khandagiri, Orissa**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tirthāṅkara</th>
<th>Cognizance</th>
<th>Yakṣī</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Rśabhanātha</td>
<td>Bull</td>
<td>Cakreśvarī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ajita</td>
<td>Elephant</td>
<td>Rohīni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sambhava</td>
<td>Horse (broken)</td>
<td>Duritārī or Prajñapti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Abhinandana</td>
<td>Ape</td>
<td>Vaijraśrākhalā ? Kāli ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Sumati</td>
<td>(indistinct)</td>
<td>Purusadattā ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Padmaprabha</td>
<td>Lotus</td>
<td>Manovegā ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Supārśva</td>
<td>Six-petalled flower</td>
<td>Kāli ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Candraprabha</td>
<td>Moon</td>
<td>Jvālinī ?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
At Pithaura, old Nagod State, now in Madhya Pradesh, is a shrine of Patañjala-dāyi (once called Pattini Devi) where the chief deity worshipped was a sculpture of the goddess Ambikā-devi accompanied on her sides by small figures of the other twenty-three yakṣīs. Names of these yakṣīs are inscribed below their figures. They are: Bahurūpiṇī, Cāmuneḍā, Sarasaṭṭi (Sarasvatī), Padumāvati (Padmāvati), Vijayā, Jayā, Anantamati, Vairoṭya, Gaurī, Mahākālī, Kāli, Budhadaghi? (Pusadadhū?) (? Purusadattā?), Prajaṭpati (Prajñapti?), Vajrasankala (Vajraṣṭhikala), Aparajitā, Mahāmunusi (Mahāmānasī), Anantamati, Gāndhāri, Manusi (Mānasī), Jālamālini (Jvālāmālini), Manujā (? Manovegā?), (Cakreśvarī), (Rohinī). The symbols of these yakṣīs are not clearly identified. The sculpture of Patañjali's temple may be assigned to c. eleventh century A.D.

The above list seems to be generally akin to the list of the Tiloyapanautti. At Devgadh inscribed four-armed loose sculptures of Yakṣi Sarasvatī and Yakṣī Sumālinī are found. They are dated in the year equivalent to 1070 A.D. and are later than the set in Temple no. 12 at the same site.

Literary traditions of both the sects show that by c. 12th cent. A.D. the lists of the various Yakṣas and Yakṣīs were finalised in both the Jaina sects. It may be noted that in the Digambara lists of Pandit Aśādhara and others many names of Yakṣīs are borrowed from the lists of the sixteen Mahāvidyās of Jainism. Since the lists of Vidyādevis are earlier in age the above conclusion is inevitable.

It has been shown above that at Abu (Vimala Vasahi temple) and Kumbhāriā are preserved forms of Yakṣas and Yakṣīs which are based upon some old tradition. This tradition is possibly earlier than the Nirvānakalika (Śvetāmbara) and the Trisāṭsiśalakāpuruṣacarita of Hemacandra (also Śve.). We similarly find with some Dig. Tirthāṅkaras a two-armed Yakṣa and a two-armed Yakṣī showing abhaya or varada mudrā and carrying a pot or a citron or a flower. This iconography is different from what is prescribed in texts like the Pratisthāsāroddhāra. The tradition is not yet traced in literature. In Śvetāmbara tradition a two-armed Kubera-īke yakṣa (Śarvāpaha or Sarvānuhūṭi) with variations sometimes in the symbols continued possibly up to thirteenth century even when new iconography was prescribed in texts like the Nirvānakalika or the Trisāṭsiśalakāpuruṣacarita. The Yakṣi in such cases was usually Ambikā either two-armed or four-armed. Only a few inscribed pedestals are noted below to demonstrate what is stated above. The cell numbers given below are of the Devakulikas (cells) of the Vimala Vasahi shrine, Abu. The date given is from the inscription on the pedestal on which the yakṣa and the yakṣī are carved. The inscriptions also give the name of the Jina to whose image the pedestal belonged.
(1) Cell 3, Image of Śántinātha, dated 1202 V.S. (1145 A.D.)

**Yakṣa**

right hand 1. bag  1. h. 1. bag  r.h. 1. mango bunch  l.h. 1. mango bunch
r.h. 2. *varada*  1. h. 2. citron  r.h. 2. mango bunch  l.h. 2. child

**Vāhana—Elephant**

(2) Cell 5, Image of Kanthunātha, dated 1202 V.S. (1145 A.D.)

**Yakṣi**

Money bag with two upper hands  r. 1. mango  l. 1. mango
r. 2. *varada*  l. 2. citron  r. 2. citron  l. 2. child

**Vāhana—Elephant**

(3) Cell 7, Aranātha, dated 1202 V.S. (1145 A.D.)

**Yakṣa**

Yakṣa as above

(4) Cell 9, Rṣabhanātha, dated 1202 V.S. (1145 A.D.)

**Yakṣi**

r. hand *varada*  l. hand bag

**Vāhana—Elephant**

(5) Cell 11, Munisuvrata, d. 1200 V.S. (1143 A.D.)

**Yakṣa**

Money bag with two upper hands  r. 2. *abhaya*  l. 2. citron

**Vāhana—Elephant**

(6) Cell 14, Rṣabhanātha, d. 1186 V.S. (1129 A.D.)

**Yakṣa**

Yakṣi as above

(7) Cell 15, Śántinātha, d. 1131 V.S. (1074 A.D.)

**Yakṣa**

Yakṣi Ambikā as above

(8) Cell 16, Supārśva, d. 1153 V.S. (1096 A.D.)

**Yakṣa**

Yakṣi Ambikā as above

(9) Cell 22, Rṣabhanātha, d. 1358 (1301 A.D.)

**Yakṣa**

Yakṣi Ambikā as above

(10) Cell 52, Mahēvira, dated 1378 V.S. (1321 A.D.)

**Yakṣa**

Yakṣi Ambikā as above

Vāhana—Elephant

In the above few examples, it seems that the four-armed Yakṣa is evolved from the two-armed Yakṣa showing the fruit or *varada* and the money-bag. Possibly this evolved Yakṣa in the above tradition.
continued to be called Sarvānubhūti or Sarvāṇa since the accompanying yakṣī continues to be Ambikā even when the yakṣī is four-armed. The Vāhanas of the Yakṣa as well as the Yakṣī remain unchanged. It is therefore advisable to regard this tradition as the second stage in the evolution of Yakṣas and Yakṣīṇīs, the first stage being represented by examples from Akota, Dhanak, Ellora, Kumbharia etc. A similar stage is observed in the Digambara tradition in temples 2, 3, 4 etc. at Devgaḍh and a few sites in the old Gwalior State territory etc. where a two-armed Yakṣa shows varada or abhaya and the waterpot or money bag in his two hands. The corresponding Yakṣī shows the varada or abhaya and the pot or child in her two hands.

Comparisons of the different yakṣas and yakṣīṇīs with deities of the Buddhist and Brahmanical pantheons would be highly interesting. The Jaina lists contain names which are distinctly Hindu, for example, Brahma yakṣa, Nandi, Kumāra, Śaṇmukha, Varuṇa, Iśvara, Caṇḍa, Gauri, Cāmunda, Kallī, Mahākālī, Śūlapāṇi yakṣa, Kāparṇḍi yakṣa and so on. The iconography, however, as described in the Jaina and Hindu texts, often differs, but the borrowings are unmistakable. Sometimes the Hindu name is retained, in other cases the Hindu iconographical traits with a Jātaka name are marked out. In the latter type of borrowing, sometimes both the Hindu and the Jaina traditions might have borrowed or evolved from an earlier common heritage of gods and goddesses worshipped in ancient India. Indra, Varuṇa, Kubera, Śrī, Māniḥbadra yakṣa, etc. can be cited as such examples. Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Rudra, Kāmadeva and others figure in the Jaina Purāṇas. In works like the Ādīpurāṇa of Jinasena, the Tīrthankara is called Iśāna, Tatpurusa, etc., and a Jaina version is given in explanation of meaning of such epithets. A painting of Mahisasamarddini occurs in a palm-leaf manuscript of Uttarādhayana sūtra with Sukhobodhā-vṛtti, dated in v.s. 1352–A.D. 1295, preserved in the Sāntinātha Bhāṇḍāra, Cambay. R.C. Agravala has suggested that Mahisasamarddini was worshipped as Saccikā-devī or Sacciyā-mātā, the gotra devī or the kula devī of the Jaina Ośvāla baniyas who are reported to have hailed originally from Ośī in Rajasthan. A temple dedicated to Saccikā devī exists in Ośī. Dhaky has shown that originally it was the Hindu goddess Kṣemankari, a form of Gauri or Pārvatī, that was worshipped as Saccikā by the Jaina Ośvāla baniyas.

Of Buddhist influence we have a few cases only like Tārādevī, Vajrāśīrkhala and Vajrāṅkuṣṭi.

To obtain a following, to attract the masses into its fold, a sect had to show the superiority of its deities over the deities of other sects. Mahāyāna Buddhism did this by making their gods trample over or ride over Hindu gods. The Jainas were not so cruel or discourteous and were satisfied with assigning a subordinate position to the Hindu deities by making them attendant yakṣas and yakṣīṇīs. It is impossible for any sect to gather strength without incorporating in one form or the other the beliefs and practices of the masses. The Jainas, as the march of its history through the ages shows us, had to meet strong Śaiva opposition which made it necessary for them to show the superiority of their deities over those of the rival sect. The story of Śūlapāṇi yakṣa (a somewhat later addition?) in the life of Mahāvīra indicates Śaiva rivalry. Sometimes the Tīrthankaras were hailed as Iśāna, Vāmadeva, Tatpurusa or Aghora as was done by the author of Ādīpurāṇa in the ninth century. This was another way of meeting Śaiva opposition in the South of India. From very early times in the history of the Jaina Church the Vedic Indra was assigned the function of celebrating the different Kalīyānokas (auspicious events) in the lives of Tīrthankaras. The idea of Indra as a ruler of gods was extended and as many as sixty-four Indras grew up, in Jainism, amongst whom Iśānendrap, a form of Siva, is noteworthy. Śakra or Saudharmendra is clearly the Vedic Sahasrākṣa Indra. At a later stage the Bhairavas and Yoginis even the seven or eight Mātrkās and Ganeśa had to be included in Jaina worship. The Navagrahas and the Dikpālas remained the common heritage of all sects.

Even though 24 Yakṣas and Yakṣīṇīs are venerated in Jaina rituals and art, only four Yakṣīṇīs have been the most popular. They are: Cakraśīrī or Apratīcakrā, the Yakṣī of the first Jina Ṛṣabhanātha, Ambikā, the Yakṣī of the twenty-second Jina Neminātha, Padmāvatī, the Śāsanadeva of the twenty-third Jina Pārśvanātha, and Śiddhāṃṭikā, the Yakṣī of the twenty-fourth Jina Mahāvīra. This is mainly because the above four Tīrthankaras have been the most popular in Jainism from ancient times. The Kalpa sūtra dealing with the lives of 24 Tīrthankaras describes in detail lives of the above-mentioned four
Jinas only. Attendant Yakṣīs of these four Jinas naturally get preference over other Yakṣīs. Of these four Yakṣīs, Ambikā and Padmāvatī seem to have been the most popular ones, especially in Tantric rituals and special Tantric texts like Ambikā-Kalpa, Bhairava-Padmāvatī-Kalpa, Adbhuta-Padmāvatī-Kalpa were composed. Another Yakṣī who becomes more popular in the Jain Tantra is Jvalāmālinī, the Yakṣī of Candraprabha.

REFERENCES


2. The following are some of the names of yakṣas and yakṣinis available at Bharhut:

- Supāvasu Yakho Sudasana Yakhi (Sudērānā)
- Virudhaka .. Cudha .. (Canda)
- Gangita .. Sirima devata .. (Śri-devi)
- Suciloma .. Mahākāka ..

(Kubera ?)

- Ajakalako .. Cūrikako ..

3. Also see Ramaprasad Chanda, *Four Yakṣa Statues*, *Jour. of Dept. of Letters* (Calcutta, 1921), Vol. IV.

4. See also Shah, U.P., *Harisangamesh*, *JISOA*, old series, Vol. XIX, where evidence from Ayurvedic and other texts on the Bāls-grahas is collected.


6. Tattvārtha Bhasya (Ratlam ed.), p. 49.

7. Prajināpanā sūtra, pādā 1, comm. on st. 38, p. 70.

8. Pavitra-Kalpa-sūtra, st. 84, p. 29.


11. Nāyādhammakaḥaka, IX, pp. 127ff. A yakṣa of the form of a horse is interesting. Later conceptions like the Hayagriva, etc., were possibly the results of assimilations of such yakṣas. Also see Coomaraswamy, *HITA*, 26, 33 for ref. to Yakhi Assamūkum.


13. Ibid., 3.14f.


15. Āvāyika Nīryuktī, verse 487.

16. Pīdakā-Nīryuktī, v. 245f. Yakṣas also detected the unchastity of woman, see Dasā-cūri, p. 90.

17. Vasudevaśī, pp. 163-165.


20. Anāghīya is especially interesting and seems to be the male counterpart of another goddess Anīhā or Anīhate worshipped in the Jaina Vardhamāna Vidyā. This goddess has been identified by the present writer with the Iranian Anāhīta. Anāhīta would have her male counterpart in Anādhiya-Anābhita. For Anādhiya and Anādhiya yakṣa, see Vasudevaśī, pp. 25-26.


22. Āvāyika Cūri, I, pp. 88ff. This is noteworthy, the Tirthānaka statues also have the prāthāharyas and, like the mode of worship, this practice too has been borrowed by the Jains from the old Yakṣa Cult. Mt. Raivataka, Nāyi., V., p. 68.


25. Jambūdīpaprājāpita, p. 120.


27. Āvāyika Cūri, p. 294; Nīraukti verse 489. Pūtana is thus regarded as belonging to Vānvantara class. Compare similar tradition which says that a Pūtana who wanted to poison Krishna was killed by the latter.


30. Abhidhāna-Cintamani, comm. of Hemacandra on 2.124, pp. 89ff quoting Sesa giving a list of gaṇas of Siva. Virabhadra a well-known gaṇa of Siva having a name ending in bhūra, like the thirteen types of yakṣas of the Bhagavati, and the Tattvārtha-Bhāṣya lists, seems to be an ancient deity of this class, later assimilated in the Saiva Pantheon.

31. For example, see Coomaraswamy's *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, figs. 73, 74 (identified by Dr. Moticandra as Padmā-Sri, the Sīrimi-dvāta of Bhurhut), 81; figs. 73 and 74 seem to have been prototypes of the later Ambikā-yakṣi. Also see sculptures nos. 1,275, 1,276, 1,277, B.90, and B.95 in the State Museum, Lucknow.

32. For all these statues and references, see Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 5-17 and plates. The following remarks of Coomaraswamy are noteworthy:

'Whatever the actual age of this group of four large sculptures in the mound, they illustrate and ade.
quately establish the character of the indigenous school in and before the Mauryan period. With the group must be associated the Besnagar Kalpavṛkṣa.' Also Chanda, R.P., *Four Yakṣa Statues, Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. IV.

Many more Yakṣa statues have been published. See Agrawala, V.S., *Indica Art*, Vol. I.


35. *Āvśyaṃka Cūḍī*, 1, p. 320 and *Āvśyaṃka Nuryukti*, v. 523.


37. *Aupapāti kā sutra, sutra 2*.

38. Bhagavati sutra, 18.2, Viśālā—Ujjañ according to the *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇī*, 4.42, but in Jain canons it generally stands for Viśālā. There it is better to take Viśāla—Viśālā.

39. *Bhagavati*, 10.5. A goddess Bahuputrikā is also referred to in the *Nirayāvalī*, III, 4, p. 79.

40. This will be made clear later on. In the earliest representations of the attendant yakṣa pair of a Tirthankara image, the yakṣa is certainly Ambikā but the name of the yakṣa is not settled and hence these alternative names.

41. In the chapter on *Harinegamēśa* in Vol. II.

41a. A Magadhārā riding an elephant became very popular amongst Jains in Rajasthan and Gujarat during the medieval period. Even today he is worshipped in several shrines of Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat. A legend of his origin is also current amongst the Śvetāmbaras.

42. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, I, pp. 24-26. According to *Mamā*, XI, 96 meat and intoxicating drinks are the food of Yakṣas, Rakṣasas and Piśācas. For offerings to Yakṣa Madgarpāṇi, see *Antagadāsā*, 6, and for those to Pūrṇādhra and Umbarudatta, see *Aupapāti*, 2, and *Vipaka*, pp. 76ff respectively.

43. The extant Vipaka is a later (revised) text containing later data, perhaps of the age of second and third councils (Vīcâna), mixed with some genuine earlier tradition of age of ganadhāras.


45a. Ganeśa is the son of Gauri or Durgā, *The Hindu Ambikā or the Mother-Goddess*. The parallelism between Hindu Durgā and Jain Ambikā is treated later on. But a few sculptures of Ganeśa in the Pala Art show him stand-


47. *Vasudevaśānti*, p. 85. The use of the term Janapada for Magadhā is also noteworthy and suggests that the story in this context is borrowed from an earlier source by the author.


49. Even though the present work is based upon a study of a number of photographs from the South, a special study of the various Jaina images in the South, carried out on the basis of some more exploration and a study of the images in the various Jaina shrines is essential. It is hoped that this work will serve as an indicator to the future line of exploration in the South. One would not be surprised if such studies help us to revise some of the conclusions arrived at in this book.

50. See Śeśa quoted by Hemacandra in his comm. on *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇī*, 2.11ff. Here Gauri is also called Bahuputrikā.

51. For the list of Dik-Kumarī, see *Vasudevaśānti*, part 1, pp. 159-160. The names given in Prakrt are—Bhogamūra, Bhogavati, Suhogā, Bhogamālī, Tuyodharā, Vicitri, Puppamālī, Anindīya, Mehanlīka, Mehavati, Sambhas, Mehanālī, Swathā, Vathumīta, Vārisēvā, Balkagā, Nanduttārā, Nandī, Avandā, Nandivadāhā, Vijāyā, Vajyantī, Jajantī, Aparajījīva, Sansāhīra, Supatīno, Supassidāra, Jashorā, Lacchhīvī, Śeṣavatī, Cittagatī, Vamudharā, Ildevi, Surdevi, Pusavati, Pumbattā, Egarā, Navanāgū, Bhaddā, Śīyā, Alamā, Missakē, Pundārīkī, Vārūa, Hālā, Savuappabhā, Śirī, Hi, Cittā, Cittakagā, Saterī, Sottamā, Yogā (v.l. Rayagā), Rayagasahī (v.l. Rymaśa), Swave, Rayagāvati.

The Angavijā (Varanasi, 1957), ed., by Muni Pumyavijaya, dates from c. 4th century and contains still earlier material. In this work, in chp. 9, p. 69, several goddesses are mentioned. They are: Iti, Iti, Lācchī, Kittī, Medhā, Sattī (Sonitī), Dhitī, Bhudhī, Dhit, Ili, Sūta, Vījā, Vījārīt, Cunlāchā, Ukkasasa, Ābhhorāyā, Ahodevi, Devi, Devakāyā, Asurakāyā, Indegegamāsī, Asuragamāsī, Arīki (v.l. Airākā), Bhogavatī, Alamā, Missakē, Minakā, Miyadamsa, Aghā, Aśālīta, Arās, Timisakē, Tidhi, etc. (v.l. Tidhī), Salminūtī, Tidtanī, Cittaraddhī, Cittalīh, Utvast.

In chp. 51 called Devata-Vijaya, we get more names of gods and goddesses. The goddesses are: Sīrī, Airākā, Puṣavatī, Ekaśyā, Navanāgū, Raurdev, Nāgi, Sūtikā, Naldevatī, Ābdhī, Meha, Lātdevatī, Nagarudevatī, Ukklbukka-devatā (1), Ayākdevatā, Miloddhādevatā etc.

In chp. 58, pp. 223-224 we get some more names of goddesses: Nādi, Aja-e (1), Aja, Airākā, Ame, Sohī, Ekēamvī, Sīrī, Bhdūthī, Medīa, Kittī, Sarasati, Nāgi, Rakhī, Asurakāyā, Gandharī, Kimpurakṣa, Jakhī, Girkamūti, Samudalkamūti, Dikvamūti, Vītakavyī, Puṣavatī, Koladevatī, Vījādevatī, etc.
Moti Chandra, in his Introduction to Angavijjā (p. 42), writes: “In the above list the names of certain foreign goddesses are of great interest. Apāśī may be identified with the Greek goddess Pallas Athene. Anāśītā is the Avestic goddess Anāśītā whose cult was later on mixed with the cult of Nana or Nanaka. Airāga may be the Roman goddess Irene. Timisakesi may be the nymph Themis from whom her son Evander learned his letters. Tidhāṇi cannot be identified. Sālaṃalāni may be identified with the moon-goddess Selene. From what source this bit of information came in Angavijjā is not known, but it must be fairly early when the Greek influence was not completely lost from North-Western India and Mathura.”

Also see Shah, U.P., Foreign Elements in Jaina Literature, IJIQ, XXIX:3, pp. 260-265.

52. This along with a study of all the Kubera-Hariti group of sculptures, and of Mātākā sculptures at Mathura, described by Dr. Agrawala in his Catalogue of Brahmanical Sculptures in the Mathura Museum, should suggest that the prototype of Ambikā-yaśti, Hariti and Uma-Gauri possibly showed a child held with one hand, while the other carried a lotus bud with a stalk, which the Jainas either misunderstood or changed into a mango-bunch. Besides the sculptures referred to by Agrawala, also cf. 73 and 81 of Coomaraswamy’s HIA, or was it originally a Cūla (chowrie)? Also see below on Iconography of the Yaśki Ambikā.

53. The Deva-Nimmiya may be the Jaina Devanimma stūpa of Mathura.

54. Avatarka Cārī, I, p. 591, also Avatarka-vṛtti, p. 453.

55. A Yaśki carrying a big vessel, Mathura Museum no. 3549, has been assigned to a female age by Bajpai, K.D., Śīkṣā (Hindi Journal), October, 1951, p. 156. She is a Kumbha yaśti and probably dates from late Kushāna or early Gupta age.


57. Nīyādhammakāñhā, II, pp. 48-49.

58. Nīyādhammakāñhā, VIII, p. 95ff.

59. Vasudevagīni, p. 65, also in Nīyādhammakāñhā, VIII, p. 95ff.

60. Vasudevagīni, p. 88ff.


62. Ibid., p. 308.

63. The river Vitāsī is said to be the abode of Nīga Taṅkāka. For various theories of and references to Nīga worship see Vogel, Indian Serpent Lore. Also Pali Dictionary (Malalasekhara’s), Vol. II, p. 675ff. Miśdnapoša, p. 271ff.

64. Vogel, Tree and Serpent Worship, pp. 102-4, 126, Sāṇghaṃ Niryakṣita, 385, Sāṇghaṃ-Tika, p. 385.


66. Yakṣas, Part II, p. 2. He further refers to RV VII.65.2. Also Dīgāka Nīdaya II.204 where Varuna is called a Yakṣa; AV XI.2.24.

67. In Jaina references also, Kubera and his followers shower riches in the palaces of the Parents of the Jinas.


73. Fleet, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, III.66-68.

74. The figures are seen on a tympanum from Mathura, now in the Lucknow Museum, no. B.207.

75. See fig. 35 in this book. Also, Shah, U.P., Akota Bronzes, figs. 30a, 30b, 11 and p. 28.

76. Ibid., fig. 14 and pp. 30-32.


79. Akota Bronzes, figs. 56a and 77c.


83. Jose Pereira, Monolithic Jinas (Delhi, 1977).


86. cf. श्री वामनां नित्यतथा स्तन्यान्तर श्री प्रकरण्वस्यक्ष ।

Nemicandra, Nīgānathotaka, v. 58, in Abhidhānapātha-samgraha. Also see Pratīṣṭhāsādhadhāra, p. 115 and vv. 215-216.

87. In the Caityavandana, a kāyotsarga is prescribed in honour of the following: दर्शनवर्जन निःशपात विख्यातिनिः

Harihāradi śūri, commenting on the above writes: दर्शनवर्जन प्रकरणां नानुभवन्त यथाविशेष नागिनाशनार्थ निःशपाताः सदाचित्वविशेषः तस्मालय नागिन्यस्य

Lalitavistāra (Caityavandanasūrya-vṛtti), p. 50

Also cf. या तत्र गर्भाय नाना प्रकरणात् नागिनिः

Also see below on Iconography of the Yaśki Ambikā.

74. For Vaiṣṇavītakaras, see Pravacanasādhadhāra, 6th dvara.

88. Bhagavati Sīra, 25.7; Aṇapati Sīra, 20; Śatranga Sīra, sūtra 397.

89. Uṭtarrakshya Sāstra, adhyayana 29.


CHAPTER TEN

Four More Popular Yakṣiṇīs

I. Cakreśvari, the Yakṣi of Rśabhanātha

Cakreśvari or Apraticakrā is regarded as the śākta yakṣī of Rśabhanātha or Ādīnātha, the first Tīrthaṅkara, by Jainas of both the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara sects. She is so called because she holds the cakra or the disc which is her chief distinguishing symbol. The eagle is her vahana.

It is difficult to distinguish her form from the Śvetāmbara Vidyādevī of the same name who also holds the disc and rides the eagle. As Vidyādevī she is described as carrying the discs in all her four hands. This would have made it easier to distinguish the Yakṣī from the Vidyādevī but for the fact that the Vimala vasali at Abu contains figures of the Cakreśvari-vidyā with discs in only two upper hands and shows the citron and the varada mudrā with the two lower ones. These figures are of the Śvetāmbara tradition. Again the same symbols are found with the Cakreśvari-yakṣī in this tradition. Moreover, as will be seen below, a form of the yakṣī Cakreśvari carries discs in all the four hands, thereby supporting the inference that the forms of Cakreśvari, the yakṣī, and Cakreśvari, the vidyādevi, are closely related, and were possibly interchanged. This close similarity between some forms of the yakṣī and the vidyādevi makes it difficult to say who was the prototype of whom.

A. CAKREŚVARI OR APRATICAKRĀ (ŚVETĀMbara)

In the Śvetāmbara pantheon, the yakṣiṇī of Rśabhanātha is found worshipped in three varieties of forms, namely, the two-armed, the four-armed and the eight-armed.

1. Two-Armed Variety

Dhaky has referred to a two-armed form of yakṣī Cakreśvari found in the Jaina temple at Sevāḍī, Rajasthan. Here Cakreśvari carries the cakra in her right hand while her left hand is mutilated. The eagle is her vahana. No literary evidence is known.

2. Four-Armed Variety

Though no literary evidence for the four-armed form is forthcoming, quite a large number of figures of this variety obtained on pedestals of images of Ādīnātha attest to the frequent occurrence in worship of this form. Moreover, the form represents an old tradition since a beautiful figure on a mutilated bronze image of c. eleventh century is still worshipped in a Jaina temple at Prabhūsa-Pāṭana, in Saurashtra. In this image which is a mutilated part of a bigger metal sculpture—probably a cowl—is shown a figure of Cakreśvari seated in the lalita pose. She carries the disc in each of two upper hands, while the right and the left lower ones show the varada and the conch respectively. The eagle is shown as her vahana. On one side of the yakṣī Cakreśvari is represented in one section a standing two-armed Ambikā with a child and an omratumbi in her two hands. The presence of this early variety of form of
Ambikā also supports the view that the sculpture represents an early tradition and that Cakreśvarī here is a yakṣī and not a vidyādevī. A similar form of this yakṣī Cakreśvarī is preserved in the Dhubela Museum, Nowgong, M.P. A similar form of Cakreśvarī is seen on a loose pedestal of an Ādinātha image lying in the compound of the Ādīśvara temple in Mānēk-Chowk, Cambay (Iconography of Cakreśvarī, JOI, XX, pp. 280ff, fig. 2). The sculpture can be assigned to c. 12th-13th cent. A.D. A figure from a ceiling corner opposite cell 53, Vimala vasahi, Abu, is another good specimen of this variety (JOI, op. cit., fig. 3). The eagle vehicle is absent here but the symbols suggest the identity of Cakreśvarī.

Even though this figure represents Cakreśvarī or Aparicākra, a question arises whether this Vimala vasahi figure is of the yakṣī Cakreśvarī or of the vidyādevī Aparicākra who also has the cakra as her chief distinguishing symbol and who like the yakṣī Cakreśvarī rides the eagle. Firstly, there is no such vidyādevī in the Digambara pantheon (which replaces a goddess called Jambūnāḍā for Aparicākra) and hence the confusion between the yakṣī and the vidyādevī arises only in case of Śvetāmbara images. Secondly, Śvetāmbara texts like the Ācāradīnākara of Vardhamāṇa sūri and the Caturvimśatikā of Bāhrūbhaśī sūri merely refer to the disc symbol of the vidyādevī called Aparicākra, whereas the Nirvāṇakalikā (Śve.)4 specifies that this vidyādevī carries the disc in each of her four hands. A sculpture of this vidyā almost agreeing with this tradition is seen on the fānsamā of the Jaina temple at Ośa and dates from the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. The Mantrādīhīra-kalpa6 of Sāgaracandra follows the Nirvāṇakalikā in giving the disc in all the four hands of the Cakreśvarī vidyā but differs in giving a human being as her vāhana instead of the usual eagle. In actual practice, however, the painters and the sculptors are found to have represented even the eagle like a human being and the Ośa figure of this goddess has the vāhana shown like a human being but our figure from Abu has no vāhana at all. Thirdly, available Śvetāmbara literary traditions describe only an eight-armed form of the yakṣī Cakreśvarī whereas a four-armed figure of the yakṣī is frequently met on pedestals of Ādinātha sculptures. Against these difficulties there are several factors which suggest that the Vimala vasahi figure under discussion is preferably that of the yakṣī rather than of the vidyādevī. In Vimala-vasahi itself, the Vidyādevī Aparicākra is represented with a different set of symbols, namely, the discs in two upper hands, the varada in the right lower and the fruit in the left lower hands. In a ceiling we find a group of four goddesses seated opposite one another with a full-blown lotus in the centre. One of these figures is Cakreśvarī vidyā with the varada and the fruit in the two lower hands while the remaining three goddesses in this group can be definitely identified as the three vidyādevīs called Prājñapāti, Vajraśāṅkhalā and Vajrāṅkuśi. The fourth figure should naturally be regarded as representing a vidyādevī and not a yakṣī. Again, in the central mandapa we have around the big lotus-pendant a set of figures of all the sixteen vidyādevīs wherein the Aparicākra or Cakreśvarī vidyā shows the varada and the fruit in her two lower hands. Hence it is advisable to regard the figure in the ceiling opposite cell 53, Vimala vasahi, with the conch symbol in her left lower hand, as representing the yakṣinī of Ādinātha. The evidence of the Prabhāsā-Patanā and the Cambay figures only supports the above conclusion.

This form of yakṣī is also found in one of the two sets of vidyādevīs on the outer wall of the Caumukha shrine called the Kharatara-vasahi at Delvada, Mt. Abu. But since this Kharatara-vasahi is a later shrine belonging to circa fifteenth century it may be argued that this form of the vidyā in the Kharatara-vasahi is the result of a borrowing of an earlier form of the yakṣī Cakreśvarī. Such cases have led to a good deal of confusion in correctly differentiating the yakṣī from the vidyādevī.

Of this variety of the yakṣī another specimen is preserved in a ceiling plaque describing the life of Ādinātha in the Śaṅtinātha temple at Kumbhārī. A slightly different form of the yakṣī with the varada symbol of the right lower hand replaced by the rosary is preserved in the temple built by Vastupālu and his brother on Mt. Gīr and in Saurashtra. This form of the yakṣī is again later represented as a vidyā in the second set of vidyādevīs on the wall of the Kharatara-vasahi. In this second set the vidyās are in a standing posture whereas in the first set noted above they are in a sitting posture.

On a metal image of Ādinātha in the Pātvanātha temple, Kharatuvāsi pāda, Patan (North Gujarāt), is a small figure of the goddess showing the discs in the two upper hands, the fruit in the left lower and
the varada pose in the right lower hands. Similar representations of the yakṣī are found at Rānakapur (Jodhpur State) in the Dhāranāvihāra temple, on the pedestal of Ādiṃātha on the northern side of the central Caumukha sculpture and on the door-frame of the cell no. 3. The same form is also available on the pedestal of a sculpture of Rśabhanātha in the Pañcāśara temple, Patan, and in a cell in the Caumukha (unka, Satruṇījaya). The latter pedestal is inscribed in the year 1380 v.s. It seems that this form which, as noted above, was worshipped as the Cakreśvari vidyā in the Vimala-vasahi was later borrowed for the yakṣī of the same name from at least the fourteenth century A.D.

A sculpture, worshipped as Śrī Cakreśvari Mātā in the Satruṇījaya, and inscribed in the year 1758 v.s. (=1701 a.d.), shows the goddess seated in the lañīca pose on a tiger vehicle and carrying the same set of symbols in her four hands. This change of her vāhana is seen in two more cases in Vaghaṇa pole, Satruṇījaya, noticed in the following pages.

A miniature painting on folio 2 of the palm-leaf manuscript of the first parva of the Trisāṣṭiśākāpuruṣa-carita (of Hemacandra) also represents the goddess with the disc in her two upper hands and the varada-mudrā and the citron in the right and the left lower hands respectively. Golden in complexion, the goddess sits in the lañīca pose on a cushion, in front of which is seen a partly defaced face of her garuda vāhana (JOI, XX.3, op. cit., fig. 7). An earlier figure of Cakreśvari, with the varada-mudrā in the above form replaced by the abhaya is available on a bronze Covīṣi of Rśabhanātha (JOI, op. cit., fig. 8) from an underground cell of the Dhāranāvihāra temple at Rānakapur. The sculpture can be assigned to c. late eleventh century a.d. on stylistic grounds and on the grounds of the small inscription on its back. A noteworthy feature of this bronze is the presence of a two-armed yakṣa carrying the citron and the bag instead of the cow-faced four-armed Gomukha, the yakṣa of Rśabhanātha according to the Jain texts. On the Covīṣi bronze from Goghā, dated in v.s. 1123 = a.d. 1067, we obtain a similar form of Yakṣī Cakreśvari.

A similar form of Cakreśvari is also seen on the pedestal of a sculpture of Ādiṃātha, of a later date of course, in the Ādiṃātha temple, Khaḍākhoṭādi, Patan (JOI, op. cit., fig. 10). The representation of the disc, done in a rather curious fashion, is the work of a crude hand.

A beautiful bronze image of Rśabhanātha being worshipped in the Covīṣi temple, Godadano pādo, Patan (JOI, op. cit., fig. 9) and consecrated in the year 1606 v.s., according to the inscription on its back, shows yet another variety of the four-armed Cakreśvari figures. Here the yakṣī carries the cakra in each of the two upper hands and shows the varada mudrā and the pot in her right and the left lower hands respectively. The goddess sits in the lañīca posture. A similar form of the yakṣī represented in a standing posture is available on a pillar in the Pārśvanātha temple at Kumbhārī. In the Vimala-vasahi, on two pillars in the maṇḍapa facing the central shrine are available two standing figures of Cakreśvari (JOI, op. cit., figs. 12-13). Fig. 12 shows the goddess standing in the tribhiṅgika with the disc in the two upper hands and the pot in the left lower one; the right lower hand is mutilated. Fig. 13 shows the goddess in a similar posture but with the left lower hand mutilated and the right lower showing the varada-mudrā. It is interesting to find a lotus symbol near the right leg of each of the two figures. A standing figure with these four symbols is also found on the right side of the door-frame of the cell no. 39 in the Vimala-vasahi. We have no means to ascertain whether this form of Cakreśvari was regarded as representing a vidyādevī or a yakṣī of the same name in the age of the Vimala-vasahi. At Kumbhārī, however, the case is somewhat different. In the first place, the vāhana is the eagle instead of the lotus symbol of the above figures from the Vimala-vasahi. But the lotus symbol is not unknown for Cakreśvari at Kumbhārī since on a pillar in a temple we find Cakreśvari with two discs, the varada and the conch and having the lotus as her symbol. In the case of figures showing the varada and the pot in the two lower hands at Kumbhārī, the position as follows: Each pillar has usually four standing deities on its four sides. Now in the case of pillars with this form of Cakreśvari in the Pārśvanātha temple at Kumbhārī, the other deities are Vairoṭāya, Sarasvati, Vajrānkuśi or Rohini or a goddess which cannot be recognised. This would, therefore, suggest that at Kumbhārī, this form of Cakreśvari probably represented the Cakreśvari vidyā. But since no other definite example of Cakreśvari vidyā with this form is hitherto available and since mutual borrowings of forms of
the yakṣīni and the vidyādevī are already known it is not impossible that the figures in the Vimala-vasahī might have represented the Čakreśvari yakṣīni even though the form might have been later borrowed for the vidyādevī at Kumbhārī. These identifications should be regarded as tentative and may be revised in the light of future definite evidence from stone, canvas or metal.

A later form of Čakreśvari of c. sixteenth century A.D., with the varada symbol replaced by the rosary, is available in the case of the big sculpture of Čakreśvari, worshipped as Vyāghreśvari in the Vāghana pole, Śatrūnjaya. Here the eagle vehicle is replaced by the tiger which gives the name Vyāghreśvari to the goddess in layman’s worship. Almost all later examples of Čakreśvari at Śatrūnjaya demonstrate this change of vehicle, another example being preserved in the same locality in a small temple of Čakreśvari. Here a small four-armed figure, with the disc in the two upper hands and the varada-mudrā shown by the two lower ones, sits in the lalita pose with the tiger as her vehicle. The whole figure is covered with red paint.

A temple supposed to have been built by Vimala sāha in the Vāghana pole, Śatrūnjaya, has many interesting figures for a student of iconography. On the front wall of cell no. 392, is a figure of Čakreśvari in a standing attitude with the eagle as her vāhana. She carries the cakra in her right upper hand, the noose in the left upper, and the goad (?) in the right lower one, while the left lower hand is held in the varada pose.

The door-frame of the Śāntinātha temple at Acalagarh, Mt. Abu, has on one side a figure of Gomukha, the yakṣa of Ādinātha while on the other is a figure of a goddess carrying the noose and the goad in the right and the left upper hands respectively while showing the varada and the conch in the corresponding lower hands. The eagle is her vāhana. Obviously, she must be Čakreśvari, the yakṣīni of Ādinātha whose yakṣa, Gomukha by name, already figures on the other side. The temple was, therefore, originally dedicated to Ādinātha.

The central shrine of the Pittalahara temple at Dilwārā, Mt. Abu, contains a big metal sculpture of Ādinātha with figures of Gomukha and Čakreśvari on its pedestal (JOI, op. cit., fig. 14). Čakreśvari here sits in the lalita pose and carries the cakra in each of the two upper hands and the rosary in the right lower one. The left lower carries an object which looks like the vajra (?). A miniature figure of the eagle is shown as her vāhana. The image is dated 1525 v.s., according to the inscriptions on the pedestal and the parikara.

On the back wall of the shrine of Neminātha at Kumbhārī is a figure of a goddess sitting in the lalita pose with the club and the disc in the right and the left upper hands respectively and showing the varada and the conch in the corresponding lower ones (JOI, op. cit., fig. 15). There is also a figure of the Hindu Ganeśa on this wall. A standing goddess with the same set of symbols is also available on a pillar in the same temple. This pillar has a standing Sarasvatī on another side, a goddess with all the symbols mutilated on the third side and on the fourth side an unidentified goddess showing the sword, the shield, the varada and the citron in her four hands and with the lotus as her cognizance. It has to be seen whether the type of figure illustrated in JOI, op. cit., fig. 15, with the club and the disc in her upper hands represents Čakreśvari, the yakṣi, or Aparāśakrā, the vidyādevi or any other deity.

Since it is not certain whether the other three figures on the pillar noted above form a group with this goddess, either of yakṣins or of vidyādevīs, the goddess on this pillar can be either of them. Now even if JOI, op. cit., fig. 15 on the shrine wall were regarded as one of the Māṭrkās, Vaisnavī by name, since at least Ganeśa who is known to accompany a set of Māṭrkās, is figured on the same wall, the pillar sculpture of the same variety of form, just referred to, does not seem to have been intended to represent the Vaṣāvāti Māṭrka as no other Māṭrika is found in this group of pillars. She may, therefore, be Čakreśvari, the yakṣīni of Ādinātha with her form borrowed directly from the Vaisnavī Māṭrka or indirectly through a similar form of the Digambara yakṣi Čakreśvari discussed in the following pages.

Māṭrkās are not unknown to Jain ritual and sculpture. The Ācāryadakṣaṇa invokes eight Māṭrkās in the Saṃśāsana-karavadi. They are also invoked in a rite prescribed in the Digambara text Vidyānūsa-saṇ. The Vimala-vasahī preserves figures of Brahmāṇi, Kaumāri and Māṭeśvari in the ceiling facing cell no. 23. The fourth goddess in this ceiling cannot be identified. In the adjoining ceiling opposite
cell no. 24, figures of Aindrī and Vaiśānavī with the eagle vehicle along with two other goddesses are represented. All the Mātākās along with a figure of Ganeśa are repeated in the set of miniature figures on the three sides of a multi-armed goddess in the bhāva no. 18 of the same Vimala-vasahī.

This form of the Mātākā Vaiśānavī demonstrates the close relation existing between the Jaina Cakreśvarī and the Brāhmaṇical Vaiśānavī.

Another example of such a difficulty may be cited. A standing figure of a four-armed Cakreśvarī is preserved in a niche in a temple in Āduvasīno pāḍo, Patan (JOI, op. cit., fig. 17). The goddess stands in the tribhāṅga and carries the cakra in each of her four hands. A miniature figure of a Tīrthaṅkarā is carved above her crown, on the top of the sculpture. According to the literary traditions cited before, such a form is prescribed for the vīḍyādevī called Apraṭiṣṭhakā or Carkeśvarī whereas no such dhyāna exists for the yakṣi of the same name in the Śvetāmbara pantheon. One would, therefore, be tempted to identify this figure as representing the vīḍyādevī. But the miniature figure of a Jina shows that the sculptor intended to represent the yakṣi Cakreśvarī. It may however be remembered that the practice of carving such figures of Tīrthaṅkarās over crowns of different yakṣas or yakṣiṇīs is not universal in Jainism. As no other example of the Cakreśvarī showing these symbols is brought to light, and because of literary evidence noted above, this form is also discussed as a vīḍyādevī by the present writer.12

3. Eight-Armed Variety

Hemacandra says that Apraṭiṣṭhakā is golden in appearance and rides the eagle. In her right hands she shows the varada, the arrow, the disc, and the noose while in her left hands she carries the bow, the bolt (vajra), the disc and the goad.13 The Nirvāṇakalikā,14 the Pravacanasāroddhāra-ṭikā,15 the Mantrādhīrājkalpa,16 the Ācāradinakara17 and the Lokaprakāśa18 describe the same form and address her variously as Cakreśvarī or Apraṭiṣṭhakā. According to the Ācāradinakara and the Mantrādhīrājkalpa19 she holds a bundle of arrows instead of one according to the other texts. Śīla pura works like the Devatā-mūrti-prakaraṇa and the Rūpamāṇḍana also follow the above tradition.20

Of this variety quite a large number of representations can be traced in various Śvetāmbara sites. On the outer wall of the Kharatara-vasahī, Delvāḍa, Mt. Abu, are carved, on the lowermost portion, all the twenty-four yakṣiṇīs of the Jaina pantheon. Here Cakreśvarī is seated on a bhadrāsana in the lalita pose and carries, in the topmost pair of hands, the noose in the left and the goad in the right; of the second pair, the left shows the thunderbolt while the right is mutilated. The third pair of hands carries the bow (in the left) and the arrow (in the right), while the fourth one shows the disc in the left and the varada-mudrā in the right. To the left of the goddess is seen a small figure of her eagle vehicle (JOI, op. cit., fig. 20).

A similar figure of the goddess with a little difference in the order of symbols is found on the outer wall of the sanctum of the central shrine of the Dharana-vihāra at Rānakapura (JOI, op. cit., fig. 18). Here the goddess carries the following symbols in her four left hands, beginning from the top—the cakra, the goad, the bow and the vajra, the corresponding right hands show the noose, the arrow, the cakra and varada-mudrā. The eagle is her vāhana.

Two more representations of the deity are carved on the outer wall of the second and the smaller temple at Rānakapura. Once again, the order is changed here and the goddess shows in her right hands from the top, the noose, the disc, the arrow and the varada pose. The bow, the vajra, the goad and the disc appear in the corresponding lower hands (JOI, op. cit., fig. 19).

The temple attributed to Vimala sāha in the Vāghana pole, Śatruṭiṣṭhā, has on the door-frame of its cell no. 371 a figure of Cakreśvarī with the eagle vehicle and attended upon by a female fly-whisk bearer on each side. The goddess carries the disc in the uppermost pair of hands, in the second pair from the top, she carries the noose and the vajra in the right and the left hands respectively; in the third pair are shown the arrow and the goad in a corresponding order while in the last pair are shown the varada and the bow symbols in the same order.

An image of Cakreśvarī, installed by Jinarājasūri of the Kharatara-gaccha of the Śvetāmbara
year 1675 v.s., according to the inscription on its pedestal, is being worshipped in the temple of Ajitanātha, Caumukha tuṁka, Śatrūnjaya. The goddess sits in the lalita pose and shows, in her four right hands beginning from the top, the abhaya, the noose, the goad and the bow. In her topmost left hand is carried the arrow while in the lowermost one is shown the vajra; symbols of the two remaining left hands cannot be identified.

