

**ENCYCLOPEDIA
OF
JAIN RELIGION**

Edited by
**K.L. CHANCHREEK
DR. MAHESH K. JAIN**

'*Encyclopedia of Jain Religion*' is a multi-volume elaborate study of this oldest religious sect. This *Encyclopedia* has been designed to cover a wide range of *Jain* religious thought in a systematic manner, theme wise and serves as an authentic reference tool. In the new millennium this is perhaps the first systematic study of *Jain* religion.

Volume one of this *Encyclopedia* deals with the antiquity and historicity of Jainism which attracted the attention of scholars to study and trace the long history and a large continuing presence of Arhat tradition which is pre-Aryan; Volume two is a prolegomenary description of Jaina scriptures, which developed through centuries and by stages and took a literary and philosophical form during ten centuries from Mahavira's salvation. Volume three traces the Jaina way of worship, observance of specific rituals and fasts besides celebration of fairs, festivals and festive occasions since ancient days. Jains worship only five worshipful once the Arhats, Siddhas, Acharyas, Upadhyayas and Sadhus besides some Godlings—Yakshas and Yakshis and attending guards. Volume four and five traces and analyses the Jaina concept of God and creation of the universe, doctrine of worship, theory of Soul, doctrine of Karma, Lesyas, Nine Padarthas (Fundamental Truths and Pudgala—Matter), moral themes and philosophical issues like doctrine of Anekantavada, Panch Mahavratas, Sramans culture, Yoga, Penance and Santhara and liberation. Volume six traces how people earned their livelihood through agriculture, farming and trade, according to Jaina texts. Jains were actively involved in the growth of agricultural activities, industry and trade channels. Undoubtedly the management

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Volume 3

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1

JAINA WORSHIP AND RITUALS

Jains are virtually a religious community in totality. Socially they are a humble lot, educationally and culturally they are advanced and enlightened, in trade and industry they are enterprising and supreme. Having all these great virtues, whether rich or average middle class, the Jains have full faith in Jaina way of worship, rituals, fasts and all their festivals.

I

According to J.C. Jain[§]: "It would, at first sight, look like a paradox that Jainism, which does not recognize any Supreme Being, supernatural power, incarnation, god or goddess, who can judge, reward or punish human beings, grant them favours or condemn them to perdition, does not disallow usually pray to, worship, or propitiate the force or forces which they think can, if pleased, give them their heart's desire, and, if annoyed, throw them into all kinds of trouble and misery. The deity, as conceived in Jainism, is, by its very nature, incapable of doing any such thing, notwithstanding its omniscience and omnipotence. The simple reason is that the 'deity' is at the same time *vitaraga*, absolutely devoid of love and hatred, attachment and aversion. It is also *krtakrtya*, the one who has achieved everything that was to be achieved; nothing is left undone, and there is not anything which is to be done. And, it is perfectly and eternally happy; meddling in the affairs of the world is bound to detract from that state of unalloyed supreme bliss. So, the deity has

§. Jain, J.C.: *Worship, Rituals, Fasts and Festivals*, EOJ, Vol. 27, pp. 7253-68.

nothing to do with man's affairs. It does not answer man's prayers, devotion, worship, invocation or propitiation, nor does it stand in need of such worship, or propitiation. According to Jainism, every body reaps what he has sown; one enjoys the fruits of his good actions and suffers from the results of bad ones, automatically in accordance with the inexorable law of the Karma, without the intervention of any supernatural agency. And yet, the worship of the Divinity is recommended.

As a matter of fact, every religion must have popular appeal if it is to survive, and worship together with the allied ceremonial is one of the most potent means of popular appeal. It is through religious rites and ceremonies that religious fervour, individual, social and communal, finds eloquent expression. Common men and women of the world can ill-afford the time and energy sufficient to enable them to grasp the metaphysical and philosophical background of the system, comprehend the reality, realise the Truth, and imbibe the truly renunciatory spirit. Many a time, they do not possess the requisite capability, and they are not free from earthly wants, desires, ambitions, fears, anxieties, worries and other human frailties. Facing life with calm indifference and resignation, with an eye on higher values, is often too much for them. They want an easy and ready remedy, and the institution of worship supplies this need. For the highly intellectual or spiritually advanced, worship and ritual may have little meaning or material significance, because they can keep themselves occupied with subtler concentration and spiritual meditation. But, for the majority of the ordinary laymen, women and children, worship, rituals, fasts, festivals, fairs, and the like, provide almost the only spiritual sustenance. It is through these things that they satisfy their religious hunger, gratify their religious sentiments and give vent to their religious zeal. So, these things must remain there; no institutional religion can do without them and Jainism is no exception.

This is not the only reason. Worship is a form of

dharmyadhyana, the auspicious contemplation. It is a healthy occupation in which all the faculties of the worshipper, mind, speech, and body, function in unison. One engaged in worship is free from the *artta* and *randra* types of *dhyana*, the inauspicious and harmful brooding, worries, anxieties, and passionate feelings. Worship is, thus, an act of selfless devotion, done with joy, cheerfulness and due humility, and as a result the worshipper earns merit (*punya*) and destroys demerit (*papa*). Earning merit means obtaining worldly happiness and the means thereof, while incurring demerit implies the reverse.

Moreover, the very act of worship, and all that it implies, is ennobling and does instantaneous good to the sincere performer. The joy, the peace, and the equanimity which pervade his or her soul for the time being atleast, are no mean achievements. Worship is, therefore, recommended in Jainism, to quote Prof. Thomas, "because of the inherent power of all forms of true worship to elevate the soul of the worshipper. It is like giving alms with no intention of alleviating the suffering of the beggar, but on the principle that giving away in charity is good for the giver."

Nature of Worship

It may well be pointed out in this context that worship in Jainism is worship with a difference. In its essential characteristics, the Jaina conception is considerably different from what is generally understood by the term worship, or from what the practice usually is elsewhere. Jainism does not recognise invocation or propitiation in any form, nor the idea of making offerings or of the acceptance of offerings by someone to whom they are made. It also does not believe in prayers for asking boons, or warding off some danger, disease, trouble, harm or loss, simply because no power is capable of answering them. Moreover, such prayers impair ones self-confidence, weaken his will-power and tend to shift the responsibility of his actions

to some other agency. He becomes supplicatory, complaining, cringing and whimpering, and begins to suffer from a sort of inferiority complex. Jaina worship is also not flattery or appeasement, nor is it unduly ritualistic. It is not a very complex, but is a comparatively simple affair. What is it then?

Worship, in Jainism, is the expression of sincere devotion (*bhakti*) of the aspirant for the spiritual values he esteems most, hence for the personage or the soul who has fully realised, attained and manifested those values, properties, attributes and qualities. This devotion or *bhakti*, as understood in Jainism, is nothing but a genuine, selfless, superb and transcendental attachment (*prasasta-raga*), liking and love for, and praise, admiration, veneration and adoration of the Ideal One (or Ones), for the ideals he represents. The purpose is to get inspiration and guidance from the example of the worshipful, to get oneself purified mentally and spiritually by reciting and adoring the glorious attainments of the most glorious, and to long and will to achieve himself that ideal state one day. This is an unfailing and unflinching devotion to the divinity manifest in the Ideal one. Even his person, corporeal body and life-story are of secondary importance, which serve only as a background for the achievements 'he' is adored for. No doubt, they also help to visualise the personality of the Great One, to visualise the spiritual struggle he fought, and are the embodiment of the ideal and the example, and therefore, worthy of adoration. Even the images of the worshipful, made in stone, metal, or some other material, are adorable, not because they are handy representations of the deity and are so made as to reflect in their facial expression, pose and posture the passionless serene contemplation, self-absorption and complete bodily abandonment of the adorable one. In fact, a Jaina does not worship the image, but performs worship of the chosen deity before the images which represents that deity. The Jainas do not call these inanimate representations of the deity idols, but images or icons. They are, therefore, not

idol-worshippers, but profess to be ideal-worshippers. The worship consists simply in reciting, praising, extolling, eulogising and glorifying the attributes and attainments of the Perfect One, with the specific aspiration that the devotee may shed his own impurities, imperfections and Karmic bondage, and be able to attain ultimately that adorable state himself. He, as it were, hitches his wagon to the perfect one so that he may complete his voyage across the ocean, that is *samsara*, as expeditiously and as successfully. No ulterior motive, base desire, mundane object or worldly interest is involved, or even implied, in genuine Jaina worship. If it is there, it spoils worship. Worship must remain to be selfless devotion.

Some philosophers say, 'knowing is being, you are what you know. The saying may be found to hold good in a limited sense, but if you can add faith and conduct, of the right type, to your knowledge of things, you can certainly become what you wish or aim to become. Hence, devotion built on the bedrock of the trio of spiritual jewels is true devotion and is sure to deliver the goods. Through such devotion one does not merely lessen the distance between himself and the goal, but gradually realises, oneness with the goal itself. Freedom comes to the person who keeps his mind ever occupied with the remembrance of the free beings. A Jaina aspirant is dedicated to the ideal of Jina-hood, and his dedicated devotion makes him a Jina, sooner or later.

Devotion is living faith, and, atleast in the early stages in which most of the aspirants, lay or even ascetic, find themselves, it is the very *sine qua non* of religious practice and discipline. It is an intellectual as well as emotional discipline, perhaps, more rational than of an emotional nature. Samantabhadra, a great Jaina saint of the early centuries of the Christian era, who is reputed to be one of the greatest devotees of the Jina and the foremost composer of devotional hymns, in one place makes the salient observation: "Oh Lord! No praise

or worship pleases you because you are devoid of all attachment, nor does any criticism or abuse displease you and enmity. Yet, the mere recollection of your adorable qualities has the power of cleansing the devotees heart of all sinful impurities and aberrations."

Devotion being the first tangible step towards attainment by the aspirant soul of its true and perfect state is thus an effective means of lifting, the avowed religious goal in Jainism. As an early medieval poet-saint says, "O Lord, no sooner you enter the heart of your devotee than the most tough and intricate knot of the Karma binding his soul becomes loosened." Hence a true devotee makes his heart the abode of the Jina, that is, keeps it occupied with thoughts of his chosen and beloved Deity.

This, in short, is the nature and scope of Jaina worship, and the character and place of active devotion in this system.

Objects of Worship

The principal objects of worship in Jainism are the 'Five Worshipful Ones' (*panca-Paramesthin*) the *Arhantas*, the *Siddhas*, the *Acaryas*, the *Upadhyayas*, and the *Sadhus*. In the *Panca-Namaskara-mantra*, the most sacred formula of the Jainas, salutation, obeisance and homage is paid to these five representatives of the Ideal. The first two are only partially so, but well on their way to achieving perfection. This mantra or sacred hymn is the first thing that a Jaina learns, always remembers, uses as an incantation, tells on the rosary, and recites on leaving bed, entering the temple, starting worship or *samayika*, going to bed, and when beginning any auspicious undertaking.

This first place of honour among these 'Five Worshipful Ones' is assigned to the *Arhantas*. One who, by undergoing a course of strenuous self-discipline, has purged his soul of all impurities, attained perfection and omniscience, and become an Arhanta, a Kevalin, a Jina, the God-in-man, and then promulgated

the Path of Liberation, through his example and precept, out of profound compassion for all the living beings, is the true Deity, and the most Worshipful One. All the *Tirthankaras* had become *Arhantas* or Jinas in their life time, and in the present cycle of time there have been twentyfour such *Tirthankaras*, the first of whom was Rishabha and the last Mahavira (559-527 B.C.). As they are no more to be seen in their embodied state, the duly concentrated images of one or more of these *Tirthankaras*, made strictly in accordance with the iconographical details laid down in the texts, so as to be true to character, are installed in the Jaina temples. Made in a seated or standing posture, in the pose of contemplation and complete bodily abandonment, and reflecting calm equanimity together with a sublime detachment, the simple, austere, unclad and unadorned Jina image captivates the heart of the visitor, radiates peace and inspires devotion. It is a veritable reminder of the Jina, of the spiritual attainments and the ideal for which he is adored. If the Jina or *Tirthankaras* provides a substrate for devotion, his image serves as a handy and befitting substitute to the aspirant devotee. It is before these images that he or she performs the worship.

The *Siddhas*, or the liberated, non-corporeal, pure and perfect souls, which live forever in imperishable and unlimited bliss, the state of perfect Godhood, constitute the second category of the 'Worshipful Ones.' Though they belong to a higher stage and are in a way spiritually superior to the *Arhantas*, they are relegated to the second place only from the practical point of view. It is well-nigh impossible to make an image of the imageless and the formless, and equally difficult for an average devotee to visualise the highly subtle and abstract qualities they represent. The *Arhanta* (Jina or *Tirthankara*), on the other hand, is the direct and immediate benefactor. Though no less a God than a *Siddha*, in so far as spiritual perfection is concerned, he is a living embodiment of Ideal. The story of his life, struggle

and achievement and the corporeal and concrete existence he has had, are easy to visualise, understand, remember and dwell upon. He serves as a brilliant beacon to attract the seeker, inspire devotion and confidence in him, warn him of the dangers of worldly existence, guide him and enlighten this path. And, his images can be easily made and installed to act as standing reminders and substitutes for purposes of formal worship and ritualistic performances.

The last three categories of the Worshipful Ones comprise the true ascetic aspirants. The *Acaryas* are master ascetics who head and govern the congregation, and guide the members in the due observance of self-discipline, austerities and rules of Right Conduct. The *Upadhyayas* are ascetic teachers who are engaged principally in learning and teaching the scriptures. The *Sadhus* are remaining ascetic seekers who rigidly follow the rules of Right Conduct and are an example of selfless devotion and dedicaion to the Path. The three together represent the true gurus, religious preceptors and spiritual guides, hence are adorable and objects of veneration and worship.

The *Sastra* (*Agama* or Scriptures), containing the knowledge of the Truth, as expounded by the omniscient Jina, is also adorable and an object of worship. The Deva, represented by the *Arhantas* and *Siddhas*, the Guru, represented by the three classes of the ascetic teachers, and the *Sastra*, the repository of spiritual knowledge, are thus the three principal objects of a Jain's daily worship, which he performs, usually in the temple, early in the morning, before starting his life's routine.

There are numerous gods and goddesses, celestial or heavenly beings, ghosts and spirits, both angelic and satanic. They are generally more powerful and, in a way, better placed than human beings. On account of their super-natural powers, they can work wonders and perform miracles. Yet, they are no divinities. They are much lower beings who possesses Right Faith, Right Knowledge and Right Conduct. None of these

celestial beings can practise Right Conduct, because of the very nature of celestial existence, they can at best possess Right Faith and Right Knowledge. Those of them who are so lucky, are the devotees of the Jina and are engaged in working out their own salvation through worship of and devotion to the Jina. As such, they do not help or hinder human beings in working out their own salvation. Some of them may per chance prove helpful to a person in gaining some heart's desire or warding off some danger, but it depends purely on their whim and the fruition of the Karma of that person at that particular moment. However, it is this rare possibility which tempts people to worship these gods and goddesses, especially the Kshetrapalas or Dikpalas (godly guards of regions), Saraswati the goddess of learning, and the attendant *yaksha* add *yaksha* of the different *Tirthankaras*, such as, Cakresvari, Ambika, Jwalamalini, Siddhayika, Dharanendra and Padmavati. The last two, the attendants of the twenty-third *Tirthankara* Parsvanatha, are by far the most popular. In certain Jaina temples one may see images of these godlings installed, but always in an inferior place and position to those of the *Tirthankaras*; and some people even worship them. The more orthodox, however, do not approve of the worship of these godlings. They consider, and, perhaps, rightly, that such worship is a detraction of Right Faith; a right believer would worship and have devotion for only the Deva (Arhantas, Jinas or *Tirthankaras*, and the Siddhas), the Guru, and the Sastra, and for nothing or nobody else, human, subhuman, natural or supernatural. In fact, according to the Jaina doctrine, men are, in some respect, more favoured than these gods or celestial beings, for no god or goddess can attain Nirvana without being born as a man. Man alone can practise the requisite self-control and austere discipline, capable of purging the soul of all spiritual impurities, and become the Arhanta, the Jina, the *Tirthankara* and attain Nirvana, the state of Siddhahood. It is, therefore, the pious and righteous human being, man or woman, who is loved,

venerated and adored by those gods and goddesses of heaven, who are themselves devotees of the Jina.

Certain Jaina sects, mostly the growth of medieval times, such as the Svetambara, Sthanakvasi and Terapanthi, and the Digambara, Taranapanthi, do not favour the building of temples and installing images in them. Hence, they do not indulge in image-worship proper which involves necessary ritual, but even they are not opposed to worship as such and accept the principle underlying worship and devotion.

As a matter of fact, worship has a dual aspect *bhava-puja* and *dravya-puja*. The former is indicative of the mental attitude, and the spirit of devotion and dedication of worshipper, which make him or her contemplate, eulogise and adore the attributes and the person of the Worshipful One, he or his representation (image, etc.) may be or may not be there. This kind of abstract worship needs no ritual or accessories thereto, and can be performed anywhere and at any time and by anybody, lay or ascetics. This behaviour is the basis of the *dravya-puja* which is the concrete, obvious or formal worship, and is accompanied by appropriate ritual. The ascetics mostly perform *bhava-puja*, as also do such of the laity as have no facilities (temple, image, etc.) for doing *dravya-puja*, available to them, or are averse to taking recourse to formal worship for sectarian or their reasons. Other usually perform this *dravya-puja* which implies *bhava-puja*, upholding it as the first of the six daily duties of a lay aspirant. It is, however, understood that no formal worship, however much elaborate, can bear the desired fruit unless it is backed by the appropriate spirit of selfless devotion, dedication and mental as well as emotional piety. Spirit counts, and not mere form.

Form and Ritual

Every morning the lay aspirant, after taking bath and donning a clean dress, visits the temple in a cheerful mood, with his

mind full of pious thoughts. He usually takes with him a few grains of rice or a few cloves or something else like almonds, coconut, a few flowers or a ripe fruit by way of token offering. On entering the temple, he recites appropriate verses, stands respectfully in front of the image of the Jina installed in the *sanctum sanctorium*, recites the *Panca-namaskara-mantra*, bows down, recites verses in praise of the Divinity, puts down on the table in front the token offerings with the pious wish that his soul may get purified, bows again, and goes round the circumambulatory path three, five or seven times. This is the simplest service. After this *darsana* (looking on), which is the shortest form of the *Deva-puja*, the aspirant usually tells his beads once or twice on a rosary (of 108 beads), repeating the *Panca-namaskara-mantra* or some other sacred formula. Then he devotes a few minutes to the study of the scriptures. If a guru (ascetic) happens to be there, he pays homage to him, attends to his needs and listens to his discourse respectfully. The evening service is performed by waving lamps (*arati*) in front of the Jina's image, soon after sunset.

If a devotee can spare time, he performs the full ritual of morning worship before the image or images of the Jina in the temple, with *ashta-dravya*, the eight kinds of token offerings. First of all he bathes the image with pure water, then arranges the offerings in a platter placed on the table in front of himself. He remains usually standing in a respectful pose, recites the appropriate texts and verses, and drops the offerings, one after the other, in another dish placed nearby, everytime expressing a suitable pious wish. For example, worshipping the Jina with water he expresses the wish that he may become free from birth, old age and death, just as the Jina himself is. Sandalwood paste is next offered wishing that the heat of worldly existence may get cooled. Similarly, unbroken grains of husked rice symbolise the wish for attaining imperishable bliss, flowers the wish for eradication of sexual passion, some articles of cooked food that

for immunity from physical hunger, lamps that for destruction of the darkness of ignorance, burning incense symbolises burning out the bonds of Karma, and fruit the eternal fruit of blissfulness. In the end, the mixed offering, *arghya* is made to indicate that the worshipper aspires to attain worshipful status himself one day. The qualities of the 'Worshipful One' are eulogised and one's own pious wishes and aspirations, as detailed above, are specifically given expression to.

This is the full course of a single puja, dedicated to an *Arhanta*, any one or more of the *Tirthankaras*, the ideal Gurus, the *Sastra*, to any one or more of the Divine attributes, or to and other objects worthy of Jaina worship. It depends upon the convenience of the worshipper and the time he can spare how many and what pujas he performs at a time. Again, the daily puja may be a very simple affair, and it may be considerably elaborate. On particular occasions, such as the fast-days religious festivals, or other special occasions, the puja performed tends to become quite elaborate. On such occasions, it is usually performed collectively by a group of worshippers. In its essence, however, the Jaina puja is rather individualistic than congregational or communal, the former being the rule and the latter the exception, but not a very uncommon one.