Another image of Cakreśvari, from a niche in the same tuṁka (mountain way or street) at Śatrūnjaya, though of a date as late as the year 1893 v.s., according to the inscription on its pedestal, is noteworthy. It represents the goddess sitting in padmāsana with the eagle as her vāhana and showing, in her four right hands, the abhaya, the arrow, the cakra, and the snake in order beginning from the topmost one, while in her left hands are shown, in a similar order, the bow, the disc, an unidentified symbol and the goad. There is a miniature figure of Ādinātha overhead.

A bronze figure of Cakreśvari, eight-armed, with a small figure of a Jina overhead, and the eagle vehicle on the pedestal, shows her carrying the cakra in each of the three upper pairs of hands and showing the varada mudrā with the lower right hand and the citron with the lower left. The bronze is preserved in the National Museum, New Delhi.

Tiwari has noted a figure of Cakreśvari in ceiling of cell no. 10, Lūna-yasai, Abu, datable in c. 1230 A.D., showing the varada mudrā, the cakra, the vyākhyāna mudrā, cakra, cakra, lotus-bud, cakra and fruit.

4. Eighteen-Armed Variety

No dhyāna is known for this variety but a miniature painting (figure 77) on a folio from a palm-leaf manuscript of Trisātiṣalākāpurusācarita, copied in c. fourteenth century, shows the goddess carrying, in her right hands, the cakra, arrow, goad, lotus, vajra, sword and an indistinct object and showing the varada and the vyākhyāna mudrās. Corresponding left hands show the cakra, bow, noose, sword (?), shield, vajra, indistinct object and the abhaya (?). The eagle vāhana is shown in the right corner. The folio is in the collection of Śrī Rajendrasimhaji Singli who kindly permitted me to photograph it.

B. CAKREŚVARI OR APRATICAKRĀ (DIGAMBARA)

In the Digambara tradition, Cakreśvari is worshipped in eight different varieties of forms: (1) the two-armed, (2) the four-armed, (3) the six-armed, (4) the eight-armed, (5) the ten-armed, (6) the twelve-armed, (7) the sixteen-armed and (8) the twenty-armed. The goddess is worshipped in both the sitting and the standing postures although her standing figures are rare. She is generally represented seated in the lalita pose and her vāhana is invariably the eagle. Dhyānas for only the four, twelve and sixteen-armed forms are found in literature, but the popularity of the goddess in Digambara worship, especially in sites like Devgadh and Khjuraho, is evident from a large number of figures traced hitherto. The cakra (disc) remains the chief distinguishing symbol of Cakreśvari in Digambara tradition also.

1. Two-Armed Variety

A Covīśi (Caturvimbati-patā) of Ādinātha, preserved in temple no. 9 at Devgadh, near Lālitpur, has a small figure of the two-armed Cakreśvari carrying the cakra in the right hand and the kalasā (pot) in the left one. The sculpture belongs to c. twelfth century A.D.

On a sculpture of Rṣabhanātha, no. K.44 in the Khajaraho Museum, two-armed yaksi Cakreśvari shows the abhaya mudrā and the cakra in her hands.

We have referred to a bronze image of Ādinātha from Sanauli, Alwar district, Rajasthan. The bronze is dated in v.s. 1070 = A.D. 1013. On the right lower end is a two-armed cow-faced Gomukha Yaksā showing the citron in his right hand while on the corresponding left end is a two-armed Yaksi Cakreśvari with the cakra in her left hand. The symbol of her right hand is indistinct.
At Devgadh, in temples 2 and 19 is found two-armed yakṣi Cakrēśvari on images of Rṣabha. The yakṣi shows the cakra and the śankha (conch). On the Lucknow Museum image no. J. 836 of Rṣabhanātha, yakṣi Cakrēśvari carries the cakra and the conch.

Tiwari has noted a two-armed Cakrēśvari on a Mānastambha near temple 16 at Devgadh. The goddess shows the cakra in each of her two hands.

Another specimen of two-armed variety hangs from temple 2, Devgadh. Here, on an image of Ādinātha, the yakṣi is represented showing the abhaya mudrā with the right hand and carrying the kalaśa (water-jar) with the left. This is certainly curious since the disc which is her chief symbol and from which the yakṣi derives her name is absent here. It seems that a special tradition existed amongst the Digambaras, at least at Devgadh, which prescribed the abhaya and the kalaśa (pot) for yakṣinīs of more than one Tirthaṅkaras. Was the yakṣi known as Cakrēśvari in this form and tradition?

Mohapatra has noted a two-armed yakṣi Cakrēśvari, below the Rṣabhanātha figure of Jamunda (D.M. 35) in Jeypore branch museum, seated in lalitōsana pose, and displaying varada mudrā in both hands. Was the yakṣi called Cakrēśvari in this form? This form is illustrated by the sculptures of Mahāvira and Sāntinātha with yakṣinīs bearing the same symbols in the temple no. 2, as also by the figures of the yakṣinīs of Ajitānātha, Supārśva and Abhinandana (c. 12th century A.D.) in the temple no. 3 at Devgaḍh. The same iconographic tradition was also current at Mohandra about a hundred miles from Pannā in Central India where yakṣinīs of Mahāvira and Sāntinātha were represented in precisely the same fashion. The sculptures are at present preserved in a newly built temple in Pannā. So the name of this form of yakṣi was perhaps not Cakrēśvari.

2. Four-Armed Variety

Vasunandi in his Pratiśthāsāroddhāra refers to a four-armed form of the goddess with discs in two hands and riding the eagle. But he does not mention the symbols held in the remaining hands of the deity. Pratiśṭhātālaka of Neminandana also refers to this form but adds that the goddess shows the varada and the fruit in the other two hands. Ekanandha also follows the same tradition in his Jinasarāhitā.

In the temple no. 3 at Devgaḍh is preserved a sculpture of Ādinātha, dated v.s. 1102, with a small figure of the yakṣi Cakrēśvari carved on the lower portion. The devī is represented as carrying the discs in the two upper hands, and as showing the abhaya and the fruit in the right and the left lower ones. A similar representation of the devī is carved on the pedestal of a large sculpture of Ādinātha preserved in the Khajurāho Museum. Here the vāhana appears like a human being.

Mathura Museum no. B.21 of Rṣabhanātha shows the yakṣi Cakrēśvari carrying the disc in each of the two upper hands, and the conch in the left lower one. Her right lower hand is held in the abhaya mudrā.

No. 0.75 in the Lucknow Museum is a sculpture of Ādinātha with a figure of Cakrēśvari showing another form. The deity carries the disc in each of her two upper hands and shows the varada-mudrā with the right lower one. The left lower is mutilated but it probably held the conch symbol. This is inferred with the help of another figure of the goddess showing identical symbols in the Jain temple no. 31 at Khajurāho. The yakṣi rides the eagle.

A loose sculpture of Cakrēśvari is preserved in the navarātana of the Sāntinātha Basti, Kambatiahalli, Mysore State. Installed by the Gangas in late ninth or early tenth century, it is remarkable for its grace and can be compared with the finest of the Cola images. Here the goddess shows the cakra in the two upper hands, the abhaya mudrā in the right lower and the padma or citron in the left lower one. The eagle is her vāhana (figure 94).

Another form of the goddess is found on a figure of Ādinātha in the temple no. 2 at Devgaḍh. The goddess here carries the gadā (club) in her right upper hand, the disc in the left upper, and the conch in the left lower one, and shows the abhaya in the right lower hand. The garuda is her vāhana. A similar figure can be seen on the pedestal of another figure of Ādinātha in the same temple. Two more representations of this form are found at Khajurāho, one on the pedestal of a sculpture of Ādinātha in the Khajurāho
Four More Popular Yākaśīnis

Museum and the other on the door-frame of the Jaina temple no. 19. On an image at Khajuraho, abhaya is replaced by varada mudrā. So also at Devgadh T. 2, 5 and 11, we find these two varieties of forms.

There is a big rock-cut sculpture of Ādinātha in the Gwalior fort, with a standing two-armed Ambikā carved on his right and a four-armed standing Cakreśāri on his left side. Cakreśāri (JOI, op. cit., fig. 22) here carries the same set of symbols as in the figures just noted. On the left end of the pedestal of a large mutilated sculpture of Ādinātha lying on the roadside in the village of Manbvara in the Jubbulpur District, Madhya Pradesh, is a small figure of the yakṣi riding the eagle and showing the club and the abhaya in the right upper and lower hands while the symbols of two mutilated left hands are not recognisable, but the left upper hand appears to have held the disc symbol.

On the west wall of the temple no. 1, Devgadh, there are some sculptures studded into it, possibly during repairs, from the scattered images near the temple. On the northern end of this wall is a sculpture of Ādinātha with the yakṣa Gomukha and the yakṣi Cakreśāri on the right and the left sides of its pedestal. Cakreśāri is riding the eagle and carrying the garuda and the cakra in the right and the left upper hands respectively while showing the varada-mudrā and the śaṇkha (conch) with the corresponding lower hands. We find similar forms in T. 12, 1, 4 and 26. A sculpture of Ādinātha from Bateśvara in the Agra district, now preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow (no. 789), also shows Cakreśāri with identical symbols. A similar figure of the yakṣi is also carved on a sculpture of Ādinātha preserved in the Khajurāho Museum. Also see figure 91 from Khajuraho. Here the symbol of the left lower hand is mutilated.

On the entrance door of the temple no. 9, Devgadh appears another variety of the four-armed Cakreśāri. Here the conch in the preceding figure is replaced by the rosary, while the other symbols remain unchanged. There is a lintel of a Jaina temple in the Khajurāho Museum with a figure of Cakreśāri in the centre and Ambikā and Padmāati occupying the right and the left ends respectively. In the intervening space are represented figures of the nine planets. The goddess Cakreśāri holds the club and the disc in the two upper hands and shows the varada pose in the right lower one. The symbol of the fourth hand is mutilated.

On a pillar in the temple no. 12, Devgadh, there is a standing figure of Cakreśāri carrying the club and the conch in her right and the left upper hands respectively, while the right lower is held in the varada pose and the left lower holds the disc. A miniature figure of her usual vehicle is seen in the left lower corner. A female chowrie-bearer is seen on either side of the yakṣi (JOI, op. cit., fig. 23).

On the pillar no. 1, west gate, Devgadh fort, there is a beautiful well-preserved representation of Cakreśāri sitting with her right foot hanging in the laliṭa pose. She carries the disc and the conch in the left upper and lower hands; her upper right hand shows the abhaya-mudrā while the right lower one holds the club. The garuda vehicle of the goddess, full of life and vigour, lends additional charm to this sculpture (JOI, op. cit., fig. 24). A figure of Cakreśāri on a sculpture of Ādinātha, in the temple no. 9 at Devgadh, also shows identical symbols.

On the south wall of the Jaina temple at Jinanathapura in the Mysore State, is a Cakreśāri sitting in the laliṭa pose on a bhadrakāla. A miniature figure of her garuda vahana is seen in the left lower corner of the sculpture. Cakreśāri carries the cakra in her right as well as the left upper hands and the lotus in the right lower one. The left lower is held in the varada pose. The ornamental halo behind her face, the crown over her head and the various ornaments over her person may be noted; stylistically, the figure is typical of the art of the Hoyāala period (figure 102A).

On a slab in the temple no. 12, appears one more form of the four-armed variety. The devi is here shown in a standing attitude carrying the cakra in each of her four hands. A similar form of the goddess is available on the pedestal of a sculpture of Ādinātha preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow (no. G.322). Here Cakreśāri is represented in a sitting posture. The Devgadh figure just described represents an older tradition as it can be assigned to c. tenth century A.D. on stylistic grounds and on account of the script of the labels inscribed on the set of the yakṣinis preserved in this temple. The sculpture is one of the earlier specimens of the yakṣi Cakreśāri.

With this last form may be compared the Śvetāmbara vidyādevī Apratikārā or Cakreśāri who
also carries the discs in her four hands and has the eagle as her vāhana. It may be noted that in the Digambara tradition, list of the sixteen Mahāvidyās replaces another vidyādevi called Jāmbunādā for Cakreśvari of the Śvetāmbara lists.

There is a big sculpture of Ādinātha, in the Khajurāho Museum, with the bull symbol and a row of the nine planets on its pedestal. On the right end of the pedestal sits the four-armed cow-faced yakṣa Gomukha, with two pots of money near his leg. On the left end of the pedestal sits the yakṣi of Ādinātha, namely, Cakreśvari, riding the eagle and carrying the vajra and the cakra in the right and the left upper hands respectively and the rosary in the right lower one. The symbol of the left lower hand is mutilated.

An image of Rṣabha in the Pudukkota Museum, Tamil Nadu, shows a four-armed Yakṣi Cakreśvari carrying the cakra and the conch in her right and left upper hands respectively and the fruit in the right lower one. The left lower hand is held in the abhaya mudrā.  

No. 1667 in the Archaeological Museum, Khajurāho is a sculpture of Rṣabhanātha whose yakṣi shows the abhaya, padma, cakra and śankha in her four hands.

3. Six-Armed Variety

On the outer wall of the compound of temple no. 8 at Devgadh is a figure of Cakreśvari with six arms, the uppermost pair of hands showing the discs while sword and the club are held in the right and the left hands respectively of the middle pair. The lowest pair shows the varada pose in the right and the conch in the left hands. The goddess rides the eagle.

On the pedestal of a large sculpture of Ādinātha, from the temple no. 4, Devgadh, is found a slightly modified form of the goddess. The symbols in the first and the last pair of hands remain unchanged, but the middle pair here carries the club in the right and the lotus in the left hands. The eagle is her vāhana. The figure belongs roughly to the twelfth century A.D.

A third form of the six-armed variety is preserved on the door-frame of the Jaina temple no. 14 at Khajurāho. On two sides of Cakreśvari are the figures of Lakṣmī and Sarasvati. Cakreśvari here carries four discs in the four hands of the first and the middle pairs while the lowest pair shows the varada in the right and the conch in the left hands. The eagle is her vāhana.

On an image in Temple 27 at Khajurāho and on Kha. Mu. no. K 27.50, the yakṣi shows the abhaya, gadā, cakra, cakra, padma and the conch.

On the outer wall of the Jaina temple at Jinarāthapura, Mysore State, is a figure of Cakreśvari facing the North and sitting in the latīca posture with a miniature figure of an eagle vehicle below her left leg. She carries the disc in each of the two uppermost hands, the vajra in each of the two middle ones and the lotus in the last left hand while the corresponding right one is held in the varada-mudrā. The goddess sits under an ornamental arch of a creeper and wears a crown and various other ornaments.

Another figure of Cakreśvari of this last variety is available on a sculpture of Rṣabhanātha in the Bhāndāre Basadi (early twelfth century) at Śravāna Belagola, Mysore State. Here the yakṣi is represented in a standing attitude and carrying the same set of symbols.

No descriptive dhyāna is available in Jaina literature for the six-armed variety, but it seems pretty clear that the form was popular in Digambara tradition in the middle ages.

4. Eight-Armed Variety

The eight-armed form of the goddess likewise was popular in art, but no dhyāna is available in literature. It seems that the six or eight-armed varieties were mere expansion of the conception underlying the four-armed forms since they can be easily reduced to the four-armed variety by merely omitting the second and the third pairs of hands.

At Gyaraspur, in the Maladevi temple (c. late 9th century A.D.), between the two eastern balcony-projections of the south facade the last course of the roof shows a niche containing an image of eight-
armed Cakreśvari, seated on garuḍa. The goddess carries the pāśa (noose), an indistinct object, and the vajra (thunderbolt) in her right hands while her three left hands show the vajra, an indistinct object, and the cakra (wheel or discus). The (fourth) left lowermost hand is broken. The attributes are reckoned clock-wise starting from the lower right hand. The figure is flanked by a female attendant.  

On the pillar no. II, temple no. 1, Devgadh fort, is found a beautiful figure of Cakreśvari facing the eastern direction (Fig. 114). The yaksi sits in lalitāsana over her eagle vehicle and shows in her right hands, in a descending order, the disc, the noose (?), the club and the vārada pose, while the left hands carry, in a corresponding order, the disc, the vajra, the money-bag (?) and the conch (JOI, op. cit., fig. 26).

Another variety is obtained on a broken pillar to the south of the temple no. 12 at Devgadh. The deity is shown in a standing posture and carrying the discs in the two uppermost hands. In the second pair of hands are shown the abhaya and the shield, in the third, the sword and the axe; and in the last, the club and the conch in the right and the left hands respectively. On each side of the devi is found the familiar figure of the garuḍa vāhana.

A third type of form in this variety is found on the pedestal of a large sculpture of Ādinātha preserved in the Lucknow Museum (no. 178 from Orai). In this figure the goddess sits in lalitāsana on the eagle (JOI, op. cit., fig. 27), carrying in her left hands, the disc in the uppermost one, an unidentified symbol in the second from above, the bow in the third and the bag (?) in the fourth or the normal hand. In her right hands, she shows a bundle of arrows in the uppermost one and carries the disc in the third hand. Symbols of the two remaining hands are mutilated. The goddess rides the eagle represented in a human form. A female worshipper sits on each side of the vāhana while in the uppermost corners are seen two more attendants, one of them carrying a pitcher with both hands, perhaps suggestive of abhiṣeka or lustration of the goddess, a motif which became popular in Hindu iconography in the medieval period.

An early eight-armed figure of Cakreśvari, carved in low relief at Gangadharam in the Karimnagar district of Andhra Pradesh, discovered by N. Venkataramanayya, is described and illustrated by S. Settar. Her two upper pairs of hands show the cakra, the lowermost right holds the fruit, the corresponding left seems to carry the lotus, while the remaining two hold the vajra (thunderbolt).

At Ellora, cave 32, first floor, in a left side shrine, is a fine relief of Cakreśvari sitting in ardha-padmāsana and holding in her two upper left arms the cakra, and the cakra and the trident in the two upper right hands. The two lower right hands show the sword and the vārada mudrā, while the lowermost left hand is held in the abhaya pose. Symbol of the remaining left hand is indistinct (Fig. 115).

A bronze figure of Rāsbhanātha, no. 67.152 in the National Museum, New Delhi, represents the yaksi Cakreśvari eight-armed, carrying the cakra in each of the three upper six hands and the fruit in the lowermost left hand. Her corresponding right hand shows the vārada-mudrā. It is not certain whether this image belongs to the Śvē or the Dig. tradition. So the form is tentatively treated in both the traditions.

Tiwari has noted two eight-armed forms on the śikhara of the Maladevi temple, Gyaraspur, M.P. According to him, the one on the south side shows the cakra in the two upper pairs of hands, the vajra and the conch in the third pair of hands while the symbols of the two lowermost hands are mutilated. The eagle is her vāhana. The figure of Cakreśvari on the northern side of the śikhara carries the sword, the lotus (?), the disc, the shield, the conch and the mace (gada) in her six hands while the remaining two symbols are mutilated. The eagle is her vāhana.

Tiwari has also noted an eight-armed Cakreśvari on the uttarama of the Ghatnai temple (c. 10th cent.) at Khajuraho. Here the goddess carries, according to Tiwari, the fruit (?), bell (ghantā), cakra, cakra, cakra, cakra, bow (?) and kalaśa.

A standing Cakreśvari on a pillar in front of temple 14, Devgadh shows the staff (ḍandu), sword (khadga), abhaya mudrā, cakra, cakra, cakra, axe (parāśu) and conch (śankha) in her eight hands.

Of the eight-armed variety a mutilated sculpture is preserved in the Khajuraho Museum (JOI, op. cit., fig. 28). The goddess is sitting in the lalita pose on the eagle and carries the citron in her normal right hand.
hand and the conch in the corresponding left one. One of the left holds the cakra while the remaining symbols are mutilated. A female attendant is shown on each side, while two worshippers appear near the feet along with two more figures of musicians. On the top of the sculpture are carved flying garland-bearers. The image certainly does not represent the Brahmansal goddess Vaisnavi who is also said to ride the eagle and carry the disc but is never known to have carried the citron. Khajaraha is a veritable mine of sculptures of both the Brahmansal and the Jaina pantheons and the find of another eight-armed Jaina Cakreśvari is not at all unlikely. Fig. 99 from the British Museum probably represents (Cakra-dhirti-Cakreśvari).

5. Ten-Armed Variety

On a pillar in the compound of the temple no. 12 at Devgadh is a figure of Cakreśvari with ten arms. The devt sits in lalitāsana, and carries in her left hands in descending order the cakra, the shield, the vajra, the bow and the conch while in the corresponding right hands are shown the cakra, the sword, the club, the arrow and the vāraḍa-śastra. The eagle is her vāhana (JOI, XX, op. cit., fig. 29). The figure may be said to date from c. twelfth century A.D.

Another ten-armed figure of the goddess is found in the Navamuni Cave, Khandagiri, Orissa, where the devt sits in the padmāsana and carries the disc in each of the first three pairs of hands while the lowest pair shows the pravacana mudrā (gesture of discourse) in the right hand and the left one placed on the lap with the palm turned upwards (JOI, XX, op. cit., fig. 30). Of the remaining hands one holds a disc and the other a shield. The sculpture is assignable to c. ninth century A.D.36

A third form of the ten-armed variety is preserved in the Curzon Museum, Mathura. The goddess is represented in a standing attitude with the cakra in each of her ten hands. Over her head is a figure of her lord Raśabhanātha and the eagle is shown as her vāhana. The figure was wrongly described by Vogel as Vaisnavi of the Brahmansal pantheon;36 the mistake was probably due to the fact that a close relationship seems to have been maintained amongst the forms of these two goddesses. The sculpture appears to be a product of c. ninth century A.D. (JAA, I, plate 78).

Another ten-armed form of the goddess is preserved in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow (JOI, XX, op. cit., fig. 31), on a fragment of an elaborately carved lintel along with the figures of standing Tirthan-karas and the nine planets represented in a sitting posture. The sculpture comes from Siron Khurd, District Lalitapur in Madhya Pradesh. The goddess sits on an eagle represented like a human being. Although some of the symbols are mutilated, the remaining symbols leave no doubt regarding her identity. Beginning from the topmost hand they are in the following order: r. 1—disc, r. 2—disc, r. 3—?, r. 4—?, r. 5—vāraḍa-mudrā, and l. 1—bell ?, l. 2—disc, l. 3—lotus, l. 4—bow, and l. 5—arrow (?)

There is a large unidentified sculpture of a goddess in the Khajaraha Museum. This seems to represent a rare form of the goddess Cakreśvari (JOI, XX, op. cit., fig. 32). She is terrific in appearance with a gaping mouth and big rolling eye-balls. She is shown as riding a bird which can be easily taken as the eagle. On top of the sculpture was probably a miniature figure of a Jina now mutilated and lost; just below this are two garland-bearers and two female musicians while on each side of the head of Cakreśvari, on each upper corner of the sculpture is a miniature figure of a goddess, seated in the lalitāsana, and four-armed. The figure on the right shows the abhaya and the citron in the two lower hands while the deity on the left shows the vāraḍa (?) and the pot in the two lower hands. As the heads and the two upper hands of both the deities are mutilated, it is not possible to identify them correctly. Two female attendants stand on each side of the eagle beside four sitting worshippers. Almost all the hands of the goddess are mutilated. The partly mutilated symbol in her upper left hand is either a cakra or a shield. The ten arms of the goddess can however be counted. The sculpture is an excellent example of the early Cāndella art. The whole sculpture offers close similarity in the arrangement of figures, design, etc., with the other well-known Jaina sculptures like the twenty-armed Cakreśvari (JOI, op. cit., fig. 36) discussed below, or the four-armed Sarasvati from Khajaraha.37 The method of grouping three goddesses, one in the centre and two miniatures on the top, is common to all
these three sculptures. Khajurāho, the findspot of this sculpture, was also a strong Jaina centre. However if the vāhana is not the eagle here this sculpture may represent any other goddess, perhaps a Hindu devi.

Prajñāpti, the yākṣī of the third Tirthāṅkara Sambhava, is the only other Jaina goddess who has, like Cakreśvari, a bird as her vāhana. But the bird in the case of Prajñāpti is not always specified and the Canarese dhyāna-slokas referred to by Ramachandran inform us that it is the swan (haṁsa). Again, Prajñāpti is known to have been worshipped in only two varieties of forms, namely, the two-armed and the six-armed. Thus she is different from Cakreśvari, ten-armed forms of whom are already known. Further, Cakreśvari was more popular amongst the Jaina devotees of Khajurāho, and a terrific form of the goddess is not wholly unwarranted in Jaina traditions. A Cakreśvari-aṣṭakam of unknown authorship prescribes a terrific form of the goddess for worship in various Jaina Tantric rites.38

A ten-armed form portrayed on one of the door-lintels of the Pārśvanātha temple, Khajurāho, has been noted by Klaus Bruhn.59 According to him, the goddess shows in her right hands the padma (?), the cakra, the gadā, the khaḍga and the abhaya-mudrā and in the left ones, the cakra, the bow, the kheṭaka, the gadā and the conch.

Tiwari has noted a ten-armed form of this yākṣī on a sculpture of Rāsbhanātha in the Pārśvanātha temple, Khajurāho. The yākṣī shows the varaḍa, sword, mace (gadā), cakra, padma (?), cakra, bow, shield, gadā and conch in her ten hands.

6. Twelve-Armed Variety

The twelve-armed form of the goddess seems to have been very popular since several texts describe it. According to the Pratīṣṭhāsārasaṅgrahā of Vasunandi,40 the Pratīṣṭhāśārodā ṣhāra of Āśādhara41 and the Pratīṣṭhā-tīlaka of Nemicandra,42 the goddess Cakreśvari has either twelve or four arms. In the former case, she carries the vajra in each hand of the uppermost pair, four pairs of hands in the middle all carry a disc, while the lowermost pair shows the varaḍa and the citron. Yellow in complexion, the goddess sits on the lotus and rides the garuda.

The above tradition is followed by the palm-leaf manuscript of Yakṣa-Yakṣī-lakṣaṇa noted by Ramachandran.43 But the earliest known Digambāra text describing this form is the Kannada Ādipūrāṇam of Pampa completed in 941 A.D. S. Settar, quoting from it,44 has shown that according to Pampa, Cakreśvari, riding on the eagle, has twelve arms, with the varaḍa mudrā and the padma in two, the vajras in two others and the disc (cakra) in each of the remaining eight hands. Golden in complexion, she is terrific in appearance.

A figure of Cakreśvari illustrating this variety is available at Veṇūr in the Mysore State where in a Jaina temple are preserved sculptures of all the twenty-four Tirthāṅkaras with their yākṣas and yakṣinis. Here Cakreśvari stands on the left of a figure of Ādinātha and carries (JOI, op. cit., fig. 33) the vajra in each of the two uppermost pair of hands, the cakra in each hand of the four middle pairs and the lotus in the lowermost right hand; the corresponding left one is held in the varaḍa pose.

A fragment of a sculpture representing Ādinātha is preserved in the Museum of Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier’s College, Bombay (JOI, op. cit., fig. 34).45 Cakreśvari here stands in the triṣṭhāṅga and carries the same set of symbols but in a slightly modified order. The four upper pairs of hands carry the cakra, the fifth holds the vajra in each hand, the lowermost right hand shows the lotus while the mutilated corresponding left one probably showed the varaḍa-mudrā.

A sculpture of Ādinātha is being worshipped in the Settara Basadi, Mudabidri, Mysore State. Here on the left side of the Jina is carved a standing Cakreśvari carrying the discs in the first eight hands beginning from the top, and the vajra in each of the two next ones. But the symbols of the lowest right hand are interchanged and the goddess here carries the lotus in her left hand and shows the right one in the varaḍa-mudrā.

Markuli, a small village in the Mysore State, has a Jaina Basti constructed in 1173 A.D. In the chief cell, in the main temple, is an image of Ādiśvara and in the sūkanāstī are a male and a female.
figures, both in the sitting postures. The female figure, apparently a yakṣi, has twelve arms. In her four right and four left hands, she carries the cakra; in one right and one left hand, she holds the vajra, while she holds the lotus in the sixth left hand and shows the varada-mudrā in the corresponding right one.46 Obviously, she represents the Digambara Jaina yakṣī Cakreśvari (Fig. 113).

The Aparājita-prachiśa, a śīla text, describes the above-mentioned set of symbols with the difference that the varada is replaced by the abhaya-mudrā. She sits on the lotus and has the eagle as her vāhana.47 The Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa also describes this form besides the four-armed one already discussed.48

A big relief sculpture of Cakreśvari is carved on the left wall of the verandah of the Bārabhūjī cave, Khandagiri, Orissa (figure 70). The cave derives its name from this twelve-armed figure of Cakreśvari. The goddess sits in the lañita āsana on a big double-lotus below which are carved miniature figures of a male and a female worshippers. Above the goddess-figure is a miniature figure of Rṣabhanātha with his bull symbol. The devi therefore represents the yakṣī of the first Jina. Cakreśvari here shows in her left hands the following symbols in a descending order, namely, the cakra, an unidentified symbol, the shield, the cakra, the vajra, and the pravacana (or vitarka) mudrā. In her right hands are shown in a corresponding order the cakra, the sword, a symbol now mutilated, an unidentified symbol, the vajra and the varada mudrā.49

On the left wall of the cave are figures of five Tīrthaṅkaras. The first is Rṣabha with the bull symbol. Below the relief of this Jina is his twelve-armed yakṣī Cakreśvari with the eagle (garuda) vāhana. Of her six right hands one is in varada and the rest hold a thunderbolt (vajra), two discs (cakra), rosary (akṣamālā) and a sword; three of her left hands hold a shield, disc and the stalk of a flower; the attributes of the three others are badly damaged.50

In a big relief panel in a wall to the left of the passage near the entrance of Cave 30, Ellora,51 is carved a beautiful figure of Cakreśvari sitting in padmāsana on a big lotus (very much worn out) below which is her human-faced eagle vehicle. The sculpture dates from c.e. of the ninth century A.D. Above the head of the devī is a figure of a Jina sitting in padmāsana on a lotus. Almost all the right hands of the devī except two are broken and lost. The symbol of the lowermost right hand is mutilated while the hand just above it holds a big sword. Of the six left hands, beginning from the topmost one, the symbols visible are a mace-like object, the cakra, and the conch. Symbol of the normal left hand is mutilated (Fig. 155).

The unidentified manuscript from Jina-Kanchi noticed by Ramachandran gives different iconographic details.52 According to it Cakreśvari has three eyes and rides the eagle. The deity shows the sakti and the vajra in two hands, eight discs in eight hands, and the varada and the lotus in the two remaining hands.

7. Sixteen-Armed Variety

The Canarese Dhyāna ślokas referred to by T.N. Ramachandran53 describe a sixteen-armed form of this yakṣī. According to this text, one right hand shows the varada mudrā while the corresponding left shows the katpaka pose. Another right and its corresponding left rest on the lap (perhaps in the dhyāna mudrā), while the remaining hands hold different weapons of war (not specified). The garuda is her vāhana.

The drawing published by Burgess from a Canarese tradition may be compared with this form.54 Here the two uppermost hands show the discs (?), while the two lowermost are placed on the lap. One right hand is held in the abhaya mudrā while the corresponding left shows the pravacana mudrā. The goddess sits in the lañita pose with the eagle vehicle beside her left leg. Symbols of the ten remaining hands are not given in the drawing, but they are supposed to carry various weapons.

A sixteen-armed standing Cakreśvari was discovered at Gandhaival, old Gwalior state, now in M.P. In her upper right hands are seen the sword and the disc, in one of the left hands is seen the cakra. Symbols of remaining hands are mutilated and indistinct (JO1, op. cit., fig. 37).55

R.P. Mohapatra has referred to some more twenty-armed figures of Cakreśvari in Orissa.56
Four More Popular Yakṣiṇīs

According to him, “one is worshipped as Bhagavati at Jeypore and the other kept half buried under earth in a temple at Suai of Koraput district.” The Jeypore figure represents the yakṣi seated in padmāsana on a double lotus. On the pedestal is the garuḍa vāhana. Above the figure of the yakṣi is a Jina sitting in padmāsana. “Of her sixteen hands, the eight in the right represent attributes like sword, conical object (?), crescent moon, cakra (disc), śākha (conch), vajra (thunderbolt), japamālā (rosary) and varada mudrā and the remaining eight of the left side display conical object (?), shield, gada (mace), cakra, trident, vajra, kalaśa (pot) and an indistinct object. The third eye on her forehead is distinctly visible.”

The Suai image also represents the yakṣi as seated in the padmāsana. “From her sixteen hands the available ones of the right side contain mace, sword, trident, disc, bow and pot and the left side displays spear, shield, arrow, dagger, and a conical object. The attributes of the remaining hands are damaged and missing.” Above is a figure of a Jina.

8. Twenty-Armed Variety

A beautiful and elaborately carved sculpture of the goddess comes from Devgaḍh fort, temple no. 19 (JOI, op. cit., fig. 36). On the top of the sculpture are figures of three Tīrthaṅkara with Adinatha seated in the centre, along with miniature figures of garland-bearers and musicians. On two sides appear two small figures of Jain goddesses the one on the right being Padmāvatī and the other on the left being Sarasvatī. The goddess is shown gracefully sitting in the lalitāsana upon a beautiful lotus with the eagle below her left leg. Three female attendants on each side possibly represent the parivāra of the goddess. The symbols held in her hands are mostly mutilated but three discs, the upper portion of a club and the rosary are still visible in her right hands, while two discs, the shield and the conch can be seen in her left hands. Stylistically, the figure belongs to the same age as that of the figure of Mālinī from the same spot, dated 1070 v.s.

Another twenty-armed figure of the yakṣi is preserved in the temple no. 2 at Devgaḍh. It is a large sculpture and represents the goddess in a sitting posture on the eagle. All the symbols held in her hands are mutilated with the exception of one cakra. This belongs to a somewhat earlier age than the preceding one.

A third twenty-armed sculpture with all the symbols well preserved is also found at Devgaḍh in temple no. 12. It is placed in a dark cell adjoining the central shrine. The goddess sits in lalitāsana on a full-blown lotus (JOI, vol. XX, op. cit., fig. 38) with a four-armed eagle underneath. With two hands the eagle lifts the devi while the other two are folded together in adoration. Cakreśvartī holds with one of the uppermost pair of hands the cakra over the head, the artist possibly wanted to convey the idea that the yakṣi carried overhead the dharma-cakra of her Master Ādiṇāṭha. Her two normal hands forming the lowest pair also hold the discs. In the intervening right hands, the following symbols can be identified—vajra, gada (?), rosary, mūgara (mace), disc, sword, a club-like weapon with a small handle, and bag (?); in the intervening left hands the following are recognisable—bell, shield, staff (?), bow, conch, disc, disc, arrow, disc. An attendant female chowrie-bearer stands on each side of Cakreśvartī near the legs (Fig. 175).

The above study of the various forms of Cakreśvartī worshipped by both the Jain sects will make it quite clear to anyone familiar with the Hindu sculptures that Cakreśvartī offers an interesting comparison with the well-known Brahmānical goddess Vaiṣṇavi, the Śakti of Viṣṇu. According to the Amśu-mad-bhedāgama, Devipuruṣa and Rupamaṇḍana, Vaiṣṇavi is four-armed and rides the eagle. The Viṣṇu-dharmottara calls her six-armed. When four-armed, she shows sometimes the conch, the disc, the varada and the abhaya, and sometimes the conch, the disc, the club and the lotus. In all cases the garuḍa vāhana remains unchanged. When six-armed, she shows the varada, the club, the garland of lotuses, the conch, the disc, and the abhaya-mudrā. The garuḍa acts as the vehicle. Thus it will be seen that at least three symbols, namely, the conch, the cakra and the club, as also the garuḍa vāhana are common to both the Cakreśvartī and the Vaiṣṇavi. In fact, some of the sculptures of Cakreśvartī can be easily mistaken for those of Vaiṣṇavi as was at least once done by Vogel.
In both the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara traditions, Cakreśvari is well known as the yaksīṇī or sāsana-devatā of Ādīnātha, while the corresponding yakṣa is the cow-faced yakṣa Gomukha. But curiously enough, a metal sculpture representing a Covisi of Ādīnātha (i.e. with Ādīnātha as the main figure in the centre) has a miniature figure of Ambikā placed as the yaksīṇī. The yakṣa here is the Gomukha who is well-known as the yakṣa of Ādīnātha. The image is preserved in a temple in Pindwāda, Sirohi State and is installed in the year 1151 V.S. according to an inscription on its back. Two more examples of Ambikā associated with Ādīnātha in metal sculptures from Sādaḍī (Jodhpura State) and Idar in the North Gujarat (belonging to c. 10th and 11th centuries respectively) have been discussed elsewhere by this writer.⁶⁸ Ambikā is further found associated with Mallinātha, Śāntinātha and Mahāvīra on some pedestals preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and in the Baroda Museum. Similar examples can be multiplied. Thus, though Ambikā is the Sāsana-yakṣī of the twenty-second Jina Neminātha, in earlier examples she is similarly associated with different Tirthāṅkaras. For examples, at Akot in Gujarat and Dānka in Kathiawar, she is associated with Raṣabhanātha, Pārśva-nātha respectively. Here the yakṣa is a two-armed pot-bellied figure showing close similarity with Kubera and Jambhala of the Hindu and Buddhist pantheons. Let us call him Yaksēvara or Sarvānubhūti or Sarvānha.⁶⁹ A similar yakṣa and yaksīṇī is seen on the pedestal of the sculpture of Ādīnātha from Mathura, no. 78 in the Lucknow Museum. At Ellora, again the same yakṣa and Ambikā are met with. It seems, therefore, that in early Jain sculpture this yakṣa pair (of Kubera-like Yakṣa and Ambikā) was installed as the attendant yakṣa and yaksīṇī of all the Jinas. We have discussed the problem in the preceding chapter.

The introduction of separate sāsana-devatās for each of the twenty-four Jinas replaced the earlier pair of Yaksēvara and Ambikā (common to all the 24 Jinas) during the transition from the Gupta period to the middle ages and should be assigned to a period between the sixth and the eighth cent. A.D.

Of all the images of Cakreśvari discovered hitherto, the earlier specimens are the four-armed figures from Prabhāsa-Pāṭan, Ranakpur, Vimala vasahi, Abu, and Devgadih fort, the ten-armed figure from the Navamuni cave and the twelve-armed one from the Daśabhujā cave, Orissa discussed above. All these figures belong to a period later than the eighth century A.D., which is the lower limit for the introduction of the set of twenty-four sāsana-devatās.

The canonical literature of the Jinas does not give a list of the Jaina sāsana-devatās. The Śvetāmbara Jaina Canon was finally written down by the Valabhi council under the chairmanship of Devarddhigani Kaṃśāstramana in the fifth century A.D. According to the Digambaras, the ancient Āgamas are now lost and none of the works composed before the eighth century A.D. makes a reference to the attendant sāsana-yakṣa pairs.

The Tiloyapāṇḍati, supposed to have been composed by Yativṛṣabha who flourished sometime in the first century A.D. or a little later, is a work on Jaina cosmography⁶⁰ and gives a list of the twenty-four yakṣas and yaksīṇīs according to the Digambara tradition. But the printed text of the Tiloyapāṇḍati seems to have been a revised and enlarged edition of an earlier (now lost) Tiloyapāṇḍati sūtra composed by Yativṛṣabha. Virasena, the author of the Dhavala and the Jayadhavala refers to a Tiloyapāṇḍati sūtra in a passage which is also found in the printed text of the Tiloyapāṇḍati.⁶¹ Hence both the author of the extant Tiloyapāṇḍati and Virasena had another text of the Tiloyapāṇḍati before them. Besides internal evidence also points to the conclusion that the modern text of this work was prepared sometime after the reign of Kalāki and his son whose rule is said to have ended in the year 1002 after Mahāvīra. Again, the text itself pays homage to Yativṛṣabha in one verse at the end,⁶² and in another invokes benediction for a certain Bālacandra Saiddhāntika.⁶³ Two Bālacandras are known to us from the inscriptions at Sāvannad Belagola both of whom cannot be placed earlier than the eighth century A.D.⁶⁴ Hence it is reasonable to conclude that the extant copy of the Tiloyapāṇḍati is not the original work of the ancient writer Yativṛṣabha but is a revised and enlarged copy of the original Tiloyapāṇḍati sūtra referred to by Virasena in the eighth century A.D.

The Trilokasāra of Nemicandra who was a contemporary of the famous Ānandaśāraya is supposed to have been based on the Tiloyapāṇḍati.⁶⁵ We do not know whether it was based on the extant copy
Four More Popular Yakṣinīs

of Tiloyapannattī or its original by Yatīvrasba and only a detailed comparative study of the two texts can help to decide the issue but unlike the extant Tiloyapannattī, the Trilokasāra does not give the lists of the attendant yakṣas and yakṣinīs even though it gives the names and other details of the Tirthaṅkara Cakravartins and others like the Tiloyapannattī. Nor does the Trilokasāra give the cognizances of the twenty-four Jinas. It is therefore more likely that the Trilokasāra of Nemicandra is based on the original Tiloyapannattī. The extant Tiloyapannattī, even if it be earlier than the Trilokasāra, it is not far removed from the latter and Bālacandra Saiddhāntika referred to in the text itself may either be the author or a contemporary (a teacher or a colleague) of the author of the new, revised and enlarged edition (or portions) of the Tiloyapannattī.

This digression was necessary to show that the evidence of the extant Tiloyapannattī does not contradict the results arrived at with the help of archaeological evidence. The first reliable reference to the Apratickra yakṣinī of the Digambara pantheon is supplied by the Harivansha of Jinasena (783 A.D.). According to this text, sāsana-devatās of great prowess headed by Apratickra paid their homage to the Lord Viṣṇu, the dharmacakrīn, in the latter's samavāraṇa.

Later Digambara writer Puspandanta invokes Cakrēvārī along with Ambikā, Siddhāyiṅa, Gaurī and Gandhāri of the Jaina pantheon in his Apabhramsha work Mahāpurana (c. 960 A.D.). Puspandanta addresses Cakrēvārī as “vīghhāvaddtvinī” or the dispeller of obstacles and ‘cāru’ or the beautiful one.

Amongst the Śvetāmbaras, the two limits noted above, namely, the fifth century A.D. and the eighth century A.D. may now be checked. It has been noted above that the Jaina Agama texts do not refer to the twenty-four sāsana-devatās. Janadāsa Mahattara, the author of Cūrṇī on some of the Āgama texts, who completed his Cūrṇī on the Nandi-sūtra in the Śaka year 598 (676 A.D.), does not refer to the yakṣa pairs even when an opportunity is available while dealing with the lives of Mahāvīra and Rṣabhanātha in his Āvaśyaka-Cūrṇī.

But Haribhadraśūri, the famous Śvetāmbara writer, refers to Siddhāyiṅa along with Kāli, Roṭni and others in his Pañcaśaka, and to Amba-Kusmānti as yakṣī in his Lalitavistaratīkā. Muni Jinavijayaji first discussed his date and fixed it as 757-857 v.s. (= 700-800 A.D.) but later revised it and finally placed him in Śaka years 600-650, i.e. 678-728 A.D. He may have flourished in c. 550-650 A.D.

Saṅghadāsagāṇi, the author of the Vasudevahindi, part one, who flourished before Jinabhadrāgāṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa, is generally assigned to c. 5th or 6th century A.D. He does not refer to the yakṣa pairs even when opportunities are available in describing lives of some of the Tirthaṅkaraś.

Bappabhāṭṭi, perhaps a junior contemporary of Haribhadra, who is supposed to have flourished in c. 800-895 v.s., offers invocations to the twenty-four Jinas in his Catuvirāvīṭīka. This work is made up of a group of 24 hymns, each one assigned to one Tirthaṅkara. In each hymn, the first verse is devoted to one of the twenty-four Jinas, the second to all the Jinas, the third to the Jaina siddhānta or the speech of the Jinas and the fourth to one of the following deities—the Śrutovedā, the sixteen Mahāvīyās, the chief queen of Dharana, the Yakṣarāja and the goddess Ambā. This Yakṣarāja again is closely related to Kubera, the lord of the yakṣas, so far as the iconography of the two deities is concerned. It has already been shown that the earliest yakṣa pair discovered on Tirthaṅkara-images is that of Yakṣēśvara and Ambā who are the only yakṣa and yakṣinī invoked by Bappabhāṭṭi. It would, therefore, be reasonable to conclude that the sets of sāsana-devatās were a comparatively recent growth if not altogether unknown in the age of Bappabhāṭṭi and that the author possibly followed an older practice of invoking deities in such hymns.

Considering all these evidences, both literary and archaeological, available in the traditions of both the Jaina sects, it will be reasonable to conclude that the sets of the twenty-four yakṣas and yakṣinīs were introduced sometime after the seventh century A.D. but before the end of the eighth century and probably in the first half of it. But their forms were possibly different from what Hemacandra and Aśekhara describe.

Since the Cakresvarī figures both as the yakṣinī and the vidyādevī in the Śvetāmbara pantheon, it remains to be seen whether the Apratickra invoked by Bappabhāṭṭi was the yakṣinī or the vidyādevī. Firstly, Bappabhāṭṭi invokes her in the group of verses assigned to Supārśvanātha and not Ādinātha.
Secondly, the form suggested by the author agrees more with the later dhyanas of the Cakreśvari vidyā than with those of the yakṣī, and thirdly almost all the other goddesses invoked in the Caturvidhāta are vidyādevīs. Lastly, the worship of vidyādevīs in Jainism is older than that of the twenty-four śāsana-devatās since some of the vidyās are met with in earlier texts like the Vasudevahindi and in the still earlier Paumacariya of Vimalasūri.

To revert to Cakreśvari, frequent occurrence of images of the various forms of the goddess in Jain temples of both the sects shows that her worship was both ancient and widespread. Separate temples dedicated to Cakreśvari, though not common, were not unknown. According to Jayaprabhasūri, the author of the Vividha-tirtha-kalpa, a temple of the goddess Cakreśvari was in existence at Ayodhya, and at Kulpāka-tirtha in the C.P., there was an image of the goddess with discs in her hands.

The goddess was invoked in various Tantric rites. She, however, could not attain the same exalted position as that of Padmāvati, Ambikā, Sarasvatī or Śvālamāliga, especially in the Jaina Tantra. It may be remembered, however, that she is one of the four chief yakṣīs in Jaina pantheon, along with three others, namely, Ambikā, Padmāvati and Siddhāyiṅkā.

The different iconographic tables for the various forms of Cakreśvari are given below.

### Iconography of Cakreśvari, the Yakṣī of Rṣabhanātha

#### A. CAKREŚVARI (ŚVETĀMBARA)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Vāhana</th>
<th>Complexion</th>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>cakra, x (not known)</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

#### II. Four-Armed Variety

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nos.</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Vāhana</th>
<th>Complexion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>r. u. cakra</td>
<td>l. u. cakra</td>
<td>eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. l. varada</td>
<td>l. l. śankha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>r. u. cakra</td>
<td>l. u. cakra</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. l. rosary</td>
<td>l. l. śankha</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>r. u. cakra</td>
<td>l. u. cakra</td>
<td>eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. l. varada</td>
<td>l. l. citron</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>r. u. cakra</td>
<td>l. u. a-cakra</td>
<td>tiger</td>
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<tr>
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<td>r. l. varada</td>
<td>l. l. citron</td>
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</tr>
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<td>r. u. cakra</td>
<td>l. u. cakra</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>r. l. abhaya</td>
<td>l. l. citron</td>
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<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>r. u. cakra</td>
<td>l. u. cakra</td>
<td>eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. l. varada</td>
<td>l. l. pot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>same as above</td>
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<td>lotus</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>r. u. cakra</td>
<td>l. u. cakra</td>
<td>tiger</td>
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<td>r. l. rosary</td>
<td>l. l. pot</td>
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<td>r. u. and l. u. cakra</td>
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<td>tiger</td>
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<td></td>
<td>r. l. and l. l. varada</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>r. u. cakra</td>
<td>l. u. noose</td>
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<td>r. l. goad</td>
<td>l. l. varada</td>
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<td>11.</td>
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<td>l. u. goad</td>
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<td>r. l. varada</td>
<td>l. l. conch</td>
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<td>12.</td>
<td>r. u. cakra</td>
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<tr>
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<td>r. l. rosary</td>
<td>l. l. vajra</td>
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<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>r. u. club (gaiḍā)</td>
<td>l. u. cakra</td>
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<tr>
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<td>r. l. varada</td>
<td>l. l. conch</td>
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<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>cakra in four hands</td>
<td></td>
<td>(? identification as a yakṣī is doubtful)</td>
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### III. Eight-Armed Variety

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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<th>Vāhana</th>
<th>Complexion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>right—varada, arrow, disc, noose left—bow, vajra, disc, goad</td>
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<td>golden</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>r. 1. goad</td>
<td>1. 1. noose</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 2. (cakra)</td>
<td>1. 2. vajra</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 3. arrow</td>
<td>1. 3. bow</td>
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<td>r. 4. varada</td>
<td>1. 4. cakra</td>
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<td>3.</td>
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<td>1. 1. cakra</td>
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<td>r. 2. arrow</td>
<td>1. 2. goad</td>
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<tr>
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<td>r. 3. cakra</td>
<td>1. 3. bow</td>
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<td>r. 4. varada</td>
<td>1. 4. vajra</td>
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<td>4.</td>
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<td>1. 1. bow</td>
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<td>1. 2. vajra</td>
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<td>r. 3. arrow</td>
<td>1. 3. cakra</td>
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<td>r. 4. varada</td>
<td>1. 4. goad</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>r. 1. cakra</td>
<td>1. 1. cakra</td>
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<tr>
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<td>r. 2. noose</td>
<td>1. 2. vajra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 3. arrow</td>
<td>1. 3. goad</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>r. 4. varada</td>
<td>1. 4. bow</td>
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<td>r. 1. abhaya</td>
<td>1. 1. arrow</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 2. noose</td>
<td>1. 2. bow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 3. goad</td>
<td>1. 3. bow</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 4. bow</td>
<td>1. 4. vajra</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>r. 1. abhaya</td>
<td>1. 1. bow</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 2. arrow</td>
<td>1. 2. cakra</td>
<td>(padmāsana)</td>
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<td>r. 3. cakra</td>
<td>1. 3. bow</td>
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<td>r. 4. snake</td>
<td>1. 4. goad</td>
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<td>r. 2. cakra</td>
<td>1. 2. cakra</td>
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<td>r. 3. cakra</td>
<td>1. 3. cakra</td>
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</tr>
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<td>r. 4. varada</td>
<td>1. 4. citron</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>varada, cakra, vyākhyaṇa, cakra, cakra, lotus-bud, cakra, fruit</td>
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### IV. Eighteen-Armed Variety

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<th>Complexion</th>
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</thead>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l. cakra, bow, noose, stick (?), shield, vajra, indistinct, abhaya, x</td>
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### B. Cakraśvari (Digambara)

#### V. Two-Armed Variety

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<td>1. pot</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>r. abhaya</td>
<td>1. cakra</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>r. cakra</td>
<td>1. śankha</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>r. cakra</td>
<td>1. cakra</td>
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<td>5.</td>
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<td>1. kalaśa</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>r. varada</td>
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#### VI. Four-Armed Variety

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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>r. l. varada</td>
<td>1. l. citron</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>r. u. cakra</td>
<td>1. u. cakra</td>
<td>eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. l. abhaya</td>
<td>1. l. citron</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>r. u. cakra</td>
<td>1. u. cakra</td>
<td>eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. l. varada</td>
<td>1. l. conch</td>
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<td>r. u. cakra</td>
<td>1. u. cakra</td>
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<tr>
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<td>r. l. abhaya</td>
<td>1. l. padma</td>
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<tr>
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<td>r. l. abhaya</td>
<td>1. l. śankha</td>
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<td>r. u. gadā</td>
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<td>r. l. varada</td>
<td>1. l. rosary</td>
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<td>1. u. cakra</td>
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<td>r. l. varada</td>
<td>1. l. conch</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>r. u. gadā</td>
<td>1. u. śankha</td>
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<td>r. l. varada</td>
<td>1. l. cakra</td>
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<td>r. l. gadā</td>
<td>1. l. śankha</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. l. padma</td>
<td>1. l. varada</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>cakra in all the four hands</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>r. u. vejra</td>
<td>1. u. cakra</td>
<td>eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. l. x</td>
<td>1. l. rosary</td>
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<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>abhaya, padma, cakra, śankha</td>
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<tr>
<td>14.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>r. l. fruit</td>
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## VII. Six-Armed Variety

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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 2. sword</td>
<td>1. 2. gadā</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>r. 3. varāda</td>
<td>1. 3. śāṅkha</td>
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</tr>
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<td>1. 1. cakra</td>
<td>eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 2. gadā</td>
<td>1. 2. padma</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 3. varāda</td>
<td>1. 3. śāṅkha</td>
<td>..</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
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<td>1. 1. cakra</td>
<td>eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 2. cakra</td>
<td>1. 2. cakra</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 3. varāda</td>
<td>1. 3. śāṅkha</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>r. 1. cakra</td>
<td>1. 1. cakra</td>
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<tr>
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<td>r. 2. vajra</td>
<td>1. 2. vajra</td>
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<td>r. 3. varāda</td>
<td>1. 3. lotus</td>
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<td>abhaya, gadā, cakra, cakra, padma, śāṅkha</td>
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## VIII. Eight-Armed Variety

<table>
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<th>Complexion</th>
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<tr>
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<td>r. 2. pāśa (?)</td>
<td>1. 2. vajra</td>
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<tr>
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<td>r. 3. gadā</td>
<td>1. 3. bag (?)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>r. 4. varāda</td>
<td>1. 4. śāṅkha</td>
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<td>2.</td>
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<td>1. 1. cakra</td>
<td>eagle</td>
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<tr>
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<td>r. 2. abhaya</td>
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<td>r. 3. sword</td>
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<tr>
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<td>r. 4. gadā</td>
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<td>1. 2. (?)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>r. 3. cakra</td>
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<td>r. 4. x</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1. 1, 2, 3, mutilated</td>
<td>eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 4. citron</td>
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</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>r. 2. (?)</td>
<td>1. 2. (?)</td>
<td>..</td>
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<tr>
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<td>r. 3. (?)</td>
<td>1. 3. cakra</td>
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<tr>
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<td>r. 4. vajra</td>
<td>1. 4. x</td>
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<td>1. 1. cakra</td>
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<td>1. 2. cakra</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 3. vajra</td>
<td>1. 3. vajra</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 4. fruit</td>
<td>1. 4. lotus (?)</td>
<td>..</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>r. 1, 2, 3. cakra</td>
<td>1. 1, 2, 3. cakra</td>
<td>eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>r. 4. varāda</td>
<td>1. 4. fruit</td>
<td>..</td>
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<td>1. 1, 2. cakra</td>
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<td>1. 4. x</td>
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<td>Nos.</td>
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<td>---------</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>sword, lotus (?), cakra, x, shield, conch, gadā, x</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>fruit, (?), bell (ghanța), cakra, cakra, cakra, bow, kalasha</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 3. sword</td>
<td>1. 3. x</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 4. varada</td>
<td>1. 4. abhaya</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>danda, khadga, abhaya, cakra, cakra, cakra, axe and conch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**IX. Ten-Armed Variety**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nos.</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Vāhana</th>
<th>Complexion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>r. 1. cakra</td>
<td>1. 1. cakra</td>
<td>eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 2. sword</td>
<td>1. 2. shield</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 3. gadā</td>
<td>1. 3. vajra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 4. arrow</td>
<td>1. 4. bow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 5. varada</td>
<td>1. 5. śaṅkha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>r. 1. cakra</td>
<td>1. 1. cakra</td>
<td>eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 2. &quot;</td>
<td>1. 2. &quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 3. &quot;</td>
<td>1. 3. &quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 4. &quot;</td>
<td>1. 4. &quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 5. pravacana</td>
<td>1. 5. placed on lap</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>cakra in all hands</td>
<td></td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>r. 1. cakra</td>
<td>1. 1. bell</td>
<td>eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 2. cakra</td>
<td>1. 2. cakra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 3. ?</td>
<td>1. 3. lotus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 4. ?</td>
<td>1. 4. bow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 5. varada</td>
<td>1. 5. arrow (?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>r. 1. sword</td>
<td>1. 1. shield</td>
<td>eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other symbols mutilated</td>
<td></td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>appearance terrible</td>
<td></td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>r. 1. padma</td>
<td>1. 1. cakra</td>
<td>eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 2. cakra</td>
<td>1. 2. bow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 3. gadā</td>
<td>1. 3. kheṭaka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 4. khadga</td>
<td>1. 4. gadā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 5. abhaya</td>
<td>1. 5. conch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>varada, sword, lotus (?), cakra, x, padma (?), cakra, bow, shield, gadā, conch</td>
<td></td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### X. Twelve-Armed Variety

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nos.</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Vahana</th>
<th>Complexion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>r. 1. vajra</td>
<td>1. 1. vajra</td>
<td>eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 2. cakra</td>
<td>1. 2. cakra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 3. ..</td>
<td>1. 3. ..</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 4. ..</td>
<td>1. 4. ..</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 5. ..</td>
<td>1. 5. ..</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sixth pair of hands—citron, varada</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>first five pairs of hands as in no. 1</td>
<td>eagle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>last pair—citron, abhaya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>first four pairs—cakra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fifth pair—vajra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 6. lotus</td>
<td>1. 6. varada</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>first five pairs as in no. 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 6. varada</td>
<td>1. 6. lotus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 1. cakra</td>
<td>1. 1. cakra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 2. sword</td>
<td>1. 2. ?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 3. ?</td>
<td>1. 3. shield</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 4. cakra (?)</td>
<td>1. 4. cakra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 5. vajra</td>
<td>1. 5. vajra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 6. varada</td>
<td>1. 6. pravacana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>r. 1. sakti</td>
<td>1. 1. vajra</td>
<td>eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 2. cakra</td>
<td>1. 2. cakra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 3. ..</td>
<td>1. 3. ..</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 4. ..</td>
<td>1. 4. ..</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 5. ..</td>
<td>1. 5. ..</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sixth pair—varada, lotus (the goddess has three eyes)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>r. varada, vajra, cakra, cakra, rosoary, sword</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l. shield, disc, stalk of flower</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rest mutilated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>r. 1 to 4. mutilated</td>
<td>1. 1. mace (?)</td>
<td>eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 5. sword</td>
<td>1. 2. cakra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 6. mutilated</td>
<td>1. 3. conch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. 4 to 6. mutilated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### XI. Sixteen-Armed Variety

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nos.</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Vahana</th>
<th>Complexion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>six pairs—weapons of war</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one pair—on the lap</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one pair—varada, katoka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>first pair—cakra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>next six pairs—weapons of war</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>last pair—abhaya, pravacana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>eagle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. sword and disc in two right hands, one left hand carries the cakra, rest symbols mutilated

4. r. sword, ?, crescent moon, cakra, śaṅkha, vajra, japa-mūla, varada

l. conical object (?), shield, gadā, cakra, trident, vajra, kalaśa, indistinct (three eyes)

5. r. mace, sword, trident, disc, bow, pot, x, x

l. spear, shield, arrow, dagger, conical object (?), x, x, x

XII. Twenty-Armed Variety

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nos.</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Vāhana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. r. 1. cakra</td>
<td>1. cakra</td>
<td>eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 2. vajra</td>
<td>2. bell</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 3. goad (?)</td>
<td>3. shield</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 4. rosary</td>
<td>4. ? (staff)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 5. mudgara</td>
<td>5. bow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 6. cakra</td>
<td>6. śaṅkha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 7. sword</td>
<td>7. cakra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 8. club (?)</td>
<td>8. cakra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 9. bag (?)</td>
<td>9. arrow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 10. cakra</td>
<td>10. cakra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. r. 1. cakra</td>
<td>1. cakra</td>
<td>eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 2. cakra</td>
<td>2. cakra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 3. cakra</td>
<td>3. shield</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 4. x</td>
<td>4. x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 5. x</td>
<td>5. x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 6. x</td>
<td>6. x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 7. x</td>
<td>7. x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 8. x (gadā)</td>
<td>8. x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 9. x</td>
<td>9. x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 10. rosary</td>
<td>10. śaṅkha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. Yākṣī Ambikā—the Śāsanadevata of Neminātha

Ambikā-devi is well-known in the Jaina Pantheon as the Yākṣi or the Śāsanadevata of the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara known variously as Nemi, Neminātha or Arīstanemi. The origin of this deity is shrouded in mystery, but legendary accounts are found in the Jaina Purāṇas and other works. An account from the Ambikā-devi-kalpa composed by Jinaprabhasūri in the fourteenth century A.D. is given below.\[72\]

In the city of Kodinār, situated in Saurāṣṭra, there once lived an orthodox learned Brāhmaṇa called
Soma, who had a virtuous and devoted wife in Ambikā (called Ambikā in the Prakrit text). The couple had two sons Siddha and Buddha. Once upon a time Soma invited several Brahmins to a dinner at his place on the occasion of the Śrāddha ceremony of his ancestor. When meals were ready Ambikā’s mother-in-law went out for bath. In the meantime a Muni who had fasted for full one month turned up and asked Ambikā to give him food to break his fast. Greatly delighted, Ambikā fed the Muni with dishes prepared for the Brahmins. On the matter being reported by her mother-in-law to Somabhaṭṭa, the latter became wild with rage and drove Ambikā out of the house. Consequently, Ambikā had to leave the place in a helpless condition along with her two children.

Strange miracles occurred as Ambikā went on and on her weary way. Her sons, hungry and exhausted, cried out for food and water. Ambikā had nothing to give. Instantly, a dried mango-tree by the road-side offered them fine ripe mangoes, and a dry lake nearby was filled all at once with water. Exhausted, Ambikā rested for a while under the shade of the mango-tree.

At home too miracles occurred. This opened the eyes of Soma and his mother, and they were filled with remorse. Soma came running after Ambikā in order to restore her to the house. Poor Ambikā, on seeing Soma running after her, misunderstood his intentions and looking around for a hiding place to save herself from his wrath, saw a big well and jumped into it with both the sons and died. She was reborn in the heaven called the Kohandha Vimāṇa—situated four yojanas before the Sauddharmā Kalpa—as a Yakṣī devoted to the Śāsana of Neminātha. She is otherwise known as Kōhandī (Kūsūndī or Kusumandī) on account of her residence in the Kohandha Vimāna.

Her husband too filled with remorse died after her, but due to his Ābhiyaugic Karma was born a lion and became a vāhana of Ambikā.

The above is a Śvetāmbara account of the origin of Ambikā. A Digambara version of the story of her origin is supplied by the “Yakṣī-Kathā” found in a work called Punyāśrama-kathā, a palm-leaf Ms. of which is in the possession of the temple-priest at Jina-Kaṇcī. According to this version, which is slightly different from the Śvetāmbara one, she was the wife of Somaśarman, a Brahmin of Girinagara. Her name was Agnīlī and her sons were called Subhāṅkara and Prabhaṅkara, aged seven and five years respectively. Here she leaves her husband in company of her two sons and a faithful maid-servant and repairs to the Uṛjīyaṇṭ hill where Varadatta, the Muni whom she had given food for breaking his fast, was living.

The iconography of Ambikā can be explained almost wholly with the help of the legends narrated above. When represented, Ambikā is invariably accompanied by two children, apparently Siddha and Buddha, and she holds a bunch of mangoes which saved them from starvation, and a noose. Apparently the rope, meant for drawing water from an Indian well.

The story of Agnīlī is however illustrated in the wall-paintings in the saṅgīta-mandapa of the Vardhamāna temple at Tiruputtukōṭam (Jina-Kaṇcī). The Yakṣī is seated cross-legged and wears a conical crown over her head. She is flanked on two sides by her two sons. Behind the son on the right stands the attendant woman with a garland in her hands. On another panel she is shown sitting cross-legged, with a conical crown over her head, and is four-armed, the two lower ones showing the abhaya and varada poses and the upper ones carrying a goad and a noose.

On her left stands a party of women, two of whom are discernible in the old painting, the rest being completely obliterated. One of them, or the one standing nearest to the Yakṣī holds in her hands a vessel pouring forth flames of fire. The other has a tray with burning fire. Both the vessel and the tray are intended for the purpose of Ārati as a mark of respect and devotion towards gods or saints.

Images of Ambikā can broadly be divided into three groups according to the number of arms they bear, namely, (A) two-armed, (B) four-armed, and (C) having more than four arms. They can further be sub-divided into Śvetāmbara and Digambara images. The vāhana in all cases remains the same, namely, a lion. Her complexion, too, is usually golden, but red in some Tantric rites.

1. Two-Armed Variety

The two-armed variety is represented in two postures, namely, the standing and the sitting. Jina-prabhasūrī invokes her as follows in his Uṛjīyaṇṭa-stava (v. 13):
“May Ambikā, of golden colour, riding on a lion and accompanied by (her two sons) Siddha and Buddha and holding a bunch of mangoes in her hand, protect the Jaina Sāṅgha from obstacles.”

The earliest available reference to Ambikā comes from the commentary of Jinaḥhadragaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa on his own Vīśeṣāvāsyaka-Mahābhāṣya.80 Here the goddess is called Ambā-Kuśmāndī Vidyā. An Ambā-Kuśmāndī Vidyā is referred to by Haribhadra sūrī (c. 550-650 A.D.) in his commentary (vṛtti) on the Avasyaka-Nirṇyukti, v. 931 (p. 411). Haribhadra sūrī refers to this goddess Ambā-Kuśmāndī in his Lalitavistara commentary also.81

In his Harivamśa purāṇa, the Digambara writer Jinasena (783 A.D.) invokes her as Simhavāhinī (who rides on the lion), who has her abode (ālaya, temple, resort) on the Mt. Ujjayanta82 (Mt. Girnar). It may be noted that a controversy between Śvetāmbara and Digambara sects is said to have been set at nought by the goddess Ambikā residing at this place.83

Another early reference to the two-armed form of Ambikā is found in the Caturvīṃśatikā of Bappabhāti Sūrī (v.s. 800-895) where she is adored twice by the author. Unfortunately, the author does not give much information regarding her symbols. He only says that she retires under a mango-tree and that she bears the heaveny colour of the lightning (divya-saudomani-rūk). Her golden form seated on a white lion is compared to a lightning in the clouds. She is believed to possess very sharp nails which can easily break the sword (of an enemy).84 Presumably, this refers to the two-armed variety of the goddess.

Vastupāla, the famous Jaina minister who flourished in the thirteenth century A.D. devoted one whole hymn to her praise. She is addressed as Kuśmāndīni, Padmālaya (seated on a lotus) and Ambā. Her right hand is said to hold a bunch of mangoes.85 Jineśvara Sūrī too refers to the bunch of mangoes held in her hand.86 He further describes her ornaments like the ear-rings, the anklets and the shining garlands on her breasts. It seems that both Vastupāla and Jineśvara Sūrī had in mind a form of Ambikā having only two arms.

Śobhana Muni, the younger brother of Dhanapāla, the author of Tilakamaṇḍari (11th cent. A.D.) refers to her twice in his Stuticaturvīṃśatikā (vv. 88 and 96). Verse 88 suggests that the author meditates over a form with two arms only,87 and addresses her as cāriputra which is explained by commentators as ‘one whose sons are fond of nel’. The Ambikāṣṭaka,88 supposed to have been composed by Ambāprāśaḍa,89 also gives the same form of Ambikā. The hymn is of unusual interest because here details are given of all her ornaments and symbols besides recording an account of her past life. It is expressly stated that the colour of the deity is to be different in different rites, e.g., white in the Sāntikarma, yellow in the Vaiṣyakarma, and red in the cruel rites such as mārana, stumbhana, etc.90 This principle of varying the colour is in consonance with the Buddhist and Hindu Tantras.

Amongst references to this form in the Digambara tradition, the Harivamśa of Jinasena is already noted. Here Ambikā is called Simhavāhinī—one with the lion-vehicle but no other details are given. However, he possibly referred to a two-armed form only.

Puspadanta also refers to her in his Abhāramśa work Mahāpurāṇa but gives no details of the symbols held by the goddess. Puspadanta, in his introductory verses to the Mahāpurāṇa, invoking Ambikā with Cakkesari, Gorī, Gandhāri and Siddhāni, adds that Ambikā was a Rāhmaṇa lady in her former existence and became a yakṣinī by virtue of her giving alms to a (Jaina) monk. She is further said to reside in the forests of Ujjayanta (Girnar) and is called the source or propeller of all literary activity. She is further said to have resorted to the banyan-tree (rather than the mango-tree of all other accounts). Her child is also referred to. Perhaps the author refers to only one child. As we shall see later on, in all early sculptures and in several of the images where she accompanies a Tirthankara figure as a yakṣinī, she is shown with only one child.91

The Pratīṣṭāsadṛḍdhāra of Pandit Aśadhara (13th cent. A.D.) invokes Ambikā as follows:

“Here do I worship the Goddess Āmra, devoted as she is to the Jina whose height is ten Dhanus—Āmra of dark-blue complexion, who is in the habit of resting under a mango-tree, who rides on the lion that was her own husband in the past existence, who bears in her left hand a bunch of heavenly mangoes
for the delight of her son Priyantaka seated on her left lap and whose fingers of the right arm are held tight by Subhannakara."

It is interesting to note that Ambikā is described as dark-blue in colour. A similar description is found in the Pratiṣṭhitilaka of Nemicandra, who flourished in the 15th cent. A.D.92

Several images and paintings of two-armed Ambikā, obtained from all over India, in Jaina shrines, manuscripts collections, and in collections of various museums in India and abroad, prove the immense popularity that this goddess enjoyed, next only to the Tirthankaras (Devadhiyevas), but perhaps more than any other Jaina deity. Of forms of Ambikā, the two-armed one seems to be the earliest. Even in the two-armed variety there are more than one forms, but the form with the mango-bunch in the right hand and a son held by her left hand, sitting on her left lap (when the devi is shown sitting), seems to be the earliest (see figs. 162, 96, 97).

In Figure 35 is represented the earliest known image of Ambikā, shown as the attendant yakṣi of a standing Tirthankara93 (the corresponding yakṣa being Sarvānha yakṣa), dedicated by Jainabhadra Vācanācārya, obtained amongst bronzes of the Akota hoard.94 The inscription on the back is engraved in a script of c. 550-600 A.D. This Jainabhadra Vācanācārya is identified with the famous Jainabhadra gani Kṣamārāmana, the author of Viśesaśavyaka-Mahābhasya (quotet above),95 who lived in c. 520-623 A.D.95 In this bronze, Ambikā sits in the latitā pose on a big lotus, carrying a mango-bunch in her right hand and holding with her left hand a son sitting on her left lap.

From the same hoard came an ornate bronze figure of Ambikā worshipped as an independent image not accompanying Neminātha figure on a pedestal.96 The devi wears an elaborate crown, an astamangala-māla, ear-rings, armlets, bracelets, etc and her eyes are studded with silver. There is a cūddamani ornament on the crown. The devi holds the āmra-lumbi (mango-bunch) and the child with her right and left hands respectively. The image shows the goddess accompanied by both her sons. The goddess sits in laitōśana on a cushion placed on her couchant lion-mount. Script of an inscription on the back and the style of the figures etc. suggest an age not later than c. 600 A.D.

Figure 87 represents a Śat-Tīrthika bronze image of Pārśva, dated in Samvat 1055–998 A.D., and having the two-armed Sarvānha yakṣa on the right end of the pedestal, the corresponding left end being occupied by a figure of two-armed Ambikā of this variety of form. She has only one son with her. The bronze was discovered in the Vasantagad hoard.97 The same form of Ambikā is seen on a Tri-Tīrthika bronze of Pārśvanātha in the Akota hoard.98 Two elaborate Tri-Tīrthika bronzes of Pārśvanātha in the Vasantagad hoard,99 inscribed in samvat 726 and 756, also show Ambikā in the same form and with only one child.

Some more images and paintings of this form were published by us in Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Ambika, Journal of the University of Bombay (henceforth referred to as JUB), Vol. IX, part 2 (September 1940), pp. 147-169 and plates, especially see figs. 2 and 3 from Devgadi fort, fig. 4 from Orissa, now in the British Museum, fig. 5 from Vimala vasahi, Abu, fig. 6 bronze from Baroda, fig. 7 bronze in Museum of Saint Xavier’s College, Bombay, fig. 8 from Angadi in Karnatak State. Of the above, figs. 2, 3 and 4 show the second son of Ambika standing near the mango-bunch held by the mother; in fig. 8 the second son rides on the lion near the right leg of Ambikā, and in fig. 6 behind the right leg of the mother. In fig. 5 from Vimala vasahi, Ambikā has only one son. In fig. 1 in the paper referred to above, a painting of two-armed Ambikā from a palm-leaf manuscript of Jātaka sūtra and other texts, preserved in Jainā Bhaddāra at Chani, Gujarat, is shown. Here the devi carries her son with the right hand and holds the āmra-lumbi with the left. A small figure of the lion vehicle is seen below the devi’s right leg.

In fig. 8 of above paper, the goddess has placed her left hand on the head of her son standing on her left side, while the second son is riding on the lion on the right side of the two-armed standing Ambikā from Angadi, Karnatakā. The devi holds a mango-bunch in her right hand.

A big rock-cut relief panel of Sarvānha yakṣa and Ambikā yakṣi is preserved on a rock at Gwalior, M.P. This is illustrated in Fig. 195 in this book. The right arm of the goddess is mutilated while with her left hand she holds the child in her lap. The second son stands on the right side of the mother. In
the British Museum, London, is a beautiful sculpture of two-armed standing Ambikā holding a son with her left hand while another son catches the mango-bunch held in Ambikā’s right hand. The sculpture hails from Orissa (JAA, III, plate 318B). Of the same two-armed form another beautiful sculpture of Ambikā sitting is preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (JAA, III, pl. 324). The image hails from Orissa. A third beautiful sculpture of Ambikā, from Bihar, preserved in the National Museum, New Delhi, is interesting as two small dancing figures are depicted on her two sides. Her smaller son stands on her left and the goddess holds him by the hand. The elder son stands on her right side (JAA, III, pl. 338B). A beautiful bronze figure of standing Ambikā of this iconographic variety, hailing from Nagora, Bengal, is illustrated in JAA, III, pl. 343B. But in Navamuni cave, Orissa, Ambikā shows ämträ-lumbi and abhiya and child. Two beautiful sculptures of standing Ambikā of this variety are preserved in Temple no. 12, Devgadh (Fig. 162). Two-armed Ambikā with only one child is also seen on Tirthankara sculptures at Devgadh. Figure 96 illustrates a sculpture of this form of Ambikā preserved in the Museum at Vidisha, M.P. Figure 97 illustrates a sculpture from Vimala vasahi, Abu, assignable to c. 1032, the date of building of the temple. Two bronzes of this variety, showing the exodus in a standing posture, hailing from Karnataka are noteworthy. They are illustrated by us in Jaina Bronzes—A Brief Survey (Paper 26) in Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, pp. 269ff, figures 37 and 68. Fig. 37 is a beautiful bronze of c. 10th century Ganga art. The devī places her left hand on the head of the child standing on her left while she carries the ämträ-lumbi in her right hand. The second son leans against the lion vāhana on the right side. The bronze is in worship in a shrine in Mudabidri, Karnataka. Fig. 68 is preserved in the Los Angeles Museum of Art, U.S.A. Fig. 67 in the above paper, from Bickford collection, Cleveland Museum, U.S.A. is probably from Northern Karnataka showing Chalukyan influence. Here the two sons are on two sides of the mother and Ambikā holds an ämträ-lumbi in her right hand. Her left hand is broken at the wrist. It is in such a position that it cannot have held the son on her left. This hand probably held a citron as can be inferred from other images discussed below. This would be another variety of two-armed form of yakṣī Ambikā. In figure 71 in the above paper is illustrated another bronze of standing Ambikā, now in the National Museum and perhaps hailing from Northern Karnataka. Here again the left hand is broken at the wrist but it might have held a citron.

The above inference will be accepted by referring to fig. 9 in our article on Ambikā in JUB, IX (1940), op. cit., illustrating a bronze figure of standing Ambikā from Rajnakin Khinkhini, Akola district, Maharashtra, now preserved in the Nagpur Museum. Here the treatment and position of figures is similar to those in the above two images and the right hand holds the ämträ-lumbi while the left hand holds the citron. Figure 93 in this book illustrates a stone sculpture of Ambikā seated under a big mango-tree in worship in the Chamundaraya Basti, Śravāna Belagola. The devi carries an ämträ-lumbi and a citron in her right and the left hands respectively.

But in a bronze figure of seated Ambikā from Rajnakin Khinkhini, now in Nagpur Museum, there is only one son and the position of her symbols is changed. She holds the child on the right lap with her right hand and the citron remains in the left hand. The bronze is illustrated as fig. 11 in JUB, op. cit. In one of the cloisters in the enclosure around Gommatesvara at Śravāna Belagola is an image of this goddess called Yakṣadevātī in the pedestal-inscription, assigned to c. 1231 A.D., by Narasimhaachariar, who identifies her as Kāyāmōṇḍini. The goddess shows a bunch of mangoes in her right hand and a fruit in the left one.

Deśika Mitra has published four bronzes of Āmṛā or Ambikā of a two-armed variety of form wherein the goddess carries the ämträ-lumbi and the child with the right and left hands respectively. In all these images she is shown sitting in kalitāsana on a full-blown lotus placed on a pedestal with the lion vehicle in its centre.

A seated Ambikā, of c. tenth century A.D., from Hingalajgadh in Mandsore district, M.P., is preserved in the Bhanpur State Museum, M.P. (Mu. no. 292). She shows similar symbols. Representation of the tree behind is done in some different artistic ways at Hingalajgadh.

At Khajuraho, Pārśvanātha temple, on the wall of the garbhagṛha, south janghā, is a fine sculpture of
standing Ambikā of this two-armed variety of from, dating form c. late tenth cent. A.D. The second son is standing near Ambikā's right leg. A similar form of standing Ambikā is found in the Sāntinātha temple at Thubon, Guna district, M.P.

Amongst bronzes from Alurā hoard, Bihar, in the Patna Museum, we find a standing Ambikā with this variety of form. The second son on the right is mutilated and only his feet remain. Two early mediaeval sculptures of Ambikā from Vaibhāra giri, Raigar show the same iconographic symbols.

But in the Sāsana Basti at Śrāvane Belagola there are two different sculptures of Ambikā seated under mango tree with a big foliages overhead and showing the āmrā-lumbi and the citron in her right and left hands respectively. Some examples of this variety are already noted before. A bronze figure of the goddess with the above symbols, obtained in the Bapatia hoard and preserved in the State Museum, Hyderabad, M.P. shows similar symbols. A beautiful bold relief panel of Ambikā riding on a bull, from cave 32, Ettora, shows the goddess carrying similar symbols. A fine painting showing two-armed Ambikā of this variety of form is obtained on one of the palm-leaves of the Dhaavāla-Tika at Mudabidri.

In JAA, I, plate 91A is illustrated a stone sculpture of two-armed Ambikā from Bihar, now in Bejoy Singh Nahar's collection, Calcutta. Here one son stands near the back behind the right leg of Ambikā sitting in lalitāsana. The younger son is held with her left hand on the lap while Ambikā's right hand shows the varada mudrā. A small circular mark on the palm of the right hand may either signify the fruit or may just signify a red kunkum mark which ladies sometimes do in the palms of their hands.

In JAA, I, pl. 91B is published a bronze figure of Ambikā sitting in the lalita pose and holding a child on the lap with her left hand. The second son is not seen. The bronze hails possibly from Bihar and is now preserved in the National Museum, New Delhi. In her right hand Ambikā holds what seem to be a few lotus buds. A mango-bunch would generally be shown with the mangoes held down and the twigs connecting them held in the hand. One or more lotus buds can be held upwards with the stalks held by the hand. In this bronze Ambikā seems to have held some lotus buds. The way in which the lotus bud is held upwards is demonstrated by a look at the bronze figure of Jaina Sarasvatī now in the British Museum, illustrated in JAA, III, pl. 319B.

That there was a tradition of two-armed Ambikā holding a lotus-bud in one hand (usually the right hand) is demonstrated by a bronze figure of standing Ambikā from Jina-Kanchi, illustrated by us in JUB, op. cit., fig. 12. Here Ambikā's left hand is hanging without holding anything. Images of this form were first described by T.N. Ramachandran who could not find the relevant dayāna verse. This form is known as Dharmādevi, the yakṣī of Neminātha. An independent shrine is dedicated to her and it stands to the south of the Vardhamāna shrine at Tirupatutikunram. Ramachandran has described the left hand as hanging 'like the tail of a cow'. A similar figure of the goddess is found in a rock-cut relief at Chitharal in Kerala state (fig. 204). The symbol in her right hand is not clear. Both the sons stand beside her on the left while a female attendant stands on her right. The relief is assigned to c. 800 A.D. (Sivaramamurti, Panorama of Jaina Art, figures 95 and 118). With this may also be compared the rock-cut relief of Ambikā on a boulder at Kalugumalai (see fig. 83 in this book), dating from c. 8th-9th century A.D. Here the right hand of Ambikā resting on the head of the attendant on the right may be interpreted as hanging. The left hand holds an indistinct object which might have been a lotus-bud.

The imposing later figure of standing Ambikā at Tirumalai, Tamil Nadu (Panorama of Jaina Art, fig. 88) shows Ambikā holding a lotus-like thing in the right hand while her left hand raised upwards seems to hold some thing or rests on something which cannot be identified. The standing Ambikā of Pallava-Chola transition, from Melsittamur, South Arcot district, Tamil Nadu (Panorama of Jaina Art, figs. 46, 47) shows a similar form.

Ambikā in Elliot cave 32 (Panorama of Jaina Art, figs. 152A, 153) possibly held the lotus-bud in her right hand while supporting a son on the lap with her left hand. Two Śántara sculptures of Ambikā, published by Dhaky from Humca and Kambadahalli, South Karnataka, show Ambikā sitting in the lalitāsana and holding the lotus and the child with her right and left hands respectively. The sculptures date from late ninth and early tenth cent. A.D. (Figs. 149 and 150 in this book).
T.N. Ramachandran has referred to a form supplied by a palm-leaf manuscript in possession of the temple-priest at Jina-Kanchi. The ms. is titleless and bears no date. Ambikā is here represented as dark-blue in complexion with two hands showing the fruit and the varada mudrā. The vahana as usual is the lion. Vasundhara, the author of the unpublished Pratīṣṭhāśāramāṇaṇa describes Ambikā-Āmrā as dvībhujā simhamārdāpi Āmradēvi karitprabhā. The Aparājita-prāchā of Bhuvanadevācārya prescribes the same form. According to it, Ambikā has a dark-blue complexion, a child sits on her lap and another stands by. Her two hands show the fruit and the varada mudrā.

A stone sculpture of Ambikā sitting, from Pańcakūṭa Basti, Kamadahalli, Karnataka, published by Sattar, shows yet another variety of form. The symbol of the right hand, partly defaced, must have been a lotus-bud with stalk while in the left hand the goddess holds the citron. Both the sons are playfully riding on the lion vahana depicted on the pedestal. Similar symbols are held by a figure of Ambikā found at Mangadevanpatti, Tiruchi district, Tamil Nadu. This sculpture is somewhat earlier than the tenth century Kamadahalli figure just discussed.

The Meguti temple at Aihole, Karnataka, contains a beautiful early sculpture of Ambikā, assignable to 634 A.D., the date of the temple consecration. Ambikā sits with her right leg placed a little upwards on the pedestal and the left foot hanging (see figure 88 in this book). In front of the pīṭha is her lion mount and one of the two sons is looking towards the mother from behind the lion. The goddess is attended by three ladies on her right and two on the left side. One of the ladies on the right holds one of the sons of Ambikā in her hand. Heads of the lady as well as the child in her hand are mutilated. Ambikā's right arm, raised up at the elbow, probably held a lotus with a stalk. The left forearm is broken but the palm of the hand resting on the pīṭha would suggest that this variety of form of two armed Ambikā should correspond with the Chitharal Ambikā discussed above.

A sculpture of Ambikā from Sembuthu, Puddukottai. Tamil Nadu, showing the lotus-stalk in the right hand raised at the elbow and the left resting on the lap further supports our inference about the form of Ambikā in the Meguti temple (Fig. 202 in this book).

Of the variety showing the lotus-stalk in the right hand and the citron in the left, a fine lively miniature painting is preserved in one of the palm-leaves of the Dhavalā ṭīkā at Mudabidri (Panorama of Jaina Art, fig. 408). In another miniature, the two sons playfully ride on lions, one on each side while Ambikā sitting in the centre shows the abhaya mudrā and the citron in her right and the left hands respectively (Panorama of Jaina Art, fig. 397 and fig 172 in this book).

Figure 196 in this book illustrates an interesting sculpture of two-armed Ambikā from the Mathura Museum (Mu. no. D7). In her right hand the goddess held a bunch of flowers according to Vogel. The symbol is partly damaged. With her left hand the devil holds one of her sons on the left lap. On top of the sculpture, in the centre is the Jina (Neminātha) sitting in padmāsana with Kṛṣṇa standing on his left side and Balarāma standing on the right. Near the right leg of the goddess is a figure of the second son standing beside whom is a small seated figure of Ganesha. On the corresponding left side is another small seated figure with the face and crown damaged. This figure represents Kuber according to Vogel's suggestion. This sculpture suggests the close relationship of the conception of the Jaina Ambikā with the Brahmanical conception of the Durgā-Pārvatī (also called Ambā) whose son is Ganesa and who also rides the lion.

Rock-cut reliefs at Anandamangalam in Chingleput district, Tamil Nadu, include a figure of Ambikā standing with the two sons by her side. The goddess stands on her lion vehicle. Her right hand rests on the kāṭi while the left hand is placed on the head of a female attendant standing beside the goddess. The form is unusual (see figure 48 in this book).

2. Four-Armed Variety

A striking feature of the four-armed variety of form of Ambikā is that instead of showing the āmra-lumbi in one hand the goddess holds it in three hands while the fourth hand as usual supports the child on the lap. This is an easy way to multiply the forms of Ambikā.
The Vimala vasahi, Abu, provides a number of images of this type. One such specimen from the south-west corner of the ceiling of the sabhāmandapa of Vimala's shrine is illustrated in figure 154 in this book. It dates from around v.s. 1201 = 1144 A.D. when Prthvişāla rebuilt the sabhāmandapa. A beautiful loose bronze image of this variety from a cell in the same shrine was illustrated by us in our article on the iconography of the Jaina Ambikā. This bronze dates from c. eleventh century A.D. Images of this variety are found at Gandhaval, M.P., in the Sāntinātha and Neminātha temples in Kumbharia and at many other places in Gujarat. An image of this type is preserved in the Baroda Museum.

No literary dhāyaṇa for this form is yet known. Perhaps the two-armed form served as a model for this form by multiplying the ānura-lumbi symbol in the two upper hands, to produce an artistic effect. A painting of Ambikā from the palm-leaf manuscript of Neminātha-Charita, dated in v.s. 1198 = 1142 A.D. preserved in the Sāntinātha Bhandāra, Cambay, represents the goddess in this form. She has a golden complexion. Here the child is held by the right lower hand instead of the right one as in the above figures. A painting on the last folio of a palm-leaf ms. of the Jātādharmakathā sūtra, in the collection of Shri Rajendraśinghi Singh of Calcutta, shows the same four-armed form but the right lower hand of the goddess is here held in the varada mudrā while the left lower hand holds the child on the lap. The two upper hands carry the ānura-lumbi. The second son is standing near the right leg of the devī. Coomaraswamy had published an old Jaina painted Pata on cloth probably done in the fifth century. In the centre is Pārśvanātha and the figure on his extreme left is Ambikā carrying the ānura-lumbi in her two upper hands; her right lower hand is held in the varada mudrā while the left one grasps the child. A sculpture on the outer wall of the Jaina shrine at Ranakpur, Rajasthan, shows the same form (Fig. 199). In a sculpture in a Jaina shrine at Cambay, the right lower hand of the goddess, held in the varada mudrā, carries the rosary, all other symbols remain the same.

A palm-leaf ms. of Pāṇḍavacarita in the Sāntinātha Bhandāra, Cambay, contains on the first folio a painting of Ambikā-devī. Under a full-grown mango-tree is seated Ambikā holding the ānura-lumbi in both the upper hands. The left lower hand is held in the varada mudrā while the right lower hand holds the child. A lion on the left represents the vāhana of the goddess. Below the end of her scarf on the right is seen only half of the figure of her second child.

An earlier brass image of Ambikā sitting in the lalitāsvaṇa, preserved in the Museum of Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, and dated in v.s. 1198 = 1141 A.D., shows the citron instead of the varada in the right lower hand of the goddess.

Another metal image of Ambikā, dated v.s. 1503–1448 A.D., preserved in the same Institute, illustrates yet another variety of four-armed Ambikā images. As usual, the two upper arms hold the ānura-lumbi but both the lower ones are engaged in supporting her two sons on her laps. According to Yaksya-Yaksī-lakṣaṇa, a work of the Digambara sect, Dharma-devī or Ambikā is seated with two sons on her lap, one on each thigh. Two of the arms hold the sons, one left arm shows a bunch of mango-flowers while the corresponding right is extended towards the lion, her vāhana.

In another form based on a Canarese (Karnataka) tradition given by T.N. Ramachandran, Dharmādevī shows, in the two upper hands, the sword and the cakra (disc), while the two lower hands are placed on her lap as a support to the seated sons.

Burgess had published a drawing prepared from the Canarese (Karnataka) tradition collected by Alexander Rea. According to Burgess, "the Yaksi is Kusūmindini... four-armed, with two children on her lap and lion as her cognizance. She is the only attendant who has not the front right hand in the varada-hasta attitude." In the drawing she is shown holding a sword and a cakra in the right and the left upper hands respectively while the two lower ones support the sons seated on the thighs. In these drawings of Burgess, what we know as abhaya mudrā is described as varada.

Digambara tradition provides an interesting form of Ambika found amongst the wall-paintings of Jina-Kančali. Here she is represented sitting in padmāsvaṇa with four arms. Her two upper hands show the gand and the noose, while the right and the left lower ones exhibit the abhaya and the varada mudrā respectively.
Many descriptions of Ambikā with four arms are found in the Śvetāmbara works. Hemacandra ącārya in his Triṣaṭiśālākāpurusaścarita says,\textsuperscript{121} “In his (Neminātha’s) tīrtha was born Kuṣmāṇḍi of golden appearance whose vāhana was a lion and who showed in her two right hands an ānu-lumbi and a noose and held in the two left ones a child and a goad. (Popularly) known as Ambikā, she became the sāsanadeva of the Lord.”