A Jain concludes his daily Deva puja with the recitation of the *Shanti-patha*, expressing his pious wish for universal peace: 'May Lord Jinendra bestow peace on the land, the nation, the city and the state, and welfare on all the citizens, may the rulers and administrators be strong, law-abiding and righteous, the rains be timely and adequate, all the diseases and ailments disappear, no one in the world be afflicted with famine or scarcity, with theft, loot, plunder and devastation, nor with epidemics, even for a moment : Peace be to all !!!'

Other Rituals

Apart from the daily Deva-puja, which is a comparatively

simple affair, and certain special pujas performed on special occasions or festivals, which are complex and time-consuming, sometimes lasting several days, no doubt, in instalments, there are several other ritualistic ceremonies. The more important of them are those performed for consecrating a temple, a shrine, a Jina image or images. The image consecration ceremony is known as the *Jina-bimba-pratistha* or *panca-kalyanaka-mahotsva*. The presiding priest is usually a learned pundit, well versed in iconography, hymnology and consecrational lore, and is a pious man. He examines and approves the right type of images and begins the ceremony which lasts eight or ten days. The five auspicious events (*kalyanakas*) of a *Tirthankars* life, namely, conception, birth, renunciation, attainment of Omniscience and liberation (*nirvana*) are enacted, often dramatically. Scriptures are read and recited, sacred mantras are chanted, some of them one and a quarter lac of times, incenses are burnt, various worships are performed, processions are taken out, and the consecrated images are duly installed. It is only then that they become objects of worship. This is by far the grandest Jaina religious ceremony and is often accompanied by profuse show and splendour.

The initiation of a layman or laywoman into the *ksullaka* or *aillaka* stage, more especially into that of a *nirgrantha* ascetic, is also celebrated with much ceremony. In the subjects, which have no temples and images, this initiation ceremony is attended with the greatest eclat. The beginning and ending of the four month rainy season retreat by the ascetics also takes the form of a ritual.

Social-religious Ceremonies

There is an infinite variety of life, and every variety consists of innumerable living beings. All this life, in whatever form, is sacred. Yet, the greatest value is attached to the human form, which is the best and most coveted of all forms of life. It is

the only 'way in' for that paradise wherein is situated the temple of spiritual freedom. Man alone can attain Nirvana. But, to be worth his salt, a human being has got to be cultured through various *samskaras* or ceremonies. The texts prescribe several classes of such rites and ceremonies. There are fifty-three *kriyas* (rites) which cover the entire life of a person from conception to Nirvana. Another set of fortyeight is meant for those who are neo-converts, and starts from a person's conversion to the faith and ends with his death as an ascetic, or with his Nirvana if he is able to achieve it. The third set of seven is meant for the special meritorious souls. There are, however, sixteen *samskaras* which are of a socio-religious nature and concern the life of an householder. The first of these is the conception ceremony which a husband and wife, in perfect health, perform in a gay and loving as well as pious mood, by resolving to copulate for the purpose of procreation and not mere gratification of lust. Then four ceremonies are performed during the period of pregnancy, in the third, fifth, seventh and the ninth month, respectively. The purpose is to take due care of the mother, keep her healthy, happy and cheerful, and occupy her mind with pious thoughts, so as to produce a very wholesome effect on the physical, mental and psychic development of the child in the womb. The sixth is the birth ceremony, performed with much rejoicing, when blessings are showered on the new born. On the twelfth day, the christenity ceremony is performed when a specific name is given to the child. In the fourth or fifth month the child is taken out of the house, the event when it begins to sit properly and toddle about is also celebrated, as also that when he is given solid food (bread, etc.) for the first time. On the completion of one year the first birthday is celebrated, when usually the child also gets shaved for the first time. In the fifth year the child is sent to school and starts getting instruction in reading the alphabet. When a person completes the eighth year of life, he or she is supposed to become mature enough

to understand and grasp the significance of religious vows and practices, adopts and eight cardinal virtues (*asta-mulaguna*) of a *sravaka* or *srāvika* (i.e. layman or laywoman), and vows to remain chaste as long as he completes his education or training for the vocation he is fitted for. He or she then takes a suitable spouse for life-partner, the marriage ceremony being celebrated publicly with great solemnity, and the couple enter life. They live their married and worldly life as best as they can, producing wealth, earning their labour, procreating children, discharging their social obligations, all in a lawful and righteous manner, performing at the same time the six daily religious duties of the laity. The last is the ceremony of death, when the current earthly existence of the individual ends and the soul passes away leaving the physical body behind; which is usually cremated to the accompaniment of prevalent funeral rites. But, these rites do not include the offering of the funeral cake (*pindadana*) and propitiation (*tarpana*) of the spirit of the departed, as is the custom with Brahmanical Hindus. When the passing away takes the form of *samadhi-marana*, that is, it is preceded by the vow of *sallekhana* the end is considered laudable.

Of these sixteen *samiskaras*, the most commonly, rather almost invariably, celebrated are the birth, marriage and death ceremonies. All these ceremonies are accompanied by Deva-puja, recitation of sacred hymns and appropriate texts, the performance of prescribed rituals, and charity. They have been devised to spiritualise life from its very inception to its very end. Every important stage of or turning point in life is made a ceremonious occasion, bringing out the significance of the event, bestowing blessing on the subject, giving him appropriate advice, and inspiring him with hope and wholesome aspirations for the future. By giving a deeply human and spiritual significance to the simple common facts of life, the very concept of human life had been exalted and dignified. Moreover, these ceremonies inculcate in the people concerned elementary principles of healthy

living, physical and mental including eugenics, hygiene, balanced and wholesome diet, medical care, proper education, habit of hard work, forbearance and mutual help. They also testify that inspite of the renunciatory spirit and considerably rigid austerity of the Jaina Path of religion, the ancient Jaina masters (acaryas) were not opposed to, rather fervently advocated, a great love for life, at least so far as the laity, the common men and women, were concerned. There is little doubt that if taken in the right spirit these socio-religious ceremonies tend to promote a proper understanding of life, inspire men and women to action, and pave the path of their life's journey with hope and success. They reflect and important and major aspect of the Jaina way of life.

Symbols and Tokens

There are a number of mystic symbols, signs, tokens and auspicious objects recognised in Jainism. The more important of them are the sounds like *Om* and *Sri*, the signs like the Swastika, *tri-ratna* (symbolising the trio of spiritual jewels) and crescent surmounted by a zero or cipher, auspicious objects like the lion-seat, triple umbrella, pair of whisks, halo, mirror, vase full of water, fan, flag, festoon and bell. The lists contain many more but only the more popular and commonly used ones have been mentioned here. At the time of the puja of the 'Worshipful Ones' in the temple or at home on the occasion of the socio-religious ceremonies, the mystic signs and symbols are drawn in a clean metallic platter with sandalwood paste mixed with saffron. The auspicious objects, usually eight in number, are also arranged on a nearby table. Each of these signs, symbols and objects has a mystic significance and considered very auspicious. Sometimes, these signs and symbols and objects has a mystic significance and considered very auspicious. Sometimes, these signs and symbols, or some other mystic formula, are engraved on a plate made of copper, bronze, silver or gold, which then becomes an object of worship and is called a *Yantra*.

But, although the Jainas recognise a number of *mantras* and even *yantras*, Jainism has nothing to do with the *Tantras*, *Tantrism* or *Tantrist* beliefs and practices; they have no place in this system.

Fasts

Fasting, or abstaining from food in whole or part as a religious duty, is not peculiar to Jainism. Almost all the religions, specially orthodox Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam, enjoin the keeping of fasts of some sort on certain days or occasions. In modern times, many public leaders have used fasting as a means of political and social blackmail, which at times, degenerates into simple hunger strike, and even called as such. Mahatma Gandhi was, perhaps, the most prominent in employing fasting as a political device and a powerful non-violent weapon in the nation's freedom struggle, political awakening and social reform, but with him it was also a means of self-purification. Moreover, many naturopaths, including Mahatma Gandhi himself, believe in the efficacy of fast as a cure of a number of diseases and ailments and for keeping fit.

In Jainism, however, fasts occupy a very prominent place, much more so than in any other system, and constitute by far the most common and popular form of religious practice and discipline. In this system, fast (*vrata* or *upavasa*) connotes a vow to abstain from food and drink, in whole or part, for a fixed period of time, and to devote that period to religious activities, Deva-puja, study of scriptures, telling beads, observing silence, cultivating equanimity, and so on. Fasting is a form of *tapa* (austerity) and it is indulged in principally as a process of self-purification and spiritual meditation. If kept in the true spirit, such a fast certainly ennobles and elevates the individual, morally and spiritually, no less than physically and mentally.

Lord Rishabh, the first *Tirthankara*, voluntarily went without food or drink for six months at a stretch, and involuntarily for

the next six months in continuation, because nobody then knew how to entertain a Nirgrantha ascetic. Mahavira, the last *Tirthankara*, is equally famous for keeping numerous fasts, some of them lasting for months, during his twelve year's ascetic life. Not only Jain monks and nuns and the very pious elderly people, but common men and women, even young children, occasionally indulge in fasting. Every now and then one may hear or read in newspapers the remarkable feats of endurance performed by many a Jaina, young and old, man and woman, in the field of keeping very austere and prolonged fasts.

A standard fast (*prosadha*) is of forty-eight hours duration : after mid-day meal on day before, the person takes the vow not to eat and drink anything for the next forty-eight hours, breaking the fast with the mid-day meal on the third day. If a person feels it is beyond his capacity, he may vow to keep a thirty-six hours' or even twenty-four hours' fast, that is, taking food only once throughout the whole of the fast day. On the other hand, there are others who keep fast continuously for two days, three days, or even longer. Some fast on alternate days, or after every two or three days. People who keep very long fasts, generally take lukewarm boiled water only once or twice a day, or on alternate days. Thus there are many forms, depending upon the will power, inclination and capacity for endurance of the individuals.

The common fast-days are eighth and fourteenth days of each fortnight of the month of the Indian calendar, thus more or less once a week, when the devout keep the *prosadha* fast. Then, there are the last eight days each of the Indian months of Kartika, Phalguna and Asadha, known as the three *Astanhikas*, and the last ten days each of the months of Bhadra, Magha and Chaitra, called the three *Dasalakasanis*. Each of these periods is the occasion for keeping one or more fasts. Most other holy days and festivals of the Jainas are celebrated, among other things, by keeping fast. No Jaina usually takes food after sunset,

and on these holy days, or during these holy periods, he or she becomes all the more parsimonious, simple and austere in matters of what he eats and drinks, and how many times, as also in using aids to adorn one's body and appearance. Fast is thus an important feature of the Jaina way of life.

Festivals

There is hardly any month of the year which does not contain one or more Jaina holidays, fast-days, festivals or fairs, which may be broadly divided into five classes : periodical, *Tirthankara-kalyanka*, historical, local, and social. In the first category are four *prosadha* or fast-days of the month and the three *Astanhikas* and three *Dasalakasanis* of the year. They are of an eternal character, with no historical origin. The second category comprises the *Kalyanaka* days of the twenty-four *Tirthankaras* of the current cycle; the five events—conception, birth, renunciation, omniscience (*kaivalya*) and liberation (nirvana)—of a *Tirthankara*'s life are called the five *Kalyanakas* and are considered the most auspicious. These events possess a proto-historical or traditional significance; the Jainas have scrupulously preserved the dates of these *Kalyanakas* of the twenty-four *Tirthankaras*. The strictly historical festivals mark the anniversaries of certain important events of religious significance. Then, there are certain festivals and fairs which are of a purely local nature, such as the bathing ceremony of the colossus of Gommata-swami at Sravna-Belagola (Karnataka State), which takes place after every twelve years, the annual fairs held at different places of pilgrimage, at certain temples and shrines, and in many villages, towns and cities. The latter often take the form of car processions, when *Tirthankara* images are taken out in richly caprisoned chariots, the devotees following barefoot, chanting hymns and the eulogies of the Jina. Lastly, there are some special celebrations, such as the consecration ceremony of a temple, shrine, image or images, and special

pujas like the *Siddhacakra-vidhana*, or *Shanti-vidhana*, performed for bringing peace and happiness to the worshippers and the world at large.

Many of these festivals and holidays are festive occasions which go a great way in breaking the monotony of the humdrum daily routine of life, and give it an added zest. Places of worship are cleaned, decorated and given a fresh look, people put on new dresses, processions are taken out, dancing, music and singing are indulged in, communal gatherings take place, and diverse entertainment and general rejoicing mark the occasion. The essential features of a Jaina festival, however, are not these elements which are common to most other systems as well, but it is the much more sober, religious and pious aspect which characterise a Jaina festival. Keeping fast, worshipping the Jina and other adorable ones or things, recitation of hymns and sacred texts, holding religious discourses, alms giving, taking the vows, and such other acts of piety almost invariably forms part of the Jainas' celebration of their holidays.

The more important of them, from the point of view of their popularity, are given below, in terms of the Indian calendar, the first word (Sravana, Bhadra, etc.) denoting the month, term 'Krasna' (kr) denoting the first or dark fortnight, term 'Sukla' (su) the second or bright fortnight, and the following numerical the day of the fortnight :

Sravana Kr 1 : The first day of the year, the Yuga and the cycle in the eternal scheme of reckoning time, according to Jainism Lord Mahavira, the last *Tirthankara*, also happened to deliver his first sermon on Mt. Vipula outside the city of Rajagrha (mod. Rajgir in Bihar), on this day, in the year 557 B.C., hence the day is also called Vira-sasana-jayanti, and usually falls about the middle of July.

Sravana Su. 7 : Also known as Moksa-saptami, is the day when Lord Parsva, the penultimate *Tirthankara*, attained Nirvana (liberation) at Mt. Parasnatha (on the border of Bihar and Bengal), in 777 B.C.

Sravana Su. 15 : Rakshabandhan, celebrated in memory of the rescue and protection of seven hundred Nirgrantha ascetics by saint Vishnu Kumara from the persecution of Bali, a tyrant. The day symbolises protection of religion, religious institutions, holy men, and one's dependents, particularly sisters.

Sravana Kr. 1 : Beginning of the *Sodasa-karana-vrata*, which lasts for a month, when the sixteen pious aspirations for doing good to all living beings are adored, worshipped and meditated upon everyday; by so doing one can even become *Tirthankara* in a later birth.

Bhadra Kr. 12 to Su. 4 : Paryusana Parva, lasting eight days, celebrated particularly by the followers of the Svetambara sect, and marked by fasting, worship of the Jina, and public reading of the life story of Lord Mahavira from the *Kalpasutra*.

Bhadra Su. 1 : Labdhi-vidhana Vrata, a three day worship and fast.

Bhadra Su. 3 : Trailokya-vrata or Teejora, a fast especially kept by young unmarried girls.

Bhadra Su. 4 : Bathing and washing the images and cleaning and decorating the temples.

Bhadra Su. 5 : Samvatsari, the end of the Svetambara Paryusana Parva, the annual stock-taking of merit and demerit, introspection, confession and penance, particularly by the ascetic community. On this day also begins the

five day fast known as the Puspanjali-vrata, as also the Dasalasani Parva lasting ten days, which is also the Paryusana Parva for the Digambaras. This is generally regarded as the holiest period in the whole year.

Bhadra Su. 7 : Sita-saptami or Nirdosa-saptami fast.

Bhadra Su. 10 : Sugandha-dasahmi fast, when incense are especially burnt before the images of the Jina.

Bhadra Su. 11 : Ananta-vrata, a three-day fast begins.

Bhadra Su. 12 : The Dugdha-rasa fast.

Bhadra Su. 13 : Ratnatraya-vrata begins; it lasts three days and is marked by adoration of and meditation upon the trio of spiritual jewels.

Bhadra Su. 14 : Ananta-caturdasi, the holiest day of this holy period of ten days (Dasa laksana Parva), when almost all the Jinas, men and women, young and old, keep fast and worship the Jina.

Asvina Kr. 1 : Ksamavani, 'the day of universal forgiveness', when every Jaina asks forgiveness of everybody else, and himself forgives others, for wrongs done by or to himself, during the past year.

Kartika Kr. 13 : Dhanerasa, the day when Lord Mahavira arrived at Pawa to obtain Nirvana.

Kartika Kr. 14 : Roopa-caturdasi, also known as Choti-Diwali, the day before Nirvana, when devotees from all over the country flocked to have the last glimpse (darsana) of Lord Mahavira.

Kartika Kr. 15 : Day of Nirvana of Lord Mahavira, also known as Deepavali (the feast of lamps), which is celebrated

by the worship of the last *Tirthankara* in the morning and general illumination at night. On the same day, Mahavira's chief disciple, Gautama the Gandhara, got Kaivalya and became a Jina himself. A burning lamp symbolises the 'light of knowledge' which dispels the darkness of delusion and ignorance. This memorable event took place in 527 B.C.

Kartika Su. 1 : New Year's Day of the Mahavira Nirvana era. Many of the Jaina businessmen begin their accounting year from this day and open fresh accounts or new books on this day.

Kartika Su. 5 : Jnanapancami, celebrated to adore Right Knowledge.

Kartika Su. 8-15 : Kartiki Astanhika, or eight-day festival, marked by fasting and worship, particularly of the Siddhacakra (liberated souls). At some sacred places like Hastinapur, fairs are held.

Kartika Su. 15 : Period of Caturmasa (four-month rainy season retreat) ends, and the ascetics move out. On the same day the annual car procession at Calcutta is taken out.

Agahan Kr. 10 : Anniversary of Supreme Renunciation of Lord Mahavira.

Magha Kr. 14 : Risabha Nirvana, the day when the first of the twenty-four *Tirthankaras* of the Jaina tradition attained Nirvana at Mt. Kailash, when humanity was yet in its infancy.

Magha Su. 5 : Vasantotsava, which heralds the spring season, and is marked by the worship of Saraswati, the goddess of learning. From this day also begins the ten-day Dasalaksani Parva of Magha, which is characterised,

as usual, by an adoration of and meditation upon the ten differentia of Dharma, viz., forgiveness, humility, etc.

Phalguna Su. 8 to 15 : Phalguni Astanhika.

Caitra Kr. 9 : Birthday of Lord Risabha—also the anniversary of his Renunciation (*Tapa-kalyanaka*).

Caitra Su. 5 to 14 : Caitri Dasalakshani Parva.

Caitra Su. 13 : Birthday of Lord Mahavira.

Vaisakha Su. 3 : Aksaya-tritiya, the day when Lord Risabha broke his first one-year fast at Hastinapur with sugar-cane juice offered by prince Sreyansa.

Vaisakha Su. 10 : Anniversary of Enlightenment (Kevala-jnana) of Lord Mahavira.

Jyestha Su. 5 : Sruta-pancami, the day on which the first instalment of the redacted canon was installed, worshipped and put forth for public use. The Sastras (scriptures) are especially worshipped on this day.

Asada Su. 8-15 : Asadhni Astanhika.

Asada Su. 15 : End of the year; end of the Astanhika; beginning of the Caturmasa or Varsayoga, the four month's rainy season retreat. The day is also known as Guru-Purnima, because Lord Mahvira, after attaining Kaivalya and becoming an arhanta, made his first disciple in the person of Indrabhuti Gautama, the Ganadhara, and thus became the Guru, the Teacher. The day is made an occasion for especially venerating one's gurus, religious preceptors and teachers."

II

There are references in the Jaina literature relating to various Socio-Religious rites and ceremonies, followed and performed by the Jain Society. On this subject, V. Mudholkar⁸ writes:

“Religious and social customs are intertwined inextricably in the life of Indians. Even if it is a social function, some popular elements get associated with it. Similarly even social functions have been given a religious character by getting associated with religious practices and worship of various deities.”

Hinduism has a large number of socio-religious rites. Of these the most important were the samskaras. There are however, sixteen samskaras which are of a socio-religious nature and concern the life of an householder. Every important stage of or turning point in the life is made a ceremonious occasion. By giving a deeply human and spiritual significance to the simple common facts of life, the very concept of human life has been exalted and dignified. Samskara has been defined as “a ritual which on its completion entitles a man to be eligible or worthy for the same”.¹ We get an account chiefly of four samskaras in the Jain Katha texts—(1) Janmotsava (birth ceremony), (2) Namakarana (baptism-ceremony), (3) Vivahotsava (wedding ceremony) and (4) antyesthi kriya (funeral ceremony or last rites).

The *Birth Ceremony (Janmotsava)*: The Samaraiccakaha, the Kuvalayamalakatha and the Upamitibhavprapancakatha have given elaborate description of birth ceremonies connected with the birth of a son. Son's birth was celebrated on a large scale whether the parents were rich or poor. To give the new born child a happy and prosperous life different kinds of alms and charities were distributed and music and dance formed ~~as the~~ ^{the} main items of the programme.² According to Kuvalayamalakatha³,

1. Kane, P.V., *H.D.* part I, p. 176 (Hindi ed.).

2. *Samaraiccakaha*-3, p. 185.

3. *Kuvalayamalakatha*, p. 18, 30.

and the Upamitibhavaprapaneakatha⁴, the kings, on receipt of the happy news of son's-birth, used to give away ornaments worn by them on their person or other ornaments to the maid, bringing the happy tidings. Immediately on birth, all efforts were made to protect the child against evil spirits. As is apparent from the Kuvalayamalakatha, beautiful decorations with patralata motif were made on the birth of Kuvalayachandra for the protection of the child⁵. The maid Siddharthi was instructed to prepare a talisman sanctified by 'gorachana'⁶. Subhati, another female attendant was asked to wear the talisman 'Rasksamandalagra' in the interest of the health of the prince and the queen.⁷

It is known from the Upamitibhvapra-pancakatha that on the happy tidings of son birth, the king instructed his 'Mahattamas' (high dignitaries) that the teachers and preceptors be worshipped with alms and munificence; all members of the royal family be extended special honours, favour seeking people be granted all favours; all prison gates be opened; general merry makings be ordered through dance and music; wine be distributed freely, no tax to be charged; all accused to be set free; those terrified be assured all protection and the people in general be asked to make a gay spree of enjoyment and merry making. The birth of the prince was celebrated in this grand and gala fashion.⁸

4. Upamitibhavaprapancakatha, IInd Prastava, p. 157. "tatah sasambhramupagamya niveditam darakasya janma narapataye priyanivedikabhidanaya dasadarikaya. datam tasyai manorathadhikam paritoshikam denam."

5. Kuvalayamalakatha, p. 17-27 "bhui-rakkha pariharantae."

6. Ibid., 17-28, "Siddhatthie, gora-Siddhatthakarambiyao."

7. Ibid. 17-29 "Suhadie-genhasu halayassa devieya imamrakkha mandalaggam ti."

8. Upamitibhavaprapancakatha, IInd Prastava, p. 157. Also Prastava IIIrd, p. 198.

The baptismal ceremony would follow the birth ceremony. According to Samaraicakaha,⁹ the baptismal ceremony would take place a month after the expiry of the period of merry-making occasioned by the child-birth. The Upamitibhavaprapancakatha¹⁰ also testifies to the baptismal ceremony falling a month after the birth of the child. The Kuvalayamalakatha¹¹ mentions of the Namkaran ceremony. The Upamitibhava-prapancakatha¹² has given vivid description of the celebration of Namakarana mahotsava. The Samaraicakaha¹³ describes the Namakarana ceremony in which Namakarana is done by the Guru (preceptor).

The *Manusmriti*¹⁴ holds that the most auspicious day for the Namakarana was either the tenth or the twelfth day; failing that any other auspicious day was good enough for it. After the Namkarana ceremony, the child would be entrusted to the care of five female nurses. This was known as panca dhatri-samraksana¹⁵ or Five-Nurse Guardianship.

The Upanayana was the next important celebration in the life of the child. It marked the first day of his going to the teacher for schooling and was usually an occasion of festivity and merry-making.

Of all the feasts and festivals, the wedding ceremony was by far the grandest. Like other ceremonies, it too was regarded

9. *Samaraicakaha-EK Samskritik Adhyayana*, p. 116. (Samaraicakaha-6, p. 495-7, p. 606-607; 8, p. 734)

10. *Upamitibhavaprapancakatha, Illrd Prastava*, p. 199. "tatascavim vratte janma mahanandetikrante mase tirodhaya samsarijiva ityabhidanam pratisthitam me Nandivardhana itinama."

11. *Kuvalayamalakatha*, 21-2., 162.9.

12. *Upamitibhavaprapancakatha, IInd Prastava*, p. 158.

13. *Samaraicakaha-8*, p. 804 (804).

14. *Manusmriti*-2/30.

15. *Kuvalayamalakatha*, 21.7. "Evam Ca kaya-namadheopancadhai parikhito."

as sacred. The Samaraiccakaha¹⁶ has elevated the marriage ceremony to the level of a yajna (sacrifice). To uphold the sacred character of marriage and for the sake of an ideal and everlasting relationship between the bride and the bride-groom, all rituals and ceremonies such as giving of alms and charities, performing worships and offering oblations in the fire-pit were meticulously gone through.¹⁷ The Vedas, the Brahmans and the Smritis have also held marriage an important duty in the interest of an orderly family life.

One of the best descriptions of marriage is to be found in the Samaraiccakaha of Haribhadra Suri. Many of the rites are alive in Rajasthan. The text describes such things as holy music and dance and free gift-giving to the needy on such occasions.¹⁸ The auspicious day for the wedding ceremony was fixed up by the astrologers. We get an account in the Kuvalayamalakatha of the astrologers being called to fix up the marriage date of princess Kuvalayamala.¹⁹ Before the marriage ceremony the bride and the groom were annointed with scented materials. Thereafter curd and unbroken rice were sprinkled on them with durva blades by young girls wearing red robes. Then followed the bath from a golden kalasa, in the water of which were put flowers, tender sprouts and leaves.²⁰ The Kuvalayamalakatha describes that just before the wedding ceremony, the mother of Kuvalayamala administered bath to her prospective son-in-law, put tilak on his forehead, dressed him in white robes, and conducted him to the wedding mandapa, garlanded him with white flowers. Kuvalayamala too, dressed

16. *Samaraiccakaha*. VII, p. 639, IX, p. 901.

17. *Ibid.*, II., p. 93 to 101; IV, p. 339-40, VII, p. 865-66; IX, p. 899-901).

18. *Samaraiccakaha—Ek Samskritik Adhyayana* p. 123.

19. *Kuvalayamala*, p. 171-1, 15.

20. *Samaraiccakaha* p. 93, 101; IV p. 339-40; VII, p. 633-35; VIII, p. 765-66; IX, p. 899-901.

in white robes and adorned with ornaments of blessed pearl was seated on the wedding alter.²¹ Before conducting her thither, the bride was decorated with various kinds of beauty toilets and ornaments. Her feet were dyed with altaka. On her thighs, they put saffron, on her breast a patralekha and collyrium in her eyes. The face was cleaned with saffron mixed with sandal water. Lips were dyed red and covered with wax. On her forehead was put a tilake. Hair was nicely dressed. On her feet were put jewelled nupuras. On her waist a girdle. Near her arm-pits hung bahu-malas, a plavangabandha adorned her breasts and a pearl-necklace reaching her hips encircled her neck. Ears were decked with a circular ornament called the cakralata. On her head was put a cudamani and a dusurullaka of pearls round her neck.

The Samaraiccakaha too tells us of the bride-groom also being decorated in various ways alongwith the bride. It speaks of the wedding alter being decorated with all kinds of jewellery. The Kuvalayamala too narrates about the decoration of the Dhavalgriha, the wedding alter, the canopies at the top of the houses. and the city squares etc.²² The ceremonial fire-pit at the centre of the mandapa was ignited and a formal havan ritual was performed by pouring ghee, dhoop, sugar etc. with religious, incantations.²³ We get an account of the samidha (wood) of the ksheer tree and ghee being offered to the fire-pit in the Kuvalayamalakatha.²⁴

Dharmasastras have described the ritual of Havan (fire offering) as the core of the wedding ceremony.²⁵ The bride and the groom were united together (Panigrahana) to the

21. *Kuvalayamala*, p. 171-1, 15.

22. *Kuvalayamala*, p. 170.27.

23. *Samaraiccakaha*, p. 3.

24. *Kuvalayamala*, p. 170.27.

25. Kane, P.V., H.D., Part 1.

accompaniment of mantras.²⁶ There is a mention in the Samaraiccakaha of the bride and the groom going round the ceremonial fire-pit with the ends of their Utriyas (upper garment) fastened together with a knot. The couple have been shown going round the sacred fire four times. The Kuvalayamalakatha²⁷ too speaks of four such rounds. Elsewhere in India today there is the system of making seven rounds but in Rajasthan even today, the Pushkarana Brahmanas celebrate their marriage with four rounds only. According to the Samaraiccakaha, when the couple circumbulated the holy fire, the bride's father offered a dowry of costly metals like gold, valuable ornaments and dresses and vessels that could be useful to the married couple.²⁸

The Upamitibhavpara-pancakatha also contains some good descriptions of marriage ceremonies. It appears on the basis of the above narration, that the dowry system too had been in prevalence during the time of Haribhadra.

The last rites in the life of a man were the funeral rites. The last rites were performed at the time of the burning of the dead-body at the pyre.²⁹ In one of the places, the Samaraiccakaha describes the holding of the last rites with the feeding of charity and offerings alongwith the feeding of the Brahmanas and the performance of charity and offerings alongwith to ensure peace to the departed soul.³⁰ Charity on a large scale was practised to provide bliss and peace to the dead man.³¹

Besides the socio-religious ceremonies, there were many occasions of seasonal festivities as well. The Samaraiccakaha gives vivid description of the various festivities and celebrations

26. *Samaraiccakaha*, p. 3; Kuv.Mala- 171-1., 15.

27. *Kuvalayamala*- 171-1., 15.

28. *Samaraiccakaha*, IInd Prastave. p. 266.

29. *Samaraiccakaha*, II, p. 129-30; IV, p. 260.

30. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 583; VII, p. 711.

31. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 310.

on the occasion of special and suspicious days. We get an account of the celebrations related to the Kartika Purnima (full moon) in the same text. The Brihatkathakosa also describes the festival. In the Samaraiccakaha, this has been termed as the women's festival. On this occasion, the male population was externed from the town. The celebration would be held the whole night by the women dancing, singing and merry making among themselves.³² In the Jain Katha texts, there is also the description of the Kaumudi festival. This was celebrated on the full moon day in the month of Asvina.³³ On this occasion men, women and children in their best attires and ornaments would flock to gardens and groves and enjoy themselves through dance, music etc.

Among seasonal festivals, the most important was the 'Madanotsava' the presiding diety of which was Madana or Cupid. The Samaraiccakaha gives an elaborate description of this festival. The king would issue special proclamation for the celebration of this festival in the city. On this occasion, the royal highways would be sprinkled with water full of fragrant flowers, saffron and musk. People would congregate to the gardens in their best robes and ornaments, singing and dancing all the way.³⁴ There they would put up cradles of all sorts and enjoy games and sports of all sorts.³⁵ It was also known as the spring festival or 'Vasantotsava', celebrated in the month of Caitra on the the full moon day. Alberuni also states that "on the full moon day of Caitra, is a festival called Bahand (Vasant), a festival for the women, when they put on their

32. *Samaraiccakaha*, 1, pp. 33, 53; II, pp. 78-79; IV, p. 321; V, p p . 368, 370, 373, 416, 474; Vi, p. 496; VII, pp. 635-36; VIII, p. 743; IX, p. 880.

33. *Samaraiccakaha*— IV, p. 954.

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Ibid.*, V, p. 373; VII, pp. 635-36; IX, p. 879.

ornaments and demand presents from their husbands.³⁶ In some ways, this festival was almost like our present holi festival. People used to dance, play, sing and throw coloured water on one another. According to Dr. Dashrath Sharma, "In the ancient times, the 'Madanotsava' and the 'Kaumudi Mahotsava' were the most outstanding festivals of the people of Rajasthan."³⁷

'Diksotsava' or the ceremony of initiation into the Jain order was the greatest occasion of festivity among the Jains. Siddharshi Suri has given graphic description of many such occasions. One such occasion was the Diksotsava of Manishi, which he has described in detail. According to him on this occasion the floor of the Jina's temple was plastered with musk, saffron and sandal paste. Its gold pillars were decorated with jewels. Flowers of different hues were scattered on its pavement. The image of the Jinadeva was installed on a high platform.³⁸ Manishi whose body was adorned with auspicious costumes and ornaments, lifted up a pitcher of sacred water. Various musical instruments were sounded, hymns were recited, dances began, the god was worshipped and gifts were made to monks and others.³⁹ Manishi then mounted a decorated elephant, went round the city and reached the royal palace, where he witnessed dances and heard songs. The queens bathed him. He put on white clothes; took the daintiest of food, chewed betel leaves and adorned himself with flower garlands.⁴⁰ The Diksa celebration began thereafter and continued for eight days. On the eighth day, Manishi was first seated on an elephant and then in a chariot driven by the king himself. The bards sang his panegyrics. Drums were beaten and people danced. Thus Manishi reached

36. *Sachau*, II, p. 179.

37. Sharma, D. 'Early Chauhan Dynasties,' p. 266.

38. *Upamitibhavaprapancakatha*, III, pp. 315, 316, 317, 318.

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 318 ff.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 319 ff.

the Acarya, where he began the life of a Jain ascetic.⁴¹ The account may have its exaggeration, but it had its own importance. The occasion goes to prove that the initiatee was purposely rehearsed to a life of full-some luxury and grandeur so that he could have a last taste of worldly profanity. Thereafter, he was made to renounce all worldly pleasures and swear not to touch them again in the interest of higher pursuits of eternal bliss and happiness, which according to Jainism, was the ultimate goal of life.

Besides these big festivals, there were also a number of local festivals celebrated in honour of folk deities. The Jain Katha texts have given a good account of various deities, their mode of worship and observations of rituals and practices.

The Vasudevahindi and the Kuvalayamalakatha refer to the Indramala or the festival of Indra. The Vedic god Indra is the supreme god. Indra's banner was erected in the city of Mahapura where the festival in honour of Indra was celebrated by people going around the banner and worshipping and bowing down to the deity.⁴² It appears from the Kuvalayamala that this festival was celebrated after the rainy season.⁴³

Yaksamaha or the festival of Yaksha also finds mention in these texts. In Jainism Yaksas were regarded as their guardian deities and images were installed in every Jain temple. We come across Yaksha statues with the image of the Tirthankaras on their heads.⁴⁴ The Samaraicakaha⁴⁵ mentions a sarthvaha named

41. Upanitibhawaprapan Cekalha., pp. 320-21.

42. VH., 221, 6-9, The Vasudeva, 407. Quoted from 'Prakrit Jain. Narrative Litt.' p. 126.

43. Kuvalayamala- 148., 11-12.

44. "Prakrit Jain Narrative" Litt. p. 127.

45. Samaraicakaha⁴ IV, pp. 235-237 "taotanna yarasannihiyasas dhanadevabhiyasas dhanadevabhihana jakkhassa- mahapuya kauna kayamuvaiyamanchi."

Vaisramana who promised to hold a great festival in honour of a Yaksha named Dhanadeva. The Kuvalayamala refers to a Jinasekara Yaksha, who projected a pearl image of himself with the image of Risabha on his crest.⁴⁶ The Brihat-Katha-Kosa⁴⁷ refers to the worship of Yaksha by a merchant named Siddhartha. Generally the Yakshas were regarded benevolent but there were some who were evil-minded and created trouble to the people. Among these mention may be made of black Yakshas (Krsna yaksa),⁴⁸ Kapardika, and Sankha.⁴⁹ Bhutamaha or the festival of Bhuta was one of the four great festivals. Vasudevahindi⁵⁰ describes the Bhutas as wearing the skin of deer. Vasudevahindi also refers to Nagamaha or the festival of Naga.⁵¹

From the Jainkatha texts we come to know about the various gods and goddesses worshipped by the people, as well as the deities that continued to be popular from the 1st century A.D. to the 10th century A.D. Katyayani, also known as Durga, Candika, Camunda, Bhavani, Ambika and Kali, is referred to in the Tarangalola. She was referred to in the Tarangalola and was considered the goddess of the tribals and hunters like Sabaras and Bhillas. They propitiated the deity by sacrificing goat, buffalo or a human being or cattle heads.⁵² From the Samaraicakaha it appears that human sacrifice was offered even at the time of Haribhadra. The text describes a temple of Candika. She is shown as holding in her hands, a bow, a bell and the tail of Mahisasur. Candika was worshipped particularly on astami,

46. *Kuvalayamala*— 120, 15-17.

47. *Brihatkathakosa*—St. No. 27, VV 21-24.

48. VH; 360, 30-37; 2—The Vasudeva-555. Quoted from '*Prakrit Jain Narrative*' Litt. p. 130.

49. *Kathakosa*—2. Tr. by C.H. Tawney.

50. '*Prakrit Jain Narrative*' Litt.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 132-3. VH., 65, 13-19; 80, 29-81; 7, 307, -7-10.

52. Cf. '*Prakrit Jain Narrative*' Litt. p. 136 (*Tarangalola*; 927; 990. 1396).

navami and caturdasi days of the month.⁵³ In the Kuvalayamalakatha⁵⁴ also mention is made of animal and human sacrifice to Candika. In the Upamitibhavprapanca-katha⁵⁵ reference is made of the people offering wine to the goddess Candika on the occasion of a spring festival. The goddess was also known as Vindhya-vasini and Candamari. Candamari was worshipped in the country of Yaudheya as is known from the Brihat-Katha-Kosa.⁵⁶ The text also describes the bloody worship of the goddess.

Though Vasudevahindi does not refer to the above mentioned goddess, it mentions the following deities—Sri, Prithivi, Navamika, Nagi, Hri, Laksami, Siva, Vidya, Alambusa, Misrakesi, Menaka, Rambha, Tamisrakesi. Tilottama and Urvashi.⁵⁷ The Kuvalayamalakatha gives a list of all the gods and goddesses worshipped in the 8th century A.D. It mentions Narayana, Hara, the mothers and other minor gods, like, Skanda, Vinayaka or Ganapati, Revanta, Yaksas and Buddha, Govinda, Candra, Tridasendra, Nagendra, Arvindanatha and Raksasas.⁵⁸

Of the Trinity, Visnu and Siva continued to remain the popular deities as appears from the Brihat-Katha-Kosa. The text also reveals that Brahma, who was one of the trinity of Hindu God-head, now suffered serious diminution in the number of his devotees.⁵⁹ The Brihat-Katha-Kosa⁶⁰ shows that Brahma now

53. *Samaraiccakaha*, pp. 267, pp. 350 ff., p. 355, p. 358, p. 457.

54. *Kuvalayamala*— p. 68, p. 13.

55. *Upamitibhavaprapancakatha*, pp. 397, p. 552, 642.

56. *Brihatkathakosa*, pp. 73, 241-248.

57. Cf. 'Prakrit Jain Narrative' Litt. pp. 124-125.

58. *Kuvalayamala*— pp. 2, 14, 66, 68, 149, 256 (A temple dedicated to Revanta is known from a Chedi Inscription (p. 68) Cf. 'Rajasthan Through the Ages', p. 392.

59. *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, p. 387.

60. *Brihatkathakosa*, p. 242.

was not a favourite deity. Brahma is not mentioned even in the Kuvalayamala which shows that he was not worshipped even in the 8th century A.D. The Upamitibhavaprapancakatha makes no reference to Brahma while Kathakosa prakarana⁶¹ mentions him only once. Skanda is included in the list of gods worshipped in the 8th century, but the Upamitibhavaprapancakatha, Brihatkathakosa and Kathakosa Prakarana attach no importance to Skanda, which shows that skanda was by the 10th century probably no longer an important god. The worship of Madana or Ananga is mentioned in the Samaraiccakaha⁶², Upamitibhav-prapancakatha⁶³ and the Kathakosa Prakarana.⁶⁴

Other Folk Deities of Antiquity

Vasudevahind⁶⁵ mentions the cult of the guardian of a quarter of the sky (disadevata), the household deity (grahdevata) and the town deity (nagaradevta). The guardian of four quarters or the disadevata was worshipped before setting on for a journey.

Fasts

In Jainism fasts occupy a very prominent place, much more so than in any other system, and constitute by far the most common and popular form of religious practice and discipline.⁶⁶ Fasting connotes abstaining from food and drink in whole or part for a fixed period of time. Fasting is a means of self purification and spiritual meditation. It is a means of ending the bondage of Karma. Regarding the value of penance of which

61. *Kathakosa Prakarana*, p. 41.