Siddhasena sūri, the commentator of Pravacanasāroddhāra of Nemicandra, describes an exactly similar form of Ambikā.\textsuperscript{122} The Ambikā-devi-Kalpa of Jinaprabha sūri\textsuperscript{123} referred to above, and the Ācārādikākara\textsuperscript{124} of Vardhamana sūri (v.s. 1468) also follow the same tradition.

A Ms. of Rāpāvatāra preserved in the Oriental Institute, Baroda, gives a similar Dhyāna of Ambikā.\textsuperscript{125} The Devatāmūrtiprakarnam and the Rūpamandana also give the same form.\textsuperscript{126}

A brass image from a Jain temple in Baroda\textsuperscript{127} illustrates this form of Ambikā. It has an inscription on its back dated v.s. 1534. A similar image was found in the Cintāmaṇi Pārśvanātha temple in Cambay. It is dated v.s. 1547. In the Baroda image the pāśa is held in the upper right hand and the aṅkuśa in the upper left, but in the Cambay image the symbols are interchanged. Images of this variety seem to have been more popular in the fifteenth century.

The Nirvāṇakalikā of Pādāliptācārya\textsuperscript{128} gives a slightly different Dhyāna:

“In the same tīrtha is born Kuṣmāṇḍi who is four-armed and of golden complexion, whose vāhana is a lion and who bears in her right hands a mātulīga (citron) and a noose, and in the left a child and an aṅkuśa.”

Thus the ānu-lumbi in the form given by Ācārādikākara is here replaced by a mātulīga.

The Ambikā-tāḍākara\textsuperscript{129} gives another Dhyāna of Ambikā:

“In raktā-dhyāna one should meditate over a form of Ambikā-devi golden in complexion, wearing red garment, adorned with golden ornaments and riding on a lion, with one child holding her finger and the other seated on the lap. Four-armed, she bears a goad in her upper left hand and an ānu-lumbi in the upper right; a bījapura is held in the lower right and a pāśa in the lower left.”

It may be remembered that this form is for the roka-dhyāna only. Sāgaracandra in his Mantrā-
dhirāja-kalpa\textsuperscript{130} follows the same tradition when he says that Ambikā holds the pāśa, the ānu-lumbi, the goad and the fruit in her arms.\textsuperscript{131}

Another variety of Ambikā images with four arms is supplied by a stone sculpture from Mahoba now preserved in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.\textsuperscript{122} Here Ambikā is shown seated under a mango-
tree over which is a small figure of Neminātha in dhyāna mudrā. She holds a pāśe in the right upper hand and an ānu-lumbi in the right lower. With the left lower she supports the child on her lap while in the left upper hand she holds a vajra-ghanta instead of a goad. The second child is seen standing on her right (Fig. 165). I am unable to trace a dhyāna for the same.

In the Devgadh Temple no. 12 set of Tīrthaṅkaras with their yaksinīs, Ambikā, labelled as Ambiṣyikā, is four-armed, carrying, as Klaus Bruhn describes,\textsuperscript{132} in her right upper and lower hands, the “cāmarapadma” and the “blossom (?) held before her breast” and in the corresponding left ones, the “cāmarapadma” and the “child standing on the hand of the goddess and reaching for her ear-ornament” respectively.

On a pillar (mōnastumbha) dated equal to 1039 A.D., in front of Temple no. 11 at Devgadh, is a figure of four-armed Ambikā showing the ānu-lumbi and the aṅkuśa (goad) in her right lower and upper hands respectively and the child and the pāśa (noose) in the corresponding left ones. The lion is shown as her vāhana. On a later pillar in front of Temple 16 at Devgadh Ambikā seems to have shown the same symbols which are partly defaced. A similar form of seated Ambikā is noticed in Khajuraho, Temple 27, by M.N.P. Tiwari. At Khajuraho the four-armed form of Ambikā predominates whereas at Devgadh there are more two-armed images of Ambikā than the four-armed ones. The four-armed Ambikā with the goad, the noose, the mango-bunch and the child, obtained at Devgadh and Khajuraho, is, as remarked by M.N.P. Tiwari, probably due to Śvetāmbara influence.\textsuperscript{134}

Figure 91 represents a door-lintel found in the compound of the Matangesvara temple, Khajuraho. It shows on the right end a figure of four-armed Ambikā sitting in the lalita posture and holding the
child on the lap with her left lower hand and the āmrahumbī in the right lower hand. She sits under a mango-tree. In her two upper hands she carries what looks like a lotus with a long stalk.

Tiwari notes another form of four-armed Ambikā on the northern wall of the Śve. Jain temple of Ajītanātha at Taranga, Gujrat. Here Ambikā standing in tribhanga has her lion vehicle on her left and shows the varada mudrā, āmrahumbī, pāśa and the son with her four hands.

No. G.312 in the Lucknow Museum, published earlier by us in JUB, IX.2, op. cit., fig. 30. represents another variety of four-armed Ambikā images. Ambikā here holds a book in her right upper hand and a mirror in the left upper one. The right lower hand shows an āmrahumbī while the left lower hand supports the child on the lap. Above the two upper hands are seen figures of mālādhāra, one on each side. The goddess is seated under a mango-tree surmounted by a figure of a Jina (Neminātha) in the dhyāna mudrā (Fig. 173). A crouching figure of a lion below her feet represents the vāhana of the goddess. Obviously the sculpture represents Ambikā though no dhyāna for this form is yet known.

A brass image of Ambikā is preserved in the Boston Museum (JUB, IX.2, op. cit., fig. 31). It has an inscription on its back which shows that it was installed in Samvat 1547 (A.D. 1490) by Jinasamudra sūri of Kharatara gaccha in the line of Jinabhadrā sūri. Ambikā shows in her four hands, the āmrahumbī, the child, the trident and the gomukha (Fig. 164).

A big sculpture reputed to be of Pattainī Devī, now preserved in the Museum at Allahābad, came from the temple of Pattainī Devī at Pitthaurā in the old Nagod State, now in M.P. (JUB, IX.2, op. cit., fig. 23). The standing goddess has four hands but unfortunately all the symbols are mutilated. Two youths flank her; at their feet are a male and a female devotee, flanked by two four-armed goddesses. These and the compartmented flanking pilasters have attendant goddesses, all labelled. In all there are 23 such labelled figures who seem to be twenty-three yākṣīṇīs of Digambara tradition; with the main figure of Ambikā these make a group of 24 Jaina yākṣīṇīs. The sculpture dates from c. 11th century A.D., though the shrine of Pattainī Devī at Pitthaurā seems to date from c. 900 A.D. Not all the names in the labels are clear. They were mentioned in the Western Circle Report for 1920 (JUB, op. cit., p. 163, note 2). Tiwari read them as: Apārajaṭā, Mahāmuni, Anantamati Gāndhārī, Manusi (Manast), Jalāmālini, and Manuṇā on the right side, Jaya, Anantamati, Vairoṭā, Gauri, Mahākāli, Kali, Puṣadadhi (?) on the left side, Bahurūpiṇī, Cāmunḍā, Sarasati, Padumāvati, and Vijayā in the upper row and Pratipatī (? Pratipatī), Vajraśāṅkhakāla, Rohiṇī and Cakresvarī in the lower row.128 The names correspond in some respects with the names in the Tiloyapana-mati of the 24 yakṣīs.

A colossal image of a Jaina goddess preserved in the Khajurāho Museum was discussed by us in JUB, op. cit., fig. 29, p. 163. The four-armed goddess stands in the samabhānga posture. Her two lower arms are mutilated. The two upper hands carry lotuses with long stalks. Two female attendants are standing beside her and a male and a female devotee are seated near the feet. Just above the crown is a seated figure of a Jina with an attendant and an elephant on each side. Below the elephant are seen mangoes hanging. A lion is shown on the pedestal. The figure can be identified as representing Ambikā devī.

Vidyānārāsana, an unpublished Digambara Jaina Tantra-work, describes a different form:129

"On a pata one should draw a picture of the goddess, black in colour, and having four hands exhibiting the conch, the disc, the varada and the noose. She is shown seated on a simhāsana and a devakanyā (heavenly damsel) stands by with vimupakādīraṇasātām (?) written on her left hand."

Obviously this is a form employed for cruel rite as the goddess is to be painted black in complexion.

3. Eight-Armed Variety

The unpublished Vidyānārāsana also records a dhyāna of Ambikā with as many as eight arms.130 According to it, just below the figure of Neminātha is to be represented, on a pata, a figure of Āmrañāmāndi, black in colour and having in her eight arms the conch, the cakra, the bow, the axe, the javelin, the sword, the pāśa and corn (ear of corn).

A late painting in our collection, published in JUB, IX.2, op. cit., fig. 24, gives a similar form of
Ambikā but with some difference in the symbols held in her hands. In her right hands she shows the corn, the trident, the bow, and the abhaya mudrā, while in her left hands she holds the goad, the lotus, the arrow, and the āmrāhambī. The lion vehicle also helps us to identify the goddess as Ambikā.

4. Multi-Armed Variety

The Ambikā-tāṇaṅkaḥ\(^{138}\) provides us a terrific form of the goddess. She is addressed as Śīve, Śankare, Stamhini, Mohini, Dipani, Ṣoṣanī etc., thus showing that she is invoked in diverse Tantric rites.\(^{139}\) She is also invoked as Bhūmanāde, Candike, Camāripē, Aghore, and so on. In her terrific form she is the destroyer of the whole universe (sṛṣṭi-samhārakartī).

In this form she holds a number of weapons in her hands: the bow, the arrow, the staff, the sword, the cakra, the lotus etc. (āhanurbāṇacakrāmbujānekaśastrodite), and is also said to hold mangoes in her hand (āmrāhaste). She puts on various ornaments such as anklets, necklace, etc., and rides on a fierce lion.

Fortunately for us one such sculpture preserved in the famous temple of Vimala Sāha at Mt. Ābu, in bhāva No. 25, in the second ceiling opposite cell No. 35 can be identified as Ambikā devī. Upon a raised seat sits Ambikā in lalitāsana, with the lion as the mount. She has twenty arms but unfortunately most of them are broken. She shows the khaḍga, the śakti, the snake, the mace, the shield, the axe, the kāmāndalu, the lotus, the abhaya and the varada mudrās. The rest of the symbols cannot be identified as they are wholly or partly broken. The goddess wears a crown, ear-rings, necklaces, garland, mekhāla, bracelets, anklets, lower garment, and a scarf. The sculpture has not been identified so far but it appears that this rare sculpture represents the terrific form of the goddess Ambikā (JUB, IX.2, op. cit., fig. 25).

On each side of Ambikā stands an eight-armed male figure in the tribhanga pose. The vajra (or possibly a vajra-ghanṭā) and the āikusā are seen in the hands of the figure on the right, the other hands showing different mudrās. Similarly, the figure on the left holds the noose.

It appears probable that Ambikā-devi has her own parivāra though full information on this is not yet available. In this sculpture she is flanked on either side by two eight-armed male figures. I am inclined to take them as her two sons, whom we know already as Siddha and Buddha. The identification is tentative.

Two elaborate sculptures occur on the architrave in the corridor of the temple built by Tejapāla at Ābu (JUB, op. cit., figs. 26, 27). They show her accompanied by attendant figures. In Fig. 26 we find one female chowrie-bearer on each side of Ambikā, and two dancing female figures on the right and three on the left. In JUB, op. cit., fig. 27 there are three such figures on her right and two on her left. In both these panels the goddess has two arms and one child only.

The Ambikā-devi-kalpa (in ms.) of Śūhacandra prescribes a sādhanā of Randā who is called a yakṣīnī and an attendant of Kuśmāṇḍini. It will not be surprising if details regarding the parivāra of Ambikā are found in some unpublished Jaina Tantra-work.

We have already shown that at Akota and many other sites Ambikā accompanied Ādinātha, Pārśva-nātha, Śāntinātha and other Tirthāṅkaras as a yakṣī along with the Kubera-like Sarvāṇha yakṣa. This pair was the earliest sasanadedvatā pair par excellence (see figs. 55, 86, 87, 195), common to all Tirthāṅkaras in the Śve, as well as the Dig. tradition before 24 different yaksas and yakṣīnīs for 24 Tirthāṅkaras were evolved.

Worship of Ambikā seems to be very old. Images (and temples) of Ambikā were consecrated at Mathura, Ujjayantagirī (Gimari), Hastināpura, Ahicchatrā, Pratiśṭhānapura, and other places in ancient times. Jina-prabhā sūrī refers to such images and temples in his Ujjayantamahātthra-kalpa, Raivata-girī-kalpa, Pratiśṭhānapattana-kalpa, Arbuda-girī-kalpa, Kanyānamahāvira-kalpavīṣā, Hastināpura-tirtha-stavana, Dhimpuri-stava, Ahicchatrānagarī-kalpa, Mathurāpuri-kalpa, Śripuru-Antarikṣa-Pārśvanātha-kalpa, etc.\(^{140}\) Riding on a lion Ambikā is said to have guarded the ancient tirtha of Mathura.\(^{141}\) Near the rampart in Ahicchatrā, stood the goddess Ambikā riding on a lion and holding
a bunch of mangoes in her hand. She was accompanied by Siddha and Buddha and held the image of Śrī Neminātha over her head.  

We have seen that Ambikā has two, four, eight or more arms. Of these various forms, worship of images with two arms represents the older tradition all over India and the form continued in worship even when forms with four or more arms were introduced.

**Origin of the Jaina Goddess Ambikā**

When the present writer first published his paper on the *Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Ambikā* in the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, vol. IX, part 2, September, 1940, pp. 147-169, he was not able to find out and show why the Jaina Ambikā was identified with and addressed as Kuśmāṇḍī.

Haribhadra sūri (c. 550 a.d.-c. 640 a.d.) writes, in his comm. called the *Lalitavistara*:  

"... Vaiṣṇavātāram pravacanānām vyāprabhāvānām yathā Ambikā-Kuśmāṇḍī=ādīnām śānti-karāṇām...

Here Ambikā-Kuśmāṇḍī is referred to as a *Vaiṣṇavātā*, a Śaṅkaracārī. An Ambikā-Kuśmāṇḍī Vidyā has also been referred to by the same author in his gloss on the *Āvaśyaka-Nirūykti*.  

In the account of the origin of the Jaina goddess Ambikā, given by Jinaratna sūra in his Ambikā-devi-Kalpa, it is said that, after death, Ambikā, the Brahman lady, was born in one of the heavens called Kohanda Viṃśā and that the devi is also known as Kohandī (Kuśmāṇḍī or Kuśmāṇḍi). In the unpublished Ambikā-devi-kalpa of Subhacandra, one mantra of this goddess reads: "Om Kuśmāṇḍini rakte raktamahīsa-samārdhale śubhāshubham kathaya jhvin sthūlā.

Ambikā is variously addressed as Ambā, Šrī, Kuśmāṇḍini, Simhavāhinī, and Ambikā. In the mūlamantara of Ambikā, published in the Bhairava-Padmāvatī-Kalpa, Appendix 19, p. 92, she is addressed as Šrī-Kuśmāṇḍini. The Digambara tantric work Vidyānuśasana (still unpublished) also refers to an eight-armed form of Šrī-Kuśmāṇḍi.

Thus it would appear that in the origin and development of the Jaina Yakṣī Ambikā, elements of perhaps three different ancient deities have contributed: first, a mother-goddess (*ambā=mother*), probably a form of Durgā riding on the lion or a prototype of the Brahmanical Durgā; secondly, some goddess associated with the mangoes and the mango-tree (*āṁra=mango*); thirdly, some goddess associated with the Kuśmāṇḍas.

Let us first consider the name Ambā or Ambikā. The Śukla-Yajurvediya-Vājasaneyi Samhitā has the following well-known mantra:

\[ Ambē Ambālike Ambitame na mā navati kaścanā |
    saṣṭiyāśvakaḥ subhadrākām Kāṃpiṇi-vāsini nyātā \[\]

The Jaina Ambikā, since she is associated with one or two sons, is a mother-goddess, and thus is rightly addressed as Ambikā or Ambā. In Brahmanical mythology, Ambikā is generally the name of Pārvati, the consort of Śiva. Compare:

\[ Śivā Bhavāṇī Rūdrāṇi Śarvāṇī Sarvanāngalā |
    Aparaṇa Pārvati Durgā Mṛdūṇi Candikā=Ambikā \[\]

Amarakośa, 1.37-38

Ambikā is further explained as *Ambikā Pārvatī Mātror-Dhyātarāśraya Māturi*. In the Amarakośa Ambikā has three meanings, the name of Pārvati, the Mother and the mother of Dhyātarāstra. In the Rgveda the sense of "mother" is expressed by Ambā or Ambitānā. In the Rgvedic age Ambikā was a Mother-Goddess. Her association with Rudra, as pointed out by Bhandarkar, is clear from a reference in the Vājasaneyi Samhitā (II.58) where she is mentioned as sister of Rudra. The Taiṭṭṭṭīya Samhitā, I.8.6.4 also speaks of the same relation of brother and sister between Ambikā and Rudra.
According to Hindu iconography, Ambikā is generally seated up on a lion and has three eyes. She holds a mirror in her left hand. Her one right hand shows the varada pose. In her other two hands are carried the sword and the shield.\footnote{148} A four-armed figure of the Jaina Ambikā, preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow, illustrated in Fig 173,\footnote{149} represents her as holding the book and the mirror in her two upper hands while holding the amra-lumbi and the child with the two lower ones. Thus the mirror, which is a known characteristic symbol of the Hindu Gauri, is given here in one of the hands of the Jaina Ambikā.

In the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, chapter IX (ācāra adhyāya) on Vināyaka-pūjā, we find: Vināyakasya janānīṁ = upatiṣhet = tāto = Ambikam. Ambikā was famous as the Mother of Vināyaka. This is remembered in the famous image of the Jaina Ambikā in the Mathura Museum (no. D.7) where small figures of Ganeśa and Kubera are shown on two sides of Ambikā.\footnote{150} The Anuyogadvāra-sūtra, a Jaina canonical text, has the following passage:

"... teyasā jalante Indassa va Khandaśa va Ruddassa va Sivamānassa va Devassa va Nāgassa va Jakkhasa va Bhūyassa va Maguddassa va Ajjā ve (Duggā ve) Koṭṭakāriyāve va uvelepanamaya-

maṭjānāsanyavariyāve dharmikāpphagandhamallākhāṁ duḥvāvassayāṁ kareṇu ..."  

—Anuyogadvāra-sūtra, sū. 20

Commenting on this, Haribhadra suri writes: "... Āryā praśāntarupā Durgā, Koṭṭakāriyā saiva maḥiṣā-
rūḍhā ..." The Cūrni on the above passage (possibly by Jinadasa Mahattara, 7th cent. A.D.) reads:

"Durgāyāḥ pārvarūpam Āmra-Kuṣmāṇḍivat (Āmra-Kuṣmāṇḍivat) tadāhā śhītam Ajjā bhanuṣati, saiva maḥiṣā-

yuḍpadaśaklitaprabhairi tadāpusthihit Koṭṭavya (Koṭṭakārya) bhanuṣati ..."

Thus the Anuyogadvāra-sūtra refers to the worship of Indā, Rudra, Skanda, Śiva, Vaiśrāman, Deva, Nāga, Yakṣa, Bhūta, Mukunda (=Baladeva, acc. to Madhārī Hemaprabha), Āryā and Koṭṭakāriyā. Āryā is explained as a pacific (śanta) form of Durgā while Koṭṭakāriyā (Koṭṭavi of the Cūrni) is the terrific form of Durgā, destroying the Maṅga demon (Maṅgasaśramāndita). The author of the Cūrni further adds that Āryā, the original form of Durgā, is like Āmra (Ambā ?)-Kuṣmāṇḍi. The close similarity of the Brahmanical Durgā-Āryā and the Jaina Ambikā was obvious to the author of the Cūrni. This was also known to the Jaina writers like Haribhadra suri. Incidentally, an interesting point deserving investigation may be mentioned here. Śvetāmbara Jaina legends acknowledge Koṭṭhīrā\footnote{161} in Saurashtra as the place of origin of Ambikā and also associate Mt. Raivataka (Girnar) with Ambikā devi. Ambikā as Kuṭṭhānaparā, worshipped in the place, might have led to the place-name Kuṭṭhānaga-koṭṭhīnaga—Koṭṭhānāra—Koṭṭhānara. Koṭṭhānāra perhaps obtained its name from the ancient goddess Koṭṭakāriyā—Koṭṭhīvā—Kuṭṭhānaparā (Kuṭṭhānā) of the Jaina references cited above. Girnar is well-known as an ancient Tirtha of Ambikā worshipped by both the Jinas as well as the Hindus. Koṭṭhāvā—Koṭṭhavā, in South India, is Vana-Durgā, giver of victory. Koṭṭha—Maṅga in Dravidian language.

In his Abhidhāna-Cintāmanī-Kośa,\footnote{152} Hemacandra ācārīya gives the following synonyms of the Brahmanical Durgā: Gauri, Kālī, Pārvatī, Mātrī, Aparṇā, Rudrāṇī. Ambikā, Tryambakā, Umā, Durgā, Cāndi, Simhayānī, Mrṭun, Kātyayāni, Daksājī, Āryā, Kumārī, Satī, Śiva, Maṅgadevi, Śarvāṇī, Śarvāṇagālā, Bhavānī, Maṅgaśamathaṇī, Bhūtanāyikā, Menādi, etc. etc. In his own commentary on the above, Hemacandra quotes Śeṣa giving 108 names of the goddess. These include names like Prakumāndi, Revati, Haimavati, Bahuputri, Skandamātā, Jayā, Vijaya, Jayantī, Sinivī, Ekānast (Ekānamsā), Sunandā, Nandā, Saṃśhī, etc. Even in Brahmanical tradition Āryā or Durgā was known both as Ambikā and Kuṣmāṇḍi.

Kuṣmāṇḍas are a class of Vyantarās according to Jaina accounts. The Digambara text Tiloyapan-

nūtī\footnote{153} speaks of eight classes of Vyantarās, namely, Kinnaras, Kimpurushas, Gandharvas, Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Bhūtas and Piśācas. The Śvetāmbara tradition speaks of the same eight classes.\footnote{154} The Digambara Tiloyapanaśati further divides Piśācas into 14 classes, namely, Kuṣmāṇḍa, Yakṣa, Rākṣasa, Sāmōhā, Tāraka, Aśucināmaka, Kāla, Mahākāla, Śuc, Satālaka, Dēha, Mahādeha, Tusūka, Pracāna. The Śvetāmbara tradition gives 16 classes of Piśācas, namely, Kuṣmāṇḍa, Pālaka, Sūjōsa, Āhikā, Kāla, Mahākāla, Cokṣa, Acoḵśa, Tālōpiśāca, Mukharapiśāca, Adhastāraka, Dēha, Videha, Mahādeha, Tusūka, and Vaniśa.\footnote{155}
Of the Vyantaras there are eight more classes given by the Prajñāpana sūtra and other Śvetāmbarar texts. They are: Anapandhi, Paṇapandhi, Isivā, Bhūyavā, Kandi, Mahākandi, Kohandha, and Piyanaga. Thus Kusmāṇḍa-Kohandha belong to the class of semi-divine beings called Vyantaras. In Brahmanical traditions, Kusmāṇḍas are a class of Śiva's Ganas, according to Viṣṇupurāṇa, I.12.13. Kubhāndas or Kusmāṇḍas are mentioned as super-human beings in the Kathāsārītāgāra. The Viṣṇupurāṇa also refers to them as Piśāca-ganas harassing children. They created obstacles in the meditation of Dhrava. In the tadāgotsarga-vidhi, a Kusmāṇḍa-stotra is recited from the Yajurveda. Kusmāṇḍa (Kohā in Gujarati and Hindi) is a big melon-like fruit of a creeper. The skin is thick and the kernel is used for eating. One variety with yellow or reddish yellow kernel is cooked as a vegetable while the second variety with white kernel is boiled and sweets are prepared from it. In Northern India this sweet is very popular and is known as pekhā. This second variety of Kusmāṇḍa is also used as bali or offering. In the Taṅtirīyā Āranyaka (2.7), Kusmāṇḍa-homa is prescribed before beginning any rite or karma. In a Kusmāṇḍa-Vrata, the creeper of Kusmāṇḍa is worshipped as Lakṣmi on the Kārttika full-moon day, according to the text called Vratādīva:

Kusmāṇḍavallīṃ subhagāṃ suphalāṃ viṣvarūpāṃ laksminā bhrāntiṃ dhīḥ yām Harivallabhāṃ

In Vratādīva and in another text called Rgyvretiya Brahmakarma-samuccaya, is prescribed a Kusmāṇḍi-vrata wherein the creeper of Kusmāṇḍa is worshipped for six months daily, beginning from Vaishākha śukla 14 and ending on Kārttika Purṇimā, along with the following prayer:

Kusmāṇḍyai kōmadāyinai Bhrāmānai sukhaḥetave namo=stu hiṣvarūpāyai saphalam kurve me vratam

Kumbhāndas are said to be servants of Rudra. Vidudhaka, the ruler of the Kumbhāndas, is the Guardian of the Southern Quarter according to Buddhist Sanskrit literature. Thus Ambā or Ambikā, riding on the lion, like the Hindu Durgā-Āryā, can be easily identified as Kusmāṇḍi by the Jainas.

But was there a very ancient Mother-Goddess who was so popular that she became the prototype or the origin of the Hindu Durgā, the Jaina Ambikā and the Buddhist Hārīti? The Buddhist Hārīti is intimately associated with children. According to Buddhist accounts she was the child-devouring tutelary goddess of Rājagha and was called Nandā according to one tradition. She was later converted by the Buddha. Thus Hārīti is both a benefic and a malefic goddess and in this sense she reminds one of the Bāla-grahas (child possessing or child-molesting demi-gods and goddesses) of whom Śasthi or Revati is a principal deity. In an earlier paper on Harinagamesin, U.P. Shah has suggested the relation between Bahuputrikā and Revati-Patanā. The account of Hārīti shows that she was formerly known as Nandā. We have seen above that Nandā is one of the names and forms of Gaurī or Parvati or Durgā. Thus Nandā, Gaurī, Ambikā, Āryā, Bahuputrikā and Hārīti are all intimately related Mother-Goddesses especially associated with children, and are based on one or more ancient Mother-Goddesses.

It seems that Nandā is a Sanskrit adopted name for Nāṇā or Nanaī. The identity of Nāṇā or Nanaī with Hindu Ambikā-Durgā was discussed by D.R. Bhandarkar and Bājñāthā Purī. A coin in the British Museum Cabinet mentioned by Whitehead in his Supplementary List of the Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, p. 214, no. 10, plate 20, actually shows Nāṇā seated on lion; another coin noticed by Cunningham, as also by Whitehead (op. cit., p. 207, no. 29 unrepresented type), shows the Goddess Nāṇā (or Ambā) worshiped by the Kusāna king Huviśka. The goddess Nāṇā (or Nanaī) appears on coins of Vāsudeva and Huviśka. A type of Huviśka’s coin shows the goddess Nāṇā and the god OPHO facing each other. D.R. Bhandarkar identified OPHO with Umeśa or Lord Śiva, the husband of Umā. The presence of Nandī along with OPHO and the fact that the god holds the trident
show the correctness of the identification. On one coin of Sapadeśa the name Nanaśī arises in connection with lion.

Recently B.N. Mukerjee has treated the problem thoroughly in his brilliant monograph "Nana on the Lion" and has shown that Nana of the coins must be a prototype of Durgā. Nana or Nanaśī however has no correspondence with the name Durgā, but in RV IX.112.33, Nana means 'Mother' (= Amba). Even today Nāṁ= Mother's mother in North India.

B.N. Mukerjee writes, "The appearance of the famous ancient Babylonian (Sumerian) goddess Nana on several coins of the Kuṣāṇa empire is a well-known fact. So is also her identification with the ancient Akkadian-Assyrian deity Ishtar and the Persian goddess Anāhitā. Anāhitā (Anāhitā), whose cult was perhaps not so ancient as that of Ishtar or Nana, was described in an epigraph from Susa as being invoked by Artaxerxes (II Mnemon) (405-361 B.C.). The same Achaemenid emperor was described by Berossos as having created statues of Aphrodite-Anaitis in the temples of the great cities of the empire including Bactra. Several classical sources speak of an attack on the temple of Artemis-Kuṣāna in Elymais by (the Seleucid king) Antiochus (IV). Epigraphic evidence found in a temple complex at Dura-Europos, dated roughly to the third and second century B.C., refers to Nana (i.e. Nana). A cult image of Nana has been discovered at Itra. She also appears on clay votive tablets at Palmyra, while a few seals found there carry the figure of Ishtar. The lion of Nana and the inscription Nana can be noticed on coins of Sa-padizes found in the territories on the Oxus and datable to a period before the rise of the Kuṣāṇa empire... The above evidence also indicates the existence of the cult of the goddesses (Babylonian Nana and the Assyrian Ishtar) and also of Anāhitā in territories later included in the Kuṣāṇa empire..."'

Incidentally we may note here that a goddess Anāhitā (Anaitis ?), Anāliyā, Anāhitā, appears in the old Jaina Tantric formula known as the Vardhamāna-Vidyā. Also a god Anādiśaya is spoken of as the Gate-Keeper or protector of the Jambā-dvīpa, in Jaina traditions.

B.N. Mukerjee writes in his Epilogue: "The coins bearing the figure of Nana... were probably known in the early period as Nānaka. In the Anāgavijaya the expression Nānaka ca Māṣaka refers to the term Nana (which may be related to the name of Nana) as signifying a particular class or species (of coins). It has been observed that the term Nānaka was explained by a commentator on the Yajnavalkya Smṛti as denoting the coins having Nana (Nana ?) as their cognizance (Nāṇaka-tanka)."

Mukerjee's following remarks are noteworthy: "... icons, particularly syncretic ones, indeed mirror fusion of thoughts. This is not only true of Kuṣāṇa icons, but also of those of later periods and even of the late mediaeval age. Nevertheless, the tendency of imbibing foreign influence in this field of Indian art had never been so pronounced as in the age of the Kuṣāṇas." Trade was one of the carriers of thought. It helped India to get acquainted with the "West". Again, probably through the same or associated channel of human activities an Indian concept influenced as artist of the Alexandrian (or West Asiatic ?) school of the first or second or the third century A.D. who engraved a figure of the Hermaphrodite figure on a silver dish found at Lampraecus in Turkey. It is not difficult to recognise in this figure a representation of the Indian Ardhanaśāvara. Such an identification is strengthened by the evidence of Dio Coccianus regarding the presence of Indians as well as Bactrians in Alexandria in the second century A.D., apparently for carrying on trade and commerce... The artists of the Kuṣāṇa empire exerted as well as imbibed influence. The Kuṣāṇa age, like some other periods of Indian history, brought the world in India and presented India to the outside world."

Since the Jaines have assimilated, in their ancient tantric formula known as the Vardhamāna-Vidyā, the Iranian goddess Anāhitā—Anāhitā as a separate deity along with ancient Indian goddesses Jayā, Vijayā, Jayantā and Aparājītā, it would be worthwhile noting here something more about Anāhitā.

Yasht V of the Avesta is dedicated to Anāhitā. Yasht V.64 describes her thus: "Then Arevā Surā Anāhitā approached in the form of a beautiful maiden, very powerful, beautifully formed, who is high-girded, tall of stature (?), of noble descent, exalted, whose feet are shod with shining gold-laced shoes." Anāhitā is well-known as a goddess of water and a fertility goddess. In the same Yasht, the
Supreme god Ahura Mazda says: "Worship for me, O Spitama Zarathustra, the heroic pure Aradvī (Aradvī Surā Anāhītā), who extends herself widely, who is health-giving . . . holy, who furthers water-channels, the holy, who furthers herds, the holy, who furthers fields, the holy, who furthers possessions, the holy, who furthers the land, who prepares the seeds of all males, who makes ready for birth the offspring of all males, (who) makes all females deliver easily, who provides milk for all females at the proper time, the great, far-famed, who is of the magnitude of all the waters that flow on this earth . . . ."180

Anāhītā has another aspect as well; in this Yasht V (7) reads: "O Zarathustra, Aradvī Surā Anāhītā came forth from the Creator, the wise; beautiful were her white arms, as strong as horses . . . (Anāhītā) who flows ( ? hastens) with her strong arms . . . ." Again, in Yasht V (11) we find, Anāhītā is she "who drives the chariot ahead, holding the reins of the chariot as she travels on this chariot . . . who has four steeds to draw (her), all uniformly white, equally fast and tall, who vanquish the hostility of all enemies, of the devil and of men, of sorcerers and witches, of tyrants, of obstreperous princes and priests . . . It is she who grants boons to the Iranian heroes that they may smite the daevas and their mortal enemies . . . ."

"Thus we see in this Yasht that Anāhītā is worshipped both as a fertility and a water-goddess and as a war goddess, . . . a protectress who assures victory to the Iranian heroes who worship her and denies it to their enemies."181

We have records of Anāhītā cult in Iran from Achaemenian times to the present day. It is recorded that Artaxerxes II (404-359 B.C.) caused the cult of Anāhītā to flourish along with other cults. He established shrines to Anāhītā in Susa, Ecbatana, and elsewhere. Once the cult was established it spread widely beyond the borders of Iran, and took root strongly in Armenia and Asia Minor.182

A temple or sanctuary of Anāhītā near Persepolis was known since the time of Artaxerxes II and a fire temple of Anāhītā at Istakhr is mentioned in the third century inscription of Kartir at Naqsh-e-Rostam. The cult of Anāhītā as a war-goddess attained widespread popularity during the Parthian period and continued even during the reign of Ardashir I (A.D. 226-240). After defeating Ardavan, Ardashir sent the severed heads of his enemies to an Anāhītā temple. Shapur II (A.D. 309-379) did the same with the heads of Christians executed in Pars. Chaumont states that Anāhītā was the only one amongst the gods to whom heads were offered in the temple.183

Hanaway notes that "an important element in the iconography of Anāhītā is her frequent association with the bird. She is often depicted on Sassanian vessels and trays of silver and bronze as accompanied by doves and peacocks.181

A coin from the collection of Narendra Singhji Singhji of Calcutta shows on the obverse the figure of Kusana King Kaniska I with the legend in Greek script reading Kineshka Koshana. B. N. Mukherjee discussed this coin elaborately and described the female figure on its reverse as "Facing to front, and seated on a lion, standing (or walking) to left. She has a crescent above her shoulders. Locks of hair, along two sides of her head, hang down to the shoulders . . . Another crescent is seen above her head. She wears a chiton reaching near her feet, which rest on a lotus (!). She holds a sceptre in her left hand, and a fillet in the right."185 The blundered legend on the right, in Greek script, is deciphered by B.N. Mukherjee as NwNA CAO, i.e., NwNa SAO 'which reminds one of the legend NANA SHAO appearing along with a female deity on a number of Kusana coins'.186 Mukherjee writes: "Apparently the goddess (with sceptre and patera), described as Nana Shao in certain coin legends is referred to as Nana (or Nanaia, or Nano or Shao Nano) in some others."187 The female figure on lion on the coin under discussion is called NANA SHAO in the legend, and "the name judged against the background of our knowledge of the appearance of the West and Central Asian deities on Kusana coins,188 connects or identifies her with Namā,189 the Babylonian (Sumerian) goddess. The latter was considered to be the same as the Akkadian as well as the Assyrian deity Ishtar." Ishtar is also conceived as a mother-goddess. Lion was sacred to her, and is a symbol emphasising her war-like character. In Mesopotamian glyptic art and statuary she is shown as war-goddess armed with a bow, quivers, arrows and a sword (or a sceptre) and standing on a lion. Mukherjee has shown that Ishtar and Namā were also connected with the Persian Anāhītā, a common link having been their supposed identity with the planet Venus.190
We have thus seen that Nanā-Ishtar-Anāhītā, closely associated with one another and often identified, have two aspects; one, that of a mother-goddess and peaceful and the other, that of a war-goddess and therefore terrific. We have noted above the two aspects of Āryā; one, peaceful, as Durgā, and the other, terrific, as Koṭākīryā or Koṭāvayā (Mahiśāsuramardini). The conception of Durgā-Āryā seems to have as its prototype this Nanā riding on the lion. The Jainā yakṣī Ambikā similarly has the Nanā-Durgā conception as its prototype and imbibes also the mother-goddess aspect of Ishtar referred to above. Anāhītā too has two aspects, one peaceful, connected with waters, and the other terrific, as a war-goddess. As Hanaway has pointed out in his analysis of the Iranian legend of Darab Nama, Anāhītā is associated with waters and fish. In India, too, certain aspects of the Devī (Cāmuṇḍā for example) are sometimes associated with fish. Cāmuṇḍā and Kālī are terrific aspects of the Devī wearing a garland of skulls and/or holding a severed head in one hand. As shown above, Anāhītā was offered severed heads.

Mukherjee has discussed and illustrated a unique gold medal, coin or token, in the British Museum, displaying, on the obverse, a female figure wearing a turreted crown (similar to turreted crown worn by Tyche on Imperial Parthian coins), clad in a loose robe or chiton reaching down to the feet, and standing in her half-raised right hand the stalk of a half-opened lotus. Her left hand, clutched as part of her garment, is placed on her left thigh (kati-hasta?). A Kharoshthi inscription on the obverse refers to Amā, the deity of Pakhalavadi, i.e., Pushkalavati or Pushkaravati of ancient Gandhara (modern Charsadda region of Pakistan). The city-goddess aspect of the deity is also emphasized by her turreted head-dress. According to Mukherjee: “The expression Amā may stand for Amā or Amvā or Ambā.” Mukherjee is right in his interpretation because on the reverse is a figure of a bull with a Greek legend deciphered as “Taurus” and a Kharoshthi inscription reading (U)gabhe. This distinguishes the goddess as Śiva’s consort. In this context, Mukherjee has also mentioned that “a lady holding a lotus, delineated by the side of the figure of Oesho, on some coins of Huvishka, is described as Ommo.” Oesho is perhaps based on some Prakrit rendering of Vṛṣa. Vṛṣa or Bull on several early Indian coins is considered to be theriomorphic representation of Śiva. Ommo either stands for Umā or for Ammā (Ambā?). Umā is another name of Durgā or Ambā. Mukherjee writes: “If the Ommo refers to Umā, her relation with Ambā, the city-goddess, is indicated by the flower held by her. On a few other pieces of Huvishka, the female figure, standing by the side of Oesho, is referred to as Nanā. This numismatic evidence thus distinguishes Nanā as a consort of Śiva and identifies, or at least associates, her with Umā, alias Ambā.”

The process of assimilation and fusion of different concepts and forms that goes on in the iconography of any pantheon forms an interesting subject of study. Hanaway has made some illuminating remarks regarding the Iranian goddess Anāhītā. He writes: “The rock reliefs, coins, and silver objects testify to the existence of Anāhītā worship, in one form or another, until at least the seventh century and probably later. Thus there would have been sufficient opportunity for the worship of this goddess to assume various popular or non-official forms, and for it to penetrate and be penetrated by folk-lore and popular story-telling. In such a process the standard iconographical or symbolic elements will assume new forms as they move into new milieus and contexts. They will shed some of their characteristic features, acquire others not previously possessed, and emphasize or suppress certain of their original aspects so as to render the new forms in some measure unlike their source.”

There is no literary or archaeological evidence so far discovered which can show the origin or existence of the Jainā Ambikā before the fifth century a.d. The earliest literary reference to Ambā-Kusmāndi Vidyā occurs in the Svapajñita commentary on the Vīśeśāvāyaka-bhāṣya of Jinabhadrā gāni Kṣamāśramana, left incomplete and completed by Koṭācārya in the sixth century a.d. The earliest image of the Jainā Ambikā so far discovered is on a metal image of Rṣabhanātha (or Śāntinātha) from Akota, installed by this very Jinabhadrā in the sixth century as proved on the basis of the inscription on the back of the image.

So far we have been able to establish the relation between the Jainā Ambikā and the Brahmanical Durgā, both having their origin in the ancient Nanā-Nanaia-Ishtar. Also the relation between the
above goddesses and Hīrīti, Bahuputrikā, is obvious. But the Jaina Ambikā’s association with the mango-tree deserves further investigation.

Since the yakṣas in ancient Indian literature are known as sylvan deities, Ambikā-yakṣi’s association with a tree is natural and should not be surprising. However none of the other Jaina yakṣas and yakṣis in the group of śasanadevatās of the different Tirthaṅkaras are shown sitting or standing under a tree.

We know that the conception of the Jaina Ambikā is strongly influenced by the conception of a Mother-Goddess and by the Brahmanical deity Durgā. Mother-Goddesses in Brahmanical rites are to be invoked with Āṁra-pallava (tender leaves of a mango-tree) according to the Kātyayana Śruti. Again, in a group of sculptures of Ganeśa (Vināyaka), obtained from Bengal and Bihar,195 Ganeśa is shown standing or sitting under a canopy or teraṇa (suggestive of a tree) of mangoes. This characteristic of Ganeśa, standing or sitting or dancing under a mango-tree, seems to have been based on a hitherto untraced literary tradition which very well preserved the original Yakṣa character of the Hindu Ganeśa or Vināyaka.

The Yājñavalkya Śruti, ācārāhārya,196 chp. IX, which seems to be an abridgement and versification of the XIV khaṇḍa of the second purusa of the Mānavagrhāsūtra, refers to the worship of Vināyakas (verse 1). They are Śālakatingaka, Kusmāṇḍarājaputra, Usmita and Devyagajana (verse 2). The signs manifested by persons possessed by these are referred and the penance for removal of these obstacles is described and the mantras for the Vināyakas are given. Then we find: Vināyakasya jananim upatīṣṭhet-tata═Ambikāni (v. 30). The following prayer for Ambikā is prescribed at night: “O Lady of Prosperity (bhagavati), give me prosperity, O Lady of Good Complexion (varṇavatī), give me good complexion, O Lady possessing many sons, give me sons, O Lady of Beauty, give me beauty, O Lady having everything, grant me all desires.”

These passages not only explain the purpose of Ambikā’s name Kusmāṇḍinī but also explain her association with Ganeśa (Vināyaka) and Kubera (lord of the yakṣas) in the mediaeval image no. D.7 in the Mathura Museum. We have also seen that in a certain group of sculptures Ganeśa is associated with the mango-tree. Yakṣa worship is intimately associated with tree-worship and water cult as demonstrated by Coomaraswamy.

It can be demonstrated that a goddess with one or two children, standing under a mango-tree and associated with waters, existed in c. fifth century a.D. and continued later; the conception might have for its basis some earlier one or more mother-goddesses. The conception of Gangā—the river-goddess who, with Yamunā, was a favourite deity on the door-frames of the Gupta period—fulfils all the above requirements and shows the above iconographic characteristics. One of the most beautiful specimens of this river-goddess, from Besnagar, now in the Boston Museum, illustrated by Coomaraswamy,197 shows its close similarity with the conception of the Jaina Ambikā. Catherine Glynn tried to trace the origin of this type of the Gangā image and showed parallelism with the image of the Sudarśanā Yakṣī from Bharhut (second century b.C.).198 The child is absent but the mango on two sides of the head of the Yakṣī and the form of the vahana below are noteworthy. Glynn identifies the tree in the Bharhut example with the tree in the Besnagar figure of Gangā referred to above and calls it “tree of fertility”. In the Besnagar example it is clearly a mango-tree.

Gangā is associated with children which she bore to Śāntanu according to the Mahābhārata. She destroyed eight of them. Thus both the malefic and the benefic aspects of Gangā as a Mother Goddess are retained along with her treatment as a River Goddess.199 Further investigation into the origin of the iconography of Gangā will be welcome.

It seems that there existed a conception of a yakṣī or a śālabhañjikā or a goddess standing under a mango-tree and having a child by her side. This conception was the prototype of the form of Gangā, the Jaina Ambika and the Brahmanical Tripurasundari. This is inferred from a figure on the entrance doorway of cave 19 at Ajanta and some figures in Ellora cave 21. In the sculpture from Besnagar illustrated by Coomaraswamy, we find the river goddess standing under a mango-tree, with a bird (parrot ?) perched
on her right shoulder. A small figure of a dwarf stands to her left. The goddess has placed her left hand on the head of the dwarfish child-like figure.

A sculpture from cave 21, Ellora, shows the śalabhañjikā-like goddess standing under a full-grown mango-tree with the goddess touching it with her raised (mutilated) left hand while her right hand rests on a child standing beside her right leg. No vāhana is seen and, if it was shown on her left, it is now mutilated and lost.

In another sculpture, also a bracket figure from cave 21, Ellora, the right hand is raised up while her left hand rests on the shoulder of a female figure standing beside her. A male figure stands beside her on her right side.

There is a loose architectural piece representing a śalabhañjikā, now preserved in the site museum at Halebid. Here the standing goddess looks very much like the Jaina Ambikā with a child held by her left hand while her right hand holds an āmra-lumbi. This hand is shown touching the tree above and the figure was possibly treated as a śalabhañjikā rather than the Jaina yakṣi Ambikā. However the origin of yākṣi Ambikā is quite discernible from such traditions continued even in the Hoyaśala period.