62. *Samaraiccakaha*, pp. 499, 538.

63. *Upamitibhavaprapancakatha*, pp. 181 ff.

64. *Kathakosa prakarana*, p. 101.

65. VH, 42, 15.

66. Jain J.P., "*Religion and Culture of the Jains*", p. 118. Bhartiya Jnanpitha Publication, New Delhi, 1975.

fasts were a form, the Kuvalayamala states that as the sun jewel emits fire when it is heated by the Sun so the Jiva emaciated by tapa attains knowledge; as a gourd swims on water if it is without mud, so a Jiva also attains supreme position in the world if it is devoid of all Karma.⁶⁷

The common fast days referred to in the Jain Katha texts are the last eight days each of the Indian months of Kartika, Phalguana and Asadha, known as the three astahanikas. The Brihat-Katha-Kosa mentions very often the Astahanika puja. It is also called Nandisvara-parvan, because on this day the gods were supposed to go to the Nandisvara-dveepa and offer worship to the gods in the 52 temples standing in four quarters there. Corresponding to this was the Jain worship thrice in a year. During this Astahanika-puja day people took vow not to kill anybody and celebrated the Rathayatra.⁶⁸

In the Brihatkathakosa mention is also made of the Rohini and Pancami-vratas. It also describes the method of performing the Panchami vratas. Panchami vrata could be performed on Krsnapancami as well as Sukla pancami. Some kept the fast in the Krsnapaksa or the dark-half and some in the Suklapaksa or the bright half only. At the time of ending the fast one celebrated the Jina Mahotsava, decorated the temple with flowers,

67. *Kuvalayamala*— p. 98, 22-23.

68. *Brihatkathakosa*, p. 53, St. No. 33 “Asadhe Kartike mase phalgune ca mahamaham, jinanam ya cakarasya vapra sa vallabhavhavat. atha vapra ratham jainam yavadastahnika mahe, nagravybhyantere ramye muda bhramayati sphujam.”.

Also p. 102, St. No. 57, “kartikastahnikayam ca sopavasasamnivita. srikhand carupuspani grhtva dhoptandulam jinapujam vidhayoccaih puspangandhaksatadibhih.”

Also St. Nos. 63, 115, 134 (St. No. 115)—“Tena ragya mahapuj jinanam ksinakaramanam, pravartitabhavena trisu nandisvaresvapi, dinayastau samaruhyah jivanam bhaya vepinam, amarighosanam rajacakar svakulocitam.”

unbroken rice, bell, canopy and an ornamental or decorative pendant and then gave a book called panchami pustaka along with five other books, food, garments etc. to the Jain monks and nuns.⁶⁹ The Rohinivrata was performed when the moon was on the Rohini nakshatra and it meant forty fasts in three years or sixty seven fasts in five years and nine days.⁷⁰

A standard fast mentioned in the Brihat-Katha-Kosa is Prosadhopavasa⁷¹ which is of 48 hours duration. Before starting this fast one takes the vow not to eat and drink for the next fortyeight hours, breaking the fast with the mid-day meal on the third day. The fast may be even of 36 hours or even 24 hours duration.

69. *Brihatkathakosa*, p. 118, St. No. 57, verses-525-26, 532-536.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 111, St. No. 57, VV. 324-326.

71. *Ibid.*, St. No. 10, p. 14 line-3.

2

JAINISM AND YAKSHA WORSHIP

I

Yakshas In Early Jaina Sources

In Jain literature there is enough material on Yakshas. In Jaina Puranas and some Buddhist texts the cult of Takkhasor Yakshas had prominently been mentioned. Hindu Puranic literature also depicts the presence of Yakshas. Brahamanic sect believes in Bhutas, Pitras, Ganas, Apsaras and Yakshas. So much so that in common masses the worship of Yakshas have been popular since earliest days; and in the issues of Indian Antiquary folk tales and songs of Yakshas in their adoration have appeared to prove their popular mass appeal.

“The Jains, much like the Buddhists, were quite ready to admit the existence of the *Yakshas*, include them in their pantheon of gods and accord them a position, although not so high at first. However, in course of time their prestige became so high as to eclipse even that of the *Jinas* themselves, the super-heroes of Jainism, particularly during the post-Gupta period (after 6th cen. A.D.) and especially in south India.¹

One of the first major Jaina texts to mention the Yakshas (Prakrit : *Jakkhas*) is none other than the famous *Bhagvatisutra* which mentions the names of those gods who are obedient, like

1. Cf. Desai, P.B., *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs*, 1957, pp. 72-74.

his children, to Vaisramana, Kubera of the Hindu mythology. They are:²

1. Punnabhadda
2. Manibhadda
3. Salibhadda
4. Sumanabhadda
5. Chakka
6. Rakkha
7. Punnarakkha
8. Savvana
9. Savvajasa
10. Samiddha
11. Amoha
12. Asanta
13. Savvakama

Umasvati's *Tattvartha-Bhashya*³ gives another list of thirteen types of *Yakshas*:

1. Purnabhadras
2. Manibhadras
3. Svetabhadras
4. Haribhadras

2. Cf. Shah, U.P., 'Yaksha Worship in Early Jain Literature', *JOI*, Vol. III, 1953, pp. 54-71. Though heavily relying on Coomaraswamy like us, U.P. Shah has added much to the clarification of *Yaksha* position in Jainism and utilized much textual information not found in Coomaraswamy. But Shah too fails to take note of the rich material in Hemchandra's *Trishashti* which we have utilized more extensively to describe *Yaksha* as guardians of the *Jinas*. It seems that Shah didn't complete the second part of his contribution as he promised, for we failed to locate it in any of the later issues of the *JOI* where the first part appeared.

3. *Tattvartha Bhashya* (Ratlam edn.), p. 49.

5. Sumanobhadras
6. Vyaptibhadras
7. Subhadras
8. Sarvatobhadras
9. Manushyayakshas
10. Vanaharas
11. Vanadhipatis
12. Rupayakshas
13. Yakshottamas⁴

It is to be specially noted that nearly all the names of the *yakshas*, ending in *bhadra*, are auspicious, implying fullness, increase and prosperity. The benefic character of the *yakshas*, *nagas*, etc. have been referred to earlier in the discussion on their place in Hinduism and Buddhism. In the Jaina literature also a number of stories are found to the same effect: Bhadda, the childless wife of merchant Dhanna of Rajagraha, worships, outside the city, the *Nagas*, *Bhutas*, *Yakshas*, Indras, Skandas, Sivas, Vaisramana/Kubera with flowers, scented pastes, etc. in order to obtain a child.⁵ In the *Avasyaka Churni* (II:193) a

4. Malayagir's Comm. (on the *Pannavanasutta*, I, 38) contains the same list except for the sixth type called Vyaptipatikabhadras. The *Tiloyapannati* (ed. A.N. Upadye and H.L. Jain, Sholapur, 1951, Vol. II. p. 647) gives slightly different names of twelve classes of *Yakshas*. (According to Bhadrabahu's *Kalpasutra* 89). From the moment of Mahavira's descent into his mother's womb, many jambhaka gods (Jacobi calls them 'demons') in Vaisramana's (Kubera's) service, belonging to the animal world, brought on Sakra's command, to the palace of King Siddhartha (Mahavira's father), old and ancient treasures from various places (cf. Shah, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-57). The tradition of the *Yaksha* classes, concludes Shah, should therefore date from an age before the Svetambara-Digambara schism occurred in Jainism. (Cf. *ibid.*, p. 97, fn. 12).

5. These shrines are called *ghara* or *-deula*. Cf. *Nayadhammakahao*, II, pp. 47-50.

certain Subhadra promises Surambara *Jakkha* one hundred buffaloes if she were blessed with a son. Another text, *Vivagasuya*, says that :

One Gangadatta, who had no issue, visited the shrine of Umbaradatta *Jakkha* outside the city of Patalikhanda, in the company of female friends of her class and worshipped the *Yakshas*. She first bowed down to the image, then cleaned it with a brush of peacock feathers, bathed it with water, wiped it with garments, adorned it with flowers, garlands, applied scents, scented powders, placed incense burners in front and kneeling down, prayed for a child. She promised a sacrifice, a gift, and a special fund for the purpose of worship.

Shah⁶ points out that this is also the manner of Jina worship as described in the Jaina texts such as *Nayadhammakahao*. The same text (IX-127) also refers to the shrine of Selega *Yaksha*, who had the form of a horse⁷ situated in a forest-grove of the Jewel-Island (*Ratna-dvipa*). This *Yaksha* is said to have saved two merchants from the clutches of a cruel demoness and carried them back to the city of Champa in Bengal.

In the *Uttaradhyayana Sutra* (#2) Ganditinduya *Jakkha* of Varanasi is said to have guarded sage Matanga in the Tinduya garden. It further states that by practising self-restraint one is born among the *Jakkhas* (3.14) and that the *Jakkhas*, *Devas*, *Danavas* and *Kinnaras* pay veneration to those who practice celibacy (16.16). The *Jakkhas* are also said to detect the unchastity of women (*Dasachurni*: 90). According to the *Avasyaka-Nirukta* (#487) the Vibhelaya *Jakkha* of the Gamaya halting place paid

6. Shah U.P., *op. cit.*, p. 57.

7. *Yaksha* in the form of a horse is quite interesting. Later conception such as *Hayagriva*, "Horse-necked", may have evolved from the assimilation of such "horse-*Yakshas*". Buddhist literature has its own Assamuki ("horse-faced") *Yakkhi*, while Hemchandra speaks of an "Enlightened Horse" of Bhrigukachha in his *Trishaesti* (Vol. IV, pp. 856-88).

reverence to Mahavira when he was engaged in meditation. The *Pinda-Nirukt* (#445) refers to a shrine of Manibhadra *Jakkha* which lay outside the town of Samilla in a garden and was furnished with a hall. When smallpox broke out in the town, its inhabitants sought his help and he saved them. Greatfully, they did honour the *Jakkha* on the 8th of the month.⁸

The *Yakshas* are also reported to be construction genius, skilled in town planning and architecture. All through the ages, even to this day, folktales speak of palace constructions, road-building, etc. at night by the *Yakshas*. The *Vasudevahindi* (162-163) describes the city of Vinita, the capital of the first *Jina*, Rishabha, planned and constructed by Vesamana (Kubera) at Sakra's biddings; so does Hemachandra (*Trishasti* I, 149-50) who adds: after laying it out, the Yaksha King, free from deceit, filled it increasingly with inexhaustible clothes, ornaments, money and grain.⁹

Even a secular writer like Kautilya¹⁰ refers to shrines of such deities as Vijaya, Vaijayanta, Jayanta and Aprajita within the city walls.¹¹ The *Yaksha* shrines are generally located outside and always to the north-east of the cities; but there is no mistaking their *Yaksha-devata* character as is evident from the Jaina evidence. Anadhiya/Anahiya (Anadrta, literally "unhonoured") *Yaksha* is said to be the lord of the whole Jambudvīpa, *i.e.*, India, according to Jaina tradition. It seems obvious that his function as guardian angel was based upon the conception that he is the protector of this land, *i.e.*, India. He also had his female counterpart (perhaps of Iranian origin), in *Yakshi* Anahita/Anaiitis.¹²

8. Cf. Shah. U.P., *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

9. The *Yakshas* are famous gatekeepers in the assembly hall (*samavarasana*) of the Jinas where they preach important sermons, and at numerous other places (cf. *Jambudvīpa-Prajñapti*: 7).

10. Kautilya's *Arthashastra* (tr. Shama Sastry), p. 59.

11. Cf. Goyal, S.R., *Kautilya and Megasthenes*, Meerut, 1985, pp. 31 ff.

12. Cf. *Vasudevahindi*, pp. 25-26 and U.P. Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 58, fn. 24.

The Jaina sources do not disappoint us about the malefic character of the *Yakshas* also. There was a *Yaksha* Sulapani in the village Asthika (bones) near Vardhman town, who used to kill the local people as well as those who happened to stay in his shrine. The village came to be so-called from the heap of bones of such victims. There a shrine was built for this *Yaksha*.¹³ This *Yaksha* tried to disrupt Mahavira's meditation when the latter spent a night in the shrine, but was ultimately overpowered and compelled to worship the *Jina*. There was another *Yaksha* Surapriya whose wooden statue was carved and painted every year, but he used to kill the painters. This shrine was located to the north-east of Saketa/Ayodhya of Rama.¹⁴ Another source (*Brihad-Kalp-Bhashya*) speaks of a *Yaksha* who indulged in the habit of violating the vows of Jaina monks. The *Yakshas*, *Bhutas* and other spirits are also reported as "possessing" the people. For example, there is the story of a garland-maker of Rayagihe (=Rajagrha), named Ajjunae or Arjuna, who worshipped *Yaksha* Moggarapani regularly along with his wife. He got so enraged with six gangsters who had raped his wife in the shrine, it is said, that "possessed by the *Yaksha*" he killed them all, including his wife, with the iron mace held in the hand of the *Yaksha*'s statue.¹⁵ The *Yakshas* were also notorious for ravishing beautiful women. Ganditinduya *Yaksha* is referred to as molesting princess Bhadra.¹⁶ While the Vanamantari *Yakshi* Salejja paid homage to Mahavira in the salavana-grove outside village Bahusalaka. Another *Yakshi* of the same class, named Kadapuyana (Kathaputana)¹⁷ caused

13. *Avasyaka Churni*, pp. 272-74.

14. Cf. Shah, U.P. *op. cit.*, p. 59.

15. *Antagada Dasao*, 6.

16. Jain, J.C., *Life in Ancient India as Depicted in the Jain Canon*, Bombay, 1947, pp. 221-22.

17. Putanas are regarded as belonging to the Vanamantara class. Mahavira's molestation by Kadapuyana can be clearly compared with the attempt of Kathaputana who, with her breasts besmeared with poison tried to kill the infant Kṛṣṇa.

him a lot of trouble though ultimately she was subdued.¹⁸

Adambara Jakkha was the *Yaksha* of the Matangas who were regarded as a low class people. Similarly the people known as Dombas (Doms?) worshipped Ghantika Jakkha as their tutelary deity who used to whisper in their ear when questioned about the future.¹⁹ This *Yaksha* seems to have been incorporated into Saivism also, as a vira, Ghantikakarna by name, as Hemachandra²⁰ mentions Virabhadra having a name ending in -bhadra as a well-known *gana* of Siva. Like the thirteen classes of the *Yakshas* of the *Bhagavati*-and *Tattvartha-Sutra* lists, he seems to be an ancient deity of this class later assimilated into the Jaina pantheon.²¹

It seems evident from the above description that the deities of the earliest inhabitants of India were gradually incorporated by Jainism, as had been done by Hinduism and Buddhism. As pointed out earlier, the Buddhist Bharhut *stupa* railing pillar figures of *Yakshas* and *Yakshinis* show that they were honoured at this place of worship, though an inferior status of decorative pillar sculptures was assigned to them. The same is the case with such figures found from the Jaina Kankali Tila in Mathura where *Sirima devata* seems to have served as a portotype of *Ambika Yakshi*, the guardian angel of *Jina Neminatha*.²² They have their own "vehicles" (*vahanas*)—dwarf, elephant etc.—below their feet. The earliest *Yaksha-Yakshi* statues are said to

18. *Avasyaka Churni*, p. 294; also *Niryukti*, 489.

19. *Avasyaka Churni*, II, pp. 227-29.

20. *Abhidhana Chintamani*, p. 124.

21. Shah, U.P., *op. cit.*, p. 60, fn. 34.

22. Cf. Coomaraswamy, A.K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, New York, 1965, figs. 73, 74, 81; Agrawala, V.S., *Indian Art*, 1963, pp. 31-32; Bhattacharya, B.C., *The Jain Iconography*, Delhi, 1974, pp. 57, 103-104, pl. 36; also Vogel, J. Ph. *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum, Mathura*, Allahabad, 1910.

be the Didarganj *Yakshi*, the Parkham *Yaksha* from Baroda, the two Patna statues in the Indian Museum and *Yakshi* from Pawaya, still worshipped as Mansa Devi at Mathura, also probably belongs to this group.²³ Whatever the actual age of this group of four large sculptures, according to Coomaraswamy²⁴ they illustrate and adequately establish the character of the indigenous school in and before the Mauryan period (c. 325-285 B.C.).

(It is believed Mansa Devi was brought at Mathura by a Kori bhagat known as Kanuwan baba, from Bengal-Assam, and possessed super-natural powers)

Some of these early free standing *Yaksha* figures appear to have held the fly-whisk, as suggested by R.P. Chanda.²⁵ The Jaina texts assign to the *Yakshas* the attendant position of fly-whisk-bearers in the retinue of a *Jina* image. It is plausible to assume that in the *Yaksha* cult fly-whisk was regarded as a mark of royalty or dignity, otherwise the ancient *Yaksha* statues worshipped as deities would not hold them.²⁶

Of the individual *Yakshas* mentioned in the Jaina texts, Manibhadra and Purnabhadra deserve special comments. They are said to be the "two Indras" of the *Yaksha* class of the Vyantara gods in the Jaina cosmography and offerings were made to them. The *Sthananga Sutra* (# 9) states that they are the chief demigods in Jainism, Purnabhadra of the southern horde of *Yakshas* and Manibhadra of the northern horde, while Bashan writes that the attempts at reconstructing an Ajivika pantheon must stop with Purnabhadra, Manibhadra, and Brahma. "Other gods there must have been," he suggests, "but we have

23. Cf. Coomaraswamy, A.K., *HIIA*, pp. 16-17, figs. 1, 7, 9, 8; *Yaksha*, Vol. I, pp. 7, 12, 29, 38; pls. 1, 2.

24. Cf. *HIIA*, p. 17.

25. Chanda, R.P., 'Four Ancient *Yaksha* Statues.' *Journal of the Development of Letters*, Vol. IV, Calcutta, 1921.

26. Cf. also, U.P. Shah in *JOI*, Vol. III, 1953, p. 61.

no evidence of their names.”²⁷ It is these two chief *Yakshas* who paid homage to Mahavira at Champa. Manibhadra and Purnabhadra had their shrines (*chaityas*) outside Mithila and Champa respectively, while the temple of *Yakshi* Bahuputrika was located near Vaisali.²⁸ She is also reported to have been one of the four chief queens of the each of the two *Yakshendras*, i.e., Manibhadra and Purnabhadra. Manibhadra is a *Yaksharaja* and the chief attendant of Kubera in *Mahabharata* (V. 192. 44). He was invoked as a patron of merchants which may explain the erection of his statue at Pawaya by a merchant guild whose member were Manibhadra devotees. The fact that one of his queens is called Bahuputrika, “having many sons,” in the Jaina canon²⁹ atonce suggests that the Buddhist Jambhala-Hariti or Jaina Sarvanubhuti-Ambika are based upon the earlier model of Manibhadra-Purnabhadra and Bahuputrika pair. But the growing popularity of the Buddhist Jambhala-Hariti, of the Jaina pair of Sarvanabhuti-Ambika, and of the Hindu deities Siva, Ganesa and Parvati wipe doubt their separate cult.³⁰

The famous Jaina canonical text *Bhagavati Sutra* lists no less than eighteen *Yaksha* shrines (*chaityas*) in connection with Mahavira’s monsoon sojourns during the course of his wanderings after he attained Jinahood :

- | | | | | |
|----|----------------|---------|----|-------------------|
| 1. | Dutipalasa | chaitya | at | Vaisali |
| 2. | Koshithaka | ” | ” | Sravasti |
| 3. | Chandravartana | ” | ” | Kausambi |
| 4. | Purnabhadra | ” | ” | Champa |
| 5. | Jambuka | ” | ” | Ulluka-tiranagara |

27. Basham, A.L., *History and Doctrines of the Ajivikas*, 1951, pp. 273-274.

28. *Bhagavati Sutra*, 18.2.

29. *Ibid.*, 10.5; *Niryavalika*, III. 4.