But earlier examples of a yakṣi associated with the mango and/or a mango-tree are also known. Perhaps she was then known as Āmra or Amra-Kusmāndi or simply Kusmāndi. It this form she is seen carrying a bunch of mangoes (āmra-lumbi) in one hand. Dhavalikar published a beautiful Kaoline-moulded yakṣi figurine200 with the head mutilated and lost. Her pose indicates that she was riding on some animal. The figure is decked with ornaments and wears a beaded yajnopavita (sacred-thread). In her right hand she holds a mango bunch and a parrot is perched on her left hand. The figure hails from Paithan (Pratisthānapura) and dates from the Satavahana period. It seems that the yakṣi is shown naked (Fig. 145).

A male counterpart of this yakṣi, perhaps Kusmāndarājaputra, a Viniyaka referred to above, or a yakṣa of unknown identity but showing the same symbols of āmralumbi and a parrot hails from Paithan201 as well as from Tcr. The yakṣa is shown naked.

It is thus quite clear that an ancient yakṣa and a yakṣi associated with the mango existed in the early centuries of the Christian era and the Jaina Yakṣi Amra (another name of Ambikā) was evolved from this ancient yakṣi. The Jaina Ambikā also imbibed the conception of the ancient Mother Goddess Nanaia or Nanā riding on the lion either directly or through the form of Durgā-Āryā.

Iconography of Ambikā, the Yakṣi of twenty-second Tirthankara Neminātha

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Vehicle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>r. h. bunch of mangoes</td>
<td>Lion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(another son sometimes accompanies)</td>
<td>for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Dark-blue</td>
<td>r. h. child</td>
<td>1. h. āmralumbi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td></td>
<td>same as above nos. 1 and 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td></td>
<td>r. h. āmralumbi</td>
<td>1. h. citron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td></td>
<td>r. h. child</td>
<td>1. h. citron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td></td>
<td>r. h. citron</td>
<td>1. h. child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td></td>
<td>r. h. varada</td>
<td>1. h. child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td></td>
<td>r. h. lotus</td>
<td>1. h. child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td></td>
<td>r. h. lotus</td>
<td>1. h. citron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Dark-blue</td>
<td>(1) fruit</td>
<td>(2) varada mudrā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>one child on lap, another beside, acc. to Aparājītaprechā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Greenish</td>
<td>r. h. abhaya</td>
<td>1. h. citron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(1) blue-lotus</td>
<td>(2) hanging down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td></td>
<td>r. h. abhaya</td>
<td>1. h. varada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td></td>
<td>r. h. abhaya</td>
<td>1. h. child</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Four-Armed Variety

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>Ámralumbi in three hands&lt;br&gt;child in the left lower&lt;br&gt;two upper—ámralumbi&lt;br&gt;two lower—abhaya, child&lt;br&gt;two upper—ámralumbi&lt;br&gt;r. l. citron&lt;br&gt;l. l. child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>two upper—ámralumbi&lt;br&gt;two lower—supporting two sons on the lap&lt;br&gt;two arms supporting two sons on the lap&lt;br&gt;ámralumbi in one left, corresponding right extended towards the lion&lt;br&gt;two upper—sword, cakra&lt;br&gt;two lower supporting sons on lap&lt;br&gt;r. u. goad&lt;br&gt;1. u. noose&lt;br&gt;l. r.abhaya&lt;br&gt;1. l. varada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>r. u. goose&lt;br&gt;1. u. goad&lt;br&gt;r. l. Ímralumbi&lt;br&gt;1. l. child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>two upper—noose, goad&lt;br&gt;r. l. citron&lt;br&gt;1. l. child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>garment—red&lt;br&gt;r. u. ámralumbi&lt;br&gt;1. u. goad&lt;br&gt;r. l. citron&lt;br&gt;1. l. noose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>r. u. pása&lt;br&gt;1. u. vajraghaṣṭā&lt;br&gt;r. l. ámralumbi&lt;br&gt;1. l. son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>r. u. book&lt;br&gt;1. u. mirror&lt;br&gt;r. l. ámralumbi&lt;br&gt;1. l. child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>r. u. trident&lt;br&gt;1. u. dāmaru&lt;br&gt;r. l. ámralumbi&lt;br&gt;1. l. child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>(1) conch, (2) disc, (3) varada, (4) pása&lt;br&gt;(Lion Vāhana for all forms)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Eight-Armed Variety

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>conch, cakra, bow, axe, javelin, sword, pása, corn&lt;br&gt;corn, trident, bow, abhaya, goad, lotus, arrow, ámralumbi&lt;br&gt;(Lion Vāhana for all forms)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Twenty-Armed Variety

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Appearance</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Fierce</td>
<td>khadga, śakti, snake, mace, shield, kamandalu, lotus, abhaya, varada, etc. (not specifically mentioned)&lt;br&gt;(Lion Vāhana)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
XXIII. Padmāvati, the Yakṣi of Pārśvanātha

Jainas of both the sects—the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara—associate Padmāvati with the account of the austerities of Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara, and give her the role of a śāsanadevatā, the attendant yakṣi protecting the Samgha or Church of Pārśvanātha.

Earlier texts like the Kalpa-sūtra speak nothing about either Dharanendra or Padmāvati, either in their role of protecting Pārśvanātha during Kāmaṭha’s attack or as his yaksā and yakṣi, although later Jaina purāṇas give detailed accounts of them both.

Once upon a time, a heretic saint (tāpasa), called Kātha or Kāmaṭha, was practising penance with fires all around, when Pārśva, the prince, turned up with his attendants, and seeing snakes burning in the logs of wood, pointed out to the tāpasa the futility of practices that involved himsā or killing. Enraged at this, Kāmaṭha asked the prince to show in what manner himsā was committed. Pārśva immediately removed a log of wood from the fire and broke it into two pieces whereinupon, to the surprise of all, a half-burnt serpent came out. The snake died subsequently but became in its next birth the lord of the Nāgas and was known as Dharanendra. After death, Kāmaṭha, the tāpasa, was born as Meghamālī, a god of the Meghakumāra class. According to some Jaina accounts, not one but two snakes were burning and after death they became Dharanendra and his queen of the Nāgakumāra class.

Renouncing the worldly ties, Pārśva became a monk. Once when he was standing in deep meditation under the shade of a tree, Meghamālī saw him, and remembering the past enmity, attacked him first in the shapes of wild animals etc. Later he ordered a fierce thunderstorm which raised a flood of water drowning Pārśva unto his nostrils. Seeing this with his clairvoyant knowledge, Dharanendra rushed headlong to the spot along with his chief queens and protected Pārśva by covering his head with the seven hoods spread like an umbrella and entwining the monk’s body with lengthy coils lifted Pārśva above water. Dharana’s queens staged a play and danced to divert Pārśva’s attention from the miseries inflicted by the storm etc., but, throughout the period, the great ascetic Pārśvanātha remained indifferent both to the attacks of Meghamālī (Śambara acc. to some texts) and to the protective steps taken by Dharanendra. Unsuccessful and repenting, Meghamālī bowed before Pārśvanātha and gave up his evil ways.

The Digambara account differs from Śvetāmbara traditions by saying that not one but two snakes—one male and the other female—were burning in the log of wood and that they were reborn as king and queen of the Nāgas. In the Digambara tradition Kāmaṭha is reborn as Bhūtānanda (instead of Meghamālī in Śve. tradition).

Since Dharanendra and Padmāvati are king and queen of the Nāgas, a salient feature of their iconography is that their Nāga form or character is invariably emphasised in sculptures and paintings. Padmāvati is always represented as having one, three, five, seven or nine snake-hoods over her head. Sometimes when two-armed, she is represented as a mermaid with the lower half of her body represented like that of a snake.

Images of Padmāvati can be divided into several groups such as: (1) the two-armed variety, (2) the four-armed variety, (3) the six-armed variety, (4) the eight-armed variety, (5) the twelve-armed variety, (6) the twenty-armed variety, (7) the twenty-four-armed variety, and (8) the multi-armed variety. She is mostly found in a sitting posture and her standing figures in all varieties except the first two are rare.

In some forms she is known by special names such as Bhairava-Padmāvati, Totalā, Tvaritā, Nītvā, Kāmasūdhīni, Tripurā and Tripurabhairavi. The eight-armed variety is found only in the last two special forms. "Her name suggests that she should always carry a lotus as one of her symbols although the principle is not rigidly followed in all representations of the goddess.

A. Two-Armed Variety

Specific dhyānas for this form are not available, but sufficient archaeological evidence is forthcoming to establish a two-armed plastic form of the goddess.

In the scenes of Kāmaṭha’s uparājas (attacks, obstructions, harassments), Dharana and his queen or
queens figure invariably. One of the queens holds the umbrella over Pārvāṇa, while the rest are shown adoring him with folded hands (as in fig. 142, Panorama of Jaina Art), or dancing, to divert the attention of Pārvāṇa from the storm and thereby help him in his austerities. Here the Nāga character of Dharāna’s queens is emphasised by representing them as having a snake-hood overhead and/or by showing some of them as mermaids with half-human and half-snake bodies as at Ellora in one such panel. There is a beautiful scene of attack of Kamatha carved on a boulder at Tirakkol, North Arcot district, Tamil Nadu, wherein only one queen bearing the umbrella with both hands and Dharanendra are represented as rescuing Pārvāṇa. (Fig. 33 in Panorama of Jaina Art). In the Digambara tradition, it is Padmāvatī who is principally associated with Dharanendra in this act of rescue, and hence in all the Digambara panels at Ellora etc. the umbrella-bearer may be identified as two-armed Padmāvatī.

It must however be remembered that in the cosmographical accounts, especially in the Śvetāmbara tradition, the name Padmāvatī does not figure in the list of Dharāna’s chief queens.

M.A. Dhaky published two elegant sculptures of this scene from Digambara Jaina temples at Humcha in Karnataka.206 In a miniature painting from the palm-leaf manuscript at Idar, N. Gujarat (Śvetāmbara tradition), Dharanendra and his queen are represented standing with folded hands by the side of Pārvāṇa. Here Padmāvatī is painted red and has three snake-hoods over her head. The painting belongs to the fourteenth century A.D.207 It is to be noted that the form of the yakṣi with the lotus symbol is absent here. A similar case is found in a miniature painting of a paper manuscript of Kalpa-sūtra (c. 15th cent.) now preserved in the Cleveland Museum (Fig. 76).

Padmāvatī with both the hands folded together is also associated with another type of image representing Pārvāṇa. It is not the scene of Kamatha’s attack. In such cases, Pārvāṇa is the chief figure represented either standing or sitting with Dharanendra and Padmāvatī occupying the flanks. Padmāvatī can be seen in these sculptures with two hands folded in the act of worship.

A mutilated sculpture from Arthuna, Rajasthan, now preserved in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmere, shows both Dharanendra and Padmāvatī in the position just described. Padmāvatī has only one hood overhead. This sculpture has another peculiarity in as much as it has, below the feet of Pārvāṇa, two kneeling figures of Dharanendra and his queen, represented half-human and half-snake, with three hoods over the head and both the hands folded (Bulletin of the Cleveland Museums of Art, Dec. 1970, pp. 303ff, fig. 15). In the Mahudi bronze image of Pārvāṇa, now in the Baroda Museum, Dharanendra and Padmāvatī are similarly represented half-snake and half-human. But here they do not figure as the yakṣa and yakṣi of Pārvāṇa and seem to have been retained in order to suggest the act of rescue performed by them. In the Ajmere Museum sculpture they are twice represented, once perhaps as attendant yakṣa and yakṣi in their standing postures and once again as kneeling before Pārvāṇa in their act of rescue. In a bronze of Pārvāṇa preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (Mu. no. 67.23), Dharanendra and Padmāvatī, both half-human and half-snake, are shown sitting with folded hands on two sides of Pārvāṇa, in positions generally assigned to yakṣa and yakṣiṇī of a jina. The bronze is assigned to c. 8th cent. A.D. This bronze and the Arthuna sculpture in the Ajmere Museum, referred to above, seem to represent a transitional stage. The introduction of Dharanendra and Padmāvatī as yakṣa and yakṣiṇī of Pārvāṇa is a later conception. Some images from Bengal, for example the Pārvāṇa from Bahulara, Bankura (Studies in Jaina Art, fig. 38), represent the tradition of the Mahudi bronze by showing Dharanendra and Padmāvatī in worshipful attitude with their lower snake-halves joined and tied in a beautiful knot (nāga-pāsa), the knot being shown in the centre of the pedestal.208 In the Mahudi bronze we find Sarvanubhūti and Ambikā as the yakṣa and yakṣiṇī. In a Vasantagad-Pindwada bronze of Pārvāṇa, dated in v.s. 1088= A.D. 1031, we also find Sarvanubhūti and Ambikā as the yakṣa and yakṣi while the half-snake half-human Dharana with folded hands is shown on the right of the simhāsana and a similar Padmāvatī on the corresponding left corner. Here their lower bodies are not tied into a knot. The Bahulara Pārvāṇa noted above dates from c. 11th cent. A.D. The practice of showing Dharana and his queen joined with a beautiful nāga-pāsa knot seems to have been especially popular in Gujarat and Rajasthan (see Akota Bronzes, fig. 17b and fig. 34). As will be seen from a study of a number of Pārvāṇa bronzes published by us in the book Akota Bronzes, at least up to the end of the
tenth century a.d. in Western India, Sarvänubhūti and Ambikā were usually shown as the yakṣa and yakṣī of Pārśvanātha.

A third form of two-armed Pādmapati comes from the Śitālanātha temple at Patan, North Gujarat, where a big loose stone image of Pādmapati is still in worship. There is a snake with five hoods over the head of the goddess and a small figure of Pārśvanātha surmounts her head. On a full-blown lotus, Pādmapati here sits in the Lalitaśana. Two-armed, she carries the lotus-stalk in her right hand and a cup of sweets or a fruit in the left one (Fig. 144). Two mermaids with folded hands are seen over her shoulders on two sides while two more are shown near her feet.\footnote{209}

In the famous scene of Kamatha’s attack at Kalugumalai (fig. 50, and also see fig. 1 in Panorama of Jaina Art) we find the snake-queen holding something in her raised right hand while the left hand hanging carries nothing.

In the Mahāvīra temple, Ośia, Pādmapati carries the snake and the fruit in her right and left hands respectively. Her vāhana is a kukkanasarpa. Tiwari has noted that in the Mādādevī temple, Gyaraspur, M.P., we find two-armed Pādmapati showing rosary with vyākhyāna mudrā in one hand and a water-jar in the other. Another variety of form in the same temple shows the lotus in her right hand and the gadā in the left one. Tiwari has noted two images of two-armed Pādmapati at Devgadh, one showing varada mudrā and lotus-stalk, the other showing the fruit and the flower.\footnote{210}

In the Navumuni cave, Khandagiri, Orissa, is a two-armed form of the yakṣi of Pārśvanātha showing the aṭbha and the fruit in her right and left hands respectively. A kukkanasarpa vāhana is shown below. There is no snake-hood seen above the yakṣi’s head but her figure is carved below the figure of Pārśvanātha and is therefore intended to be shown as Pādmapati, the yakṣi of Pārśvanātha (Fig. 89).\footnote{211}

The two-armed Pādmapati continued in Jaina worship for a much longer period even after the introduction of her four-armed form, as can be seen from a bronze dated in v.s. 1330 (a.d. 1273) still in worship in a Jaina temple in Baroda. A two-armed form is seen on a mediaeval sculpture of Pārśva, no. 1935 in the Lucknow Museum, where Pādmapati holds the lotus in her right hand while her left hand rests on her lap.

B. Four-Armed Variety

Of this variety a number of dhyānas as well as representations are found. According to Hemacandra (Śve.), the goddess is golden in complexion and rides on the kukkanasarpa. She is four-armed, in her two right hands she carries the lotus and the noose, and in the two left the fruit and the gadā.\footnote{212} Nirvāṇakalikā,\footnote{213} Ācārādina karā,\footnote{214} Pravacanasarodhāra-ṭika,\footnote{215} Mantradhirāja-kalpa, and the Kālalokaprakāśa follow Hemacandra; Mantradhirājakalpa adds that a snake with three hoods should be shown over her crown. The Nirvāṇakalikā mentions kukkanasarpa and not the kukkanasarpa as her vāhana. Possibly there was a scribal mistake in the manuscript used for the printed edition.

The Devatā-mūrti-prakaranas, describing the symbols of Pādmapati clock-wise from the right lower hand, gives the lotus, the noose, the gadā and the citron as her weapons. Red in complexion, she rides the kukkanasarpa? The same form is met with in the Rūpamāṇḍana.

This form is available in Śvetāmbara temples; for example, in cell 4, Vimala vasahi, Abu, we find this form on the pedestal of an image of Pārśvanātha. The same form is seen on the southern entrance to the gāḍhāmanḍapa of the Vimala vasahi. Tiwari has noted a similar form in the Neminātha temple, Kumbharia.\footnote{217}

This form is available in Digambara shrines also. P. Gururaja Bhatt has illustrated such figures in his Studies in Tuluva History and Culture, pl. 444a from Dharmanātha Basti, Naravi, and pl. 429a from Setrabasti, Mudabidure.

A bronze image in the temple at Tiruparutikkūnṭam (Jina-Kāśi)\footnote{218} represents Pādmapati as wearing a kīrṇa-mukūṭa surmounted by five snake-hoods and showing a seated figure of Pārśva in front. The goddess stands on the lotus and her vāhana, the kukkanasarpa, is seen in front of the pedestal. Pādmapati carries the gadā and the noose in her right and the left upper hands respectively and shows the lotus and
the citron in the corresponding lower ones (Fig. 127). The image belongs to the Digambara shrine. In the Neminātha temple at Kumbharia, Padmāvatī carries the same symbols.

A sculpture of a goddess, probably hailing from Karnata, preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, has been identified by Sankalia as Padmāvatī. She has a single-hooded cobra over head and is stylistically similar to a figure of Dharanendra in the same museum. She carries the lotus and the goad in her right lower and upper hands respectively while the noose is held in the left upper one. The left lower hand, partly mutilated, probably carried the citron (Fig. 110 in this book). A beautiful sculpture of this variety exists in the Pārvanātha temple at Humcha, Karnatak. The form was popular as such images are available in the Pañcakūta Basti, Humcha and Śāntinātha Basti, Jinaṭhāpur, at Lakkundi, at Dharwar on a standing image of Pārvī, in a stone image of Padmāvatī with 3 hoods in K.R. Institute, Dharwar, at Muḍabidri where the deity has 3 hoods and also at Mugad, Karnata, on a sculpture of Pārvanātha standing. The form offers favourable comparison with the iconographic traditions given by Hemacandra and others noted above as well as with the late bronze from Jina-Kāśchī described above.

The form was known earlier in south India since it is carved on a rock at Vallimalai, North Arcot, district, Tamil Nadu, in the eighth-ninth century a.d. (see Fig. 198 in this book). Śivaramamurti's identification of this relief as representing Śrutadevi cannot be accepted. The goddess has a beautiful cobrahead above her crown and her figure is carved next to a sculpture of Pārvanātha. This form is also found in a palm-leaf miniature painting of the Dhavālā-tikā at Muḍabidri.

A four-armed figure of Padmāvatī from the Śvetāmbara Kharatarasa vasahi Cauḍamuka temple at Abu represents the goddess sitting in padmāsana and carrying the same set of symbols as described above from Humcha etc. but Padmāvatī here shows only three snake-hoods overhead instead of five in some of the above-mentioned sculptures. Again, instead of the kukkūta-sarpa a mermaid is shown as the vāhana.

The Bhairava-Padmāvatī-kalpa, referred to below, omits the lotus and introduces the vārada mūtra instead in the above set of symbols as in a sculpture of Padmāvatī in the Jaina temple at Anatur in Karnatak (Fig. 125), while in a relief in the Badami Jaina cave (Fig. 142) Padmāvatī's right lower hand shows the ebhāya mūtra instead of the lotus. The Adbhuta-Padmāvatī-kalpa, composed by Śrī-Candra sūrī, pupil of Yaśobhadra Upādhyāya, says that the goddess rides on the swan, and shows the fruit, the vārada mūtra, the noose and the goad in her four hands (Figs. 46, 100). She is further addressed as terrific in appearance (bhairave, raudre), with blood-shot eyes (raudralocanihatare) and is also called Tārī. The saviouress impregnable, she drives out, by her fierce laughter, the fifty-two Kṣetrapālas, the eighty-four Cetakas, and the hosts of the Bhutas. She is vanquisher of the sixty-four Yoginis and is ever ready to dispose of such supernatural beings as Kāla, Vyāla, Vetāla, Kārála, Kārkāla, Bhūta, Preta, Piṣāca, Yaḵa, Rākṣasa, Gandharva, Kinnara, and Uragendra. The three cobra-heads hissing over her crown melt the pride of the wicked. Red in complexion, Padmāvatī removes all miseries and is, verily, the wish-giving Cintāmani-stone.

The Bhairava-Padmāvatī-kalpa of Mallīṣena gives the set of symbols in the following order: the noose, the fruit, the vārada and the goad. This order, according to the commentator Bandhusena, should commence with the left upper hand. According to Mallīṣena, Padmā is three-eyed, red in complexion, and resting on the lotus. Very probably, both Mallīṣena and Śrī-Candra, the author of Adbhuta-Padmāvatī-kalpa, refer to the same form, although the vāhana is different in the two cases.

This aspect of the goddess was popular since similar dhyānas are also obtained from the still unpublished Jaina Tantra work Vidyānuśsana, composed in c. 16th century a.d. According to this work, the goddess Padmāvatī is three-eyed and sits on a red-lotus. In her four hands she holds the symbols in the following order: the noose, the fruit, the vārada and the goad. Even though the text does not give the order of the hands it would be reasonable to suppose that it describes the same form as the one in the Bhairava-Padmāvatī-kalpa. According to another dhyāna given in the Vidyānuśsana, the goddess is called Kamalāvatī, red in complexion, sitting on a big (full-blown) red-lotus and riding on the kukkūta-sarpa. The lord of snakes adorns her crown. Symbols are given in the following order: the vārada, the goad, the noose and the divine fruit. Obviously the text describes the same form.

The unpublished Jina-Sambhāta of Bhaṭṭāraka Ekasamdhī (c. 11th or 12th cent. a.d.) describes the
same set of symbols in two consecutive verses. In the first, it is said that starting from the right lower hand, the goddess shows the varada mudrā, the goad, the noose and the fruit. The number of her eyes is not mentioned, and the goddess is called Padmāvati. In the second verse the same symbols are given and it is said in addition that the goddess Bhairava-Padmāvati has three eyes. It is evident that all these texts describe one and the same form. In this form the devi is variously addressed as Bhairava-Padmāvati, Kamalāvati and Padmāvati.

A figure of Padmāvati standing to the left of Pārśvanātha and showing the same set of symbols can be seen in Fig. 78 from Bhandara Basti, Śravaṇa Belagola, illustrated in this book. A sculpture of Padmāvati from the Jaina Basti, Lakkundi, Dharwar district, Karnataka, illustrates this variety (Fig. 100). The goddess sits with the left knee upright and carries the goad and the noose in the right and the left upper hands respectively while the corresponding lower hands show the varada mudrā and the fruit. The same form of yakṣa Padmāvati is seen on a sculpture of standing Pārśvanātha from Pārśvanātha Basadi, Rona, Dharwar district, on the figure of Pārśva in the set of 24 Jinas at Veṣur, and in a sculpture of standing Pārśva at Lakkundi. Another sculpture, from a pedestal lying in a Śvetāmbara temple, Cambay, illustrates the same variety of form. The devi has three snake-hoods overhead. The pedestal is dated in the year V.S. 1332. A third specimen is a bronze from Cambay giving the same form (Fig. 101). Here the kukkuta is also shown. A fourth example is a painting on folio 230 of the palm-leaf manuscript of Vivekamāṇjari in the Śāntinātha Bhagāra, Cambay. Here Padmāvati is painted red and wears a lower garment with red design.

A similar form in the Neminātha temple, Kumbharia, shows the rosary along with the varada mudrā in the right lower hand of the goddess. Padmāvati here has five snake-hoods over the head.

In the beautiful sculpture of standing Pārśva, illustrated as Fig. 46 in this book, yakṣi Padmāvati sitting in lalitāsana shows the same form. She has one snake-hood. The sculpture is a beautiful specimen of Chalukyan art of c. 12th century, preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

In a paper manuscript of Pārśvanāthacaritā at Patan (c. 15th-16th cent. A.D.), the devi, with three snake-hoods overhead, shows the goad and the noose in the right and the left upper hands respectively and the varadākṣa (rosary + varada mudrā) and the lotus in the corresponding lower ones. A kukkuta-sarpa is her vāhana.

A sculpture worshipped in a niche in the Navakhandā Pārśvanātha temple, Cambay, shows the goddess sitting in lalitāsana and carrying the noose and the goad in the right and the left upper hands, thus reversing the order of symbols of the above-mentioned figures. The right lower hand, held in the varada pose, also carries the rosary while the left lower one holds a fruit. The vāhana remains unchanged. The devi has five snake-hoods over the crown. Figure 101 in this book illustrates a small bronze image of Padmāvati sitting in the lalitāsana and having three snake-hoods over her head, and a kukkuta-sarpa below the left knee. The devi shows the same set of symbols as in the sculpture from Navakhandā Pārśva temple just described. The bronze is preserved in the Śītānātha temple, Cambay. Padmāvati, showing the same order of symbols but sitting in the padmāsana and having a kukkuta-sarpa as her vāhana, is shown as a yakṣi accompanying a big marble sculpture of Pārśvanātha in a Śvetāmbara Jaina temple at Patan, N. Gujarat. The right lower hand of the goddess is here held in the varada mudrā but does not carry the rosary.

On the door-lintel from Khajuraho, illustrated in Fig. 91 in this book, Padmāvati is shown as sitting in the lalitāsana with five snake-hoods held like an umbrella behind her head and a kukkuta-sarpa near the left leg. The devi carries the noose and the goad in the right and the left upper hands respectively and shows the varadā mudrā with the right lower hand. The left lower hand is unfortunately mutilated.

The Aparajitapṛchchā gives the following symbols for Padmāvati: they are the noose, the goad, the lotus and the varada mudrā. The goddess is red in complexion and rides on the kukkuta. The order of symbols is not specified.

A beautiful white marble sculpture of Padmāvati with an inscription dated in V.S. 1254 (A.D. 1197) is in worship in the Digambara Jaina temple, Idar, N. Gujarat. In her right and the left upper hands, the goddess, sitting in the lalitāsana on a kukkuta-sarpa, carries the goad and the noose respectively while
she shows the varada mudra and the lotus in the corresponding lower hands. A miniature figure of a Jina is shown sitting over the crest of the three snake-hoods while two more figures of Jina Pârśvanâtha are shown on two sides of the devil's head (Fig. 117).

The Adhbuta-Padmâvatt-kalpa gives a different form. Here she is white in complexion and is dressed in white garments. Śrî-Padmâ, resplendent with three snake-hoods over her head, rides on the white swan and rests on the lotus-seat. Four-armed, Śrî-Padmâ carries the lotus, the goad, the varada and the noose in her hands. The worshipper should meditate on this form in his heart.230

This form of Śrî Padmâ is similar to that of the Iḍâr sculpture described above as the kukkuta vahana is here replaced by the swan. The form offers an interesting comparison with the Buddhist goddess Durgottârini Târâ who shows the same set of symbols and rests on the lotus. The difference lies in the complexion only since the Buddhist goddess is green in colour. Besides, Durgottârini Târâ is not associated with snakes, but Jânguli, one of the four varieties of Green Târâ, is associated with snakes and is a well-known ancient deity connected with snake-charm.231 Thus this variety of Padmâvati is a mixture of Jânguli and Durgottârini Târâ. We have already seen before that in the Adhbuta-Padmâvatt-kalpa, Padmâ, addressed as Bhairavarâpâvatâre and âpâvâne hamsaprinâhâritâdhârī, is also invoked as Târâ and Târâvatâre.

A sculpture in black stone, probably from Karnata, preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, illustrated as Fig. 110 in this book, discussed before, would follow this tradition of Aparajitapronga and the Adhbuta-Padmâvatt-kalpa describing Śrî-Padmâ, if the mutilated left lower hand had shown the varada mudra.

A manuscript entitled Padmâvatt-Pûjâ232 gives her red complexion and a lotus-seat. Padmâvatt here shows the noose, the goad, the abhaya mudra and the fruit in her hands. A sculpture of Padmâvatt sitting in padmâsana on a lotus-seat, in worship in the Chandragupta Basti, Sravana Belagola, follows this tradition. The sculpture dates from c. 12th cent. A.D.

T.N. Ramachandran illustrated a bronze image of Padmâvatt of this variety of form.233 Upon a lotus-seat the devi sits with her right foot hanging. She carries the goad and the noose in her right and left upper hands respectively and shows the abhaya mudra and the fruit with the corresponding lower ones. The kukkuta vehicle is shown below her right foot. The goddess has only two eyes in this figure instead of three enjoined by the Padmâvatt-Pûjâ manuscript.

The variety of form noted by this ms. of Padmâvatt-Pûjâ appears to represent an old tradition as the Jaina cave at Badami has a relief of Padmâvatti representing this form. This is referred to before. The relief dates from c. 10th century A.D.234 Two palm-leaf miniatures in the Digambara Jaina Bhandâra at Mudabidri also illustrate this variety of form of four-armed Padmâvatt. The miniatures are assigned to c. 12th century A.D. (Panorama of Jaina Art, op. cit., figs. 392, 394).

Sankalia has discussed a sculpture of Padmâvatt preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum (Mu. no. 130).235 The devi here sits in the lalitâsana and has a single-hooded cobra overhead. She carries the goad and the noose in the right and the left upper hands respectively while showing the varada mudra and the snake with the corresponding lower ones. A kukkuta figures as her vahana (Fig. 124). An image of this variety, showing Padmâvatti sitting in the padmâsana, also figures as a yakṣi on a sculpture of Pârśvanâtha in a Śvet temple at Patan.

A Padmâvatt-stotra refers to the three eyes and three snake-hoods over the head of this goddess who carries the noose, the goad, the snake and the fruit in her four hands.236 The same text gives another form in a different verse according to which Padmâvatt holds the vajra, the goad, the noose and the lotus in her four hands. Her pleasing countenance is said to be especially noteworthy.237

The Padmâvatti-mantrâmâyavidhi says that the worshipper should meditate upon the goddess who is four-armed and shows the abhaya, the varada, the noose and the goad in her hands. The form of the goddess is invoked for various rites like the vairiya, vidveṣa, ksobha, śântika and paushiṣṭika.238

In a Râśimândala-Pâta appears the figure of Padmâvatti illustrating this variety. The devi is reddish-yellow with three snake-hoods over her head and the cock as her vehicle. She holds the goad and the
noose in the right and the left upper hands respectively and shows the varada and the abhaya mudrās with the corresponding lower hands.239

The symbols and complexion of this form of Padmāvatt agree with those of the Brahmanical goddess Mitrā worshipped in the Śrī-Cakra and described in the Sarabha Tantra.240 These symbols also agree with those of the Brahmanical goddess Tripurā,241 one of the twelve forms of Durgā. Bhuvanes-varī also shows similar symbols.242

In the yantra of Mantrādhirāja, the devī is to be placed on the left of Pārśvanātha and her colour should be as black as collyrium; she should have three snake-hoods over her head and should ride on the kukkuṭa.243 Snakes as ornaments should adorn her body. The text here does not give the symbols held by Padmāvatt. But earlier in the work, while describing the forms of the 24 yakṣinis to be drawn in the fifth valaya (circle) of this great Tantric diagram, namely, the Mantrādhirāja-Pata, the author gives the symbols of Padmāvati. Here she is said to be of golden complexion and riding on the kukkuṭa-sarpa. Her crown is adorned with three snake-hoods. Queen of the king of snakes, Padmāvatt shows the noose and the lotus in her right hands and the fruit and the goad in the left ones.244 This form agrees with the form given in Trisāṣṭi, Ācāra-Dinakara, etc.

The Sahasra-phaṇā-Pārvanātha-Pata, published in Jaina Citra kalpadruma, vol. 1, shows a figure of Padmāvatt standing to the left of Pārvanātha, the central deity. She is four-armed and carries, in the two upper hands, the goad and the noose, while her two lower hands are clasped against the chest in aṭṭali mudrā in adoration of her master Pārvanātha.245

A bronze figure from the Kokā-Pārvanātha temple, Patan, may be identified with this form of Padmāvatt. The goddess has her two lower hands folded against the breasts in aṭṭali mudrā. The symbols of the two upper hands, partly mutilated, can still be identified as the goad and the noose. Three snake-hoods are spread over her head. Though late the form seems to have been popular in Jaina worship.

W. Norman Brown has published a miniature painting, from a Kalpa-Sūtra manuscript, showing Pārvatsa’s austerities.246 The Jina is in the centre while Dharana and Padmāvatt stand on his right and the left respectively. Here two hands of Padmāvatt are folded while the other two are empty. The kukkuṭa is shown as her vāhana.

In a Jaina temple in Bhiloḍā, Sābarakānāhā district, N. Gujarat, is worshipped a metal image of Padmāvati seated in padmāsana with nine snake-hoods spread over her head surmounted by a miniature figure of Pārvanātha. Two snake-goddesses with snake-hoods overhead flank the central devī as attendants. The goddess carries the goad and the noose in the right and left upper hands, the rosary (?) appears in the right lower hand while the water-jar is shown in her left lower hand. The kukkuṭa-sarpa is her vāhana.

Another variety of form is shown by a sculpture from Patan (Fig. 140). Here the devi sits in padmāsana and carries the same symbols except the pot in the left lower hand (of the Bhiloḍā image) which is here replaced by the varada mudrā. The goddess has five snake-hoods over her crown.

In the drawing published by Burgess,247 Padmāvatt sits in the lalitāsana and has the kukkuṭa-sarpa as the vāhana. Over the crown are seen five snake-hoods. In the two upper hands she holds the goad and the noose, the right lower hand is held in the abhaya mudrā while the left lower hand seems to signify the kataka pose.

One of the earliest varieties of four-armed images of Padmāvati is found at Devgadh. On a pillar near the Western Gate of the Devgadh fort is a beautiful representation of the goddess sitting in lalitāsana on a big lotus with a thick stalk; on two sides of the stalk below the lotus-seat are two circular volutes of lotus-stalks. The devi carries lotuses with long stalks in her two upper hands (Fig. 141). Her right lower hand is held in the varada mudrā while the left lower hand holds a pitcher—a kumbha of nectar and knowledge. Over the big chignon on the head of the devi are spread like an umbrella five snake-hoods signifying her role as a Nāga-queen. On top is a miniature figure of Pārvanātha seated in padmāsana. The sculpture dates from late ninth or early tenth century A.D. A very similar sculpture, perhaps from the
wall of a Jaina temple, is preserved at Sironi, Jhansi district, U.P. and dates from the same age. The only difference between the two sculptures is that the devi has three snake-hoods overhead at Sironi.

Perhaps a little earlier in age is a beautifully carved elaborate sculpture of Padmāvatī from Mahoba preserved in the Lucknow Museum (Mu. No. G.316). There are five snake-hoods held like an umbrella over her head. On top is a seated figure of Pārśvanātha with two small attendant cāmaradhāras. On two sides of the head of the devi are two female garland-bearing attendants standing on lotuses while below on two sides of her legs are standing two female cāmaradhāras. The devi sits in lalitāsana on a big lotus with her right foot hanging on two sides of which are worshipping, with folded hands, two male devotees who are perhaps the donors of the image. In her two upper hands the devi holds lotuses with long stalks and with the left lower hand a pūrna-kumbha. Her right lower hand is unfortunately mutilated (fig. 143). Perhaps this beautiful sculpture of the goddess was installed in a separate niche in a Digambara Jaina temple.

An inscribed pedestal (?) of c. ninth century A.D. from Tripuri (Tewar), M.P., shows Padmāvatī sitting in padmāsana in the centre with a goddess on each side in separate compartments (JAA, vol. 1, pl. 98A, p. 169). The goddess holds lotuses in two upper hands and shows the abhaya and the water-pot (kalaśā) in the right and the left lower hands respectively.

Of c. 862 A.D. is the sculpture of standing Padmāvatī from the set of 24 yakṣiṇīs on the walls of Temple no. 12, Devgadh. The devi holds a lotus with a stalk and a board-like thing (book ?) in her right and the left upper hands and shows the varada mudra and the kalaśā (water-jar, pot) with the corresponding lower ones.

A closely allied iconographic variety of four-armed Padmāvatī is also found in the Śvetāmbara tradition. A miniature in a palm-leaf manuscript of Pāṇḍavacaritra (c. 13th cent. A.D.), preserved in the Śāntinātha Bhagārā, Cambay, represents the goddess as carrying the lotus in each of the two upper hands and the water-jar (kalaśā) in the left lower one. Her right lower hand, held against the chest, holds a fruit in the open palm. The devi is white in complexion, wears a white lower garment and has three snake-hoods overhead. On one side is seen the kukkuta-sarpa with a rosary in its beak. Only the head and the neck are visible.

A figure of later origin, from the pedestal of a sculpture of Pārśvanātha, in the Pañcāsara Pārśvanātha temple, Patan, represents another stage in the evolution of iconography of Padmāvatī. The devi holds the lotuses in her two upper hands, the noose in the right lower and the goad in the left lower hand. A kukkuta-sarpa is her vāhana. The form, although not very popular, shows nevertheless a combination of two distinct types of sculptures of four-armed Padmāvatī. The first and probably the earlier type has the lotuses as the chief distinguishing symbols of Padmāvatī (lit. the goddess with the lotus). The second type, probably later in chronological order, mainly showed the goad and the noose in her two hands.

Another such combination, described below, dating at least from the eleventh century A.D., was popular amongst the Digambaras of the south since authors like Vasmāndi, Āśādhara and Nemicandra describe this particular form of the deity. In this form the goddess shows the goad, the rosary, the lotus and the varada mudra in her four hands. Brahmasūrya also gives the same symbols and adds that the goddess has, in this form, three snake-hoods over the crown, sits on the lotus and is red like the evening clouds.

A late metal image of Padmāvatī from a temple in Cambay shows the devi sitting in lalitāsana. She has nine snake-hoods over her head and carries the lotus in her right upper hand, the goad in the left upper, the snake in the right lower and a conch-like object in the left lower hands. The kukkuta-sarpa is her vāhana.

A peculiar variety of four-armed form is noteworthy since the symbols are entirely different from those of the rest. T.N. Ramachandran has given a form of Padmāvatī from the popular Canarese Dhyāna-blokas recited by temple priests in South India. According to this tradition, the goddess sits in lalitāsana and holds the axe and the thunderbolt (vastra) in the two upper hands while the abhaya and the
**kātaka mudrās** are shown by the two lower ones. The goddess has five snake-hoods overhead and rides on the swan (*hamsa*).253

In the Father Heras Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, is a mutilated sculpture where yaksi Padmāvati shows the axe and the noose in her right and the left upper hands and the *varada mudrā* and the citron with the corresponding lower ones. The sculpture hails probably from Karnataka.

In the Paśca Basadi, Stavanidhi, in Chikkodi taluq, Belgaum district, Karnataka, is a sculpture of Pārīvānātha standing with Dharaṇendra sitting on his right and Padmāvati on his left. The devi has one snake-hood and shows the sword and the shield in her right and the left upper hands respectively and the lotus and the citron in the corresponding lower ones.

**Special Forms of Padmāvati (Four-Armed Variety continued)**

Mallīśeṇa says that Padmāvati is known by six other names, namely, Totalā, Tvaritā, Nityā, Tripurā, Kāmasādhini, and Tripura-Bhairavi.

In addition to these six special forms there exists one more special form, known as Bhairava-Padmāvati which latter is already described earlier along with other forms of the goddess. Forms which are worshipped under special names that do not include the title Padmāvati although they are forms of the goddess Padmāvati, such as the six noted above, are here treated as the special forms of Padmāvati.254 The Vidyānuṣāsana gives a full description of all these six forms. Out of these six mentioned above, the first four are four-armed, and the next two are eight-armed. These are described below.

1. **Totalā**

   Totalā has four hands showing the noose, the *rajra*, the fruit and the lotus. The colour and the vāhana are not specified in the work: very probably, she is like the principal deity, red in colour, riding on the *kukkuṭa-sarpa*.255

2. **Tvaritā**

   Tvaritā is red in complexion and shows the conch, the lotus, the *abhaya* and the *varada* in her four hands. The vāhana is not specified.256

3. **Nityā**

   Nityā has the noose, the goad, the lotus and the rosary, in her four hands, and rides the swan. She is red in complexion and shines with a halo of flames behind her head.257

4. **Kāmasādhini**

   Kāmasādhini is red like the bandhūka flower and rides on the *kukkuṭa-sarpa*. In her four hands she carries the conch, the disc, the fruit and the lotus.258

**C. Eight-Armed Variety**

5. **Tripurā**

   The complexion of Tripurā is red like saffron and she is eight-armed. She carries the trident, the disc, the goad, the lotus, the bow, the arrow, the fruit and the goad, in her eight hands.256

   A beautiful eight-armed form of Padmāvati (as Tripurā) is available in the vedibandha niche on south, in the Jaina temple at Jhalrāpatan (Jhalawar, Rajasthan), dating from c. 11th cent. A.D. The
Four More Popular Yakṣinis

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goddess, in lalitāsana, shows the lotus, the sword, the vajra and the varada in her right hands and the lotus, the shield, the ghanta (bell) and the fruit in the left ones (fig. 111). An eight-armed form of the goddess exists in the Barabhuji cave, Khandagiri, Orissa, but symbols are indistinct. 360

6. Tripura-Bhairavi

As Tripura-Bhairavi, Padmāvatī is three-eyed and eight-armed and shines like the Indragopa-flower. She carries the conch, the disc, the bow, the arrow, the sword, the shield, the lotus and the fruit in her hands. 361

D. Six-Armed Variety

Vasundhari, Āśādhara and Nemicandra refer also to a six-armed form. This shows the popularity the goddess enjoyed in the Jaina Pantheon, in the ages in which these authors lived. According to Vasundhari, she holds the noose, the spear, the sword, the crescent, the club and the pestle (mūsala) in her six hands. 362 The other two authors merely say that the goddess holds the symbols beginning with pāśa. According to Nemicandra, Padmāvattī, when invoked in this form, gives victory over the enemy.

E. Twelve-Armed Variety

No specific dhyanas for this form are available. But, a beautiful figure on a pillar in the courtyard of temple no.12 in the Devgadh Fort can safely be identified as Padmāvattī with the twelve arms (fig. 197).

Adorned with five snake-hoods over the crown, the goddess sits on a bhadraśāna with her right foot hanging. The figure shows the club, the bow, the lotus, the arrow, the sword (?) and varada mūdra in six hands on the right. In her left hands are seen the vajra, the snake, the noose, the bow, and the fruit. The kukkujata-sarpa is here very artistically represented.

A sculpture of 12-armed Padmāvattī seated in padmasana illustrated in fig. 174 is from the Thakur Sahib collection, Shahdol. The goddess shows the varada mūdra, the sword, the axe, the arrow, the snake, the vajra, the disc, the shield, the mace, the goad, the bow and the lotus in her twelve hands. 363

At Sohegpur in the Bilaspur district, M.P., are found loose images lying near the palace of the local Thakur. One of these is a rare image of Padmāvattī with twelve arms with a small figure of Pārśvanātha over her head. In her right hands she shows the wheel, the thunderbolt, the battle axe, the sword, the arrow and the varada while the bow, the goad, the noose, the mace and the lotus are carried in the left ones. The sixth left hand is unfortunately broken. 364

Maruti Nandan Prasad has identified a sixteen-armed devi as Padmāvattī in the ceiling in front of cell 41 at Vimala Vasahi. I believe the goddess there is Vairotyā and not Padmāvattī.

F. Twenty-two-Armed Variety

The Padmāvattī-stotra 365 gives separate verses for the worship of the symbols held by Padmāvattī; they are worshipped in the following order: first pair—the vajra in the right and the goad in the left hands, the second pair—the lotus in the right and the disc in the left, similarly, the chaṭra in the right and the damaru in the left, the bowl (kapāla) in the right and the sword in the left, the bow in the right and the pestle in the left, the plough in the right and the flame of fire in the left, the bhūndimaṇḍala in the right and the cluster of stars (tarāmāndala) in the left, the trident in the right and the axe in the left, the cobra in the right and the club in the left, the staff in the right and the noose in the left and lastly, the stone in the right and the big tree in the left hands. A twenty-two-armed figure of Padmāvattī can thus be reasonably expected, although as far as is known no sculpture has yet been discovered which answers to the above description.
G. Twenty-four-Armed Variety

The Pratiṣṭhāsārasanghrahā of Vasunandi gives a form with twenty-four arms showing the following weapons and mudrās, they are: the conch, the sword, the disc, the crescent, the lotus, the stone (upala), the bow, the śakti, the noose, the goad, the bell, the arrow, the pestle, the shield, the trident, the axe, the spear, the vajra, the rosary, the fruit, the club, the leaf, the stalk and the varada mudrā.286

Āśādhaśara287 and Nemicandra288 also refer to the twenty-four-armed form but do not give all the symbols. They, however, add that the form is invoked for benefic as well as malefic rites. The form was certainly popular as it is referred to by three chief Digambara writers.