30. Cf. Shah, U.P., *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62.

6.	Bahyoyrika	"	"	Vaisali
7.	Gunasila	"	"	Mendhika
8.	Bahusalaka	"	"	Vaisali
9.	Kundiyayana	"	"	Vaisali
10.	Sanakoshthaka	"	"	Mendhika
11.	Nanda	"	"	Moka
12.	Pushpavati	"	"	Tungika
13.	Mandikushi	"	"	Rajgrah
14.	Chandravartana	"	"	Uddandapura
15.	Angamandira	"	"	Champa
16.	Paraptakala	"	"	Alabhika
17.	Sankhavana	"	"	Alabhika
18.	Chhatrapalasa	"	"	Krtangala

The abovementioned shrines perhaps were neither exclusively of the *Yaksha* (they may have also belonged to the allied group of deities, i.e, *Nagas*, *Bhutas*, etc.)³¹, nor do the names of these shrines represent names of deities enshrined in them. These *chaityas* were made up of a garden (-*udyana*), grove, or park (-*vanakhanda*), etc. as is evident from the inclusion of such terms in their names. They had a shrine and attendant's house and seldom, if ever, do the names of a shrine and the *Yaksha* to whom it was dedicated go together. The Jaina lists of the *Yaksha* shrines cited earlier in this section, fully conform to this pattern.³²

The above list, according to Shah, clearly indicates that most of the thirteen classes of *Yakshas* of the *Bhagvati Sutra* "are taken from the famous ancient shrine at various places". There existed according to the Jaina texts, a shrine of Dharana

31. Shah. U.P., *ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.

Yaksha at Rohtak (near Delhi) while the Buddhist *Mahamayuri* lists Kumara as the *Yaksha* of this place. It is possible that they are simply two different names of the same *Yaksha* belonging to a place also holy for the Hindus of the region (visited personally by the author). Then there is a "world renowned" *Yakshini* shrine at Rajgrah mentioned in the *Mahabharata*. The *Bhagvati Sutra* also speaks of the Gunasila shrine at Rajgrah but omits to mention the name of its deity. It would people prayed for offspring even in the days of Hieuan T-sang (7th cen. A.D.). She is called the wife of Panchika, a *Yaksha*, and is depicted in the Buddhist legend as a devouress of children by smallpox, an ogress whom the Buddha converted through a clever device and promised her offerings as a patroness of fertility and children. It is suggested that Nanda is no different from Revati or Shashthi of the *Kasyapa Samhita*, Hriti of the Buddhists and Bahuputrika of the Jains, who in her malefic aspects was known as Putana. It is she who, in the course of time, became very popular in her benefic form as Ambika Devi amongst the Jains. The very fact that Ambika sits under the shade of a mango tree. (cf. Amra, her other name) is reminiscent of the old practice of worshipping *Yaksha* and *Yakshinis* on stone platforms under trees.³³ Qunitus Curtius (VIII. 9) speaks of capital punishment awarded for injury done to a sacred tree.

According to Coomaraswamy the essential element of a *Yaksha* holystead is a stone table or altar, placed beneath the tree sacred to the *Yaksha*. The shrine of the *Yaksha* Suchiloma at Gaya is particularly described as a stone couch (*tankito mancho*), by or on which the Buddha rested.³⁴ At the Purnabhadra *chaitya* there were not only altars (and probable an image) in an elaborate temple, but also a decorated altar beneath an Asoka

33. Cf. Coomaraswamy, A.K., *Yakshas*, Vol. I. pp. 9-10; 40-41; pls. 15. fig. 1; 21, figs. 3-5; Bhattacharya, B.C., *The Jain Iconography*, pp. 103-104, pls. 36, 46; fig. 4.

34. See *Kindered Sayings*, in *SBE*. Vol. XXII, p. 264.

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 his great enlightenment. In fact, in the *Nidan katha* Sujata's maidservant mistakes the Bodhisattva from a tree spirit himself. It is quite evident that the sacred tree and in the case of the Bodhi tree we actually see the transference in process.³⁵

The *Vasudevahindi*³⁶, a sixth century Jaina work of distinction also notes: In the Saliggama in Magadha there is *jakkha* called Sumano (sumant) whose platform or altar (*sila*, *védika*), under the Asoka tree is called *sumana*; there the people worship him. The Purnabhadra shrine was called "ancient" (*porane*), "very ancient" (*chiratitam*) in the days of Mahavira (c. 500 B.C.). Thus, Jaina Ambika was modelled on an earlier popular *Yakshini* image, associated with children, who must be Bahuputrika, Revati, Shashthi, Nanda—different names or aspects of the same goddess.

These remarks about the Buddhist image equally apply to the Jaina image. The Jaina canonical works note the *chaitya* trees of each of the 24 *Jinas* and in the description of the *Samavasarana*, the Asoka tree spread over the *chaitya* trees. It is one of the eight *Maha-Pratiharyas* (door-keepers) of a *Jina*. The conception of the door-keeper is again borrowed from the ancient *Yaksha* worship for the *Yaksha* image is often described as *sannihya-padihere* (in the vicinity of the feet).

It is generally understood that older forms, beliefs and practices continue for ages in art and society with slight alterations introduced in accordance with the requirements of the age and sect adopting them. They are revived time and again in different ways. A similar instance is the type of the Tirthankara image once very popular in the south, occasionally also met within the north in Gujarat wherein the *Jina* sits on a big *pitha* (seat),

35. Coomaraswamy, A.K., *Yaksha*, Vol. I, p. 17.

36. *Vasudevahindi* of Dharmadasa, Bhavanagar, 1930, p. 52.

under a big tree whose foliage spreads out in the figure of the *Jina*. Some of the icons of this type found in the Puddukotta state go back to the post-Gupta age and it would appear that they had their model in the tree—and *Yaksha* worship of ancient times prevailing in the South. Even the standing *Jina* image in the “body-dismissing” (*Kayotsarga*) pose seems to have for its iconographic model the standing spirits under trees on the Indus seals, and the type might have been evolved for a sort of *Yaksha* worship. The correspondence is best seen in the Lohanipur torso of the naked *Jina* with smooth Mauryan polish.

Nanda was an ancient goddess of Rajgrah. She was later adopted into Hinduism as goddess Gauri who is also Bahuputri in Hemachandra’s commentary. Her name signifies joy, affluence, and prosperity. In the Kubera-Hariti group of sculptures described by V.S. Agrawala from the Mathura Museum, the wives of Kuber have been identified as Lakshmi, Hariti and Bhadra. They might as well be described as Lakshmi, Nanda and Bhadra—all three, signifying Beauty, Prosperity, and Auspiciousness, or Beauty-Abundance, Bliss and Auspiciousness, honoured on different days of the month. The Jaina lists of the fifty-six *dikkumaris*, quarter-maidens, are clear attempts of the alien people into the Jaina mythology. They include amongst them well-known Vedic goddesses such as Sinivali, Prthvi and Ila as well as Nanda (perhaps of Iranian mother-goddess, Nanaia and Nana of coins). Shah identifies Ambika, Uma, and Nanaia with each other. But according to Agrawal, the prototype of Ambika *Yakshi*, Hariti and Uma Gauri possibly showed a child held with one hand, while in the other she carried a lotus bud with a stalk or a *chauri*, which the Jainas either misunderstood or changed into a mango bunch.

A temple of *Yaksha* Hundika was erected at Mathura in front of Devanisiva, one who had been a thief before but muttered the *namaskaras* at the gallows and was reborn as *Yaksha* Kumbhadhara to whom people came on pilgrimage. ~~The Yaksha~~

and tree worship are linked at Mathura, thus associating the practice of *Yaksha* worship under the trees in both Jaina and Hindu sources.

Along with *Yaksha* worship the worship of dragons, the *Nagas*, was equally popular in early India. Dhanya's wife Bhadra also approaches them for children. Some sources refer to a *Naga* shrine, *Nagagrah* celebrated a *Naga* sacrifice in this shrine. The *Vasudevahindi* also speaks of a *Nagagrah* along a highway near Tamralipti where fragrant incense continually burnt. According to this Jaina text, especially maidens worshipped the *Nagas* for obtaining desired husbands. At a *Naga* shrine at Mathura, a young woman meets her lover and enters into marriage by her own choice without the consent of her parents, i.e., through the Gandharva form of ceremony similar to the Kalidasa's heroine Shakuntala contracts with her royal lover.

Mathura is mentioned as a big centre of *Nagas* worship where a number of *Naga* images have been recovered. Ahichchatra (present Ram Nagar) is also associated with the *Nagas*, since the snake King Dharana is said to have protected Parsva (the 23rd Jina of this age) from heat etc. when the latter was in meditation, by holding his hood as a canopy over the sage. The Jaina texts refer to images and shrines of the *Nagas*, *Yakshas*, Rudras and others in different contexts and such shrines seem to have existed in almost every village, town and city. Rajgrah was well-known as the site of Maninaga worship as is attested by the excavation of the Maniyara Math.

The legend of Dharana *Naga* offering protection to Parsva during his austerities has its parallel in the Buddhist tale of Muchhilinda, the snake king, sheltering Buddha against wind and rain. It is specially significant to find that the Jaina traditions speak of an ancient *stupa* of Suparsva existing at Mathura. The *stupa* belonged to Parsva who is so intimately associated with the snake king Dharana in the Jaina mythology. Parsva's close association with the *Nagas* is noteworthy, according to U.P.

Shah, also because it indicates that this leader of a heterodox cult had a following amongst the Naga tribes against the Aryans who followed Vedic ritualistic religion. And Shah explains it in this manner: Parsva's attendant *Yaksha* and *Yakshini* in Jaina iconography are the snake king and queen Dharanendra and Padmavati. Parsva's birthplace is Banaras and, as the legend of the Ganges narrated in the *Vasudevahindi* shows, the Nagas lived in the region through which the Ganges flowed towards the ocean. In the first onrush of the water, their buildings were often swept away. By the time of Mahavira, the Nagas (tribes) were pushed further eastwards and southwards of the Madhyadesa and Magadha. But I find this explanation connecting Naga tribes and the *Jinas* to be absolutely preposterous.

Coomaraswamy³⁷ has clearly demonstrated that the Nagas are intimately associated with water cosmology. He has pointed out that the *Atharvaveda*, (X.7.38) a Vedic text cf. c. 1000 B.C., referring to Varuna or Prajapati as the supreme *Yaksha* in the midst of the universe, reclining in concentrated energy (*tapas*) on the bank of waters, therein are set whatever gods thereby, like the branches of a tree about a trunk. "Significance is to be attached", he says, "to this concept of the tree of life springing from a naval. For Yakshas are primarily vegetation spirits, guardians of the vegetative source of life, and thus closely connected with water". In the *Rigveda* (VII. 65.2 and 88.6), the *Dirgha Nikaya* (II.204) as well as the *Atharva veda* (XI.2.24) Varuna is called a *Yaksha*.

Yakshas, great or small, are vegetation spirits, directly controlling and bestowing upon their devotees fertility and wealth, i.e., abundance. Kubers inexhaustible treasures are a lotus and a conch. Innumerable *Yakshis* have a *makara* or other fishtailed animals as their vehicle. Kamadeva, the god of love, has the *makara* as is cognisance. The greater tutelary *Yakshas* control

37. Coomaraswamy.

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 naval of the unborn," who in the oldest Vedic passage is Varuna, called a *Yaksha* in the *Atharvaveda*. Moreover, in the Indian decorative art, vegetation is represented indifferently as springing either (1) from the mouth or naval of a *Yaksha*, or (2) from the open jaws of a makara or other fish-tailed animals, or (3) from a 'brimming vessel' or (4) from a conch, but never directly from any symbol representing the earth. It might have been supposed that the Nagas, 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 *Yakshas* are worshipped by those desiring children. "There, thus, is an ancient and continuous tradition of a world origin in which are involved the waters, a *Yaksha*, the navely, and a tree of life, the latter first mentioned in connection with Varuna."

The most famous of all the *Yaksha* pairs, as pointed out earlier, is the Buddhist Jambhala and Hariti, Kuber with Hariti or Kubera with Lakshmi, Bhadra or Hariti of the Kushapa period (2nd cen. A.D.) found at Mathura, Kuber/Jambhala and Hariti images were also discovered from Gandhara. The Sahri-Baholo sculpture shows Panchika/Kuber and Hariti with atleast five children, one being on the lap of the *yakshi*. The sixth child on the right shoulder of Kuber, corresponding on Hariti is lost. At Mathura, in the numerous figures of this group, one finds that the "goddess either shows one hand in *Abhaya mudra* or carries a cup. The other hand remains in holding a child.

According to U.P. Shah, sculptural evidence from the Jaina monuments for the existence of *Yakshas* and *Yakshis* is of somewhat later period. "In Jaina iconography", he writes, "before the post-Gupta age, we do not find any attendant *Yaksa* and *Yaksi* figures. But at least in the seventh century A.D. we obtain representations of *Ambika* and a *Yaksa*," two armed and pot-

bellied, carrying a purse in one hand and a citron in the other. This Yaksa, whose prototype is Kuber or Jambhala, was possibly known, he surmises, "as Yakshesvara or as Sarvanabhuti or Sarvanha Yaksa." Ambika carries a mango bunch in one (right) hand and holds the child on her lap with the other (left) hand. She rides a lion. The *yaksha* rides an elephant, which is also the conveyance both of Kuber as well as Indra."[§]

II

Yakshas: Guardians of Jinas

Hemchandra has given an epic account of Yakshas as Guardians of the Jinas, angels or deities (*sasana-devatas*) of Tirthankaras. They are both male and female (*Yaksha-Yakshi*) pair. B.C. Bhattacharya says that 'these demi-gods do not represent Jaina tradition? Some resemble Hindu deities. In the opinion of Schubring 'an Arhat is far beyond the reach of human affairs. Being in the state of pure cognition and without both sentiment and will, he cannot bestow grace and favour upto those who appeal to him.' "Hindu influence," he adds, "seems to have been at works in placing at his (Arhat's or Jina's) side two adjuctants, one male (*yaksha*) and one female (*yakshi*, *yakshini*). . . and it is these two that take care of a devout suppliant. That on a large scale, Hindu mythology was adopted by the Jains and brought in accord vance with their own principles is a fact known too well to be treated here in detail."

From within the Indian tradition, the Jainas it seems, transformed the Hindu epic heroes and other individual religious personalities into venerable persons of their own creed. Much before the rise of both Jainism and Buddhism *yaksha-yakshi* cult has existed in pre-historic India, which has not altogether

§ Excerpted from EOJ, Vol. 2, pp. 7296-7298.

disappeared from the ancient and primitive tribal societies as yet, besides advanced societies of Jains, Buddhists and Hindus. Yakshas were the presiding deities or spirits over wealth, generally mentioned as Kuber, Dhanpal, Manibhadra etc¹⁻⁶.

“A Yaksha is a devotee of the *Jinas* or *Tirthankaras* in Jaina liturgical texts. And according to Jaina belief, Indra appoints one *Yaksha-Yakshi* couple to serve as attendants on each Jina. In pictorial or sculptural representation a Yaksha would usually be depicted on the right side of the *Jina*, and a Yakshi on his left. Thus, they also came to be called *sasana-devatas*, attendants spirits or guardian angels of the *Jinas*. A Yaksha, according to Hemchandra, originates from the particular religiosity or spiritual aura of a Jina. The fact that Yaksha statues are always depicted as decorated with rich jewels, are characterized with the symbol of a money-bag, and are popularly associated with wealth (Kuber), may also reflect the richness and wealth of the Jaina community. History and mythology both attest to these facts.

Following is the account of Yaksha-Yakshini guardians of each of the twenty-four *Jinas* in the light of information gathered from Hemchandra's epic account, which has been summarized and presented here. Hemchandra provides the name, colour, vehicle, number of arms and emblems for each and every one of the forty-eight guardian angels. We discuss them in turn, and point out their special features and symbolism. It is hoped that such an account will not only be helpful in understanding the role of Yakshas and Yakshis in medieval Jainism, but will also contribute to a comparative study of their role, status and power in Hinduism and Buddhism.

Gomukha

Gomukha, of gold color and riding on elephant, is the guardian deity of the first Jina, Rishabha. He has four arms.

1-6. Bhattacharya : Jaina Iconography, Winternitz and Schubring, Walther: The Doctrine of the Jainas, pp. 16-17.

One of his right hands is in boon-granting position (*varadamudra*)⁷ while the second holds a rosary; of the two left hands, one holds a citron and the other a noose (*pasa*).⁸ Gomukha is commonly described in Jaina books and its statues are found both with his commanding Jina, as well as independently, the latter ones being larger in size. His miniature images with Rishabha are more numerous. But artists do not always faithfully follow the textual description, for a figure of Gomukha discovered from Gwalior, shows a staff, an axe etc. in his hands.⁹

Now, Gomukha's name meaning "cow-face", bears a close resemblance to his master Rishabha's symbol, bull, as it does to that of Siva's bull Nandi. He grants boons. His rosary indicates the worship of the Jina, while the citron is a common indicator of the Yakshas. The noose was also a constant symbol of the Hindu god of death, Yama, as it was that of Vedic god Varuna in earlier times. His gold colour seems to associate him with the Indo-Europeans. His mount, elephant, represents power, fertility and royalty and, moreover, it was indigenous to India. It was also the favourite mount of Siva's attendant Yaksha, Kubera. Siva also had an elephant-headed son, Ganesa, the remover of obstacles. It is also associated with goddess Lakshmi and the Buddha's mother saw the dream of an elephant entering her side when she conceived him. Cows are sacred to the Hindus as well as means of agriculture and transportation in India but have become important religious symbols in both Hinduism and Jainism. Gomukha, guardian of the first Jina, seems to represent a complexity of symbolism in Indian tradition which might well account for his great popularity and importance in Jainism.¹⁰

Apratichakra

Hemchandra describes her as a gold coloured Yakshi holding

7. See Bhattacharya, B.C.: *Jaina Iconography*, p. 140.

8. TS, Vol. I, p. 211

9. *Jaina Iconography*, pp. 67-68

10. Ibid.

a disc and riding on Garuda. With eight arms, she holds eight emblems in her hands which represent respectively (from right to left): "boon-granting" (varada-) position, an arrow, a disc, a noose, a bow, thunderbolt, disc and goad. She was the female guardian, Yakshi of the first Jina, alongwith her male companion, Gomukha.¹¹ Apart from the literary sources, a number of images of Jina Rishabha, have been found at the Jaina sites. The abundance of her images (says Bhattacharya) is due to her important cult position as the sasana-devi of the first Jina.¹²

By her name, Apratichakra or Chakresvari, "one holding a disc", "boon-granting" position, her mount Garuda bird, etc. she resembles the wife of Vishnu, whose one name is Chakresvara. Some texts give her the symbol of citron, which brings her into close line with the Yaksha class. Her boon-granting disposition, a divine attribute, displays her generosity. The bow, arrow, goad and thunderbolt not only indicate her warrior character but also link her with the popular Hindu epic hero Rama and the Vedic god Indra. She, like other Yakshis as a rule, combines in herself influences from the Hindu and Jaina goddesses of learning as well as from the Yaksha demigods.¹³

Mahayaksha

This Yaksha, simply named Mahayaksha, meaning "the Great Yaksha," with four faces, dark colour, and an elephant for his vehicle, is the guardian deity of the second Jina, Ajitanatha. He has eight arms which hold respectively (from right to left): "boon-granting" position, hammer, rosary noose, a citron, "fearlessness granting" position (*abhayamudra*), a goad and a

11. T.S. Vol. 1, p. 211.

12. The Jaina Iconography, p. 87.

13. Ibid.

spear.¹⁴ So far no separate images of Mahayaksha have been discovered. However, his attendant miniature figures can be seen in the sculptures of his master Jina at Deogarh Fort, Jhansi. They resemble the textual description. Mahayaksha's vehicle, elephant¹⁵ is common with the symbol of the same animal for his commanding Jina, her companion Yakshi, as well as with other Hindu deities. His four faces naturally correspond with his eight arms. The emblems of hammer and spear indicates his warrior character and guardian position. He protects the Jina and grants fearlessness to his devotees.

Ajitabala

Ajitabala or Ajita, of gold colour, with four arms, and an "iron seat", (Lohasana), is the guardian angel of the second Jina. Her four hands respectively hold (from right to left) "boon-granting" position, a noose, a citron and a goad.¹⁶ Ajitabala, like her male companion, has few images which may well indicate a lack of their popularity. However, according to Bhattacharya an image of her can be clearly seen in the Deogarh Fort, Jhansi.¹⁷

The name and symbolism of this Yakshi are obviously connected with her commanding Jina. She has been named after him as Ajita, "invincible" or "Ajita's power", perhaps after the concept of Siva's Sakti (-power) in Hinduism. Her spirit as such is also symbolized by the "iron-seat", known for its hardness and metallic strength. But when the antiquity of Ajita's time is juxtaposed with the post -1000 B.C. evidence for iron in India, and the scarcity of her images is remembered, one can safely assume that she was a later addition to the Jaina pantheon. Otherwise, she has no unusual characteristics.