H. Multi-Armed Variety

According to a verse in the Padmāvati-stotra289 the goddess carries swords, bows, arrows, pestles, ploughs, vajras, nārācas, discs, śaktis, śalyas, tridents, axes, clubs, staves, nooses, stones, trees, and such innumerable divine weapons in her hands. The goddess is said to destroy the wicked in this form. A form like this is yet to be discovered in sculptures or in paintings.

The Guṇḍapura inscription of Kadamba Ravivarman (Epigraphia Carnatica, vol. VII, S.K.176) refers to a gift of a village (?) Makundi made to the Kāmādevālaya at Hakinipalli and the temple of goddess Padmāvati (Padmāvatayālaya) at Kallili. The record is supposed to date from early sixth century A.D. Ravivarman is said to have built an abode (veṭma) for Mannathā (Kūna, the god of love). The boundaries given suggest that this temple was near the palace complex. B.R. Gopal,270 discussing the inscription, has suggested that the temple was dedicated to Bāhubali as Bāhubali is one of the Kāmadevas in (later) Jaina texts. The inscription has also called it Kūna-Jinālaya. G.S. Gai disputes the reading of Kāma-Jinālaya (SJH, 4.2 (1973), pp. 301-303).

A. Sundara,271 discussing this, has suggested that this may have reference to Kāmadeva or Cupid, the god of love. In that case the Kāmadevālaya may or may not be a Jaina temple. If so, the reference to the shrine of Padmāvati might not have been a reference to the Jaina goddess Padmāvati in view of the fact that a goddess Padmā or Padmini is known to ancient literature and art.272

It is interesting to note here that Jinasena (783 A.D.), in his Harivamśapurāṇa, sarga 29, verses 1-5, shows that one Kāmadatta installed in (front of) the Jaina temple at Śravasti images of Kāmadeva and Rati in order to attract people to the Jaina temple. It seems that images of Kāmadeva and Rati used to be installed in Jaina temples.273

About the cult of Padmāvati in South India, P.B. Desai writes: “Among the secondary deities of the Jaina pantheon chosen for individual adoration as an independent goddess, Padmāvati, the Yakkṣī of Parvaṇatha, stands foremost, being the most popular and widely invoked goddess in Karnataka. Though her cult might date from an earlier age, she frequently figures in the epigraphical sources roughly from the period of the tenth century A.D. . . . Śilāhāras and Rattas, and many a high official of the state, of the Jaina persuasion, became votaries of this goddess and took pride in styling themselves the favourite devotees of the deity, having adopted the title Padmāvatīdevīśahāva-vara-prasāda in their prasasti . . . A well-known early instance of a family of subordinate chiefs who adopted Padmāvati as their tutelary goddess, are the Śāntāras.274 . . . Jinadatta, a prince of a ruling family of North India, came to the south with an image of Padmāvati. The goddess blessed him with the power of transmuting iron into gold, and through her grace he founded the town of Pombuchchapura which became the capital of his kingdom. The goddess, it seems, chose her residence in a Loḍī tree of the locality and therefore, came to be called Lokkiyabbe. These events may be referred to the 9th century A.D., though the epigraphs describing them are dated in the 11th-12th century A.D.”275

P.B. Desai also states: “As Padmāvati figures in the story of the foundation of the Ganga kingdom through Simhanandi, the cult of Padmāvati, it may appear, dates from the 2nd century A.D. But this position is misleading because the inscriptions giving this account are dated in the 12th century A.D. which was the period when the cult was in the ascendancy. Compare Ep. Carn., vol. VII, sh. 4.”276
In this context it is important to note that Jātāsimhanandī (c. sixth century A.D.) in his Varāṅgacarita does not refer to Śāsanadevaṭās (including Padmāvatī Yakṣī) even when he had scope to do so in canto 2.276a

Padmāvatī enjoyed a unique position in Jaina ritualistic literature, especially in the Jaina tantra. Mallīṣaṇa (c. 12th century A.D.) wrote a special text called the Bhairava-Padmāvatī kalpa, discussing all the rites connected with Padmāvatī, namely, stambha, vaśya, akarsana, nimitta-ĝhāna, gurudra-tantra, and so on. Adbhuta-Padmāvatī-kalpa was composed by a Śvetāmbara writer Śri-Candra sūrya (c. 12th century A.D.). Indranandi, an earlier Digambara writer, composed a Padmāvatī-pūjaṇam while a number of texts of uncertain authorship like the Raktā-Padmāvatī-kalpa, the Padmāvatī-mantrākṣiśa-vidhi, the Padmāvatī-Poṇa-Kramaṇa, the Padmāvatī-vratotyāpana, the Padmāvatī-stotra, the Padmāvatī-sahasra-nāma-stotra, etc., are also available.277 A Padmāvatī-aṣṭaka has been commented upon by the Śvetāmbara scholar Pārśva-deva gaṇa, and his commentary gives details of various tantric rites.278 Jina-prabha sūrya composed a Padmāvatī-catuṣpadikā,279 and writers like Āśādhara, Nemicandra and Vasuṇandi expressly mention that the six-armed form is meant for both propitiatory and cruel rites.

Padmāvatī has a big parivāra or group of attendants and companion deities. The Adbhuta-Padmāvatī-kalpa gives the following twenty-four companions of the goddess to be worshipped in the mandala: Jayā, Vijayā, Jayantī, Aparajitī, Manda, Bhadrā, Rudrā, Karālikā, Yogini, Śiva, Nandā, Amālā, Kamalā, Padmā, Mahāyogini, Suṇyatrā, Surēpā, Citarū, Viyutā, Parā, Jambhā, Stambhā, Dambhā, Mohā, Siddhā. The text also refers to four-thousand bodyguards of the devī and five-hundred cetis or slave-girls. The following eight daitikas are also worshipped in rites consecrated to Padmāvatī and writers like Indranandi, Mallīṣaṇa, and the author of Vidyānusāsana mention them. They are Padmagnāṇḍī, Padmavaktrā or Padmāṣṭa, Padmakamalā or Anangakamalā, Madanonmadī, Kāmoddepiṇī, Padmavaraṇa and Tāṇtikamahini. Six more are usually found in diagrams of the vaśya rites, and seem to be her attending goddesses. They are named as Nityā, Klinnā, Madā, Dravā, Madanā, and Unmadā. The famous Padmāvatī-aṣṭaka also expressly refers to the parīṣṭa of Padmāvatī including Bhṛgū, Kāli, Karūṭi, Čaḍī and Čaṇuṇḍī. Besides these, Jayā, Vijayā, Ajiṭā, Aparajitā, Jambhā. Mohā, Stambhā and Stambhini are almost invariably worshipped in the yantra of Padmāvatī. According to Pārśva-deva gaṇa's vādi on the Padmāvatisaṭaka, the goddess has the surprising total of 48,000 attendant deities.

Padmāvatī, according to Rūpamāṇḍana,280 is one of the four principal yakṣīs of the Jaina pantheon, the other three being Ambikā, Cakreśvarī and Siddhāyaśikā. This is corroborated by the discovery of a large variety of images of the goddess found all over India. If proper search is made many more images besides these are likely to be discovered. A figure of Padmāvatī has been found at Dorānsudra (Halebid) in the Pārśvanātha Basti. The goddess is standing with a three-headed cobra over the head and showing the goad, the noose and the fruit in her three hands, the weapon in the fourth being mutilated. Another figure of the goddess has been noticed by B.C. Bhattacharya in the Gwalior fort, Eastern roof, but unfortunately, he has not described it.281 Metal images of the goddess are also very common in the Śvetāmbara and Digambara temples. Of the earlier images, the testimony comes from the Vīvīdha-tīrtha-kalpa, which refers to an image of Pārśva with Dharana and Padmāvatī, standing at Ahicekatrā, the scene of Pārśva's austerities. According to the same text, images of Padmāvatī were also installed at Śaṅkhapura, Dhimpara, Cambay, the ancient Śripura, and the Amarakaṇḍa in the Andhra-ḍesa.282

Padmāvatī was originally a companion of Dharanaḍra who rescued Pārśvanātha and she grew subsequently into a powerful yakṣī and a powerful tantric deity, and surpassed the other snake-goddess Vairoṭyā.

But in the earliest lists of Dharanḍra's chief queens Padmāvatī is conspicuous by her absence: the Bhagavatī Sūtra gives the names of Ḥī, Śukrā, Sodārā (?) Satārā), Śaṅkāmāni, Indrā, and Ghanavīdaṭā as the six chief queens of Dharanḍra.283 The Śhāṃnanga Sūtra follows the same tradition.284 Earlier writers like Baprabhaṭṭi and Śobhana, while offering worship to Ambikā, the Vidyādevis, and the Śrutadevaṭa, omit Padmāvatī. Vairoṭyā is invoked by both of them while Baprabhaṭṭi dedicates a verse to Dharanapattā-muhīti285 a word by which Vairoṭyā is evidently meant, since Dhanapāla, commenting upon the title Ahiṇḍrīyapāṭiṇī used by Śobhana explains it as referring to Vairoṭyā and not Padmāvatī.286
Archaeological evidence also supports the conclusions drawn above. In earlier images of Pārśvanātha dating from periods earlier than the ninth century, it is Ambikā, and not Padmāvatī, who is the yakṣī accompanying Pārśvanātha (cf. figs. from Dhank, Rohtak etc.). The most notable example of this tradition is supplied by the group of Jaina caves at Ellora, all of which date roughly between the eighth and the tenth centuries A.D. Here there is no sculpture of Padmāvatī as yakṣī even though quite a large number of figures of the yakṣī Ambikā and also representations of the scene of Pārśvanātha’s austerities and the attack of Kāmatha are found in these caves. However, only one separate figure of a standing Padmāvatī is found carved on one side of the doors leading to the upper floors of the cave adjoining the Jagannatha Sabha and is perhaps a later addition without plan. An eight-armed form was intended. All the symbols are not clear, but the lotus, the bow and the arrow can be recognised. In fact Pārśva and Gommata are the most popular figures in these as well as the other Jaina caves like those of Badāmi and Aihole. The only yakṣa and yakṣī met with are the common type of the Kubera-like yakṣa and Ambikā who were unfortunately miscalled Indra and Indrāṇī. In fact, these represented the earlier examples of yakṣa and yakṣī pair in the Jaina Pantheon.

Once Padmāvatī was introduced in Jainism, she tried to usurp with success the place of the only important snake-goddess in early Jainism, namely, Vairotyā. That Vairotyā was popular is shown by the fact that both Bappabhaṭṭi and Sobhana invoked her in their works. Besides, the Jaina traditions associate Vairotyā with Arya Nāgīla Sūri who flourished in the early centuries of the Christian era. While the Vimala Vasahi at Abu as well as the Kumbhārīya temples contain a large number of sculptures of Vairotyā of different iconographic varieties, Padmāvatī is practically absent or thrown into backgrounds which fact clearly shows that at least in the eleventh century A.D., Vairotyā remained more popular amongst Jainas of Western India. Such a goddess as Padmāvatī could never have been underrated by Vimala Saha, Tejapāla and others had she obtained, in the age of Vimala Saha, the status which she now holds in Jaina worship. But Padmāvatī seems to have been more popular in other parts of India since 8th-9th centuries A.D.

Padmāvatī offers interesting comparison with snake deities of Hindu and Buddhist pantheons. Manasā, the popular snake-goddess in Bengali folklore and worship, is always represented with snake-threads over the crown, and with a huge snake as vāhana. Figures of Manasā, however, usually show a child in the lap or on one side, and two snakes in her two hands. There are other forms also, with the swan as the vehicle and showing the book, rosary, vānada and pot. In this form Manasā is similar to Sarasvatī. But the literature on Manasā only shows the unsettled nature of her origin as well as iconography. Some scholars suggest that Manasā has an affinity with the Buddhist snake-goddess Jānguli, who “appears to have been the divinity of the aboriginal tribes of India.”

Others are of opinion “that the goddess Mancha of the Dravidians has obtained in Bengal the semi-Sanskritized name of Manasā”. Still others have shown that the Manasā cult first obtained a footing in Aryanised Bengal in the 10th-11th century. The attempts to identify Manasā with Jāratkūra of Mahābhārata have proved less convincing, and the subject still remains a controversial one. The account of Manasā however shows certain outstanding facts: firstly, her enmity with the famous Brahmanical goddess Candi, and secondly, her origin from the lotus wherefrom she derived her name Padmā. She was called Manasā as she was born from Śiva’s mind. Taking into consideration these two main facts, her origin should be sought from the (non-Brahmin and) Jaina snake-goddess Padmāvatī who had already become popular in the 10th century A.D. Both have snake-threads over their heads and both have a snake as the vāhana. Besides, the antipathy between the followers of the Jaina and the Brahmanical traditions is well-known. The story of Manasā is possibly reminiscent of the struggle for supremacy and popularity as the most powerful goddess between Padmāvatī and Candi. The former became victorious and was introduced into the Brahmanical worship although in a somewhat modified form.

It is of interest to note that the Jaina texts emphasise Padmāvatī’s association with padma or the lotus. She is called variously as Padmā, Padmahastā, Padnasamsthā, Padma-kaṭiṇī, Padmavadanā, and Kamalāvati which shows that the goddess originally perhaps held the lotus symbol only, and that the form
with the goad and the noose was a later development. Archaeological evidence referred to previously also points to the same conclusion.

The lotus again is the chief recognition symbol of the Buddhist Tārās, and here again Padmāvatī offers an interesting comparison. One of the forms of Padmāvatī is almost identical with that of Durgottārini Tārā. Again, Viśvamātā, a variety of white Tārā, actually rides on a snake, while the Buddhist snake-goddess Jānguli, who sits on the snake-vehicle, is also a variety of Tārā. The four-armed Pāminī-devi (Padminī-devi) described in the Jaina text Karakaṇḍa-cariu, holding the book and the lotus amongst other symbols, finds another Buddhist parallel in the Dhananda Tārā.

Jaina Tantras also identify her with Tārā on the one hand and Durgā and Gaurī on the other. Śrī-Candra sūri in his Adbhuta-Padmāvatī-Kalpa calls her Cāndi, Tārā, Tārāvatūrī and Durgā, thus suggesting some sort of relationship amongst them. In another place, the same author eulogises the goddess as Padmāvatī of the Jainas, Gaurī of the Śāivites, Tārā of the Buddhists, Prakṛti of the Sāmkhyas, Gāyatī of the Bhaṭṭamārgīs and Vajrā of the Kaulikas. According to the author, she is found everywhere in every religion and every cult, even the whole universe is pervaded by her. The same idea is repeated in the Padmāvatī-Śotra where she is named Tripura.

It is thus possible that Padmāvatī originated from the conception of the Buddhist Tārā. The earliest texts like the Bhagavati and Sthānāṅgā do not mention her in the lists of chief queens of Dharanendra. Padmāvatī with the lotus symbol is only a later innovation in the mythology of Pāṇāvāntā. In the scenes of Kamaṭha’s attack at Ellora and other places she (Padmāvatī) is not known and the queen of Dharanendra, holding the umbrella, is called Padmāvatī (in the preceding descriptions of such relics) for the sake of convenience only. In all early sculptures, at least up to the beginning of the ninth century A.D., Padmāvatī did not figure as the Yaksīṇī of Pāṇāvāntā, but it was Ambikā who figured as the Yaksīṇī for all Tirthāṅkaras. With this it must be remembered that both Padmāvatī and Tārā are chiefly associated with the lotus.

Padmāvatī and Jānguli are remarkably alike. The Buddhist snake-goddess Jānguli is a variety of Tārā. She resides on the snake and has a snake over her crown. Now, Jānguli, according to (later) Buddhist traditions, is “as old as Buddha himself” which suggests that she existed in ancient Indian popular worship in the age of Buddha and Mahāvīra, or that a prototype of her with any other name certainly did exist.

It is always difficult to ascertain the correct age of introduction of a god or goddess in any pantheon, since the presence of the deity is generally noted in the texts much later when the deity is already popular with the laity.

As noted above, Jaina texts address Padmāvatī as Durgā and Gaurī and say that she herself is Tripurā. This is borne out by the fact that the symbols of Tripurā given in the Rūpamāṇḍana exactly correspond to those of Padmāvatī described in the Padmāvatī-matrāmāya-vidhi. Both show the abhaya, the varaḍa, the noose and the goad. Tripurā in the Brahmanical pantheon is only one of the forms of Gaurī. Moreover, deities like Jāyā, Vijaya, Ajitā, Aparajita—the doorkeepers associated with Padmāvatī and the deities Mohini and Stambhini, who find a place in the Yantras of Padmāvatī, are also included in the lists of prathamāras of the Brahmanical Gaurī. The lotus is also one of the most common symbols of Gaurī and is seen in the hands of Uma, Gaurī and Sāvitrī. But Padmāvatī does not seem to have been directly borrowed from Gaurī although one or more forms may be found to possess similarity in symbols.

The source of Tārā, Padmāvatī and Gaurī—the three well-known goddesses of the principal Indian sects—should be searched elsewhere, when it is known that Jain writers regard them as all forms of one and the same deity. And the nearest approach to them is the ancient goddess Padmā-Śrī, so thoroughly discussed by Coomaraswamy and Motilal in the lotus symbol was primarily associated with the goddess of wealth and beauty—Lakṣmī or Padmā-Śrī. The Jaina Padmāvatī is a mixture of two cults—one of Sirima Devatā and the Nāga cult of the ancient Magadha where Jainism had its origin. That Padmā-Śrī or the Padminī Vidyā is the source of these three goddesses is evident from the following passage, from Bhārata, first pointed by J.N. Bancerji:
In Hindu traditions Padmāvatī is also referred to as Śakti of Śiva where she is also associated with the snakes, cf.:

मायाभवेश्वरम् विभा करियो न वर्णयो वर्षकाताम्।
मालाकुम्भाक्रियो जनार्द्धुहा पर्यं
सर्वं श्रवणं ममार्थुक्कुत्तमवपाठवो विस्तये॥
—Mārkaṇḍeśa Purāṇa, chp. 86

Iconographic Tables of Forms of Padmāvatī

### A. Two-Armed Variety

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Hoods</th>
<th>Vāhana</th>
<th>Tradition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>holding chara over Pārśva</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>both hands folded</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>1 or 3 or 5</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Dig. &amp; Śve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>r. h. lotus</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l. h. on lap (kaṭhasila)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>snake mermaid</td>
<td>Śve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>r. h. lotus</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l. h. cup with sweets</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>kukkuṭa-sarpa</td>
<td>Śve.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>r. abhaya</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l. lotus</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>r. snake</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>snake mermaid</td>
<td>Śve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l. fruit</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>kukkuṭa-sarpa</td>
<td>Śve.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>r. lotus</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l. mace</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>rosary + vyākhyāna mudrā in one hand, water-jar in the other</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>varaḍa, lotus</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>fruit, flower</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### B. Four-Armed Variety

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Hoods</th>
<th>Vāhana</th>
<th>Tradition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>r. u. noose</td>
<td>l. u. goad</td>
<td>golden or</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>k.-sarpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. l. lotus</td>
<td>l. l. citron</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>r. u. goad</td>
<td>l. u. noose</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>1, 3, or 5</td>
<td>k.-sarpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. l. lotus</td>
<td>l. l. citron</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>r. u. goad</td>
<td>l. u. noose</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>1 or 3</td>
<td>k.-sarpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. l. varaḍa</td>
<td>l. l. citron</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>r. u. goad</td>
<td>l. u. noose</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>1 or 7</td>
<td>kukkuṭa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. l. abhaya</td>
<td>l. l. citron</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>same as 4</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>swan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>r. u. goad</td>
<td>l. u. noose</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>swan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. l. varaḍa</td>
<td>l. l. citron</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>same as 6</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>1, 3, or 5</td>
<td>k.-sarpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l. lotus seat</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Symbols</td>
<td>Colour</td>
<td>Hoods</td>
<td>Vähana</td>
<td>Tradition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
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<td>-------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. u. goad l. u. noose</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>k.-sarpa</td>
<td>Śve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>l. l. varadāka l. l. fruit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>r. u. noose l. u. goad</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>3 or 5</td>
<td>k.-sarpa</td>
<td>Śve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l. l. fruit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>r. u. noose l. u. goad</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>3 or 5</td>
<td>k.-sarpa</td>
<td>Śve. &amp; Dig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l. l. varada l. l. fruit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>r. u. goad l. u. noose</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>k.-sarpa</td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l. l. varada l. l. lotus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>lotus, goad, varada, noose</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>white swan</td>
<td>Śve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>r. u. goad l. u. noose</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1 or 3</td>
<td>k.-sarpa</td>
<td>Dig. &amp; Śve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l. l. varada l. l. snake</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>noose, goad, snake, fruit</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Śve. or Dig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>r. u. goad l. u. noose</td>
<td>golden</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>cock</td>
<td>Śve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l. l. abhaya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>r. u. noose l. u. goad</td>
<td>golden</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>cock</td>
<td>Śve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l. l. lotus l. l. fruit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>or black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>r. u. goad l. u. noose</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>kukkuṭa</td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. l. &amp; l. l. folded, aṅgali mūdra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>r. u. empty l. u. empty</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>kukkuṭa</td>
<td>Śve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. l. &amp; l. l. folded, aṅgali</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>r. u. goad l. u. noose</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>kukkuṭa</td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l. l. rosary l. l. pot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>r. u. goad l. u. noose</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>kukkuṭa</td>
<td>Śve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. l. rosary l. l. varada</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>r. u. goad l. u. noose</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>kukkuṭa</td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. l. abhaya l. l. kaṭaka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>r. u. lotus l. u. lotus</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>3, 5</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l. l. varada l. l. pot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>r. u. lotus l. u. lotus</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>padmāsana</td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. l. abhaya l. l. pot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>r. u. lotus l. u. book?</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. l. varada l. l. pot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>r. u. lotus l. u. lotus</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>k.-sarpa</td>
<td>Śve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l. l. fruit l. l. pot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>vajra, goad, noose, lotus</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>swan</td>
<td>Śve. ? Dig. ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>r. u. axe l. u. noose</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. l. varada l. l. citron</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>r. u. sword l. u. shield</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. l. lotus l. l. citron</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>r. u. lotus l. u. lotus</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>k.-sarpa</td>
<td>Śve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. l. noose l. l. goad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>goad, lotus, rosary, varada</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>lotus-sent</td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>r. u. lotus l. u. goad</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>kukkuṭa</td>
<td>Śve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. l. snake l. l. conch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>r. u. axe l. u. vajra</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>swan</td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. l. abhaya l. l. kaṭaka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### C. Six-Armed Variety

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Hoods</th>
<th>Vāhana</th>
<th>Tradition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>noose, spear, sword, crescent, club, pestle</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>k.-sarpa</td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### SPECIAL FORMS

**Bhairava-Padmāvatī**

**Four-Armed Variety**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Hoods</th>
<th>Vāhana</th>
<th>Tradition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>r. u. goad l. u. noose l. l. fruit varada</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>k.-sarpa</td>
<td>Dig. &amp; Sve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>r. u. noose l. u. goad l. l. fruit varada</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>1 or 3</td>
<td>k.-sarpa</td>
<td>lotus seat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>fruit, varada, noose, goad</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>swan</td>
<td>Sve.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. **(1) Totalā**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Vāhana</th>
<th>Tradition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>noose, vajra, fruit, lotus</td>
<td>(red)</td>
<td>k.-sarpa</td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. **(2) Tvaritā**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Vāhana</th>
<th>Tradition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>conch, lotus abhaya, varada</td>
<td>(red)</td>
<td>k.-sarpa</td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. **(3) Nityā**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Vāhana</th>
<th>Tradition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>noose, goad lotus rosary</td>
<td>(red)</td>
<td>swan</td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. **(4) Kāmasādhini**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Vāhana</th>
<th>Tradition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>conch, disc fruit, lotus</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>k.-sarpa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. **(5) Śri-Padmā**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Vāhana</th>
<th>Tradition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>lotus, goad, varada, noose</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>white swan lotus seat</td>
<td>Sve. &amp; Dig.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(6) Tripura

D. Eight-Armed Variety

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Hoods</th>
<th>Vāhana</th>
<th>Tradition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>trident, goad, bow, fruit</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>k.-sarpa</td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>lotus, sword, vajra, varada</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>5 or 7</td>
<td>k.-sarpa</td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(7) Tripura-Bhairavi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Hoods</th>
<th>Vāhana</th>
<th>Tradition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>conch, bow, sword, lotus</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>k.-sarpa</td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E. Twelve-Armed Variety

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Hoods</th>
<th>Vāhana</th>
<th>Tradition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>right—club, bow, lotus, arrow, varada, sword</td>
<td>(red)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>k.-sarpa</td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>left—?, vajra, snake, noose, bow, fruit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>vajra, sword, axe, arrow, varada, shield, disc, mace, goad, bow, lotus, snake</td>
<td>(red)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>padmāsana</td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F. Twenty-two-Armed Variety

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Hoods</th>
<th>Vāhana</th>
<th>Tradition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>r. 1. vajra</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>k.-sarpa</td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 2. lotus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 3. chatra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 4. kapāla</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 5. bow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 6. plough</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 7. bhīṇḍimālā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 8. trident</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 9. cobra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 10. staff</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 11. stone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
G. Twenty-four-Armed Variety

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Hoods</th>
<th>Vāhana</th>
<th>Tradition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>conch, sword, disc, crescent, lotus, stone, bow, sakti, noose, goad, bell, arrow, pestle, shield, trident, axe, spear, vajra, rosary, fruit, club, leaf, (lotus-)stalk, varada</td>
<td>(red)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>k.-sarpa</td>
<td>Dig.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

H. Multi-Armed Variety

innumerable weapons like swords, shields, bows, arrows, vajras, nārācas, laktis, salyas, discs, ploughs, pestles, nooses, etc. (red) | ? | k.-sarpa | Dig. |

XXIV. Yakṣīṇī of the Twenty-Fourth Jīna Mahāvīra

A. SIDDHĀYIKĀ (Śvetāmbara)

Siddhāyikā is one of the four principal yakṣīs\(^{302}\) in the Jaina pantheon of both the sects and is worshipped by the same name. Her position as a principal yakṣī is wholly due to her Master, Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth Jīna. Yakṣīṇīs like Ambikā and Padmāvatī have attained more prominence—the first because of the antiquity of her cult and the second because of her being a snake-deity, and because of being a yakṣī of Pārśvanātha who is a prominent figure in the Jaina Tantra.\(^{303}\)

Siddhāyikā is worshipped in only one principal variety of form, namely, the four-armed one, in the Śvetāmbara traditions. Her chief distinguishing symbols are the book and the lion vehicle. It should be noted that lion is also the cognizance of her Master, Mahāvīra.

According to Hemacandra, she is greenish in appearance and rides on the lion. In her right hands she shows the book and the abhaya, while she carries the citron and the lute in the left ones. Both the Pravacana-sāroddhāra-tākā and the Mantrādhirāja-kalpa follow this tradition.\(^{304}\)

According to the Nirvāṇakalikā, the lute in one of the left hands is replaced by the arrow while the rest of the symbols remain unchanged.\(^{305}\) Śīla texts like the Devatāmūrti-prakaraṇa and the Rāpanandana follow the Nirvāṇakalikā.\(^{306}\)

The Ācāradinakara gives another form. Riding on the lion the goddess shows the book and the abhaya in her right hands while she carries the noose and the lotus in the left ones. The devī is green in complexion.\(^{307}\)

A figure of the goddess is found on a pillar in the raṅgamandapa of the Vimala Vasahi, Abu (fig. 194A). The goddess here stands in tribhūṅga and carries the book and the vīṇā in the right and the left upper hands. The right lower one is held in the varada mudrā while the fourth hand is mutilated. Her vehicle sitting near the left foot, though mutilated, can still be identified as the lion.\(^{308}\)

Another sculpture of the yakṣī is found from a temple in Cambay.\(^{309}\). The goddess here sits in lalitāsana with her left leg tucked up and the other one hanging. Over her head is the miniature figure of her Master Mahāvīra while a small lion is seen in front of her bhadrāsana. The book and the vīṇā are held in her right and the left upper hands. The right lower one is held in the abhaya pose while the corresponding left hand carries the citron (fig. 193). A third sculpture of the yakṣī with identical symbols is found from Patan (fig. 194).\(^{308}\)
Four More Popular Yakṣinīs

On the outer wall of the sanctum of Kharatara Vāsalī, Devādā, Abu, is a figure of Śiddhāyikā in a sitting posture and carrying the vīṇā and the book in the right and the left upper hands and showing the fruit and the abhayamudrā in the corresponding lower ones. The tiger is shown as her vāhāna (see Fig. 102 in this book).

A painted figure of the Yakṣī with the label Śrī Śiddhāyikā Śūsanadevatā is found on a cloth painting of Vardhamāṇa-Vidyā-Pañca, assignable to c. fifteenth century, published by U.P. Shah. Yellow in complexion, Śiddhāyikā holds the lotus-stalk with her right lower hand, and shows the varada mūdra with the right upper one. Her left upper hand carries the goad while the lower one, partly defaced, shows the pravacana mūdra. A miniature drawing of her lion vehicle is visible below her right foot tucked up. The goddess sits in the lalitāsana on a big cushion.

B. ŚIDDHĀYIKĀ, APARĀJITĀ AND KĀMACANDĀLINĪ (Digambara)

The yakṣī of Vardhamāna is known variously as Śiddhāyikā, Aparājīta or Kāmacandāli in the Digambara traditions. Of these, the first is the most popular designation while the other two are well-nigh forgotten. The yakṣī is called Kāmacandāli in only one work, namely, the Vidyānuśasana. Puṣpadanta, in his Mahāprāṇa, addresses her as Śiddhāyini, but does not detail her iconographic symbols.

The goddess is found worshipped in two principal varieties of form—the two-armed and the twelve-armed. As Kāmacandāli, she is described as having four arms.

APARĀJITĀ

Of the two-armed forms of the yakṣī of Mahāvira, the form known as Aparājīta requires to be differentiated from the other two-armed forms when she is called Śiddhāyikā. Firstly, Aparājīta represents the oldest known form of the yakṣī of Mahāvira. Secondly, Aparājīta seems to represent a wholly different tradition and is not a variety of Śiddhāyikā. Though no dhyāna for Aparājīta is forthcoming, the Jaina temple no. 12 at Devagadh furnishes an interesting form of the goddess. The slab representing Aparājīta has the label “Vardhamāṇasya” on one side and “Aparājīta” below the figure of the yakṣī (see Fig. 95 in this book). Thus, in earlier Digambara traditions, the yakṣī of Vardhamāna was known as Aparājīta and not as Śiddhāyikā. It should also be remembered that the group of yakṣīnīs found in this temple represents perhaps the oldest known labelled Digambara set hitherto discovered in North India; the seven yakṣīs in the Orissan Navanuni Cave probably date from late ninth century but unfortunately they are not labelled. In Devagadh temple 12, Aparājīta is represented standing with her right hand in the kulaṅga pose and the left one carrying the fly-whisk.

Curiously enough, we find Aparājīta in the list of the Jayā group discussed elsewhere by us. The four goddesses Jayā, Vijayā, Ajitā and Aparājīta of the group are invoked in the famous Vardhamāṇa-Vidyā, a Tantric charm related to the worship of Vardhamāna as its name would suggest. The antiquity of the Vardhamāṇa-Vidyā is attested by the Mahānīśtha sūtra and by the tradition that it was first composed by Gaṅgārāma Swami. No wonder, therefore, if Aparājīta obtained the first chance of being the yakṣīni of Vardhamāna. It will also be advisable to take her as an independent deity and not a variety of form of Śiddhāyikā. We have no evidence to ascertain whether the Aparājīta of Mahāvira’s age had the same form as that on Devagadh temple no. 12 or not.

SIDDHĀYIKĀ

1. Two-Armed Variety

Vasunandi says that Śiddhāyikā is golden in complexion and has two arms showing the varada and book. The yakṣī sits on the bhadrāsana. Āśādhara Pañjītā gives the same form and adds that the
goddess rides on the lion. The Pratiṣṭhatīlakā specifies that the book is held in the left hand while the varada mudrā is shown by the right one. The Aparājitapujvā gives the abhaya for varada in the above tradition.

According to the Canarese dhyāna ślokas, the yakṣī shows the abhaya mudrā with the right hand while the left one is held open with the fingers hanging down and the palm upwards (varada mudrā ?). The swan is her vehicle.

In the Seattle Art Museum (U.S.A.) is a beautiful, almost completely preserved stone sculpture depicting 24 Trśthanākaras in all with Mahāvīra in the centre. The lion cognizance of Mahāvīra is on the lowermost part of the pedestal. The yakṣī on the left end of the simhasana is here two-armed showing the sword in her right hand and the shield in the left. Her vāhana is not shown. The sculpture, probably from Mathura Pradesh, dates from c. 10th-11th cent. A.D.

At Khajuraho, on three sculptures of Mahāvīra, two-armed Siddhāyikā shows the abhaya mudrā with one hand and carries the lotus with the other. On pedestals of Mahāvīra images at Devgadh, Tiwari notes two-armed forms of the yakṣī showing the abhaya or flower in one hand and the fruit or the pot in the other.

Tiwari has noted one very interesting form of the yakṣī of Mahāvīra from temple no. 11, Devgadh: on an image of Mahāvīra (1048 A.D.) in this temple, the yakṣī has three snake-hoods over head. The devi carries a child and a fruit in her two hands.

In the Śāhu Samrajālaya, Devgadh, on a Covrtsi sculpture of Mahāvīra (c. 12th century A.D.), the two-armed yakṣīnī displays the abhaya mudrā with one hand and holds a book with the other.

Two sculptures of Mahāvīra, Nos. J.808 and J.782 in the Lucknow Museum, have figures of two-armed yakṣī Siddhāyikā showing the abhaya mudrā with the right hand and carrying a kalamṇa in her left hand.

In the Maladevi temple, Gyaraspur, M.P., on a Mahāvīra image of c. 10th century A.D., Tiwari has noticed a two-armed yakṣī holding the vīṇā with both the hands. Amongst mutilated sculptures collected from this shrine is preserved a mutilated sculpture of Mahāvīra with only the hands and the legs crossed in padmāsana remaining and the upper parts lost. The Jina is sitting on a viṇṇa-padma resting on a simhasana with the dharmacakra in the centre and lion on each side of the wheel. Another figure of a lion, half seen above the wheel, represents the cognizance of Mahāvīra. On the right side of the simhasana, is a two-armed pot-bellied yakṣa, possibly called Sarvanāha, while on the left is the yakṣī Siddhāyikā with her left foot tucked up. Two-armed, she shows the abhaya mudrā with her right hand and carries the citron in the left one. Fig. 8 in JOI, vol. 22, op. cit. represents the above mutilated sculpture of Mahāvīra, reproduced from negative no. 16/93 of the Department of Archaeology of the old Gwalior State, the sculpture seems to date from c. tenth century A.D.

On a sculpture of Mahāvīra, obtained from Arthinā, Rajasthan, and preserved in the Rajputana Museum (no. 279), Ajmer, the yakṣī Siddhāyikā carries a sword in one hand. Two-armed, she has the lion-vāhana. Her other hand is mutilated. The sculpture is dated in v.s. 1061—A.D. 1004.

The two-armed variety of Siddhāyini images seem to have been quite popular in Southern India. A sculpture of a standing Jina, identified as Mahāvīra due to the miniature figure of his lion-cognizance carved on the pedestal, is preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. The yakṣa and the yakṣī, shown on two sides near the legs of the Jina, are in a standing pose. Both are two-armed. The yakṣī holds the book in her left lower hand, while the symbol of her right hand is not distinct.

In the ceiling of the Sāntināthā Basti, Cambadahalli, Mysore district, Mysore State, is a beautiful central panel, carved in bold relief, showing Mahāvīra sitting on a simhasana with his lion cognizance shown in the centre and attended by four fly-whisk bearers and flying demi-gods. To the right of the throne is the Mātanga-yakṣa on an elephant, while the yakṣī Siddhāyini, sitting in the hālitū pose on her lion-mount, is shown on the left end. The goddess is two-armed and carries the lotus in her right hand while her left hand holds the citron. She wears a crown and several ornaments. The beautiful sculpture, carved in fine minute detail, is an interesting specimen of Gangavadi style of c. 1130 A.D. (see Fig. 49 in this book).
Another beautiful sculpture also hails from Kambadahalli, Paścakūta Basti. On the big ornate crown of the goddess is a miniature figure of Mahāvīra. The goddess sits on a pedestal in front of which is shown her lion vehicle with two figures riding on it. It would seem these two are the sons of Ambikā-yakṣi and that the sculpture represents the yakṣī Ambikā. But here the goddess does not sit under a mango tree (which is invariably shown in reliefs of Ambikā) and hence it might be better to identify her tentatively as Siddhāyini holding the citron in her left hand. The upper part of the symbol held in her right hand is mutilated. This was either a book (palm-leaf ms.) or a fly-whisk.\textsuperscript{321}

Boldly conceived and carved with every minute detail of her costly heavy ornaments and a lower garment with numerous folds, the sculpture shows Cola influence and perhaps dates from the eleventh century.

P.B. Desai\textsuperscript{322} has referred to a two-armed goddess carved on a rock surface at Ānaimalai Hill near Madura. She carries the fruit in her right hand while the left hand rests on her lap. The goddess is shown sitting in the lañitāsana. P.B. Desai identifies her as Siddhāyikā.

P.B. Desai has also described a rock-cut relief of a goddess riding on a lion found at Settipodava near Kilakkudi, Madurai district.\textsuperscript{323} The devī "holds a drawn bow in the right hand and arrow in the left, the other two hands also bearing weapons. The lion has grappled an elephant ridden by a male warrior with sword and shield in his hands." The goddess is identified by Desai as Siddhāyini, "on account of her characteristic association with the lion." He further adds that "the sculpture probably portrays a familiar episode connected with her exploits." Since this "familiar episode" is not described, nor its source referred to, it would be safer to regard this identification as tentative. The relief probably represents Koṭṭāvi or Koṭṭāryā, Koṭṭakiriyā, a form of Durgā discussed in the preceding portion on Ambikā.

2. Four-Armed Variety

A four-armed form of the yakṣī of Mahāvīra is obtained in the big bas-relief sculpture of Mahāvīra from the Jaina Cave at Badami. H.D. Sankalia describes her as carrying in the upper right hand a weapon which cannot be identified while her lower right hand shows the abhaya mudrā and the upper left one carries a weapon with an ovalish hollow head. On the seat is carved in low relief a bird identified by Sankalia as a swan, but it seems to be of doubtful identification.\textsuperscript{324}

Sankalia’s identification of the symbols deserves correction. The right upper hand clearly shows the goad with the top end of the handle partly broken, the left upper hand holds the noose. The right lower hand, partly mutilated, might have shown the abhaya. The left lower holds the citron or pot. The vāhana is not clear. The goddess sits under the shade of a tree, which looks like a mango tree.

The form is unknown to available Digambara texts, but looking to the probable age of the cave, it represents a now lost Jaina tradition in Karnataka. This and some other reliefs in this cave seem to be somewhat later carvings than the Jaina cave itself which latter is not much later than the Vaiṣṇava cave near it, containing an inscription of Maṅgalka. It may also be remembered that two-armed variety according to the Canarese čhaya ślokas prescribes the swan vehicle for Siddhāyikā. The swan vehicle reminds one of Sarasvati and the iconography of the goddess Siddhāyikā in both the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara traditions shows her association with one or more symbols connected with a form of Sarasvati. Thus the book according to Vasunandī and Aśādharā, or the vīna in the Śvetāmbara tradition and on a Maladevi temple sculpture in the Digambara tradition may be noted. The lion is also a vehicle of Sarasvati represented as Vāgdevī in the Brahmanical tradition. But the lion vehicle of Siddhāyikā might have been influenced by the lion cognizance of Mahāvīra though such a thing has not happened in the case of yakṣīs of all other Tīrthankaras.

On a c. 10th century image of Mahāvīra in Temple no. 1, Devgadh, the yakṣi shows the abhaya, the lotus with stalk, the lotus-stalk, and the fruit in her four hands.\textsuperscript{325}

Tiwari has noticed some new forms of four-armed yakṣī of Mahāvīra at Khajuraho. Since, as shown by him, they accompany figures of Mahāvīra, we have to identify them as representing some rare
varieties of four-armed forms of Siddhāyikā. As shown by him, on an image in Temple no. 2, Khajuraho, the yakṣi, four-armed, rides on the lion and carries the fruit, the disc, the lotus and the conch in her hands. On an image of Mahāvtra on a wall of Temple 21, Khajuraho, the yakṣi rides on the lion and shows the varaḍa mudrā, the sword, the cakra and the fruit in her four hands. No. K.17 in the Khajuraho Museum has the yakṣi riding on the lion and showing the cakra, the lotus and the conch in her three hands, the fourth hand is mutilated.323

In view of the above evidence from Khajuraho, Tiwari's identification of a four-armed goddess on the uttoraṅga of Temple no. 4, Khajuraho, and another from uttaraṅga of Temple 5, Devgadh—both showing the same set of symbols—may be correct.324 The four-armed goddess in each case rides on the lion and shows the varaḍa mudrā, the sword, the shield and the kalaśa (pot) in her four hands. Identification of these two figures with the sixteenth Mahāvidyā Mahāmāṇiśī cannot however be ruled out.

Douglas Barrett has described a c. ninth century bronze of Mahāvīra, worshipped in a shrine at Karanjā in the Akola district, which shows a four-armed Yakṣi Siddhāyikā who "carries an axe and a lotus in her upper left and right hands, and a citron and a flower (?) in her lower hand."324 The bronze probably hailed from Karnālaka as can be inferred from a bronze in Nahara's collection, in similar style and having an inscription on its back.325

3. Twelve-Armed Variety

The titleless palm-leaf manuscript from Jina-Kanchi gives a twelve-armed form showing the sword, the shield, the flower, the arrow, the bow, the noose, the disc, the staff, the varaḍa pose, the blue water-lily, and the abhaya-mudrā. The eagle is her vāhana.326

A twelve-armed figure of the goddess is reproduced by Ramachandran, from a temple in Jina-Kanchi. The goddess here stands on a lotus and shows in the first row of hands the cakra and the conch. In the second pair are found the goad and the noose, in the third the arrow and the bow, in the fourth the sword and the shield, in the fifth the blue water-lily and the lotus and in the last or the bottom row the rosary and the varaḍa (fig. 155A).327

S. Settar, op. cit., p. 41, describes a twelve-armed image of Siddhāyikā accompanying Vardhamāna in a cell of Paṇḍakūṭa Basti, Markuli. The yakṣi is "wielding (from right bottom) the varaḍa mudrā, a vajra, a kajaka (?), a bāṇa, a khaḍga, a bāṇa; (from top) a bow, a padma, a shield, a phala, an aksanāla, and a bow."

4. Twenty-Armed Variety

The seven yakṣiṇīs in the Navamuni Cave, Khandagiri, Orissa, date from c. ninth century A.D., as stated above, but these figures do not include any representation of Siddhāyikā. However, in the Barabhuji Cave near the Navamuni, are found complete sets of all the 24 Tirthaṅkaras and the 24 Śaśanadevīs. But these figures stylistically seem to be of a later date, of about eleventh or twelfth century A.D. Here, Siddhāyikā, the yakṣiṇī of Mahāvīra, is represented as twenty-armed. She shows, in her right hands, the varaḍa mudrā, spear, rosary, arrow, small staff (?), hammer, hała, vajra, disc and sword. Of the attributes in her left hands, a water-jar, book, citron (?), lotus, bell (?), bow, nāgopāsa and shield are identifiable.328

KĀMACANDĀLINI (Four-Armed Variety)

The Digambara Tantric text Vidyānuśasana tells us that Kāmacandālīni is another name of Siddhāyikā, the yakṣiṇī of Vardhamāna. The text gives a full sādhanā with the mūlamantra and the yantra. According to it, Kāmacandālīni has four arms. Naked, she moves with her hair untied and her person bedecked with ornaments. Dark in appearance, she bears in her four hands the fruit, the golden
Four More Popular Yakṣinīs

jar, the staff of śāṃali (Bombay Malabericum), and the damaru. The form is of a late origin and representations of Kāmacandrālinī are still unknown.

Iconographic Tables of Forms of Siddhāyikā

SIDDHĀYIKĀ (Śve.)

Four-Armed Variety

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Vāhana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>right—book, abhaya; left—vinā, citron</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>Lion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>right—book, abhaya; left—arrow, citron</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>Lion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>right—book, abhaya; left—noose, lotus</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>Lion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>r.u. book, l.u. vinā; r.l. varada, l.l. x</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Lion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>r.u. book, l.u. vinā; r.l. abhaya, l.l. citron</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Tiger (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>r.u. varada, l.u., goad; r.l. lotus stalk, l.l. pravacana (?)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Lion (?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APARĀJITĀ (Dig.)

Two-Armed Variety

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Vāhana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>right—kaṭaka, left—fly-whisk</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SIDDHĀYIKĀ (Dig.)