14. T.S. Vol., 2, p. 130.

15. Elephant Symbolism..

16. TS, vol. 2, p-130

17. *The Jaina Iconography*, p. 88

Trimukha

The Guardian Yaksha of the third Jina, Sambhava, is Trimukha, "Three-Face", no doubt so named because supposedly he has three faces. He also has three eyes and six arms. He is dark (syama) in colour and rides a peacock. In his six hands he holds respectively (from right to left) an ichneumon (mongoose), a club, "fearlessness-granting" position, citron, wreath, and a rosary.¹⁸ No separate image of this Yaksha has been found so far, but a corner miniature figure may be seen in the sculpture of the third Jina Sambhavanatha.¹⁹

Trimukh's symbol of peacock seems to connect him with the Hindu goddess of learning and sixteen Jaina goddesses of learning who also ride peacocks.²⁰

Peacock may also have been a totem of some Jainas. While the three faces go well together with his six hands, his "three eyes" seem old and remind one of Siva's three eyes. But it is recognized as one of the unique features of Jaina iconography. The club indicates his guardian position, citron his Yaksha-hood. The wreath and roasary show that he is a worshipper of the Jina. He grants fearlessness to his devotees and perhaps befriends mongoose, which might have been a totem of some of his followers. His mongoose symbol is also in striking contrast to his female companion's serpent. Now serpent and mongoose are natural enemies, but their combination as symbols of the guardians of the same master may indicate the power of the Jina to produce peace and friendship between two natural enemies.²¹

18. T.S. Vol. 2, pp. 251-252.

19. *The Jain Iconography*, pp. 69-70.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

21. See T.S. Vol I, pp. 198-99 and Vol. 4, pp. 68.

Duritari

The female guardian of the third Jina is named Duritari. She is fair in complexion, has four arms and rides a ram. She holds a rosary in one right and “boon-granting” position in the second one. In one left hand she holds a serpent and the second is in the “fearlessness-granting” pose.²² In a statue of Jina Sambavanatha, she seems to share the peacock of her male Yaksha.²³

The symbol of a ram seems to connect Duritari with the wife of the Vedic god of fire, *Agni*, as do her symbol of rosary and the “boon granting” posture of one hand. The serpent, as pointed above, alongwith the mongoose of her male companion, seems to emphasize a special quality of Jainism—*i.e.*, its power to eliminate hostility and produce friendship and harmony between two natural enemies. The serpent also has special association with the twenty-third Jina, Parsva.

Yakshesvara

He is the male Yaksha guardian angel of the fourth Jina Abhinandanatha. He is dark, rides an elephant and possesses four arms. As emblems he holds a citron and a rosary in his two right hands while his left hands hold an ichneumon (mongoose) and a goad respectively.²⁴

His name, meaning “Lord of the Yakshas”, is a common appellation of Kuber in the Hindu sources and he is always connected with an elephant. The citron indicates his Yaksha-hood and rosary his status as a devotee (of the Jina). His mongoose and his Yakshi’s snake seem to refer to the same quality of Jainism which has been pointed out in the preceding case.

22. T.S. Vol. 2, pp. 251-52.

23. *The Jain Iconography*, p. 89.

24. T.S. Vol. 2, p. 266.

Kalika

Kalika, that is “Black” or dark coloured, sits on a lotus. She is the female guardian of the Jina Abhinandanatha. She has four hands in which she holds respectively (from right to left) “boon-granting” position, noose, snake and a goad.²⁵

Kalika was obviously modelled after the Hindu goddess of that name who is so popular among the Bengalis. There is also a Jaina goddess of learning of that name, with deer for her vehicle, which links her with the wife of Vayu, the Hindu god of wind. Her Yakshi character is well symbolized by the presence of a citrus, noose and goad and her *Vidyadevi* character by the lotus. Her snake symbol seems to connect her with the Naga demi-gods as well as with the twenty-third Jina, Parsva.²⁶

Tumbaru

He is attached to the fifth Jina Sumatinatha as his attendant Yaksha. Tumbaru is white-bodied, with Garuda for a vehicle, and he has four arms. In one right hand he holds a spear the second being in “boon-granting” position, while he has a mace and a noose in his two left hands.²⁷ No separate images of him have been discovered so far.

Tumbaru appears as a divine musician, a Gandharva in Hindu literature. But in the Jaina pantheon he changes his musical instruments for deadly weapons. He shares his vehicle with his commanding Jina’s red goose. The symbol of spear, mace and noose and the “boon-granting” pose all point towards his Yakshahood.

Mahakali

Mahakali the “Great Black” goddess, is the female

25. *Ibid.*

26. The Jain Iconography, pp. 89-90, 127.

27. TS, Vol. II, p. 286.

messenger-deity of Jina Sumatinatha. She is of golden colour and has a lotus seat. In her four hands she holds respectively (from right to left) "boon-granting" position, noose, citron and a goad.²⁸

Mahakali's attributes of noose, citron and goad are clearly symbolic of her Yaksha character. But her gold colour is rather strange for a Black Goddess. She also figures as one of the sixteen goddesses of learning (*vidyadevis*) in Jaina iconography. But in her latter aspect she partakes more of the nature of the Hindu Goddess Kali. the symbol of sword, bell and rosary seem sufficiently Tantric in character, and the corpse at the feet of this Jaina goddess of earning points towards the true mark of Hindu goddess Kali.²⁹

Kusuma

Kusuma or Pushpa, dark-bodied (*krshna*) and with a deer for vehicle, is the guardian Yaksha of the sixth Jina Padmaprabha. He holds a fruit in one right hand, the other one being in the "fearless" pose. His left hands carry an ichneumon (mongoose) and a rosary³⁰

The Yaksha's name, Kusuma or Pushpa meaning "flower" is directly related to the emblem of red lotus flower of his master Jina. His deer symbol, standing for the idea of quickness, seems to be associated with his Yakshi, one of whose names was Manovega meaning "quick as mind". His dark colour may link him with the popular Hindu god Krshna as well as the indigenous people of India.

Achyuta

Achyuta, dark-bodied, also known as Manovega, having

28. *Ibid.*

29. *The Jain Iconography*, pp. 127-28.

30. *TS*, Vol. II, pp. 301-302.

a man for her vehicle, is the attendant Yakshi of Jina Padmaprabha. She holds a noose in one right hand while the other one is in "boon-granting" position. In one left hand she carries a bow, while the other one is in the "fearless" pose.³¹

Achyuta is dark, like her male counterpart, which links her with Vishnu or Krshna as well as the indigenous people of Inida. Her vehicle of a man, undoubtedly, makes up her character as a Yakshi as Yakshas are proverbially "man-riders" (*nara-vahan*).³² Her symbol of a bow speaks of her guardian duties, while it might also relate her to Rama, another dark god of the Hindus. As pointed out earlier the noose, besides being symbolic of Yakshas, was also associated with the Vedic god Varuna and the Hindu god of death, Yama. Thus, Hindu elements seem to blend well with this Jaina deity also. There is also a Jina goddess of learning of that name.

Matanga

Matanga, dark-bodied, with an elephant for his vehicle, is the messenger-deity of Jina Suparsva. He holds a *bilva* fruit and a noose in his right hands and an ichneumon (mongoose) and a goad in his left hands.³³ No separate image of this Yaksha has been found, but he appears with his commanding Jina. As his name meaning "elephant" suggests, his symbol most appropriately ought to be an elephant. And goad shows that he drives the animal.³⁴ The symbol of *bilva* fruit associated him to vegetation or trees, a common Yaksha affiliation.³⁵

Santa

Gold-colored Santa, with an elephant for her vehicle, is

31. *Ibid.*

32. *The Jain Iconography*, p. 91.

33. *TS*, Vol. II, p. 312.

34. *The Jain Iconography*, pp. 72-73.

35. Cf. Coomaraswamy, *Yakshas*.

the female guardian of Jina Suparsva. She holds the "boon-granting" pose and a rosary in her right hands, while the two left hands carry a trident and a "fearless" pose respectively.³⁶

As wife of Yaksha Matanga, literally meaning "elephant", Yakshi Santa's symbolic vehicle of an elephant is quite logical. Her other symbols indicate her militancy as well as her character as a benign goddess of learning. Her name, meaning "peaceful" and her golden colour also point toward the same quality. The trident and elephant link her with Saivism.³⁷

Vijaya

The Yaksha Vijaya, meaning "Victory", green in colour and with a swan (*hansa*) for his vehicle is the guardian deity of the eighth Jina, Chandraprabha. He has only two hands, the right one holding a disc (*chakra*) and the left one a hammer.³⁸ The sculptures of his commanding Jina discovered from Gwalior in M.P. include the figure of this Yaksha. His two arms, also shared by the Yaksha guardian of Mahavira, the last Jina, as well as his green colour, common with the Yakshi of the 10th Jina, are his unusual features. Vijaya is also another name of the Hindu god Yama who rides a buffalo.

Bhrikuti

The female guardian deity Bhrikuti, yellow in colour, and holding a sword, hammer, shield and an axe in her four hands, attended on the eighth Jina Chandraprabha. She rides a swan, also a conveyance of her companion Yaksha.³⁹ An image of her which has eight hands has been seen in Gwalior by Bhattacharya.⁴⁰ All the four emblems in her character and

36. *TS*, Vol. II, p. 312.

37. *The Jain Iconography*, pp. 91-92.

38. *TS*, Vol. II, p. 322.

39. *Ibid.*

40. *The Jain Iconography*, p. 93.

militancy. But her swan and yellow colour points towards her benign quality as a goddess of learning.

Ajita

Ajita, “unconquerable”, white-bodied, with a tortoise for his vehicle, is the guardian Yaksha of Jina Suvidhinatha. He holds a citron and a rosary in his right hands and an ichneumon (mongoose) and a spear in the left ones.⁴¹ The symbols of citron, rosary and spear clearly indicate his Yaksha character, while the mongoose might have some totemic significance. The tortoise also, one of the ten incarnations (*avatara*) of the Hindu god Vishnu more specifically associates Ajita with water, an element so closely associated with fertility and the Yakshas. Ajita was also the name of the second Jina.

Sutara

Sutara, meaning “Good or Beautiful-star”, with a complexion and bull for her vehicle, is the attendant female guardian of Jina Suvidhinatha. In her four hands she holds respectively (from right to left) a rosary, “boon-granting” position, pitcher and a goad.⁴² Sutara’s name and vehicle bull, seem to connect her with Saivism, while her fair complexion and the pitcher show similarity with the Hindu goddess of fortune Lakshmi, as well as the Jaina goddess of learning. But her other symbols clearly bespeak of her Yakshi character. The pitcher is also one of the fourteen objects that mothers of the Jinas see in a dream when they conceive them.

Brahma

Brahma, three-eyed, four-faced, white in colour, with a lotus for his seat, is the guardian Yaksha of the tenth Jina Sitalanatha. He has eight hands and in his right four he holds

41. *TS*, Vol. II, p. 334.

42. *Ibid.*

respectively a citron, hammer, noose and “bestowing-fearlessness” position. In his four left hands he carries the emblems of ichneumon (mongoose), club, goad and a rosary.⁴³

The name and conception of this Yaksha has much in common with Brahma, the Hindu god of creation. Like the Hindu god, four faces (cf. *Chaturmukha*, an epithet of Brahma) and lotus seat etc. are attributed to this Jaina demi-god also. But his three eyes seem odd, though common enough in Jainism. His other symbols clearly reveal his Yaksha character.⁴⁴

Asoka

Asoka, meaning “Without Sorrow”, with the colour of green *mudga* and riding a cloud, is the guardian Yakshi of the tenth Jina Sitalanatha, meaning “cool”. In her four hands she holds (from right to left), a noose, “boon-granting” position, fruit and goad.⁴⁵ Like most of the Yakshis, Asoka betrays a dual character—that of a guardian-deity as well as of a goddess of learning. The warlike attributes like the noose and a goad are symbols quite befitting her guardian angel character, while the benign symbols such as “boon-granting” pose and fruit, make us recognize her as a goddess of learning. Her green colour and cloud for a vehicle are distinctive while her name might relate her to the famous ancient Emperor Asoka who patronized Jainism alongwith Hinduism and Buddhism⁴⁶

Iswara

Iswara, meaning “Lord” with three eyes, white in colour, and with a bull for his vehicle, is the male guardian angel of the 11th Jina Sreyansanatha. He has four hands in which he

43. *TS*, Vol. II, p. 345.

44. *The Jain Iconography*, p. 74.

45. *TS*, Vol. II, p. 345.

46. *The Jain Iconography*, p. 94.

holds a citron and a club (right hands) and an ichneumon (mongoose) and rosary (left hands).⁴⁷ A statue of this Yaksha with a prominent symbol of the bull has been found. His name and vehicle clearly show that he has borrowed the features of the Hindu god Siva. His wife's symbol, thunderbolt, and her mount, lion, also connect him with Siva and his wife. All this, like the previous Yaksha Brahma, shows that the older gods were made subordinate to the Jinas whom they served as attendants with their wives.⁴⁸

Manavi

Manavi or Gauri, fair coloured, with a lion for her mount, is the guardian angel of Jina Sreyansanatha. She has four hands in which she carries the "boon-granting" position and hammer (in the right ones), and a thunderbolt and a goad (in the left ones).⁴⁹ Her symbols hammer and goad point to her guardian character while thunderbolt and her mount lion connect her, together with her husband, with Siva and his wife who served as their proto-types. There is also a goddess of learning with that name in Jainism.

Kumara

The Yaksha named Kumara, having white complexion and riding a swan, is the guardian angel of the 12th Jina Vasupujaya. He holds in his four hands respectively a citron and an arrow in the right ones and an ichneumon (mongoose) and a bow in the left ones.⁵⁰

It is curious to find this Yaksha, who bears the name of Hindu god Kumara or Kartikeya (a son of Siva), riding a swan

47. *TS*, Vol. III, pp. 54-55.

48. *The Jain Iconography*, pp. 74-75.

49. *TS*, Vol. III, pp. 54-55.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

in place of a peacock. The symbols of citron, bow and arrow indicate his guardian angel character as well as a similarity with the Hindu *avatara* Rama. His white complexion and swan seem to link him with the Jaina goddesses of learning.

Chanda

Chanda dark in colour, with a horse (*asva*) for her mount, is the guardian deity of the 12th Jina. In her four hands she carries the "boon-granting" position and a spear (in the right ones) and flower and a club (in the left ones).⁵¹ Her name, colour and weapons, derived from the Hindu goddess Chanda, Chandi or Durga, are indicative of her guardian character. The flower connects her with *natre*, a usual Yaksha association. But her mount, a horse, an alien animal first introduced into India by the invading Aryans during the second millennium B.C., indicates a late origin for this Yakshi.

Shanmukha

This guardian Yaksha of the 13th Jina, Vimalanatha, rides a peacock and has white complexion. He has twelve hands in which he holds a fruit, disc, arrow, sword, noose, and a rosary in the right ones and an *ichneumon* (mongoose), disc, bow, shield, cloth and "bestowing-fearlessness" position in the left ones.⁵² Shanmukha, "six-faced," is a designation of Kartikeya or Kumara and is also the name of the 12th Yaksha described above. Accordingly he rides a peacock, instead of a swan, but there was bound to be some confusion in accounting for so many demi-gods and goddesses.⁵³ He is distinguished by having the largest number of arms and his emblems unmistakably show him Yaksha or a guardian angel. He holds the disc in common

51. *Ibid.* TS, Vol. III, p. 84.

52. TS, Vol. III, p. 105.

53. *The Jain Iconography*, p. 76.

with Krshna and bow and arrow in common with Rama of the Hindus. But more distinctive of him is the symbol of cloth. It was an item of popular usage in the Indus Valley Civilization in the 3rd millennium B.C. The fact that the Svetambaras, whose monks and nuns are allowed clothes (in contrast to the monks of the rival sect of the Digambaras), find a place for cloth as an emblem of Shanmukha is not surprising, but is distinctive nevertheless.

Vidita

Vidita, of Yellow colour, who sits on a *padma* or lotus-seat, is the guardian Yakshi of the 13th Jina Vimalanatha. In her four hands she holds (from right to left) an arrow, noose, bow and a serpent respectively.⁵⁴ Her name, meaning the "learned one", suggests the idea of a goddess of learning. With her yellow colour, symbols of bow, arrow and serpent and lotus-seat she seems to be a clear derivative of a form of the Hindu goddess Durga.⁵⁵

Patala

Three faced Patala, of red colour and with a crocodile as his vehicle, is the Yaksha guardian of the 14th Jina Anantanatha. He has six arms hold respectively a lotus, sword, and noose (the right ones) and an ichneumon (mongoose), shield, and a rosary (the left ones).⁵⁶ The Jainas seem to have purposely chosen the name of Patala for the Yaksha guardian of the Jina Anantanatha, for both stand for serpent-kings (*nagarajas*) of the nether worlds. His conveyance, crocodile, and the symbol, lotus, connect him with waters, while his weapons testify to his Yaksha character.

54. *TS*, Vol. III, p. 105.

55. *The Jain Iconography*, pp. 96-97.

56. *TS*, Vol. III, p. 124.

Ankusa

Fair-bodied Ankusa, with a lotus-seat, is the female guardian deity of the 14th Jina. In her four hands she holds, (from right to left) a sword, noose, shield, and a goad.⁵⁷ Her name Ankusa seems to be derived from the term for "goad" (*ankusa*), which the Yakshi carries. There is also a Jaina goddess of learning with the same name and the symbol of goad. But the weapons clearly establish her Yakshi character.⁵⁸

Kinnara

Kinnara, three-faced, with tortoise for his vehicle and red in colour, is the Yaksha who attends on the 15th Jina Dharmanatha. He has six arms in which he holds a citron, club and "granting-fearlessness" pose (in the right ones) and an ichneumon-(mongoose), lotus and arosary (in the left ones).⁵⁹ It is evident from his name that this Yaksha is borrowed from an older Brahmanical tradition. There, the Kinnaras are said to be human in body but with heads of horses and Kubera is said to be their leader. Gradually the Yakshas got associated with the other classes of demi-gods e.g. Nagas, Kinnaras, Garudas, Gandharva, etc. But, as Bhattacharya observes, the particular shape in which they appear in the company of the Jinas is obviously a Jaina invention.⁶⁰ The idea of Kinnara's three faces is quite original to the Jainas. He has other characteristic guardian that fits well with his female counterpart's vahan fish, but also links him with the main Yaksha element, water.

Kandarpa

Fair in body, with a fish for her vehicle and having four

57. *Ibid.*

58. *The Jain Iconography*, pp. 97, 125-26.

59. *TS*, Vol. III, p. 148.

60. *The Jain Iconography*, pp. 77-78.

arms, Kandarpa Yakshi is the female guardian deity of the 15th Jina. She holds a blue lotus and a goad in her right hands, and a lotus and “fearlessness-granting” pose in the left hands.⁶¹ Her name is the feminine form of the Hindu god of love. Kandarpa or Kama, lotus also being one of her symbols. Her vehicle, fish, and symbol of lotus connect her with water also. Perhaps this Yakshi was very beautiful as her association with God of Love, fist (like-eyes) and fair colour.⁶²

Garuda

The Yaksha named Garuda with boar face, black in colour and riding an elephant, is the guardian angel associated with the 16th Jina Santinatha, meaning “Lord of Peace”. In his four hands he holds (from right to left) a citron¹, ichneumon² (mongoose), and a rosary³.⁶³ Bhattacharya saw a figure of this Yaksha on the face of a pillar as an attendant of the 16th Jina Santinatha in the Deograh Fort in Western India. He holds a rosary and citrus in two hands while the other two carry a club and snakes. Also, he rides a boar instead of an elephant. The site has images of both the Jaina sects. His symbol of elephant alludes to the mythical bird Garuda which also holds an elephant, Garuda, along with Kinnara Yaksha of the 15th Jina, clearly shows a complex interplay of symbols in ancient Indian tradition. His boar face reminds one of the Boar incarnation of Vishnu in Hinduism.

Nirvani

Nirvani, fair-bodied, with a lotus-seat and four arms, is the guardian angel of 16th Jina Santinatha. She holds in her right hands a book and blue lotus and water-jar and a lotus

61. *TS*, Vol. III, p. 148.

62. *The Jain Iconography*, pp. 97-98.

63. *TS*, Vol. III, p. 324.

in the left one.⁶⁴ The separate images of Nirvani are very rare though one such image of this Yakshi was discovered by Bhattahcarya which is now housed in the Lucknow Museum. A subordinate representation of her can also be seen in several images of her commanding Jina Santinatha, found in Gwalior, M.P.⁶⁵

The name Nirvani connotes the notion of *Nirvana*—specially associated 'with the ultimate goal of human endeavour in Buddhism but sometimes also found used in the same sense in Jainism. Her symbols of book and lotuses are bound to remind one of Saraswati, the wife of Brahma, who rides a peacock. Her symbols of lotuses and water-jar emphasize water in this case too and also manifest her Yakshi position. But her name is obviously an attempt to pay a compliment to the rival sect of the Buddhism, perhaps at a time when it had ceased to be a real threat to Jainism. The book and lotuses also betray her character as the goddess of learning and point to the significance of books for Jainas, a highly literate community.

Gandharva

Gandharva Yaksha, dark-coloured and with a swan for his vehicle, is the guardian deity of the 17th Jina Kunthanatha. In his four arms he carries respectively (from right to left) the "boon-granting" position, noose, citron and a goad.⁶⁶ The Gandhharvas, as pointed out above, are a class of demi-gods who act as divine musicians in the Hindu sources. They are said to have power to grant sweet and melodious voice to girls. As some Jaina Yakshas sprang up from various other classes of demi-gods (such as the Kinnars, Garudas etc.) it is but natural

64. *TS*, Vol. III, p. 324.

65. *The Jain Iconography*, pp. 98-99.

66. *TS*, Vol. IV, p. 9.

that a Yaksha named Gandharva also found a niche in the Jaina pantheon. His vehicle, swan, might reflect the idea of his inherent connection with sound and sky, which is called “the city of the Gandharvas.”⁶⁷

Bala

Fair-bodied Bala, with a peacock for her vehicle, is the messenger diety of the 17th Jina Kunthanatha. With four arms she respectively holds (from right to left) a citron, trident, round club (*bhushundi*), and a lotus.⁶⁸ Bala, with her peacock vehicle, appears to be a form of Hindu goddess Saraswati whose Gandharva husband rides on a swan and is a divine musician. Saraswati is also known to preside over the art of music. The symbol of citron, indicating her Yaksha characteristic, is common to this Yakshi and her Yaksha companion. Bala, if her name has any relevance, must have been a ‘powerful’ Yakshi—for that is what it means. Her weapons also proclaim her guardian function,⁶⁹ while the trident associates her with Siva.

Yakshendra

Yakshendra, with six faces, three eyes, dark colour and a conch for his vehicle; is the guardian of number Jina Aranatha. He has twelve arms. In the right six hands he carries respectively a citron, arrow, sword, hammer, noose, and the “fearlessness-granting” pose and in the left six he holds an ichneumon (mongoose), bow, shield, trident, goad, and a rosary.⁷⁰ In name and description, he appears to be a Jaina counterpart of the Hindu god “six-faced” Kartikeya, so popular in south India. It is also worthy to note that this Yaksha most closely resembles

67. *The Jain Iconography*, p. 79.

68. *TS*, Vol. IV, p. 9.

69. *The Jain Iconography*, pp. 99-100.

70. *TS*, Vol. IV, p. 18.

Shanmukha Yaksha of the 13th Jina already described. His name combines the words Yaksha and Indra and means “Lord of Yakshas”, an epithet of Kuber. His conch-shell links him with Krshna (and with waters) as does his dark complexion.⁷¹

Dharini

Blue-bodied Dharini, with a lotus for her seat and with four arms, is the Yakshi of the 18th Jina name. Her four hands are said to be adorned with a citron and blue (the right ones) and red lotus and a rosary (the left ones).⁷² Like other Yakshas, she bears the Yakshas symbol of a citrus alongwith other symbols, which points to her mixed origin. The lotuses may also be indicative of her link with water as well as with other Hindus and Buddhist deities associate with water.⁷³

Kuber

The Yaksha Kuber of rainbow colours, with four faces and riding an elephant, is the guardian angel of the only female Jina, Mallinatha a woman; but images do not show Mallinatha with any feminine sign and the name ending-natha is also not in favour of this belief. Kuber the attendant Yaksha of Mallinatha, has eight hands in which he carries respectively the “boon-granting” position, axe, trident and “bestowing-fearlessness” pose (in the right ones), and a citron, spear, club and a rosary (in the left ones).⁷⁴ Kuber image appears in a sculpture of Mallinatha now housed in the Nagpur Museum. This figure is carved according to the iconographic rules.⁷⁵ It is natural that Kuber, the king of Yakshas, is included in the Jaina list of the

71. *The Jain Iconography*, pp. 79-80.

72. *TS*, Vol. IV, p. 18.

73. *The Jain Iconography*, pp. 100-101.

74. *TS*, Vol. IV, p. 70.

75. *The Jain Iconography*, pp. 80-81.

Yakshas. Every Indian religion has a Kubera after the Hindu prototype. The Jaina Kuber retains the symbol of club found with the Hindu Kuber. In other respect, e.g. rainbow colours and four faces, his personality is quite original and different in Jainism.

Vairotyi

Vairotyi, black in colour, with a lotus for her seat and possessing four hands, is the guardian deity of Mallinatha. She holds in her right hands the "boon-granting" pose and a rosary, and in her left hands a citron and a rosary.⁷⁶ The citrus symbol makes her a typical Yakshi. There is also a Jaina goddess of learning of this name who rides a lion which makes her comparable to the Hindu goddess Durga.⁷⁷

Varuna

The Yaksha named Varuna, white in colour, with three eyes, four faces, matted hair and eight arms, and riding a bull, is the attendant deity of Jina Suvratanatha. In the right four hands, he carries a citron, a club, an arrow and a spear, and in the left ones an ichneumon (mongoose), a rosary, a bow, and an axe respectively.⁷⁸ This provides another example of mixing up of the conception of Varuna the guardian angel of ocean and of the Western Quarter in Hinduism, with that of a Yaksha, the guardian deity of the 20th Jina. However, though named after the Vedic god Varuna, he holds citron, club, and the mongoose—the symbols of Kuber of the Hindus and Jambhala of the Buddhists.⁷⁹

Naradatta

Fair-coloured Naradatta, seated on a throne and holding

76. *TS*, Vol. IV, p. 70.

77. *The Jain Iconography*, pp. 101-102, 130.

78. *TS*, Vol. IV, p. 85.

79. *The Jain Iconography*, p. 81.

in her four hands (from right to left) the “boon-granting” position, rosary, citron and a trident (or urn) is the female guardian angel of Jina Suvrata natha.⁸⁰ From the nature of her symbols Naradatta, also called Bahurupini, seems to be a form of Durga or Sakti of the Hindus. But her Yakshi character is quite evident by her symbols of the citrus fruit and urn, the attribute of the wife of Varuna. Literally her name means ‘Man-given’, obviously an attempt to bring down this demi-goddess to the level of her worshippers.⁸¹

Bhrkuti

Bhrkuti Yaksha, with three eyes, four faces and gold colour and riding a bull, is the male messenger deity of the 21st Jina, Naminatha. He has eight arms in which he carries respectively a citron, a spear, a hammer and “granting-fearlessness pose in the right ones and an ichneumon (mongoose), an axe, a thunderbolt and a rosary in the left ones.⁸² There is also a female Yakshi of this name, attached to the eighth Jina, already discussed. He is called here *Nandiga*, “going on the Bull of Siva named Nandi”. He clearly has some connection with Siva’s Nandi is said to have once assumed the form of Bhrkuti, meaning “angry raised brows”. The Jainas picked up that name for this Yaksha.⁸³

Gandhari

Fair-bodied Gandhari, having four arms and a swan for her vehicle, is the female guardian angel of the Jina Naminatha. She has a sword and the “boon-granting” position in the right hands and citron and in the left two.⁸⁴ Gandhari, meaning a

80. *TS*, Vol. IV, p. 85.

81. There is also a goddess of learning of similar name; see, *The Jain Iconography*, pp. 126-127.

82. *TS*, Vol. IV, p. 360.

83. *The Jain Iconography*, pp. 81-82.

84. *TS*, Vol. IV, p. 360.

“lady from Gandhara”, the North-Western province around Taxila of old, is a notable character in the *Mahabhart*a also. She bears resemblance with the twelfth Yakshi Chanda, discussed above. The vehicle swan and her symbols, such as citron and “boon-granting” pose, lend a goddess of learning aspect of her personality.⁸⁵

Gomedha

The dark-coloured Gomedha Yaksha, having three faces and six arms, and a man as his mount, is the dutiful attendant of Jina Nemi. He carries in his three right hands a citron, an axe and a disc and in the left arms an ichneumon (mongoose), a trident and a spear.⁸⁶ Bhattacharya found a fair number of Gomedha figures which bear comparison with textual descriptions, although some of them were wrongly identified with Kuber by J.P. Vogel. Gomedha is a typical Yaksha and most probably a form of Hindu demi-god Kuber. Two of this symbols which occur in the accounts, strongly support this possibility. Firstly, Gomedha is called *naravahana*, “riding a man, which is a name of Kubera also. Then he is also called Pushpa-yana, “driving the chariot named Pushpa”. This, again, is indicative of his derivation from Hindu Kuber in so far as Kubera’s chariot was called Puspa, which was subsequently taken over first by Ravana the King of Sri Lanka and then by Ravan’s rival and subduer, Rama, of the epic fame.⁸⁷

Ambika

Ambika, of golden colour, with a lion for her mount and possessing four arms, is the female guardian angel of the twenty second Jina Neminatha. She carries a bunch of mangoes and

85. *The Jain Iconography*, p. 103.

86. *TS*, Vol. V, p. 273.

87. *The Jain Iconography*, pp. 82-83.

a noose in her right hands, and in the left ones, a boy and a goad.⁸⁸ In the Digambara tradition she has only two arms and is known as Kushmandi. Some images of this Yakshi, though sometimes wrongly identified, have been found. The number of hands attributed to her decides whether she is Ambika or Kushmandi except her symbol of a bunch of mangoes which gave origin to one of her names, Amra. By name and appearance she is a clear case of borrowing from Durga. Amba, Ambika or Ambalika, and Kushmandi are simply alternate names of the popular Hindu goddess. The Kushmandas were a hilly clan attached to Lord Siva. It is very probable that a class of Yakshis bearing this name originated from the Himalayan region and Kushmandi Yakshi belonged to this class and thus, was a Pahadi Yakshini from the Himalayas.⁸⁹

Parsva

The Yaksha named Parsva, of dark complexion, with a tortoise for his vehicle and having four arms and a splendid umbrella of serpent-hoods, is the attendant deity of the 23rd Jina, named Parsva. In his two right hands he carries a citron and serpent and in his left hands an ichneumon (mongoose) and a serpent.⁹⁰

This Yaksha, named after his Lord Jina Parsva, is one of the most important members of his class. His image in both the sects shares common symbols of snakes-hoods, snake attributes and tortoise mount. One of his images was discovered at Rohtak, near New Delhi, in the statue of Jina Parsva. Yet another image of him was found at Gwalior which corresponds with his textual accounts. The Jaina books are fond of retelling the story of this Yaksha's origin as to how he was saved as

88. *TS*, Vol. V, p. 273.

89. *The Jain Iconography*, pp. 103-104.

90 *Ts*, Vol.5

a serpent from the fire burnt by a false ascetic, Meghamalin, and how, when this wicked man had overpowered *Jinasattara* Parsva, the same serpent came to his rescue. This serpent was later born as a Yaksha in Patal. He betrays similarity with the king of serpents, Seshanaga. In his images there is abundance of snake symbols besides the snake-hoods. His tortoise-vehicle might also demonstrate his superiority over Kamatha, the evil sage, who had been his as well as his master Jina's enemy for ages. The combination of both mongoose and serpents with this Yaksha might again indicate his and his master's power to produce harmony and friendship even between deadly foes. The close association of snakes with Parsva and his Yaksha-Yakshi guardians have misled some Jaina scholars to connect Jainism with the Naga tribes of Assam.⁹¹

Padmavati

Padmavati, the gold-coloured one, with Kurkuta serpent for her mount, is the female Yakshi attendant of Jina Parsva. In her two right hands she carries a lotus and a noose, and in her left hands fruit and a goad as her emblems.⁹²

Her name is common to both sects. Her images with four, six, and even twenty-four hands have been discovered—the last number indicating the number of Jina super heroes. It is strange that no independent statue of this important Yakshi has been found so far. In north India she appears in sculptures only as an attendant figure.

The legend of Padmavati always associates her with snakes and she belongs to the Nether World, Patal. Her serpent symbol is as evident in art as is her name. She is worshipped in Bengal with her snake sambles as Manasa, the goddess of snakes and wife of Jaratkaru. According to Bhattacharya it is likely that the connection

91. *The Jain Iconography*, pp. 83-84.

92. *TS*, Vol. V, p. 403.

between the Jaina Padmavati and the Hindu goddess Manasa takes its birth from the Jaina legends, Jaratkaru, an ascetic, stands for evil Katha in the Jaina legend and it is he who later on became identified with Sesha, the Serpent King of the Nether World.⁹³

Matanga

The Yaksha Matanga, of black colour with two hands and riding an elephant, is the guardian angel of the last Jina, Mahavira. He holds a mongoose in his right hand and a citron in the left.⁹⁴ Though he is the last of this list, yet being the attendant of Mahavira he is regarded as the most important Yaksha amongst the Jainas. Both sects agree with regard to his iconographic features. But it is curious that no separate statues of his have been found to this day. However, a full statue of Mahavira never ignores to depict Matanga with all the characteristic features of his iconography.

His vahana, an elephant, is most appropriate as Matanga means elephant. His symbols of mongoose and citron bear unmistakable resemblance with Kuber, the lord of the Yakshas. Matanga is also the name of the Yaksha of the seventh Jinas, Suparsva and according to the Svetambara accounts, he likewise mounts an elephant, as discussed above.⁹⁵

Siddayika

The Yakshi Siddayika, green in colour and riding a lion, is the guardian deity of Jina Mahavira. In her two right hands she holds a book and "fearless" pose and in the left ones a citron and a flute.⁹⁶ Like her Yaksha companion, she appears only in the statues of her commanding Jina, where her vahana

93. *The Jain Iconography*, pp. 104-6.

94. *TS*, Vol. VI, p. 125.

95. Cf. *The Jain Iconography*, pp. 84-85.

96. *TS*, Vol. VI, p. 125.

lion and the symbol of book are quite prominent. Lion was also the symbol of Lord Mahavira. The book and flute symbols indicate her goddess of learning aspect. The convention of assigning a lion to the goddess of learning is not original with the Jainas as Vagisvaridevi of Varanasi is also shown as seated on lion's back. Siddhayika's other symbol, a citron, specifically manifests her Yakshi character.⁹⁷ Her name, meaning 'she who has acquired a state of perfection,' might also be indicative of the fact that in Jainism like men-women also may attain the state of perfection.

These were then the forty-eight gaurdian angels of the Jinas but only four Yakshis and one Yaksha —five in all, belonging respectively to the 1st, 8th, 10th, 22nd, and 23rd, Jinas succeeded in capturing the heart of the Jainas. They figure in statues of their commanding Jinas and also have shrines of their own. It is interesting to note, as P.S. Jaini points out, that of the five figures listed here, all but the last are female, and also that for some reason neither of the attendants of Mahavira⁹⁸ managed to attain great popular image also confirms the general tenor of literature that female Yakshas were usually more popular than the males. It will be also noticed that they are not necessarily the guardians of the five most popular Jinas.

In the volumes of Indian Antiquary (1915-20) there is mention of popular Yaksha folk-songs and ballads, which prove that the worship of Yakshas was practiced by common people also. (Excerpted from EOJ, Vol.2, pp. 7270-7283)

97. *The Jain Iconography*, pp. 106-7.

98. Jaini, P.S., *Jain Path of Purification*, 1979, p. 194, fn. 13.

3

JAINA PUJA : SOME ASPECTS

Scholar on Jainism, Caroline Humphery* discusses some aspects of the Jain Puja, idea of God and the symbolism of offerings. Here analysing the theme the author observes :

“Jainism shares with Buddhism one of the puzzles presented by non-theistic religions as we see them in practice: offerings are made to images of people who have escaped from the cycle of rebirth, that is, to the Tirthankaras, great spiritual teachers of ancient times. By this definition, the Tirthankaras are unable to help the living. Offerings are made today by Jains at the ordinary morning temple ritual which is known as *deva-puja*, using the same term as Hindus who make offerings to gods in the expectation of benefits in return. In the period *sravakacaras* of the Jains, the offerings were also called *yajna* (sacrifice) (Williams 1963 : 216), despite Jainism’s non-Vedic stance.¹

Debate on this subject in Theravada Buddhism has centred on the relationship between practice and doctrine. Gombrich has suggested that in order to account for the fact of offerings to the Buddha, we must suppose that people “believe” in two different ways : cognitively, when action accords with the doctrine, and affectively, when it does not (Gombrich, 1942 : 152). Southwold rejects this distinction, and suggests that offerings, which do often seem to be intended to produce a

* Humphery, Caroline : *Jain Puja-in Ideal, Ideology and Practice*, ed. by N.K. Singh, pp. 1-20.

1. Bhattacharya Narendra Nath : *Jain Philosophy : Historical Outline* New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal, 1976.

response from the "god", are a spontaneous mode of human expression which ultimately defies rational analysis (Southwold, 1983 : 168-9). It would seem that we cannot go much further down the road of precept and practice.

But perhaps we can, Jainism, recognizing that "practice" is not behaviour but action, has produced a remarkable codification of religious activity with the intention of integrating it with doctrine. The *Sravakadharma* or *Sravakacara*, or corpus of rules to regulate the daily life of a layman, includes not only a vast number of positive and negative *vratas* (vows) and *gunas* (mental qualities to be maintained) but also instructions with regard to the *puja*, the *yatra* (festival or pilgrimage), and the *caitya* (setting up of images and temples). What is interesting about these rules is that they specify the meaning of ritual actions in terms of spiritual qualities. A ritual act, such as decorating of the statue with sandalwood paste or the giving of alms to a monk, is not seen as an act which produces a subsequent response, but as itself constituting something other than itself. The act both denotes, and if done with the right mental attitude, effects, a spiritual transformation in the actor of a specified kind. In the *puja* according to Jain doctrine, the items offered and the statue are simply one technology, as it were of spiritual advancement.

The Jain *deva-puja* can be understood as combining. I think, atleast four kinds of reasoning (or "symbolic transformations of existence" as Langer would put it, (1942 : 44-45). These are (1) the concept of the one to whom *puja* is offered as having completed stages of enlightenment i.e., as simultaneously representing several levels of sacredness, (2) the symbolism of the objects used in the *puja* offering (and, parallel to this, the auspicious places on the body of the image), which denote the spiritual qualities to be attained by the layperson in the act of *puja*, (3) the *mantras*, which are "language-as-an-object" and imbued with power, and (4) the multifarious

“stories” associated with the Jain holy men in their various incarnations, which are understood indirectly as parables relating types of human activity to spiritual gains or losses. To this list one could add the sub-categories of yantras and mudras (codified drawn songs and body gestures respectively).

In this chapter I shall discuss the Jain *puja* in relation to the first two of the above categories only, although a full analysis would require consideration of them all. But even this preliminary discussion does suggest that for Jainism, despite the fact that types of thought, action and feeling have been so carefully worked out, and their application to the *puja* is well-known to the laity, we cannot ignore the problem discussed by Gombrich and Southwold. This is because the two kinds of reasoning I shall be discussing, and a fortiori, the Jain mythology, are not closed codes of the signifier-signified type. To suppose that they are, would be to ignore that Jainism shares with all religions the distinctive ways in which an understanding is reached of the immanence of the sacred in the non-sacred. Religious thought maintains its power not simply in establishing categories, but in transgressing its own and other boundaries, leaving crucial ambiguities unanswered.

The Jain Puja

I shall describe here the standard morning *deva-puja* as carried out in the Swetambar unreformed (*Murti-pujaka*) sects. Jains go to the temple bringing offerings of rice, white sugar balls, coins, and possibly a few nuts. On special occasions, or when fasting, people bring fresh fruit and cooked sweets. The temple provides water and milk, sandalwood paste, light, incense, and flowers. The temple servants may be Brahmins who act as priests (*pujari*) in the sense that they bathe the statues in the morning on behalf of all the laity. But their presence is not necessary. Many temples have no priests but only servants of a lower caste, usually a Mali, who are not allowed to approach

the statues. In either case *deva-puja* itself is normally performed by the lay people themselves, all of whom including women, can touch the statues.