I. Two-Armed Variety

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Vāhana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>r.h. varada l.h. book</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>Lion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>r.h. abhaya l.h. book</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>Lion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>r.h. abhaya l.h. varada (?) or hanging down</td>
<td>Golden</td>
<td>Swan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>r.h. sword l.h. shield</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>r.h. abhaya l.h. citron</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>r.h. lotus l.h. citron</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>r.h. fruit l.h. on lap</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>vinā with both the hands</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>child, fruit (three snake-hoods)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>abhaya or flower and fruit or pot</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Four-Armed Variety

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Vāhana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1.  | r.u. goad l.u. noose  
     | r.l. (abhaya) l.l. citron or pot | — | — |
| 2.  | r.u. lotus l.u. axe  
     | r.l. flower l.l. citron | — | — |
| 3.  | abhaya, lotus-stalk, lotus-stalk, fruit | — | — |
| 4.  | fruit, cakra, padma, śāṅkha | — | Lion |
| 5.  | varada, sword (khaḍga), cakra, fruit | — | Lion |
| 6.  | varada, khaḍga, kheṭaka (shield), pot | — | — |

3. Twelve-Armed Variety

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Vāhana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1.  | sword, shield, flower, arrow, bow, noose,  
     | disc, staff, varada, nilotpala, abhaya | — | Eagle |
| 2.  | 1st pair—cakra, conch  
     | 2nd pair—goad, noose  
     | 3rd pair—arrow, bow  
     | 4th pair—sword, shield  
     | 5th pair—nilotpala, lotus  
     | 6th pair—rosary, varada | — | Lion |
| 3.  | varada, vajra, kaṭaka, bāga, khaḍga, bāna,  
     | bow, padma, shield, fruit, goad, bow | — | — |

4. Twenty-Armed Variety

1. r. hands—varada, spear, rosary, arrow, staff, hammer,  
   hala, vajra, disc, sword  
   l. hands—water-jar, book, citron, lotus, bell (?), bow,  
   noose, shield, ?, ?  

KĀMĀCANDĀLĪ (Dig.)

Four-Armed Variety

1. fruit, staff, jar, damaru  
   Dark  
   —
REFERENCES


2. Shah, U.P., Iconography of Cakreśvari, the Yakṣī of Rābhanath, Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda (JOI), Vol. XX, no. 3, pp. 280-213, Figure 1.


4. A standing figure of this variety of form, with a man-like eagle vahana on one side, from Vadungar, Gujarat, is discussed in Sādāthāya (Gujarati Journal, Baroda, Vol. VI, no. 1, p. 1.

5. गीतकालिकम काळीकालिकमे।
   गुप्तातिवर्णे न विचये काळकालि।
   Niśāda kāla, I, p. 162
   "Acarādīnakāla, I, p. 162

6. तद्व विकातवद्व श्रोत्रश्च गर्भायत्वत् विद्यमानसुप्रकटवार्त्तं तत्।
   "Nīvānākalikā, p. 37


8. एकमात्र विषयसममतां दुरोद्भवितमुद्विजनकालाः।
   गीतकालिकेन दुरोद्भवितमुद्विजनकालाः।
   "Nīvānākalikā, p. 37

9. A serious difficulty, however, is present in a group of 16 vidyās represented as six-armed and arranged in a circle in a ceiling in front of cell no. 41, Vimala vasahi, where the Apricitakā Vidya is shown as carrying the conch instead of the fruit held by other figures of this Vidyā in the same temple. The Vimala-vasahi underwent repairs in the twelfth and later centuries. Hence it all depends upon the age we assign to an image under consideration. In a ceiling of the Sāntinātha temple, Kumbhaśara, the Apricitakā Vidyā shows the conch instead of the fruit in the fourth hand.

10. The manuscript is preserved in the Sāmphati-paṭa Bhaugāra, Patan, and can be assigned to the latter half of the fourteenth century A.D. The first para gives life of Śrīsambhava whose yākti is Cakreśvari.

11. A similar form is also found on the southern outer wall of the gūjhamandapa of the temple built by Kumbhā Rağā at Chitod, see Dhaky & Bapana, Sri Citragāte Kumāravilāhara, in Svādhiṣṭāna (Gujarati Journal), Vol. 5, no. 4, pp. 56ff, fig. 4.

12. They are: Bhāmāgī, Māheśvari, Kamārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vāraṣṭī, Indraṇī, Cāmuneja and Tripūra. A Sārasvatikā Kalpa ascribed to Bapābhaśanikārī gives Brahmarāgī, Mahēśvarī, Kamārī, Vāraṣṭī, Vaiṣṇavī, Cāmuneja, Ćaṇḍikā and Mahālakṣmi. The Vīdhānasampradāya of Uvasagghaśara-stotra, verse 1 omits Ćaṇḍikā and Mahālakṣmi from the above list but adds Indraṇī.


15. निर्वानाकलिकाः)
   विवाहदुःखितलिङ्गबिन्दुः।
   निर्वानाकलिकाः)
   "Nīvānākalikā, p. 34

16. Pravacanāśroddhāra-pīka, I, p. 94. The text calls her Cakreśvari and says that the deity is called Apricitakā according to another tradition.

17. तद्विशिष्टः कलकालिताण्यानुभूतः।
   कलकालिताण्यानुभूतः।
   "Nīvānākalikā, p. 37


19. For the date of Sāgaracandra, the author of Mantrādhirēka, see JIB, Vol. II, part 2, p. 160, footnote 2. Three verses of Sāgaracandra are quoted in Gaṇaratnamahodābhi (v.s. 1197). Another Sāgaracandra belonging to Rājagachcha was teacher of author of Saṃketa comm. on Kavyaprakāśa, in v.s. 1226. A third Sāgaracandra was made acārya by Jinarājasū of Kharaṭara-gaccha in fifteenth cent. A.D.


22. This as well as the Pratisṭhācolika verses are quoted below in the discussion on the twelve-armed variety.


24. निर्वानाकलिका सांद्रकृतम सांद्रकृतीति।
   "Ekāndhakī Jīnasāṃhitā, 39th parichcheda (in Ms.)


26. For Private & Personal Use Only
The Jinasarā hintā of Eksandhī, edited by U.P. Shah, will be published later.

25. Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department, 1939, pp. 44ff, pl. VII.2, where it is wrongly called Padmavati. Also see Settar, Chakraśvari in Karnataka Literature and Art, Oriental Art (N.S.), Vol. XXVII, no. 1.


27. Sāntīsvara Basadi, built in about 1200 A.D. by Rechaṇa, a general of Hoysalas king Vira-Ballāja II.


33. Ibid., p. 169.

34. Ibid., p. 170.


36. No. D.6 of Vogel’s Catalogue of Sculptures in the Curzon Museum, Mathura, p. 95, pl. xvii. One would think of identifying this sculpture as a ten-armed variety of the Aparātīkara Mahā-vidyā of the Śvetāmbara pantheon. Chakraśvari or Aparātīkara is worshipped as a Mahāvidyā by the Śvetāmbara sect only, and is said to carry the disc in all the four hands. But no ten-armed variety of the Śvetāmbara śāmata is known to exist elsewhere. Again the jina figure overhead would suggest she is yaksī.

37. Discussed by U.P. Shah, Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Sarasvatī, Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. X, part 2, Fig. 20.

38. See Bhairava-Padmāvati-Kolpa, appendix 23. The hymn calls her Śrī-Cakra Śrī-Cakra, shining like red-hot gold and carrying the disc, the lotus, the fruit and the thunderbolt in her hands. Terrific in appearance and three-eyed, the goddess is invoked for protection from dākaśī and guhakas, for destroying obstacles, for increase of wealth and for the vata, mohana, tūṣī or kṣobha rites as well. She is said to make a terrific noise and exhibit her teeth. Unfortunately, the text does not specify the exact number of her arms.

39. Bruhn, Klaus, The figures of the two lower reliefs on the Pārvatīmatīah temple at Khajurāha, Ācārya Vidyā-Valabha-Sāri-Smārakau-Granthau (Bombay, 1856), English Section, pp. 7ff, esp. p. 25.

40. वहीं यहैं जिसे बैठे भक्त भाषा द्वारा विभेदित ।

41. प्रतिष्ठानमात्र जितम भक्ति व विचारम् ॥ १५ ॥

42. This sculpture has been referred to by some scholars as representing a sixteen-armed Cakraśvari. Evidently, it is difficult to fix up the exact number of her arms. I am inclined to regard this as a twenty-armed figure from a study of the same on the spot and also from the existence of another twenty-armed figure studied by me in temple no. 2 at Devgadh. A study of the photographs of the figure under discussion, published earlier by us in JOS, Vol. XX, no. 3. Iconography of Cakraśvari, fig. 36, will show that it can either be taken as representing a twenty-armed Cakraśvari or in an alternative way, an
eighteen-armed one, but in no case a sixteen-armed figure.


59. We have also formerly suggested another name, viz., *Sarvamūkhi yakṣa*, as he is an ancient yakṣa daily invoked by Śvetāmbara Jaina by reciting a hymn called *Svātasya-stuti*. Cf. Shah, U.P., *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, Bombay, no. 1, p. 46.


63. “*Vartamana Tiloyapanna aur usahe raccen kala udi ka vicāra*” (Hindi), in Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara, Vol. XI, no. 1, p. 73.


65. Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa (Hindi) by Pandit Nathuram Premi, pp. 293 ff.


68. *Pāncāloka*, chap. 19, verse 26; *Lalitāvistara*, p. 60.

69. For Harishandra’s date, see *Bharatīya Vidya* (Hindi), Vol. 3, Simghī Snyti Number, p. 196.


71. Muni Śri Jināvijaya (ed.), *Vātakalika-Kalpa* of Jinaśīla (the Śvētāmbara Granthamala, no. 10).

72. According to another tradition noted by Jinaśīla, she fell down from the top of the Raivatāka hill and died.

73. For similar Śvetāmbara accounts, see *Śvētāmbara-stotra* of Jinamāndra gani (1498 v.s.), p. 25; *Ganapati-mahatmya* of Dhanesvāra sūrya, p. 37-37. According to *Praiṭhāvadilīla* or *Pancharatna-śāstra*, pp. 441 ff., her two sons are called Subhamaraka and Vibhāmaraka.

74. For a fuller account see *Tīrūparattakurun and its Temples* by Sjt. T. N. Ramachandran, pp. 157-60.


76. In one mantra at least we find a buffalo as her vehicle.

77. Ambikā-devi-kalpa of Subhaśendu (in Ms.)


one hand should hold the bunch of mangoes. This supports the inference given above.

88. From Ms. no. 1425, Sri Harisvarajya’s Collection, Sri Atmārāj Ki Jñānānandī, Baroda. See also Bhāratanāyaka, Padmāvatikālpa, App. 16, p. 89. The author’s name is inferred from the last line: “I am Atmārāj Pratītīḥ 57th Gōndi
Munindraya.”

89. This Ambapratibhādāra may be identical with Ambapratībha (Ampārala), the younger brother of Amarakītī, the author of the Ambarābhāsī work Chakkaṇāṭuvaśa (v.s. 1247 or 1274). See also M.D. Desai’s Hist. of Jain Lit. (in Gujarati), p. 34.

90. www.jainelibrary.org

91. bāṣa ‘gāyata GPA navāma

92. mohagāna of Purāṇadār (ed. by P.L. Vaidya), Vol. 1, sandhi 1, 10–10, pp. 108.

93. The Tīrthankara was formerly identified by us as Adinātha or Rābhānātha. Now, in the preceding chapter on Devādhiśvaras while discussing images of Sāṅtiṇī, we have suggested that he might be identified as Sāṅtiṇī.


95. See Jain Satva Pardhāna (Journal in Gujarati, Ahmedabad), Vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 86–91; Mahavira, Dalsukhbhai D., Gondavara, Introduction.


97. Shah, U.P., Bronze Hoard from Vasantnagar, Lali Kala, nos. 1–2, pp. 55–56 and plates. All these figures show only one son with Ambika.

98. Akota Bronzes, fgs. 22, 23b; p. 35; also see pp. 36–37 and figures 25, 27a, 29c, 30a, 30b, 33a, 44b, 45a, 45c, 48a, 50, 60, 61 etc.


101. Bubhn, Klaus, The Jain Images of Deogarh, fgs. 14, 15. There are also some loose images of this variety showing Ambika sitting in the lalitāsana. Besides we find this two-armed form on some Mannaśāraśī at Devagbad.

102. For example, see ibid., fgs. 232.

103. Sārvāṇa Belagola Inscriptions, Epigraphia Carnatica, pp. 21–22.

104. Mitra, Debala, Bronzes from Achutrajapur, Orissa (Delhi, 1978), fgs. 26, 27, 28, 30, pp. 45–47.

105. Tirparvatikālpa and its Temples, p. 20.


107. Ibid., p. 209.


111. Ibid., fgs. 15.


113. Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Ambikā, op. cit., fgs. 17. As early as 1914, Comaragam published his Notes on Jaina Art, in Journal of Indian Art, vol. 16, where he described and published this Pata.

114. Journal of the Univ. of Bombay, IX.2, op. cit., fgs. 16.

115. Ibid., fgs. 18.

116. Ibid., fgs. 19.


118. Ibid., p. 209.

119. Indian Antiquary, vol. XXXII, Digambara Jaina Iconography, p. 463; also see pl. IV, fgs. 22.

120. Tirparvatikālpa and its Temples, op. cit., JUB, IX.2, op. cit., fgs. 21.

121. Śāntānaśāra, VIII, chp 9, vv. 385–386.

122. Apanāśāra, VI, pl. 11.

123. Apanāśāra, VIII, pl. 11.

124. Śāntānaśāra, VIII, pl. 11.

125. Śāntānaśāra, VIII, pl. 11.

126. Both are printed in the Cal. Skt. Series no. XII; see Devanagari-prakaraṇa, VII, p. 61; and Rupamangala, VI.18.

127. See JUB, IX, op. cit., fgs. 22.
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175. See above Chapter Five, p. 60 and footnotes 46-47.


177. Nana on the Lion, p. 58. B.N. Mukherjee has also noted that the term Nāpyaka or Nāpya was also used in the general sense of coins or wealth.


181. See note 180.


186. For such coins see NC, 1892, pl. VII, nos. 10 and 11; PMC, Vol. I, pl. XVII, no. 66 etc.

187. NC, 1892, pl. VII, nos. 9, 11 and 14; pl. XII, nos. 14, 15; PMC, vol. I, pl. XVII, no. 57 etc.


190. For Nana-Anahîtha's association with beasts and Ishtar-Nana-Anahîtha's relation with the Greek goddess Artemis see, Mukherjee, op. cit., pp. 12ff.


192. Mukherjee, B.N., op. cit., p. 14, fig. 18, also, pp. 16-17; NC, 1892, pl. X, no. 2; PMC, vol. I, pl. XVIII, no. 135.


194. Published by U.P. Shah, Akota Bronze (Bombay, 1960), pp. 28-29, pl. 11 and 74a.


197. Published by Coomaraswamy in H.I.A.A., fig. 177.


199. The benefic aspect of Ganga is her bringing to life the sixty thousand sons of Sagar. Also see Catherine Glynn, op. cit., pp. 20-22.


201. Ibid., fig. 11 illustrates such a male figure from Paithan.


203. Srī-Parsvanathakarita of Udajavara gapi, canto VII. Pārśvanākara, 14. Also see Mahāpravâsa of Puṣpadanta and Utparāravī of Guṇabhadra.

204. For representations of the scene of attack by Kamajha (Meghamalī or Bhātānāna), see Shah, U.P., A Pārśvanātha Sculpture in Cleveland, The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art, for December, 1970, pp. 303-311, and fig. 1 (Central India, 9th century, now in Cleveland Museum), fig. 2 (from Jain Caves, Aihole), fig. 3 (from Tirakali, North Arcot district, Tamil Nadu), fig. 4 (Badami Jain Caves), fig. 5 (rock-relief, Kilakkudi, T.N.), fig. 6 (Samnar-koyil, Anamalai, Tamil Nadu), fig. 7 (Kilakkudi, Unnuramalai hill, Madurai district), fig. 8 (also Kilakkudi), fig. 9 (Chitharal, Kerala), figs. 10, 11, 12 (Elora Jain Caves), fig. 13 (Indian Museum, Calcutta); fig. 14 (Maladvi temple, Gyanpur, M.P.), fig. 15 (Ajmerie Museum); fig. 16 (National Museum, New Delhi).

205. Compare...
Four More Popular Yogaśīlās


208. For other similar examples of Dhāraṇa and his queen’s bodies tied into a knot, obtained from Eastern India, see Mitra, Pratip Kumar, Jainā Sculptures From Anāja Jambu, Jainā Journal, vol. XVIII, 2, pp. 67ff, figs. 3, 4. Anāja-Jambu is in Purulia district, W. Bengal. Also see JāA, I, pl. 84b Pārvanātha from Pabhirra; ibid., vol. II, pl. 161b, Pārvanātha from Orissa, Khiching Museum.

—For the Mahājñāna, see Shastri, Hirananda, Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Baroda State, for the year ending 31st July, 1938, plate V(b).


211. Mohapatra, R.P., Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves, pp. 189-90, pl. 86, fig. 2.

212. —The only available data are, however, insufficient to establish the Bhandāvījñāna which is mentioned in the text of the Kalpa-sūtra itself.

212. a. Cf. the following word in the Bhandāvījñāna: Bhandāvījñāna is the name of the Kalpa-sūtra’s author.

—Triraśṭā, IX, 3.364-65


216. The word Mūrti in the Bhandāvījñāna Kalpa refers to the image of the god. The word Mūrti here refers to the image of the god.

—Devata-smṛti-prakaraṇā, 7.63: p. 142

Also see Ṛṣipramojana, 6.21, p. 44.


218. Ramachandran, T.N., op. cit., pl. XXXVII, fig. 3 and p. 211.

219. Sankalia, H.D., Jaina Yakṣas and Yakṣīṇīs, Bulletin, Deccan College Research Institute, March 1940, p. 159, fig. 5.

220. Dhaky, M.A., Śāntara Sculpture, J.I.S.O.A. (New Series), vol. IV, pp. 78ff, pl. XXV, fig. 25. Also see P. Gururaj Bhatt, op. cit., pl. 444b, pl. 444d, pl. 429b for more figures of this variety of form.

221. Panorama of Jaina Art, South India, p. 57, fig. 69.


223. —Bhairava-Padmāvat-kalpa, pp. 27, v. 12

224. Ibid., p. 8, v. 6.

225. Ibid., p. 13.

226. —Bhairava-Padmāvat-kalpa, pp. 27, v. 12

227. —Bhairava-Padmāvat-kalpa, pp. 27, v. 12

228. —Vidymāśāna (Ms. Beawar), folio 56

229. —Aparajita-purāṇa, 221.37, p. 568

230. —Bhairava-Padmāvat-kalpa, p. 27, v. 12

231. Ibid., pp. 158ff.

232. —Bhairava-Padmāvat-kalpa, pp. 27, v. 12

233. Ibid., pp. 27, v. 12

234. Ibid., pp. 27, v. 12

235. Ibid., pp. 27, v. 12

236. —Bhairava-Padmāvat-kalpa, pp. 27, v. 12

237. —Bhairava-Padmāvat-kalpa, pp. 27, v. 12

238. —Bhairava-Padmāvat-kalpa, pp. 27, v. 12

239. From the collections of Muni Sri Punyavijayaji, the Raimaidola-Papa was first published by Hirananda Shastri and Sarabhai Navab in Sri Atmadhamada Sarabhai Smarak Aroha.

240. —Bhairava-Padmāvat-kalpa, pp. 27, v. 12


242. For the form, see Devata-smrti-prakaraṇā, 8.14, p. 146.
246. Mohapatra, R.P., Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves, pl. 94, fig. 2, and p. 190. Acc. to Mohapatra the symbols are: right hands—varada, arrow, sword, disc; left hands—bow, shield, lotus stalk, lotus stalk.


248. Jaina Pratistha-Vijñana (Hindi), p. 239, and fig. 55.

249. Described by Banejri, R.D., Progress Report, Western Circle, for 1921, p. 94.

250. Bhairava-Padmavati-Kalpa, app. 5, pp. 32f.


255. It must be remembered that these forms are not as late in Jainism as the 16th century A.D. when Vidyāmiśāsana seems to have been composed, for which a great deal was known by him, Malligaa knew them.

256. Jaina-Rūpa-Mandana

257. Vaidyāsena, in the 16th century A.D. when Vidyāmiśāsana seems to have been composed, for which a great deal was known by him, Malligaa knew them.

258. It must be remembered that these forms are not as late in Jainism as the 16th century A.D. when Vidyāmiśāsana seems to have been composed, for which a great deal was known by him, Malligaa knew them.

259. Jaina-Rūpa-Mandana

260. Jaina-Rūpa-Mandana
Four More Popular Yakṣīśīs

282. Vividha-Tirtha-Kalpa, pp. 84, 98f; 52, 11f; 77, 101, 103ff.

283. Bhagavatī-Sūtra, 10.3 (Becharadasa’s ed., Vol. III, p. 201). The text gives chief queens of other Indras also. Padmā and Padmavati occur as the names of two (out of the four chief queens of Bhima and Mahābāhu, the Rākṣasendras (ibid., p. 202), also of Saka (p. 204).

284. Sīhāṅga, 6.3, sū. 508ff reads—Alā (Hā), Sakkā (Śukra or Śūkla), Satera, Sotāmba (Sudāmbi), Indrā, Ghanavijaya (Ghanavijayatī).


286. Cataruvintatikā, p. 18.

287. Slītācintatikā ed. by Kapadi with 4 commentaries, p. 268, Bhanucandra-gī in his comm. raises the same question.

288. I am thankful to Dr. Wayne Begley for the photograph.

289. Account of Nagīla or Nāla in the Prabhāvakacarita.

290. For Manasā, see Bhattacaryā, N.K., op. cit., pp. 212-227; Hīnḍī Pīyakota, XVI, pp. 639-44; Bhattacharyā, B.C., Indian Images, I, pp. 39-40; Brahmanavarta Parāṇa, Prakriti Khanyā, adh. 45-46.


293. Bhattacaryā, op. cit., 222.


295. Ibid.

296. It was a struggle between Padmavatti and Ćaṇḍi on one hand and Padmavati and Tārā and Jāngulī on the other. Tārā and Ćaṇḍi took time in being reduced, but Jāngulī was defeated.

297. Karakasaṅkaracarita, 7.13, p. 68.

298. Bhattacharya, Benoytosh, op. cit., 137f, 109f.

299. Compare:

282. Vividha-Tirtha-Kalpa, pp. 84, 98f; 52, 11f; 77, 101, 103ff.

290. For Manasā, see Bhattacaryā, N.K., op. cit., pp. 212-227; Hīnḍī Pīyakota, XVI, pp. 639-44; Bhattacharyā, B.C., Indian Images, I, pp. 39-40; Brahmanavarta Parāṇa, Prakriti Khanyā, adh. 45-46.


293. Bhattacaryā, op. cit., 222.


295. Ibid.

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297. Karakasaṅkaracarita, 7.13, p. 68.

298. Bhattacharya, Benoytosh, op. cit., 137f, 109f.

299. Also compare:

282. Vividha-Tirtha-Kalpa, pp. 84, 98f; 52, 11f; 77, 101, 103ff.

It is just possible that ārya was a scribal error for bhaṇḍa and that later works like Rāmapanḍana and Devatāṃśātrarakāra were misled by the scribal error.

306. 2. B. Dvīpati-Kaṇḍinī, p. 37

It is just possible that ārya was a scribal error for bhaṇḍa and that later works like Rāmapanḍana and Devatāṃśātrarakāra were misled by the scribal error.

306. It is just possible that ārya was a scribal error for bhaṇḍa and that later works like Rāmapanḍana and Devatāṃśātrarakāra were misled by the scribal error.

308b. Ibid., fig. 2.

308c. Ibid., fig. 3.


311. Known from archaeological evidence, shown below.


314. Comparative and Critical Study of Mamādiśśa, p. 159, 185ff; the Mahānīśtha, adh. 3, uddeśa 11 gives this Vidyā. It is also given at the end of adh. 8 after the colophon.

315. निर्दिष्टिका तवं 'देवी' निर्दिष्टिका नक्षत्रम्।

316. *Pratīṣṭhāśraṇa-graha*, p. 73, 178.

317. Cf. विद्विदि ग्रहणसमस्तिनाम

318. Cf. विद्विदि कन्नारम् व पुराणि वष्णुं ततः।


320b. Ibid.

320c. Ibid.

320d. Ibid.

320e. Ibid.

320f. Ibid.


321b. Ibid., fig. 11. Also see S. Satter, The Classical Kannada Literature and the Digambara Jaina Iconography, Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, Paper no. 5, pp. 41-42.


323. Desai, P.R., op. cit., pp. 58-59; also see pp. 40, 95.


323c. Ibid.

323d. Ibid.


325. The Nāhara collection bronze was published in *Jaina Sahitya no Samkṣipta Itihāsa* (in Gujarati), by M.D. Desai. Also see Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, Paper no. 26 (*Jaina Bronzes—A Brief Survey*), fig. 23. The symbols of two upper hands are not distinct. In the Kārāṇja bronze, Siddhārājya carries the lotus in the right upper hand and not the axe as Barrett thought.

326. Ramachaudran, op. cit., p. 211.

327. Ibid., p. 212, pl. xxxiv, fig. 3.


329. वर्णनमिनेन्द्रा यस्य विद्विदिका मात्र ।

330. वर्णनमिनेन्द्रा यस्य विद्विदिका मात्र ।

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ERRATA

P. 83  line 8 from below read: Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi for Adidhāna Cintāmaṇi
P. 135  line 11 from below read: Abhinandana for Ajitanītha
P. 177  line 10 from below read; object in left hand for object in each hand
P. 213  line 3 from end read: theoretically for theoretically
P. 230  line 22 read: Pratiṣṭhāṇadārāsamgraha for Pratiṣṭhāṇasroddhāra
P. 258  line 9 read: tato = Ambikām for tato = Ambikām
P. 279  line 8 read: Dhanada Tārā for Dhanauḍa Tārā
List of Plates with Acknowledgements


Fig. 1 (Pl. II). Mutilated, headless, red-stone statuette from Harappa.
A surface-find only, cannot be definitely assigned to the Chalcolithic period. The circular frontal depressions on shoulder-fronts suggest that either extra hands or something was attached which goes against the identification of the statuette as that of a Tīrthaṅkarā. Ref. Studies in Jain Art, fig. 1, pp. 3-4. Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.

Fig. 2 (Pl. II). Polished stone torso of a standing Jina figure from Lohanipur, Patna, Bihar. The site is an extension of the ancient site of Pataliputra at Kumrahar, Patna. The torso with parts of legs and arms mutilated has the typical Mauryan high polish on it. Ref. Jayaswal, K.P., Jaina Images of the Mauryan Period, JBORS, XXIII.1, pp. i-iv, 130-132 and Banerji-Shastri, Mauryan Sculptures from Lohanipur—Patna, JBORS, XXVI.2, 120ff, Studies in Jain Art, pp. 5-6, Fig. 2. Note that the figure stands in the typical Jaina kayotsarga posture. Copyright, Patna Museum, Patna, Bihar.

Attempts are made recently to assign it to c. 1st-2nd cent. A.D. since the polish continued for a few centuries after Mauryan period. The polished shining N.B.P. ware in different colours was found from foundations of Ghosītārāma at Kausambi. Shall we assign the finds from foundations of Ghosītārāma to second cent. B.C. or even to 2nd cent. A.D. since the N.B.P. seems to have continued for a long time? This type of reasoning advanced for post-dating everything is not valid. Only silver punch-marked coins and bricks of a size also popular in Mauryan period were found from this Jaina temple site. As already noted the site is an extension of ancient Pataliputra site. Samprati, the grandson of Aśoka, is well-known in ancient Jaina traditions as a convert to and a great patron of Jainism. Even now all orthodox Jainas assign all traditionally known old images to the gifts of Samprati. Udayana, the successor of Ajātaśatru, is known to Jaina canons as having built a temple to a Jina at Pataliputra. Kharavela in his inscription refers to the image of Kalinga Jina once carried off by Nanda king which shows that image worship in temples seems to have started already in Pataliputra not long after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra. A few years ago, B.B. Lal has unearthed a terracotta Jina figure, assigned to c. 3rd cent. B.C., from Ayodhyā.

Fig. 3 (Pl. III). Metal image of standing Pārśvanātha, now in Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Findspot or source not known.


Fig. 4 (Pl. IV). Brass or Bronze image of standing Rābhānātha with hair on head and hair-locks falling on shoulders. From Chausa, Bihar, now in Patna Museum, Arch. no. 6538. Modelling shows Gandhara influence. Age, c. 3rd or 4th cent. A.D. Ref. H.K. Prasad, Jaina Bronzes in the Patna Museum, Shri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Volume, p. 280; Patna Museum Catalogue, Pl. XX. Copyright, Patna Museum, Patna.
Fig. 5 (Pl. IV). Ādinātha (Ṛṣabhanātha) sitting in padmāsana. From Chaussa, Bihar, now in the Patna Museum, Arch. no. 6554. Brass or Bronze, c. 5th cent. A.D. H.K. Prasad, op. cit., p. 282. Patna Museum Catalogue, Pl. XIX. Copyright, Patna Museum, Patna.

Fig. 6 (Pl. IV). Brass or Bronze image from Chaussa hoard, Bihar, now in Patna Museum, Arch. no. 6552. Identified generally as Candraprabha, the sixth Ďrthuka, on the basis of the crescent moon on top of the image. Note the plain halo with beaded border and the back-seat with makara-mukha endings on top, both suggesting an early tradition. Crescent moon as cognizance on top of halo is unusual. H.K. Prasad, op. cit., p. 283. Note locks of hair falling on his shoulders and the hair arranged in top-knot on head. It may be that this is an image of Ādinātha. The crescent on top has to be investigated. It may be mutilated part of something. Copyright, Patna Museum, Patna.


Fig. 8 (Pl. V). Brass or Bronze image of standing Pāśvanātha from Chaussa hoard, Bihar, now in Patna Museum, no. 6531. Much corroded. Age, c. 1st cent. B.C.-1st cent. A.D. H.K. Prasad, op. cit., p. 281, Fig. 6, Patna Museum Catalogue, Pl. XX, Akota Bronzes, Fig. 16. Copyright, Patna Museum, Patna.

Fig. 9 (Pl. V). Headless stone image of standing Jina, Kankali Tila, Mathura. Now No. J.7, State Museum, Lucknow. Inscription on pedestal dated in the year 9. Front shows a monk and a nun to the right and left respectively of the Jina’s legs. On the other three sides of the sculpture are similar smaller figures of Jaina laymen and laywomen, see Evolution of Jaina Iconography and Symbolism, Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, p. 53, Figs. 9, 10, 11, 12; Luders’ List, no. 229; The Scythinian Period, Fig. 64, pp. 295-96. Copyright, State Museum, Lucknow.

Fig. 10 (Pl. VI). Āyāgāpata, set up by Acalā, wife of Bhadranaudi, Kankali Tila, Mathura, now no. J.252 in State Museum, Lucknow. Ref. Buhler in Epi. Ind., II, p. 207, no. XXXII; Studies in Jaina Art, Fig. 10, pp. 82-83. Note the auspicious symbols—four in top row and eight in the last row. For discussion on asṭaṃgalas, see Studies in Jaina Art, pp. 109ff. In this Tablet of Homage a pillar on the right is surmounted by a lion, i.e. this is a Simha-dhava pillar; the pillar on left is surmounted by a dharmacakra. Lion is the cognizance, the dhvaja of Mahāvira. The Jina in the centre must therefore be identified as Mahāvira in front of whom (whose temple) is the Simha-dhava pillar, cf. Garude-dhava pillar at Vidiśā. The Jaina also raised pillars with dharmacakra on top, cf. U.P. Shah’s Moti Chandra Memorial Lecture published in Journal of Indian Museums, volume. Copyright, State Museum, Lucknow.

Fig. 11 (Pl. VII). Āyāgāpata, set up by Sihamadikā, Kankali Tila, Mathura, now in State Museum (on. J. 249), Lucknow. Note four auspicious motifs in top row—pair of fish (mīna-pugala), unidentified sign, śrī-vatasa, powder-box (vārdhamānaka)—and four in last row—tri-ratna, padma (full blown lotus), bhadrāsana and managala-kalasa. The pillar on the left of the Jina in centre is surmounted by an elephant, i.e. it is a Gaja-dhava-stambha. Elephant is the dhvaja or cognizance of Ajitanātha, hence the Jina in centre is Ajitānātha Studies in Jaina Art, Fig. 13 and pp. 79-80. Copyright, State Museum, Lucknow.

Fig. 12 (Pl. VII). Pedestal of Vārdhamāna image set up by daughters of Damitra in 162 A.D. in the reign of Vāsudeva. From near Kankali Tila, Mathura, now Mathura Museum no. 490. Note the Caturvidhi-samgha (sādhū, sādhuvi, śrāvaka, śrāvika) on two sides of Dharmacakra pillar shown in relief on pedestal. Installed by Okharia, daughter of Damitra, in the year Samvat 84. Agrawala, V.S., Cat. of the Mathura Museum, JUPHS, XXIII, p. 38. Copyright, Mathura Museum, Mathura.

Fig. 13 (Pl. VIII). Image of Ariṣṭanemi standing, from Mathura, now Lucknow Museum No. J. 8, inscribed, dated year 18. Luders’ List, no. 26. Note halo with scalloped border and flower design. A Jaina layman and a Jaina laywoman standing to the right and left of the Jina. Pedestal shows two monks on two sides of the Dharmacakra-Pillar, Kuṭāṇa, c. 2nd-3rd cent. A.D. Ref. Evolution of Jaina
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Iconography and Symbolism, Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, paper 6, Fig. 19. Photo Copyright, American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi.

Fig. 14 (Pl. VIII). A four-fold image—Pratimā-Sarvato-bhadrikā—from Kankali Tila, Mathura, now no. B.70 in the Mathura Museum. The Jina facing us is Pārśvanātha having as attendants near pedestal a male and a female Jaina lay devotees. Age, Kuśāṇa. Note the peculiar attachment (like a piece of cloth) to the palms of the hands of the Jina. Inscr. dated in the year 35. Agrawala, V.S., Catalogue of the Mathura Museum, JUPHS, XXIII, p. 37. Agrawala notes that there is a round mortice in the top of the stone. The base is broken. Obviously another stone could be attached to it because of the mortice. This sculpture was, therefore, part of a pillar. Photo Copyright, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Fig. 15 (Pl. VIII). Lower part of an image of a standing Jina, with the inscribed pedestal better preserved. From Kankali Tila, Mathura, now no. J.10, Lucknow Museum. Loders' List, no. 28. Dated in Samvat 20. Image of Vardhamāṇa dedicated by Dattā Śrāvikā. Studies in Jaina Art, Fig. 9. Copyright, State Museum, Lucknow.

Fig. 16 (Pl. IX). A wheel—Dharmaçakra—of brass or bronze from the Chausa Hoard, now in the Patna Museum, Arch. no. 6540. Ref. H.K. Prasad, op. cit., p. 280; Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, paper 26, Fig. 3, Age, Kuśāṇa. Copyright, Patna Museum, Patna.

Fig. 17 (Pl. IX). Caitya tree, brass or bronze, from the Chausa hoard, now in Patna Museum.

Found along with Jaina bronzes, this may be regarded as a Caitya-tree separately worshipped by the Jainas in the early centuries of the Christian era. It is not known whether a Jina image was placed under it near the trunk or whether the tree was separately worshipped. It is very likely that this was worshipped as a Caitya-tree. Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, paper 26, Fig. 4. H.K. Prasad, op. cit., p. 280.

Note the female figure (perhaps a yakṣī!) on top which shows that the tree dates from the Kuśāṇa period. For the worship of the Caitya tree and other trees in Jainism, see Studies in Jaina Art, pp. 65-76. Copyright, Patna Museum, Patna.

Fig. 18 (Pl. X). Dance of Nilāṇjanā—Scenes from the Life of Rābhānātha. Stone relief from Kankali Tila, Mathura. In two pieces, nos. J.609 and J.354, Lucknow Museum. Studies in Jaina Art, Fig. 5, p. 11, n. 4.

The relief panel is partly preserved and we miss other scenes from the life of Rābhānātha. What is preserved is in two pieces. The piece on the left, a bigger piece, no. J.354 in Lucknow Museum, represents the scene of Dance of Nilāṇjanā in a pavilion before Rābhādeva. Nilāṇjanā is said to have died dancing. The Laukāṇṭika gods appear. They are shown standing behind Rābhādeva who is seated and dressed as a king. With folded hands they request Rābhādeva to renounce the world. Transitoriness of worldly life and pleasures is shown by the death of Nilāṇjanā. Rābhānātha retires, turns a naked monk, and practices penance sitting in meditation. The dress and treatment of different figures in this panel shows that the reliefs date from c. 2nd-1st cent. B.C. Copyright, State Museum, Lucknow.

Fig. 19 (Pl. X). A mutilated panel from Kankali Tila representing "Bhagava Nemesa" according to the letters carved on the lower border. See Smith, Jain Stūpa, Pl. XVIII, p. 25. Now in Lucknow Museum, no. 626. Ref. Shah, U.P., Harindegamist, JISOA, Vol. XIX (1952-53), pp. 19-78, where we have shown that the scene does not depict transfer of Mahāvīra's embryo by Harindegamiś. Nor does the scene of dancing and rejoicing on the back side of this piece (see JISOA, XIX (1952-53), op. cit., Fig. 4) necessarily refer to the Transfer-incident. Age, Kuśāṇa. Copyright, State Museum, Lucknow.

Fig. 20 (Pl. XI). Image of Sarasvatī, from Kankali Tila, Mathura, now in State Museum, Lucknow. This was supposed to be the earliest image of Sarasvatī, the Goddess of Learning, so far discovered in India, but a figure carrying vīpa, from Bharhut, is now identified as Sarasvatī. Inscr. dated in year 54. An attendant devotee on her right carries a kalaśa—pūrṇa-kumbha—a pitcher of nectar, life force, knowledge, etc. In ancient times, kalaśa seems to have been a symbol of learning, and of Sarasvatī, the Goddess of Learning. A seal from Bhitā, having pitcher symbol on it, has the words
Sarasваті below the kalaśa, see Bannerji, J.N., Development of Hindu Iconography (second ed.), p. 197; and A.S.I.A.R. for 1911-12, p. 50, pl. XVIII (for the Bhita seal). Sarasvatī in this sculpture sits in a peculiar posture with leg tucked up from knees, i.e. with "knees up", which was the posture in which Mahāvīra obtained highest knowledge (Kerāla-jāna according to Jainism). The goddess carries a book in her left hand. The right hand is broken but beads of a rosary held in this hand are preserved near the wrist. Copyright, State Museum, Lucknow.

In Jain iconography, this is the earliest form of this goddess. Later, in the bronze image of Sarasvatī from Vasantagadh (ref. Akota Bronzes, Fig. 19) and in the loose images of Sarasvatī from Akota, Sarasvatī is two-armed and shows the lotus and the book with her right and left hands respectively. See Akota Bronzes, Pls. 18, 33, 37, pp. 34, 43, 46.


Fig. 21 (Pl. XI). Tablet of Kaṇha Samaṇa (a stone Tablet of Homage—āyāgāpata) depicting the ascetic Kaṇha (Krśna), from Kankali Tila, Mathura, now no. J.623, State Museum, Lucknow. Dated Samvat 95 (=173 A.D.). Ref. Smith, JS, pl. X, 32 and p. 24; Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, paper no. 6, Fig. 15 and p. 61. Note the Stūpa in the upper panel of this Tablet, perhaps it is a model of the Jaina stūpa at Mathura. Copyright, State Museum, Lucknow.

Fig. 22 (Pl. XII). Brass or Bronze statue of Ādinātha from Akōṭā, now in the Baroda Museum, no. AR.542. Ref. Shah, U.P., Akota Bronzes, Figs. 8a, 8b, pp. 21 and 25. This is the earliest image so far discovered showing a Jina with a lower garment. The image is assigned to c. 450-500 A.D. For its bearing on Jaina image worship, see Shah, U.P., Age of Differentiation of Digambara and Śvetāmbara images and the earliest known Śvetāmbara Bronzes, Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, no. 1. Photo Copyright, American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi.

Fig. 23 (Pl. XIII). Pārśvanātha in padmāsana with a canopy of seven-hooded snake at the back overhead. Stone, from Kankali Tila, Mathura, now no. J.39 in State Museum, Lucknow. The Jina seems to have a clean-shaven head; age, Kuśāṇa. Faynt Śrīvatsa mark on chest. Copyright, State Museum, Lucknow.

Fig. 24 (Pl. XIII). Stone sculpture of Pārśvanātha in padmāsana, from Rajgir, Bihar. Age, early mediaeval, 7th cent. A.D. Pārśva with a canopy of seven snake-hoods over which are the triple umbrellas, on two sides of the latter are two divine garland-bearers. On the right of the Jina, beginning from the top (below the mālā-dharā), are four planets headed by Sūrya. Similarly on the left are four remaining planets, the last one being Rāhu. Ketu is not shown. Upto about the end of the tenth century only eight planets are shown in Jaina sculptures.

The pedestal face is only partly preserved. But the figure of elephant to the left of the now defaced dharmacakrā in the centre is quite clear and better preserved. This is a very rare instance where an elephant, rather than the snake, is shown as the cognizance of Pārśvanātha. There is another smaller stone sculpture of Pārśva at Rajgir where a conch on each side of the dharmacakrā is shown as cognizance of Pārśva. Photo Courtesy & Copyright, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Fig. 25 (Pl. XIV). A stone sculpture of Rṣabhanātha standing in kāyotsarga mudrā, from collections of Musee Guimet; probably hails from Orissa. The beautiful sculpture shows the first Jina with a high (crown-like) jatā overhead and hair-locks on shoulders, arms reaching knees, attended by a standing cāmaradhara each side. Above these are small figures of four planets on each side of the Jina. Above them there are heavily mālā-dharās (suggesting sūrapuspavṛṣṭi, an atīṣaya, a part of parikara) and a pair of hands beating the drum, on each side, representing the heavenly music and drum-beating (dunḍubhī). Above the jatā of the Jina are the triple umbrellas with a leaf on each side suggesting the caitya-tree, the asoka-tree. Behind the head of the Jina is the bhāmāndala (halo). The Jina stands on a double-lotus (a visuḍḍapadma) under which is the small figure of a bull (raṣabha), the cognizance of the first Tīrthankara; the yaṣṭa-yaṣṭi pair is not shown. The sculpture, of Pala art of c. 9th and 10th cent., shows an evolved parikara of the Jina image representing most of the aṣṭa-mahāprātiḥāryas. Preserved in Musee Guimet (Paris), no. 3944. The tradition of representing the planets on two sides of the Jina
was current all over Eastern India in Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, cf. Fig. 47 below from Ajodhya (Orissa). Cf. Studies in Jaina Art, fig. 44 Candraprabha from Bihar; and fig. 38 Pārśvanātha from Bankura, Bahulara, Bengal, etc. In Western India and Madhya Pradesh, the planets figure on top of the pedestal or at the end of the pedestal, cf. Akota Bronzes, Figs. 22, 25, 27b, 49, 56b. Photo Copyright & Courtesy of Musee Guimet, Paris.

Fig. 26 (Pl. XV). Neminātha, age of Candragupta II (inscribed) from the old temple, Raigir. Age, early fifth century, Gupta. Neck and face mutilated. Pedestal shows in the centro the cakrapurusā in front of the dharmacakra, with a couch on each side representing the cognizance of Ariṣṭanemi (Neminātha), the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara. Two figures of Tīrthaṅkaras in padmāsanā are also shown on the pedestal. Upper parts of the sculpture are lost. Ref. Studies in Jaina Art, p. 14, Fig. 18. Ramaprasad Chanda in A.S.I.A.R., 1925-26, pp. 125ff. Note that on each side of the dharmacakra, the cognizance is shown in the Gupta age—not the usual pair of deer as in sculptures of the mediaeval period where the cognizance is shown elsewhere on the pedestal. Photo Copyright, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Fig. 27 (Pl. XVI). Image of Pushpadanta, inscribed, from Durjanpur near Vidiśā, now in the Vidiśā Museum. Gift of Mahārājādhirāja Ramagupta at the instance of a grand-pupil (name lost) of paniputra (acārya) Candra-kṣamana. Ref. G.S. Gai, Three Inscriptions of Ramagupta, Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, Vol. XVIII, pp. 247ff and Ep. Ind., XXXVIII, pp. 46ff. Installed by Mahārājādhirāja Rāmagupta, the elder brother of Candragupta II, the sculpture does not show the introduction of the cognizance on two sides of the dharmacakra. This however came only a few years later during the rule of Candragupta II, cf. the Neminātha from Raigir in Fig. 26 above. Note the beautiful figures of attendant camarādrāsas and the lotus-halo with scalloped-border. Age, late fourth cent. A.D. The inscriptions on the three images from Durjanpur (all installed by Mahārājādhirāja Rāmagupta) show that the titles kṣamana and kṣamārāmaṇa were started at least in the fourth cent. A.D. Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.

Fig. 28 (Pl. XVI). Adinātha from U.P. in the Mathura Museum, no. 00, B.64. The halo is more ornate and the sculpture, dating from Gupta period, c. 5th cent. A.D., is in the style of sculptures from Sarnath. The central part of the simhasana is much defaced but the Jina is identified as Adinātha on account of hair-locks on shoulders. Ref. Studies in Jaina Art, Fig. 26, pp. 13-16, also see ibid., Figs. 25, 27, 23, 24 for other specimens of Jina images of the Gupta age. Also see Sharma, R.C., Jaina Sculptures of the Gupta Age in the State Museum, Lucknow, Śri Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya Golden Jubilee Volume (English Section), pp. 143-155 and plates; Joanna Williams, Two New Gupta Images, Oriental Art, XVIII.4 (1972), pp. 378-380; Klaus Bruhn, The Jina Images of Deoghar, Figs. 20, 21: U.P. Shah, Jaina Art and Architecture (ed. A. Ghosh), Vol. I, Central India, chap. 12, and R.N. Mishra, Chap. XI on East India, in ibid., pp. 117ff, N.P. Joshi, chap. X on Mathura, in ibid., pp. 107ff. Copyright, Archaeological Museum, Mathura.

Fig. 29 (Pl. XVII). Jivantāsvāmi installed by Nāgīśvarī Śrāvikā, Akota, bronze, now in the Baroda Museum. Ref. Shah, U.P., A Unique Jaina Image of Jivantāsvāmi, Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. I, pp. 72-79 and Akota Bronzes, pp. 27-28, Fig. 12a, where the art and the inscription on this image are discussed. Photo Copyright, U.P. Shah.

Fig. 30 (Pl. XVII). Jivantāsvāmi, brass or bronze image with pedestal lost, from Akota, now in the Baroda Museum. Only the bust is illustrated here. For the full figure, see Akota Bronzes, figs. 9a, 9b and pp. 26-27. This is an exquisitely cast beautiful image of the Gupta age, c. late fifth century A.D. Also see M.N.P. Tiwari, Jivantāsvāmi Images, Bharati, New Series no. 2 (1984), pp. 78ff. Photo Copyright, U.P. Shah.

Fig. 32 (Pl. XVIII). Brass or Bronze image of Rśabhanātha from Orissa, now no. 9243 in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Note the high crown-like jaṭā and hair-locks falling on shoulders. Bull cognizance on pedestal. The Bull (Nandi) cognizance, the big jaṭā and name Rśabha all remind one of Śiva riding over Nandi. Such figures with elaborate big jaṭā etc. are reminiscent of Śiva. Photo Copyright, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Fig. 33 (Pl. XIX). A caumukha sculpture of Gupta age from Sarnath in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi (no. 850). On one side in the photo is seen the figure of Ajitanātha with his elephant cognizance on each side of the dharmacakra on pedestal. On the other side is Kunthunātha, whose goat cognizance is shown on his pedestal.

A very large number of Caumukha stone sculptures and bronzes are available all over India in Jaina shrines, see Studies in Jaina Art, pp. 11-12, 85-95 etc., Figs. 28 (Raigir), 74 (Terahi, Madhya Pradesh), 84 (Surat); Akota Bronzes, Figs. 70a, 70b, 71a; Jaina Pratinī-Vijñāna (Hindi), Figs. 67 (Ahad, M.P.), 68 (Pakbira, Bengal), 69 (Guna, M.P.), etc.

Fig. 34 (Pl. XXI). Ādīnātha in padmāsana, brass or bronze from Vasantagadh hoard, now in a Jaina shrine in Pindwara. Eyes silver-studded, legs with a copper-slip. Note the treatment of hair on head suggesting a jaṭā; also mark the typical horse-shoe shaped arch around head serving the purpose of a halo. Twigs of a caitya tree hang from the centre of this halo. Hair-locks on shoulders and a bull on each end of the pedestal with the dharmacakra in centre help us to identify the image as representing Rśabhanātha. Age, Gupta, c. 6th cent. A.D. The practice of showing the cognizance on each of the two sides of the Wheel of Law seems to have been discontinued after the Gupta Age or towards the end of the sixth century A.D. The back seat with makara-ends is also noteworthy. Copyright, U.P. Shah.

Fig. 35 (Pl. XXI). Rśabhanātha (or Śaṅtinātha) installed by Jinabhadra Vācanācārya, from Akota hoard of Jaina Bronzes, now in the Baroda Museum. The Jina standing in kāyotsarga mudrā has hair-locks falling on shoulders, hence he was formerly identified by us as Rśabhanātha. In front of his feet is the dharmacakra with a deer on each side. Sarvānubhūti Yakṣa (or Sarvānīya Yakṣa) with a fruit and a money-bag in his right and left hands respectively is sitting on a lotus near the right end of the pedestal. On the corresponding left end is the two-armed Ambikā Yakṣī with an āmrulīmbi in her right hand and holding her son on the lap with her left hand. This is the earliest instance, so far discovered, of the introduction of this Yakṣa-Yakṣī pair in Jaina images. Jinabhadra Vācanācārya has been identified with the famous Jinabhadra Gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa since according to Jaina traditions (e.g. sthāvīravāli of the unpublished Kahāvali) Vācanācārya, Kṣamāśramaṇa and Divākara are epithets which are synonymous. The date of this great scholar Jinabhadra Gaṇi, the author of Viśeśavaśyaka mahābhāṣya, etc., is supposed to be about 500 A.D. to about 610 A.D. according to Jaina traditional accounts. Also see Akota Bronzes, Figs. 10a, 10b, 11, and p. 28. The bronze should date from about 550-600 A.D. Formerly I had assigned this figure to c. 500-550 A.D. but now I think the image dates from somewhat after 550 A.D. and before the end of the sixth century A.D. It is not unlikely that this image represents Śaṅtinātha whose cognizance is the deer, shown on two sides of the dharmacakra. Photo Copyright, U.P. Shah.

Fig. 36 (Pl. XXI). Nava-Devata, stone, from Tamil Nadu. Discovered by R. Nagaswami, this is datable to c. 11th cent. A.D., and is the earliest archaeological evidence for the discovery of the worship of the Nine Dignitaries or Deities—namely—Arhat, the Siddha, the Ācārya, the Upādhyāya, the Sudhu, the Caitya (image), Caityālaya (shrine), the Dharmacakra (Wheel of Law), and the Śruta or the Scripture (here shown on a stand, a sthāpanā). This is according to Digambara tradition. The stone is partly mutilated. Also cf. Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, Fig. 23 which represents only the Pāča-Parameśthins in Dig. tradition, and Fig. 25 representing the Nava-Devatā (Dig. tradition). Also cf. Studies in Jaina Art, Fig. 77, pp. 97-103. Photo Copyright and Courtesy of R. Nagaswami, Dept. of Arch., Madras State.

Fig. 37 (Pl. XXI). Nava-Devatā (Dig.) brass or bronze, from a Jaina temple, Śravana Belagola. For references to Nava-Devatā, see notes on Fig. 36 above. Also see Jaina Art and Architecture (ed.
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Fig. 39 (Pl. XXII). Siddha-Cakra (Śve.), bronze, now in Baroda Museum, Baroda, see *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 97-103, Fig. 85; *Jaina Art and Architecture*, Vol. III, pp. 47ff. Copyright, Baroda Museum, Baroda.

Fig. 40 (Pl. XXIII). Rśabhanātha meditating, with Nami and Vinami standing on his sides. From Śatruññaya. Nami and Vinami, the grandsons of Rśabha, were not present when Rśabha divided his kingdom amongst his sons before he turned a monk. Nami and Vinami later came to Rśabha when the latter was standing in meditation as a monk, and requested that both of them may be given some share. At this, Dharanendra, a demi-god, is said to have approached and bestowed on Nami and Vinami lordship over cities of Vidyādharas situated on the southern and northern slopes of the Vaitādhyya mountain. For fuller account of the story see *Trisāṭṭhālakā-purāṇacarita*, I:3, 124-235, GOS, vol. LI, pp. 170ff. U.P. Shah, *Iconography of the Sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyas*, JISSA, Vol. XV (1947), pp. 114ff. M.A. Dhaky, *Apropos of the Image of Rśabha with Nami and Vinami*, S.K. Saraswati Commemoration Volume, pp. 59ff, assigns this sculpture to c. 1240-41 a.d. Copyright and Courtesy, American Institute of Indian Studies, Centre for Art and Archaeology, Varanasi.

Fig. 41 (Pl. XXIV). Sculptures of Bharata and Bāhubali on the Śatruññaya hill. Representations of Bāhubali in Śvetāmbara shrines are rare. Of course amongst miniature paintings of the Kalpa-sūtra, one often comes across paintings of Bāhubali standing in meditation with creepers entwining his body and his sisters—Brāhma and Sundari—standing, one on each side, and requesting him to give up his subtle egoism. The sisters said, “Please come down from the elephant”—the elephant symbolising ego. Here, in Fig. 41, the image on the right is of Bāhubali having a long beard and creepers entwining his body. On each side is his sister. On the pedestal is carved a figure of an elephant as if it were a cognizance of Bāhubali. No literary evidence is known for such a cognizance of Bāhubali and perhaps this is an innovation of the artist or the donors of this image. The idea of the elephant symbol could have been inspired by the story of Brāhma and Sundari requesting him to come down from the elephant (his subtle egoism), i.e. to give up his subtle egoism. According to the inscription on this image, it was the gift of Vyavahāri Dhaḍasimha and installed in the Śrī Śāntinātha Vidyācārya at Śrī-Pattana by Śrī Jinaṇāma sūri of Kharatara gacca in the year Samvat 1391 (1334 A.D.). See M.A. Dhaky, *Image of Jina Rśabha with Nami and Vinami*, S.K. Saraswati Memorial Volume, pp. 56-67 and note 49.

The image on the left in this illustration (our fig. 41) represents Bharata Cakravarti, the son of Rśabhanātha. The Wheel on the pedestal is the cognizance of a Cakravartin. Here Bharata stands in the kāyotsarga mudrā and hence the image represents Bharata after he renounced the world and became a Jaina monk. The inscription on the pedestal shows that it was also installed (like the Bāhubali image) in the Śrī Śāntinātha Caityalaya at Śrī-Pattana by Jinaṇāma sūri in Samvat 1391 (1334 A.D.), the donor being the wife of Vyavahāri Dhaḍasimha. Copyright & Courtesy, American Institute of Indian Studies, Centre for Art & Archaeology, Varanasi.

Both the images are now on the Śatruññaya hill alongside of the image of Rśabha with Nami and Vinami illustrated in Fig. 40.

Fig. 42 (Pl. XXV). Miniature painting showing different Kalyāṇakas from the life of Āristanemi, Folio 60 from Ms. of Kalpa Sūtra in L.D. Institute of Indology, Muni Śrī Puṇyavijayaji Collection, size 8 × 8.7 cms. Assigned to v.s. 1403 = 1346 A.D. by Puṇyavijayaji and U.P. Shah. Divided into four sections, the upper two sections show the Mother with Child Āristanemi in the section to the right, and Āristanemi being carried in a palaṇquin when he goes out to renounce the world and be initiated as a monk (this represents part of his Dīkṣā Kalyāṇaka) on the lower two sections, one on the right shows Āristanemi plucking out hair on his head which are being collected in the palm of his hands by four-
armed Śakra sitting near Nemi. The scene represents the *Dīkṣā-Kalyāṇaka*. The last section shows the *Samavasarana* with the Jina in the centre. This represents the *Kevalajñāna* of the Jina who after obtaining the highest knowledge gives his first sermon. Gods have created a circular structure—an audience theatre—with three fortifications dividing the audience in three circular compartments, and having four gates in four different directions. For scenes of different Kalyāṇakas from lives of Jinas Rśabha, Neminātha, Pārśva and Mahāvīra, see Brown, W. Norman, *Miniature Paintings of the Kalpa-Sūtra*, and Sarabhai Nawab’s *Jaina Cātrakalpadruma*, Vols. I & II. Photo Copyright, U.P. Shah; Courtesy, I.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad.

**Fig. 43 (Pl. XXV).** Miniature painting of Pārvatā from Dharapandya and Padmavati from the illustrated palm-leaf manuscript of Dhavala + Jaya-Dhavala + Mahadhavala, Digambara Jaina Bhandara at Mūḍābidrī (Karnataka). Age, c. 12th cent. A.D. Ref. Sarayu Doshi, *Twelfth century illustrated manuscripts from Mūḍābidrī, Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay*, no. 8 (1962-64), pp. 29-36, C. Sivaramamurti, *South Indian Painting* (New Delhi, 1968), pp. 90-96.

Pārśva here sits on a simhāsana (lion-throne) and has on each side an attendant fly-whisk bearer. A canopy of seven snake-hoods is arranged from behind his head so as also to look like an ornamental halo. On the right end of the miniature is a big figure of Padmavati canopied by snake-hoods. Four-armed, the goddess carries the goad and the noose in her right and left upper hands respectively. The right lower hand seems to have carried the lotus while the left lower holds the fruit. For other miniatures from this group, see Bussagli & Sivaramamurti, *5000 Years of the Art of India*, Fig. 325. To the right of Padmavati is a swan-like figure whose head is more like that of a serpent. The figure intended by the artist is that of kukkutā-sarpa though it is not convincingly rendered.

To the left of Pārśva’s simhāsana stands the four-armed Dharanendra, showing the abhaya and the varada-mudrā with the right and left lower hands respectively. His left upper hand holds the noose (pāśa) while the symbol of his right upper hand is not distinct (may be goad!). Photo Copyright, U.P. Shah.

**Fig. 44 (Pl. XXVI).** Bronze image of Mahāvīra from Singanikoppam, S. Arcot district, Tamil Nadu, now in the Government Museum, Madras (Mu. No. 389/57). A beautiful specimen of Cola art of c. mid-eleventh century A.D. The lion cognizance is shown on the pedestal. Copyright, Government Museum, Madras.

**Fig. 45 (Pl. XXVI).** Standing Neminātha—the Śaṅkha-Jina from Mūḍābidrī, Karnataka. The Jina here stands on a conch of enormous size. Conch is the cognizance of Neminātha or Ariṣṭanemi. In the Karnataka is a famous Śaṅkha-Jinālaya, of c. 11th cent. A.D., at Mulgund, Dharwar district, vide C. Sivaramamurti, *Panorama of Jain Art, South India*, Figs. 473, 474. Photo Copyright, U.P. Shah.

**Fig. 46 (Pl. XXVII).** Inscribed image of Pārvatā from Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Age, c. late 11th cent. A.D. From Karnataka, style Chalukyan. A beautiful specimen. To the right of Pārvatā is sitting his yakṣa Dharanendra carrying the goad and the noose in his right and left upper hands respectively and showing the lotus and the fruit in the corresponding lower hands. Dharanendra has one cobra-hood overhead. Padmavati, with one cobra-hood overhead, is sitting to the left of the Jina and shows the goad and the varada-mudrā in the right upper and lower hands respectively while she holds the noose and the fruit in the corresponding left hands. Pārvatā has a canopy of seven cobra-hoods overhead. The body of this huge cobra is shown in zig-zag pattern behind the body of the Jina. Ref. *Jaina Art and Architecture*, p. 1546. Fig. 323B. Copyright & Courtesy, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

**Fig. 47 (Pl. XXVII).** Pārvatā from Ayodhya, Orissa. For this figure see notes on Figs. 24 & 25. On the pedestal, in the centre are figures of snake-queens of Dharanendra who come and sing and dance and play on musical instruments to alleviate the suffering of Pārvatā and divert his attention from Kamaṭha’s attack. For different representations of Kamaṭha’s attack, see *A Pārvatā in Cleveland, Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum*, December 1970.

**Fig. 48 (Pl. XXVII).** Ambikā-Yaksi and a row of Tīrthaṅkaras on a boulder, Andamangalam, Chingleput district, Tamil Nadu. Ambikā here stands on a lion, as if in some dancing pose and has
placed her left hand on the head of a female figure standing on her left side. Her right hand is held akimbo. Near her right leg are her two sons. The carvings seem to date from c. seventh century A.D. Mark the big cushion behind the Jina in the centre. Behind this round oblong cushion is the back-rest with a horizontal bar resting on two pilasters shaped like two standing animals. Marks of nudity are not clear on the figures of any of the three Tirthankara images. For Anandamangalam and these figures, see K.G. Krishnan, *Jaina Monuments of Tamil Nadu, Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, p. 99, Fig. 8. There is a one line inscription on the boulder which records “the gift of gold for feeding one devotee in Jinagiri by Vardhamanapriyadigal...” The inscription is of the 38th year of Cola Parantaka I, d. 945 A.D. The sculptures on the rocks date from a period before 945 A.D. C. Sivaramamurti, *Panorama of Jaina Art, S. India*, p. 16. Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.

Fig. 49 (*Pl. XXVIII*). Tirthankara Mahāvīra with different *prāthāryas* in *parikara*, central panel, aṣṭa-Dīkpalā ceiling, raṅgamanḍapa, Sāntināthā temple, Kambadahalli, Karnataka. Age, c. end of the tenth century A.D. Besides two usual cāmaradharas behind the seat of the Jina, we have here one more cāmaradhara on each side of the Jina; these are not yakṣas but are nāgas (snake-deities) having five snake-hoods overhead. The Yakṣa and Yakṣī are each two-armed. The Yakṣa Sarvānubhūti (Sarvānha) rides on an elephant and holds a lotus-stalk in his right hand. Symbol of the other hand is not distinct. Yakṣī Ambikā here holds lotus in her right hand and rides on the lion; symbol of the other hand is not distinct. Ref. M.A. Dhaky, *Ganga Jaina Sculpture*, paper no. 16, *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, pp. 195-203 and Fig. 8. Copyright & Courtesy, American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi.

Fig. 50 (*Pl. XXIX*). Attack of Kamaṭha on Parśvanātha, Kalugumalai, Tamil Nadu. Age, c. 8th century A.D. Style, Pandyan. Ref. U.P. Shah, *A Parśvanātha Image in Cleveland, Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum*, Dec. 1970, pp. 303-311, giving the story of attack by Kamaṭha and its various representations on stone, mainly in S. India. For the Kalugumalai relief, see C. Sivaramamurti, *Panorama of Jaina Art*, coloured plate facing page 11, and Fig. 37. For other reliefs of this scene, see *ibid.*, figs. 38 & 39, 44 (from Tirakkol, North Arcot district, age, c. 8th cent. A.D.), fig. 80 (from Karaikoil, c. 8th-9th cent. A.D., style Pandyan), fig. 121 (from Aihole, age, c. 7th cent. A.D.), fig. 127 (from Badami, c. 7th cent. A.D.), fig. 136 (from Ellora, cave 32, c. 9th cent.), fig. 138 (also from Ellora, cave 32, 9th cent. A.D., style Rāṣṭrakūṭa), fig. 142 (also from Cave 32, Ellora, 9th cent. A.D., Rāṣṭrakūṭa). For Śve. representations in paintings, see W. Norman Brown, *Miniature Paintings of the Jaina Kalpasutra*. Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.

Fig. 51 (*Pl. XXIX*). Tirthankara Vimalanātha standing in kāyotsarga posture. From Sarnath or Varanasi, now in Sarnath museum, no. 236. Age, c. 9th cent. A.D. Attended by a cāmaradhara on each side, the Jina is recognised with the help of the figure of his cognizance—the pig—carved in the centre of the pedestal.

Fig. 52 (*Pl. XXIX*). Neminātha standing in kāyotsarga mudrā from Padhāvali (M.P.). Pedestal shows the dharmacakra on the left, a female in a dance pose with folded hands, and on the right is a conch, the cognizance of Neminātha. Obviously there is a slight departure from the arrangement in which the dharmacakra in the centre of the pedestal was flanked on each side by the cognizances of the Jina. Note the winged animal on top of the pillar on the left side. Age, c. late 6th century A.D. Copyright, Dept. of Archaeology, old Gwalior State, now Madhya Pradesh.

Fig. 53 (*Pl. XXX*). Sambhava Jina with horse cognizance and Jina Abhinandana with the monkey as cognizance. The lōčchanas shown in the centre of simhāsana of each Jina. From Cave 9 on Khandagiri, Orissa. The Cave is described as Mahāvīra-Gumpha, R.P. Mohapatra, *Udayagiri & Khandagiri Caves*, pp. 170-171, 60-61, pl. 10, Fig. 2, p. 174. For images of Sambhava in Navamuni-Gumpha, Bārabuji-Gumpha and Mahāvīra-Gumpha, see *ibid.*, Pl. 85, Fig. 1, Pl. 88, Fig. 1, and Pl. 97, Fig. 1. For Abhinandana, *ibid.*, Pl. 85, Fig. 2, Pl. 88, Fig. 1 and Pl. 97, Fig. 1, and p. 175. Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.

Fig. 54 (*Pl. XXX*). Sumatinātha and Padmaprabha, with curlew (*kraunca*) and lotus respectively
as their cognizances from Mahāvīra Gumphā, Khandagiri, Orissa. Also see ibid., Plates 88 and 97 for figures from Barabhuji and Mahāvīra Gumphās, and ibid., p. 175 for descriptions.

Fig. 55 (Pl. XXXI). Rṣabhanātha, from Kankali Tila, Mathura, now No. J.78 in the State Museum, Lucknow. Age, c. 7th-8th cent. A.D. In the centre of the simhāsana, on one side of the drhamcakra is the figure of a bull, the cognizance of Rṣabhanātha. On the other side of the Wheel is a small indistinct figure which may be a deer suggesting the drhamcakra with the deer motif which seem to have been borrowed by the Jainas from the Buddha images after the Gupta age. Head of the Jina mutilated. On the right side of the Jina stands Balarāma with snake hoods overhead while on the left stands Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva. Ordinarily the Jina would have been identified as Neminātha, the cousin brother of Kṛṣṇa, but here the absence of the conch cognizance of Neminātha and the presence of bull symbol of Rṣabhanātha makes certain the identification of this Jina as Ādinātha. Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma figures are added to show the superiority of the Jaina deity over the Brahmānical deity who was very popular in and around Mathura. Two-armed Sarvānha Yakṣa and Ambikā Yakṣī figure as śāsana-devatās on two ends of the simhāsana. Copyright, State Museum, Lucknow.

Fig. 56 (Pl. XXXII). Candraprabha, standing with his yakṣa and yakṣīni standing by the side of his legs. Crescent symbol on pedestal. Age, c. 12th-13th cent. A.D. From Humca, southern Karnatak.</p>

Triple umbrella above and oblong halo behind head. Note absence of other members of the aṣṭa-prātihāryas. Copyright, U.P. Shah.

Fig. 57 (Pl. XXXII). Covisi with Rṣabhanātha in centre, from Surohar, Dinajpur, Rajashahi district, Bengal. A beautiful typical sculpture of Pala art; Rṣabhanātha in the centre has a typical high jaṭā which is especially common in sculptures from Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.

Fig. 58 (Pl. XXXII). Sambhavanātha standing with attendant cāmaradharas on the sides of his legs. Dharmacakra flanked by the horse cognizance in the centre of the pedestal. Triple umbrella on top. Two branches of the caitya-tree on the sides of the head and two divine garland bearers. No other members of the parikara. Figure represents one side of a four-fold stone sculpture found in the Son Bhandara cave, Raigir. Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.

Fig. 59 (Pl. XXXIII). Ajītanātha with Mahāyakṣa and Rohiṇī yakṣī in the Suttalaya of Gommata, Śravana Belagola, Karnataka. Age, late 12th cent. A.D. These sculptures of Hoyasala period in the groups of 24 Tirthaṅkaras usually show the triple umbrella, yakṣa and yakṣī, halo behind head of the Jina and his cognizance on the pedestal. Other members of the parikara are hardly portrayed in these groups. Copyright and Courtesy of S. Settar, Dharwar.

Fig. 60 (Pl. XXXIV). Tirthaṅkara Puṣpadanta with Ajīta yakṣa and yakṣī Mahākāti. Digambara tradition. From Suttalaya of Gommata, Śravana Belagola. Age, c. 1200 A.D. Beautiful workmanship. Copyright and Courtesy, Prof. S. Settar, Dharwar.

Fig. 61 (Pl. XXXV). Supārśva standing with a big cobra with five snake hoods behind him and attended by his yakṣa and yakṣīni standing near the legs. The svastika cognizance of this Jina is shown on the pedestal. To the left of this figure is a sculpture of Candraprabha, the eighth Tirthaṅkara, standing with his yakṣa and yakṣīni on the sides and the crescent moon symbol on the pedestal. From the Bhandara Basti, Śravana Belagola. Age, 1159 A.D. Copyright, U.P. Shah.

Fig. 62 (Pl. XXXVI). Tirthaṅkara Puṣpadanta standing with his yakṣa and yakṣī. From Bhandara Basti, Śravana Belagola, age, 1159 A.D. Copyright, U.P. Shah.

Fig. 63 (Pl. XXXVI). The tenth Tirthaṅkara Śītala standing with his yakṣa and yakṣī. His cognizance of Śrī-druma is shown on the pedestal. From Bhandara Basti, Śravana Belagola. c. 1159 A.D. Copyright, U.P. Shah.

Fig. 64 (Pl. XXXVI). Tirthaṅkara Vimala sitting with the sūkara symbol in centre of simhāsana. To the left of this figure is sitting Jina Ananta with his bear as his cognizance. From Barabhuji Gumphā, Khandagiri, Orissa. R.P. Mohapatra, Udayagiri & Khandagiri Caves, pl. 90, fig. 1, pp. 159, 170-173, 178. Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.
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Fig. 65 (Pl. XXXVII). Tirthankara Śrāvyāmsa standing with his yakṣa and yakṣī. Bhandara Basti, Śrāvāna Belagola. c. 1159 A.D. Copyright, U.P. Shah.

Fig. 66 (Pl. XXXVII). Tirthankara Dharmanāthā standing with his yakṣa and yakṣī. Vajra (thunderbolt) labāchana on pedestal. To his left is sculpture of sixteenth Tirthankara Śaṅtināthā standing with his yakṣa and yakṣini. Deer cognizance on pedestal. Both sculptures from the group of 24 Tirthankaras, Jaina temple, Mudabidri, Karnata. Age, c. 14th century A.D. Copyright, U.P. Shah.

Fig. 67 (Pl. XXXVIII). Tirthankara Vāśupūja standing, cognizance māhiṣa (buffalo) on pedestal and the yakṣa and yakṣini by the Jina. To the left of this sculpture is a figure of Tirthankara Vimala standing with his yakṣa and yakṣini. Cognizance varāha on pedestal. Both the images from Bhandara Basti, Śrāvāna Belagola, c. 1159 A.D. Copyright, U.P. Shah.

Fig. 68 (Pl. XXXVIII). Seventeenth Tirthankara Kuntū and the eighteenth Jina Ara, each sitting on a double-lotus placed on a simhāsana. Kuntū and Ara have the goat and the fish respectively as their cognizances. R.P. Mohapatra, op. cit., pl. 101, fig. 1, p. 179. Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.

Fig. 69 (Pl. XXXIX). Pacchatirth image with Tirthankara Śaṅtināthā sitting in the centre on a simhāsana. The deer cognizance on a cloth hanging over the simhāsana. Full parikāra with yakṣa and yakṣī. From Pabhoṣa, U.P., now in the Allahabad Municipal Museum. Ref. Pramod Chandra, Stone Sculptures in the Allahabad Museum, p. 158, fig. 455. Copyright and Courtesy of American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi.

Fig. 70 (Pl. XXXIX). Twelve-armed figure of Cakraśvarī yakṣī on the left wall of the verandah of Barahbūji cave, Khandagiri, Orissa. One of her right hands is in varada mudrā, two others hold the sword and the cakra. Of her left hands, one is held against the chest and three other hands carry the shield, the ghantā, and the cakra. Symbols of the remaining hands are damaged and indistinct. Mohapatra, op. cit., pl. 95, fig. 1. Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.


Fig. 71 (Pl. XXXIX). Pārśvanāthā from Godavari district, now in Madras Museum. Seven cobra-hoods overhead. The Jina sitting in ardhanīrasmāsana is attended on each side by a standing male Nāga having one snake-hood over the crown. The Nāgas are holding one end each of a big garland of flowers. This is a rare example of a Jina image attended by Nāgas. Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.

Fig. 72 (Pl. XL). Munisuvrata with tortoise cognizance on pedestal, and dated in Samvat 1063 = 1006 A.D. From river Yamuna near Agra Fort, now No. J.776 in State Museum, Lucknow. A unique composition of miniature figures of other Jinas and Jivantavāṃś characters along with main image of Munisuvrata, see text, p. 163. Copyright, State Museum, Lucknow.

Fig. 73 (Pl. XLI). Mallināthā with the pitcher as cognizance and Namināthā with a bunch of blue-lotuses shown as cognizance on the simhāsana. From Mahāvira-Gumpha, Khandagiri, Orissa. Mohapatra, op. cit., pp. 179-180, pls. 93, fig. 1, 94, fig. 1, 101, fig. 2. Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.

Fig. 74 (Pl. XLI). Tirthankara Munisuvrata and Nemināthā from Mahāvira-Gumpha, Khandagiri. Mohapatra, op. cit., pp. 180-181, pls. 86, 93, 94 and 102. Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.

Fig. 75 (Pl. XLII). Standing Śaṅtināthā with Garuda yakṣa and Mahāmānast yakṣī, from Mangayi Basti, Śrāvāna Belagola. Age, c. 1325 A.D. Copyright and Courtesy of Prof. S. Settar, Dharwar.

Fig. 76 (Pl. XLII). Austerities of Pārśvanāthā, painting from a paper manuscript of Kalpa-sūtra, c. 15th century A.D. Copyright & Courtesy, The Cleveland Museum of Art (The Edward L. Whitemore collection).

Fig. 76A (Pl. XLII). Eighteen-armed Cakraśvarī. Miniature painting on palm-leaf Ms. folio in the
collections of the late Shri Bahadursinghi Simghi, Calcutta. Photo Courtesy, Prof. Ernest Bender, Philadelphia, U.S.A.

Fig. 77 (Pl. XLIII). Sculptures of Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra standing with their yakṣas and yakṣinis. From Bhandara Basti, Śrāvana Belagola. Age, 1159 A.D. Copyright, U.P. Shah.

Fig. 78 (Pl. XLIV). Image of Vardhamāṇa installed in the year 35. Kusāna. From Kankali Tila, Mathura, now J.16, Lucknow Museum. Ref. Luders’ List, no. 39. The Scythian Period, pp. 249-50, Fig. 60.

In the centre of the pedestal, dharmacakra with rim facing us, is placed on a peculiarly shaped pillar. To the right of the Wheel of Law, a naked monk with the broom in raised right hand and a piece of scarf hanging from his left hand wrist covers his male organ. Modern scholars recognise such monks as ardhaphalakas. These may as well be the monks of the Yāpaniya sect. Next to him on his right, a standing śrāvaka (Jaina layman) with garland in right hand and some object in the left hand. He wears a dhoti and a dupatta. Next to him, two small male devotees with folded hands.

To the left of the dharmacakra stands a female with raised right hand carrying a broom-like object. She wears a coat-like upper garment and a sāṭī as lower garment, and holds an unidentified object with left hand. She must be identified as a Jaina nun. Next to her, on her left, is a standing śrāvikā (a Jaina laywoman) wearing a lower garment, ornaments, etc., and holding a long wreath of flowers in her right hand. Next to her are two small figures of female devotees with folded hands.

Thus the pedestal shows the Dharma (cf. Dharma of the Buddhist formula—Dhammam śaraṇam gacchāmi), represented by the dharmacakra, and Samgha represented by a monk (sādhu), a nun (sādhuvi), and Jaina laymen (śrāvaka) and laywomen (śrāvikā), cf. the Buddhist Formula: saṃgham śaraṇam gacchāmi. The Jina figure on top of pedestal is the chief object of worship (cf. Buddhām śaraṇam gacchāmi of the Buddhists). Thus the conception of the Jina sculpture of Kuśāna period is analogous to the Buddhist conception of the three śarasas. Full parikara of the Jina image, obtained in medieval sculpture, was not yet evolved. Cf. Shah, U.P., Evolution of Jaina Iconography and Symbolism, Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, pp. 497f and figs. 16-21, 9-12 for Jaina images of the Kuśāna period and Figs. 4, 5, 6, 13, 14 for later periods, Fig. 23 for an evolved parikara of medieval age.

Note the typical Śrīvatsa mark on the chest of Vardhamāna in the figure under consideration.

No cognizances are shown on any part of Tirthaṅkara images of the Kuśāna period, nor are the two deer shown on two sides of the dharmacakra which latter practice, adopted by the Jainas since about the end of the Gupta period, is clearly in imitation of the Buddhist practice. In Buddhism, this symbolism signifies Buddha’s setting into motion the dharmacakra by delivering his first sermon in the deer-park at Sarnath. Copyright, State Museum, Lucknow.

Fig. 79 (Pl. XLV). Ajatnāṭha standing with the horse symbol below the simhāsana and the dharmacakra on the lowermost end of the sculpture. To his right is standing Sambhavanātha with horse symbol similarly shown. This is the practice in sculptures from this region. From Narwar, Shvopuri district, Madhya Pradesh. Now No. 16 in Shivpuri district Museum. This is a dvīṭīthī sculpture, both the Jinas are carved on one stone. In the centre of simhāsana of each Jina is sitting, in a niche, a small figure of a ganadhara or an ācārya. This is also typical of the sculptures from this region. Below this figure is the dharmacakra. Copyright, American Institute of Indian Studies, Centre for Art and Archaeology, Varanasi.

Fig. 80 (Pl. XLVI). Parents of a Jina. From Bābāgarh, U.P., now No. 244 in the Allahabad Museum. Age, c. 8th cent. A.D. Copyright, American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi.

Fig. 81 (Pl. XLVII). Parents of a Jina from Khajuraho Museum, Khajuraho. The fact that the yakṣa and yakṣī are shown separately on the ends of the pedestal proves that the main figures are Parents of the Jina on top and not the yakṣa and yakṣī. Ref. Shah, U.P., Parents of the Tirthaṅkaras, Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, no. 5, 1955-57, pp. 24-32 and plates. Copyright, U.P. Shah.

Fig. 82 (Pl. XLVIII). The two rows in the middle are of Parents of the Tirthaṅkaras, all with names carved below each figure. On the analogy of these panels the loose sculptures in examples like figs. 80, 81, 85A can be identified as Parents of the Tirthaṅkaras. From a ceiling in the Mahāvīra temple,
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Kumbharia. Age, eleventh century A.D. The first and the fourth panels in the illustration show scenes from the life of Pārśvanātha. Photo Courtesy, Shri Amrittal Trivedi, Palitana.

Fig. 83 (Pl. XLVII). Ambikā Yakṣī with two sons and the lion vāhana on her left. Her right hand rests on head of a small female figure on her right. There is a bigger dancing figure with one hand raised, on the right end of the relief. This cannot be identified. From cavern on the hill, Kalugumalai, Tamil Nadu. Age, c. 9th-10th cent. A.D., Pandyan. Compare with this, for iconography, a relief sculpture of Ambikā, carved on a boulder at Anadamānangalam, Tamil Nadu. Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.

Fig. 84 (Pl. XLVIII). Panels of Past and Future Tirthāṅkaras of this age, from a ceiling in the Mahāvīra temple, Kumbharia. All figures have inscribed labels below them. Age, eleventh cent. A.D. Also see text, p. 103. Copyright, U.P. Shah.

Fig. 85 (Pl. XLVIII). A sculpture, cylindrical in shape, with Rṣabhanātha in the uppermost panel and in all 148 miniature figures of standing Tirthāṅkaras in the seven rows below. See text, p. 97 for explanation. From Sat Deulia, Burdwan district, West Bengal. Ref. P.C. Das Gupta, A rare Jain...icon from Sat Deulia, Jaina Journal, vol. VII, no. 3, pp. 130-32 and plates.

Fig. 85A (Pl. XLVIII). Parents of the Jina Rṣabhanātha identified with the help of the bull cognizance. From Khajuraho Museum. Age, c. 11th cent. A.D. Ref. Shah, U.P., Parents of the Tirthāṅkaras, Bull. of Prince of Wales Museum, No. 5. Copyright, U.P. Shah.


Fig. 89 (Pl. L). Two-armed Ambikā from Ellora, Cave 32. Also see Jose Pereira, Monolithic Jinas. Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.

Fig. 90 (Pl. L). Two-armed Padmāvatī yakṣī of Pārśvanātha and to her left two-armed Ambikā, the yakṣī of Neminātha, from wall carvings of the Navamuni cave, Khandaqiri, Orissa. Padmāvatī shows the abhaya mudrā with her right hand and holds a lotus flower in the left hand. Below her lotus seat is her vāhana, the kukkūta-sarpa. Ambikā, sitting in latīsāsana under a mango-tree, holds a child on her lap with the left hand while her right hand is held in the abhaya mudrā. A defaced figure of the lion is seen below the lotus seat. Age, c. 10th cent. A.D. Mohapatra, op. cit., pp. 189-190, pl. 86, fig. 2, also see pl. 84, fig. 2 for figures from Barabuhi cave. Copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.

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Fig. 173 (Pl. LXXXVII). A rare type of four-armed Ambikā with the book and the mirror in her two upper hands. Influenced by Hindu form of Durgā holding a mirror. From U.P., now no. G.312 in State Museum, Lucknow. Age, c. 11th cent. A.D. Photo, U.P. Shah.

Fig. 174 (Pl. LXXXVIII). Twelve-armed Cakreśvari sitting in padmāsana and showing the varada mudrā, sword, axe, arrow, vajra and cakra in her right hands and the shield, gadd, goad, bow, snake and the lotus in her left hands. The vahana in front of her lotus seat is a curious representation of the kukkuta sarpa sitting and facing us and not a tortoise as supposed by M.N.P. Tiwari. From Shadhul, Thakur Sahib's collection, Shahdol, M.P. Age, c. 11th cent. A.D. Copyright, AJS, Varanasi.

Fig. 175 (Pl. LXXXVIII). Twenty-armed Cakreśvari, Temple no. 12, Devgadh. Age, c. ninth cent. A.D. Ref. Iconography of Cakreśvari, the Yakṣi of Rṣabhanātha, JOS, Vol. XX, no. 3. Copyright, U.P. Shah.

Fig. 176 (Pl. LXXXIX). Colossal sculpture of Simandhara Jina, one of the Viharamāṇa Tirthaṅkaras. In padmāsana, with bull-cognizance in the centre of the seat. The crown etc. are attached by Śvetāmbaras during pūjā. From a modern Jaina temple built at Mehsana in the last decade. Photograph courtesy of the Temple Trustees, Mehsana, North Gujarat.

Fig. 177 (Pl. LXXXIX). Puḍḍaraka Gaṇadhara sitting in the padmāsana on a lotus with a long thick stalk. Installed in memory of Muni Sangamasiddha, according to the inscription on the pedestal. On one side of the stalk is Sangamasiddha, facing him on the other side of the stalk are his pupils. Installed in v.s. 1064=1007 A.D. A typical sculpture of the style of the age. According to the inscription it would seem that it is a sort of memorial in honour of Sangamasiddha who died of voluntary starvation—Sallekhanā!

Fig. 177A (Pl. LXXXIX). Śrī Merucandra-sūripītivāmī-mūrtibh. An image (portrait?) of Śrī Merucandra sūripītivāmī-mūrti. Installed in v.s. 1491=1434, the image shows the Sūri (ācārya) standing with folded hands and a rosary of beads held by the hands. The broom-stick shown at the back of his head. Śvetāmbara monk. On his right is a miniature figure of Śrī Pralayacandra sūri and on the left is standing Śrī Munitilaka sūri according to the labels inscribed beside these figures. From a Jaina temple, Cambay, Gujarat. Copyright, U.P. Shah.

Fig. 178 (Pl. XCI). Parents of Mahāvīra. Inscription on pedestal reads: Priyati Siddhā. Inscription read by V.S. Agrawala. Mathura Museum no. 278. Priyati perhaps refers to Priyakāriṇī the Mother of Mahāvīra according to Digambara tradition, Siddhā stands for Siddhārtha, the Father of Mahāvīra according to both the traditions. Copyright, Mathura Museum, Mathura.

Fig. 178A (Pl. XCl). Bronze figure of Rṣabhanātha standing in the kāyotsarga mudrā. No cognizance on pedestal. Some parikara figures, perhaps the yakṣa, yakṣiṇī and the halo etc., seem to have been lost as suggested by two vertical attachments on the sides. The Jina identified with the inscription on back. Age, c. 12th cent. A.D. From Tindivaram, Tamil Nadu, now in the Madras Museum. Photo, U.P. Shah, with the kind permission of the Madras Museum.

Fig. 179 (Pl. XCl). Big stone Pata (plaque) representing the 52 Śāśvata-Jinālayas on the Nandiśvara-dvipa. Ref. U.P. Shah, Studies in Jaina Art, pp. 119-121, fig. 89. From the Caumukha temple, Ranakpur. Age, c. 1439 A.D. Copyright, U.P. Shah.
Fig. 180 (Pl. XCI). Sahasra-kūta or Sammeta Śikhara (?), from Dharana-Vihara Caumukha temple, Ranakpur, Pali district, Rajasthan. Age, c. 1476 A.D. See Studies in Jaina Art, pp. 116-118. Copyright, AIIS, Varanasi.

Fig. 181 (Pl. XCI). Representation of Mt. Aṣṭāpada from Dharana-Vihara Caumukha shrine, Ranakpur, Rajasthan. Dated V.S. 1551=A.D. 1495. See Studies in Jaina Art, pp. 116-118. Copyright, AIIS, Varanasi.


Fig. 183 (Pl. XCVI). Brass or bronze plaque representing 185 Jinas in all. Digambara Jaina shrine, Surat. Age, c. 15th-16th cent. A.D. Copyright, U.P. Shah.

Fig. 184 (Pl. XCVII). Representation of Mt. Meru, brass or bronze, from Dāndjanā Dehru (shrine), Digambara Jaina shrine, Surat. Dated V.S. 1513=A.D. 1456. Ref. Studies in Jaina Art, pp. 116-118, fig. 78. Copyright, U.P. Shah.

Fig. 185 (Pl. XCVII). Siddha-Pratimā, Image of a Siddha. Stencil cut, Brass. A Siddha is said to be free from the bondage of his body (a-sārīri), so he is represented without the body. No early stencil-cut Siddha images are known. The practice of representing Siddhas in this way seems to be very late. From Digambara Jaina temple, Vidisha, M.P. Photo, U.P. Shah.

Fig. 186 (Pl. XCVIII). Śatruṇjaya-Girṇāra-Tirtha-Uddhāra. Representation (a sort of mapping) of the various tirthas (shrines etc.) on Mt. Śatruṇjaya and Mt. Girnar. Stone plaque from Śve, Jaina temple, Varakhana, Rajasthan. Age, 15th cent. A.D. Such representations, technically called uddhāra or avatāra, have been popular in Western India from c. fourteenth century onwards. The practice could have started earlier but no earlier representations in stone or paintings are yet discovered. Such representations on cloth are preserved in the Calico Museum, Ahmedabad and in the National Museum, New Delhi, etc. Such modern representations on walls of the mandapas of Jaina temples are quite common in Gujarāt. Copyright, U.P. Shah.

Fig. 187 (Pl. XCVIII). Fourteen dreams seen by a Jina’s mother. Four-armed Śrī in the centre. Śvetāmbara tradition. Paper Ms. of Kalpa-sūtra, Jaina Jñāna-mandira, Baroda. 16th cent. A.D. Copyright, U.P. Shah.

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Fig. 189 (Pl. XCI). Lower part of a sculpture of Pārśvānātha, showing the simhāsana, below which in a row are figures of the nine planets, one small figure of Ambikā and another of a yakṣi on two ends of the row of planets. Bigger figures of Pārśva yakṣa and Padmāvata yakṣi on two sides of the simhāsana. There are besides figures of devotees and attendants. Must have been an elaborately carved sculpture with upper parts now lost. Age, c. 11th-12th cent. A.D. Findspot not given on the photograph (neg. no. 1559) supplied by the Department of Archaeology, Madhya Pradesh State, Bhopal. Copyright, Department of Archaeology, Madhya Pradesh.

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Fig. 193 (Pl. C). Four-armed yakṣī Śiddhāyikā from Cambay. Age, c. 13th-14th cent. A.D. Ref. Yaksīni of the Twenty-fourth Jina Mahāvīra, JOI, Vol. XXII, nos. 1-2, pp. 70-78. Copyright, U.P. Shah.

Fig. 194 (Pl. C). Four-armed Śiddhāyikā yakṣī from Patan, Gujarāt. c. 14th cent. A.D. Ref. Yaksīni of the Twenty-fourth Jina Mahāvīra, JOI, XXII.1-2, pp. 70-78 and plates. Copyright, U.P. Shah.
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Jivantāsvāmi (Bronze from Akota Hoard)
*Courtesy & Copyright: Baroda Museum*

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(from a wooden Book-cover in Jesalmer, c. 12th cent. A.D.)
*Courtesy: Muni Śrī Pūṇyavijayaji*
AUTHOR

Dr. Umakant P. Shah, the author, is an eminent Indologist who has spent a lifetime in researches in Jaina art and literature. Author of over two hundred research papers including those on Iconography of the Jaina Ambikā, Sarasvati, Sixteen Vidyādevis, Cakravāri, Siddhayikā, Harinegamasin etc., and of works like Studies in Jaina Art, The Art of the Akota Bronzes, Treasures of Jaina Bhandaras, New Documents of Jaina Painting (jointly with Dr. Moti Chandra), Minor Jaina Deities etc., he has been for about two decades Deputy Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda, Editor, Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art (New Series, Calcutta), General Editor of the Critical Edition of Valmiki’s Rāmāyana and edited, in the Gaekwad’s Oriental Series, Sanskrit texts including a rare old text on Music and Dancing, entitled Sangitopaniṣad-sāroddhāra composed by a Jaina monk. He is at present President of the Indian Association of Art Historians.