Having approached the main altar with its statues, the layman (or more commonly, the laywoman) bows and utters the Jain *namaskara* litany. She walks around the image three times clockwise and then sits on a mat before the chosen statue. Using rice grains, she forms a swastika shape on an offering table. The four points of the *swastika* symbolize the four types of birth a soul can take in this world. These are popularly known as (1) human, (2) heavenly, (3) animal, and (4) hellish beings. Above the *swastika* she places three dots of rice, the "three jewels", signifying true insight, right knowledge, and right conduct. Finally, at the top, she makes the sign of a crescent with a dot above it, the *siddha sila*. This symbolizes the crescent-shaped "*siddha-loka*" at the edge of universe and the liberated soul in a state of *moksa* existing there. By making these signs preparatory to puja the layperson shows that the ultimate purpose is the attainment of *moksa*. If puja is being performed to mere heavenly deities, only the swastika should be made, as deities are concerned with this life and not with liberation. However, people were occasionally observed making a *siddhsila* before the statues of the deities, as if they could help in attaining *moksa*.

These preliminaries over, the worshipper sprinkles water over a small image placed near the foot of the main one for this purpose, then water mixed with sandalwood paste, then milk, and finally water again. This *abhisheka* is a re-enactment of the infant Tirthankara's ritual bath on Mount Sumeru (P.S. Jaini, 1979 : 200-201). Having wiped the statue dry, the worshipper then makes the arcana offering of the "eight substances". The standard, among both Digambara and Svetambara, is for there to be eight of these offerings, but already by the medieval period many more than eight were

being offered (Williams 1963 : 220), and at present the Digambar list differs slightly from the Svetambar. Usually, small *qandihes* of the substances are offered together on a plate. Then the worshipper makes a recitation of the names of the twenty-four Tirthankaras and again recites the *namaskara mantra*. Finally, the layperson moves to the final part of the *puja*, the waving of oil lamps before the image (*arti*). The worshipper then goes out, perhaps paying respects to the lesser deities on the way. There is no *prasad*, and the items given in *puja* go to the temple servants. The aim is to acquire *punya* towards the ultimate achievement of a good reincarnation.

State of Enlightenment

The issue here is how Jains think of the sacred being to whom puja is offered. We can start with Fuller's paper, "*Gods, Priests and Purity : on the relationship between Hinduism and the caste system*" (Man, NS 14, 459-76). Fuller makes the case that in Hinduism offerings at puja are not just "food for the gods", reflecting the pattern of inter-caste food transaction between people, that is, we should not see puja as a mystification of society in any direct sense. First we have to understand it in its own right. Puja serves to define the relationship between man and the gods. For doctrinal Jainism, we could re-phrase this to say that puja serves to define the relationship between man and several distinct categories of *man's divinity*.

In the process of achieving moksa, Jains distinguish five stages which have been passed by the Jains (spiritual victors): conception, birth, *diksa* (initiation to the status of monk), *kevalajnana* (omniscience), and moksa (salvation or escape from the cycle of rebirths). Puja is offered to holy ones who have attained *kevalajnana*—it is at this point that they become "holy" or worthy of worship (*bhagwan*)—but it can be offered to such a saint at any one, or all, of the stages of this final, definitively sacralizing, life. In fact, the early events in the life of the

Tirthankara, such as the birth are only offered puja annually (and the *panc kalayana* rituals, see below), and the representations of the *moksa* state (a thin plate of metal with an empty space cut in it representing a human form) are rarely found in Jain temple. The normal deva-puja is an offering to the holy one at the omniscient stage. Certain of the holy ones, the twenty-four Tirthankaras, deliberately stayed behind on earth to reveal the truth to the rest of humanity by means of the divine sound uttered in the state of omniscience. The seated Jain statue is a representation of this stage, and it is placed in the temple for worship before the final *moksa* stage has been enacted at the rituals of concentration.² Jains thus differentiate between categories of sacred beings : the *arhat* or *kevalin*, who has reached the stage of omniscience, the *siddha*, who is in the state of *moksa*, and the *Tirthankara* or *Jina*, who has achieved both of these stages and has also been a preceptor to other people.

All of these are distinguished from the mere heavenly beings-deities. These are beings whose positive *karmas* have taken them to various heavens (*deva-loka*) in the interval between incarnations. Such deities are in principle inferior to human beings, in that it is not until they are reincarnated as that they can engage in the practices of non-attachment which will enable them to achieve *kevalajnana* and *moksa*. "Heavenly beings" are probably not a single category in popular Jain thought, since they include, beside the "Jain deities" (*sasana devatas*, the guardians of the Tirthankaras), also the important Hindu gods, local deities, *yaksas*, certain prominent Jain saints of the past, and divine beings of all Indian culture, such as the gods of the ten directions, planetary gods, etc. The position nevertheless, is that the heavenly beings can affect one's luck and property

2. Bharrill Hukamchand: *Tirthankara Mahavira and his Sarvodaya Tirtha*, Bombay : Shri Kundkunda Kahan Digambar Jain Tirtha Suraksha Trust, 1981.

in this life, but the revered Jain prototypes, the *arhats*, *siddhas* and *Jinas*, cannot.

Jains do not only distinguish between the pujas offered to heavenly beings as opposed to the Tirthankaras, they also differentiate between the pujas appropriate at the different stages of enlightenment of the latter. This is particularly clear at the Digambar *panc-kalyana* (five auspicious events) rituals, which are held at the consecration of new statues. Different pujas are appropriate from the laity in respect of the holy one at each of the five stages, and in fact there are sub-categories within these. For example, there is a puja expressing rejoicing at the conception of the Tirthankara (the first kalyana) and this is divided into two parts, the “*Indra Sabha*” at which the Indras announce that the Tirthankara will be born, and the “*Raja Sabha*” when the father and mother, who are Maharaja and Maharani of a series of mythical kings and queens, are congratulated. At the first puja, offerings of coconuts and rice are made by the sixteen Indras and Indranis (these roles are taken by lay people) to all of the Tirthankaras, and especially to Shantinatha, the Tirthankara of peace. At the second puja, the father and mother are offered dancing, music and song. The subsequent numerous pujas and the *panc-kalyana* take many different forms—the purification (*abhisheka*) of the baby, the feeding of the holy one as a monk after *diksa*, the offering of the eight sacred substances to the omniscient one after *kevalajnana*, and others.

Perhaps some of the rituals which most perplexed Gombrich, when he asked the question. “The Buddha : man or god?”, such as the treatment of the Buddha image as both monk and king, can be explained by the developmental view of the holy one which is so clear in Jainism. In the Buddhist case, the food offered to Buddha as a monk is somehow conflated with other types of puja offering, the expression “Buddha puja” being used for both (Gombrich 1979 : 119-21). What the Jains make explicit is that offering food to the holy one as a wandering monk

(bhagwan-ka bhojan) is different from the puja offerings made after attaining of *kevalajnana*.

According to the Digambar Terapanthis the *deva-puja* proper, that is the offerings of the eight substances in the temple, as opposed to the various pujas of the *panc-kalyana*, is only appropriate after omniscience, i.e., when the statue represents the *kevalin* seated on the *samvasaran* (a many-tiered plinth symbolising the universal meeting place) where the Tirthankars preached by emanation of a divine sound. The Digambars accuse the Svetambars of emphasizing an earlier stage, when the holy one was still a king. It is the case that Svetambars decorate their statues as kings for certain pujas. However, for both groups the key period is that of omniscience, and P.S. Jaini is of the opinion that the Jain temple is essentially a representation of the *samvasaran* (1979 : 196). What is crucial is that the two sects differ in their understanding of the state of omniscience (*kevalajanan*). For Digambars, the *kevalin* engages in no worldly activity and has no bodily functions, as these are considered antithetical to omniscient cognition. The Svetambars see the Jain as engaging in normal human functions (eating, breathing, etc.) while simultaneously enjoying omniscience (Jaini 1979 : 39). Whereas Digambars imagine the divine sound as a monotone, which only the privileged disciples can comprehend, the Svetambars suggest that the Jain speaks in a human language that is divine in the sense that men of all regions and animals can benefit from hearing it.

The different concepts of *kevalajnana* “explain” the significant features of the statues of the two sects and the details of the deva-puja which differentiate them. Perhaps the degree of direct engagement with the community attributed to the Tirthankara in the state of omniscience also “explains” differences in popular understanding of what the puja *does*. But such an “explanation” would fail to account for many of the facts. The Digambars and Svetambars of unreformed sects do not differ

significantly from one another in what they expect from puja. In both cases the offerent is supposed to mirror in his or her soul the spiritual achievements of the *Jina*. But in fact ordinary people often expect more than this. As a prominent Digambar teacher has put it :

Ignorant people have built up their Tirthankaras according to their own imagination. According to them Parsvanatha is a protector deity and Santhinatha a deity of peace, Sitalnatha the deity of small-pox and the Siddha Bhagvan the deity of leprosy. They forget that Bhagvan is all detachment, omniscient, with infinite energy. How can there be a division of work between one Bhagvan and another? (Bharrill 1981 : 87).

If the very concept of omniscience implies some degree of immanence of the sacred in the human, what we have here is something further : the notion of an active god powerful in distinct area of human concern. If the "division of work" between the Tirthankaras is related to the myths of their previous lives, how does the notion of an active god of any kind appear in Jainism.

As implied earlier, the Tirthankara is not simply a man who became a saint. For one thing, certain magical events accompany his birth (the premonitory dreams of the mother, the attendance of 56 *kumarikas* (virgins) from the *deva-loka*, the appearance of the Indras who come down to earth to spirit the child away to Mount Sumeru for purification, etc. The *Jina*-to-be is born with a special body, having an adamant quality to withstand the terrible rigours of meditation. After *diksa* he performs miracles, and after *kevalajnana* he emits the divine sound.

We are reminded of what O. Flaherty has written about the dangers of transgressing boundaries :

If, in the context of ancient India, it was a bad thing, a dangerous antisocial, disruptive change for a man to become

a saint, how, then, does the mythology deal with the lives of actual saints—that is, with the great historical figures, such as Buddha, Mahavira, and Sankara? They cannot be allowed to straddle the categories of man and god any more than the mythological figures could. The answer is that they are made into gods by invoking *karma* to make it all come out even. They are treated like gods pretending to be men; in effect they are made into avatars. In this view, saints are *born* saints; they do not achieve sainthood or have sainthood thrust upon them. They are *revealed* as having been saints all along (or rather, gods). (1980 : 67-8).

Now this is essentially a Brahmanical view, deriving from the fear of losing religious monopoly in two simultaneous ways—by individuals treading their own paths of spiritual power without paying priests to intercede on their behalf, and by a few particularly gifted individuals leading mass defections from Hindu orthodoxy to the fast-growing communities of Buddhists, Jains, Ajivakas, and similar riff-raff (1980 : 67). The response of the early Brahmins was to explain apparent upward mobility in this life in terms of the downward mobility of a previous life. Thus the explanation of the holy man was that he must be merely regaining the heights (heaven) from which he had previously fallen because of some sin (the karmic loophole). (1980 : 67). In Hinduism there was a later development of the idea that gods are like humans, even parodies of humans, the parody often emphasizing the animal nature of the human (1980 : 73). “With gods demoted in this way, it is hardly surprising that saints would quickly come to be regarded as gods,” concludes O’Flaherty (1980 : 75).

While Jains have never seen the Tirthankaras as “fallen gods” it is nevertheless true that the ideal of the man who becomes holy by his own spiritual discipline, by passing-divinity, as it were, remains in tension with the concept of concealed holiness which is gradually revealed. This can be seen, for

example, in the preaching to the laity during the Digambar Terapanthi *panc-kalyana* rituals :

To make a god, you take a stone. For a 5 foot idol you need a 6 foot stone, —a layman will call it a stone. But the artist sees the god in the stone. He removes parts of the stone and the god emerges. You should remove the parts of your bodies and your soul will emerge. An idol cannot be made of sand, all the grain would have to be joined together. If you make an idol of stone, you have to break it, you have to remove everything extraneous. This kind of metaphor seems to be very fundamental in Jain thought and is related, in my view, to the doctrine of the eternal soul (*atman*). In Jain philosophy, unlike Buddhism, the idea of the abiding animate substance (*jiva*) as applicable to the soul is qualified by the idea of qualities (*guna*) and modes (*paryaya*) of that substance which undergo changes (Jaini - 1979 : 89-83). But in popular Jainism such sophistication is lost. The soul becomes the self which is to be uncovered or unburdened of harmful karmas. The same view is taken of the Jain religion itself through time : the earliest is assumed to be essential and true, and later additions are mistaken. For example :

In accordance with this tradition, many images of Parsvanatha have been found with the hood of a snake above him, but these cannot and must not be very old, since, as per the sacred texts, images are made only after one had conquered all foes, internal as well as external, and become a victor (*arhanta*), and at this stage, no hardship can be inflicted on him. So the image with the protective hood of a snake can be the image of the monk Parsava, but not of Bhagvan Parsava. (Bharrill 1981 : 19).

Religion itself becomes a return to an eternal origin :

Bhagvan Mahavira was the last (of the Tirthankaras) as, in this down-swing of the cycle, Adinatha was the first, though,

needless to add, in the preceeding up and downswings of the cycle prior to Adinatha there had been innumerable Tirthankaras, as there would be innumerable after Mahavira in the subsequent up and down-swings of the cycles till and infinite time. ...Bhagvan Mahavira was not the founder of a new religion : he did not even introduce a reform. And, pray, who can reform a religion? Religion is always a reformed thing that helps the reform of a soul which is under perversion. Viewed as a category, reform itself is religion. (*Bharrill* 1981 : 20).

These are the statements of a “pandit” of the reformed Kanji Swami sect, but nevertheless I believe the attitude they express to be current among very many Jains of all sects. With such a pervasive idea of the sacred essence which is obscured and perverted of the soul whose three main qualities are consciousness, bliss, and energy, it is not surprising that the concept of stages of enlightenment can be seen by many people *both* as a gradual revelation of innate power, and as a spiritual modification and development of the self. The energy quality (*virya*) of the soul acts upon, the transforms, the karmas attached to it, but this is not an invitable process; the capability of the soul to become free (*bhavyatva*) must still be activated by some experience, such as the encounter with a Jina or his image, hearing the Jaina teachings, or remembering past lives (Jaini 1979 : 140-41). The way is open for the Tirthankara to represent an energizing force which is capable not only of producing its own destiny, but also of operating on the minor transformations of the souls of the laity.

Although Jain scriptures dwell on these problems the teachers of the laity are not so concerned with teasing apart the notions of the “holy man” and the “active (Jain) god” as to disabuse the congregation of the gross misapprehension which would confuse either of these with the mere heavenly diety who gives material benefits in this life. So, before the puja in the temple of the Svetambar TapaGaccha a prayer is recited in the

presence of the Tirthankara statues which acts as a reminder not to regard them as heavenly deities. This is a rough translation :

“These Tirthankaras bring us from darkness to light. Just as we need a boat to cross the river, so the Tirthankaras help us crossing from this world to the next. The Tirthankaras do not give us material things; they are givers of spiritual strength. They cleanse our souls.”

That despite such reminders a confusion still prevails among the laity, can be seen from the preachings at the *punc-kalyana* rituals on the occasion of the celebration of the birthday of the Tirthankara Adinatha :

You say that this is “god’s (*bhagwan*) birthday”. But the first rule about a god is that he is never born. A child is born. A god is never born. You say that “god was married”. But you call his wife “rani” (queen). Why? The wife of a god is a goddess. Such ambiguities would not remain at issue were it not for the multimeaning of terms such as *bhagwan* and *deva*. But it cannot be by chance that these terms remain at the heart of popular Jainism. We must conclude that the holy being addressed in the Jaina puja is always the subject of several interconnected and yet conflicting mental operations : the idea of stages of enlightenment produced by the energizing soul, the notion of the spiritual power of the soul as gradually revealed, and the idea of spiritual power personified as a deity who can help the living in this life.

This final transformation occurs not only in the abstract, as it were, but also in the distinction between the idea of the Tirthankara and its physical representation in statues (*murti*). It is the statue itself which is attributed with magical powers. In a temple complex often one particular *murti* has these properties. Very common in the Jaipur region is the legend of this particular image being discovered underground by a non-Jain, of its being immovable despite every effort (or the cart

on which it is placed being unaccountably stuck) until the right to move it is given by the Jains to the non-Jain, of numerous miracles performed when the statue is prayed to. As Fuller has written of the relation between a god and its image in the Hindu case :

“.....It is certainly not the case that the image is thought to be the god itself by the majority of Hindus. Rather, the god is thought to be in the image. The god is sometimes thought to be within some particular image, but more often it is not, for the simple reason that there are innumerable images of almost every god.

By the more articulate priests, the relation between the god and its image is often explained in terms of divine power: the images being repositories of divine power. Hence, the image of Meenakshi, for example, is not Meenakshi herself, but a stone representation of her containing all or some of her power. (*Man*, N.S. 14, 465).

In the Jain case, the attribution of god-like functions of a particular Tirthankara often seems to take place by means of a special *murti* which is singled out. Individuals talk of a particular attraction to that image, and among Svetambaras (who place mirror-like eyes on their images) of a special responsiveness which seems to glow from its eyes. I even came across one case, admittedly exceptional, of an image given a third eye, which, people said, was used to inspect the offerings to see that they contained no insects! The Jains thus have two meditations between the general idea of the Tirthankara and the idea of the Tirthankaras-as-god-who-can-help : one is the fact the Tirthankaras-as-god is always represented in the stage of omniscience, and the second is its embodiment as a physical statue. This, bring us, finally, to the matter of the physical substances offered in puja, which I suggest, have a similar mediatory function.

The Symbolism of Objects used in Puja

What is it that objects-as-symbols can do that ordinary language cannot do ? Words are also symbols, but as Langer has pointed out, language has a tendency to transparency: "Vocables in themselves are so worthless that we cease to be aware of their physical presence at all and become conscious only of their connotations, denotations, and other meanings. Our conceptual activity seems to flow through them, rather than merely to accompany them, as it accompanies other experiences which we endow with significance." A symbol, which interests us as an object, is distracting. "If the word 'plenty' were replaced by a succulent, ripe, reach peach, few people could attend entirely to the concept of *quite enough* when confronted with such a symbol" (Langer : 1942 : 75).

There have, of course, been many important studies since Langer's time of "non-transparent" aspect of language, particularly as used in ritual (Tambiah 1968 ; Leach ; Friedrich 1979; Humphery 1972; Weiner 1983), and the Jainpuja does include prayers and *mantras* which I shall not analyse here. But I think that Langer's insight, the distinction between discursive symbolism, as in language ordinarily used, and presentational symbolism, which operates with physical objects, can be useful in the analysis of puja as practice. The Jains use physical object as the vehicles of stated meanings, and these meanings are moral qualities to be attained.³ But this is not all that such symbols do. In their physicality they can serve as points of departure for individual imagination and reverie, the personal understanding of what is being "given up" when things are "sacrificed" in puja. Objects come to have a certain power when they are given from the idea that these things are part of oneself. When this link is broken, i.e., after the puja, they no longer have any special qualities and should be thrown

3. Friedrich Paul: Stanford : *Language, Context and Imagination*, Stanford University Press, 1979.

away or taken by the temple servants. The Jains vehemently repudiate the idea that offerings may be imbued with power from the Tirthankara and returned to the offerant (prasada). But we do find cases where rituals are performed which emphasize the physical qualities of the object itself and it then has a power which can be used (see section on water below).

Let us look briefly at the *arcana* offerings of eight substances made by the Svetambar TapaGaccha in Jaipur :

- (1) *Rice*. When offered in the temple it is called *akhsata* as opposed to the rice which is eaten, also called *cawal*. Rice symbolizes moksha : rice is the one grain, people say, which once separated from it cannot be reproduced if planted. Therefore, it symbolizes a person's desire not to take birth again, but to escape the cycle of regeneration. It also symbolizes the pure soul without the husk of karma. Digambar Jains offer rice in two colours, white and yellow. The white colour symbolizes purity and non-attachment to this world, and the yellow colour indicates the Jain religion.
- (2) *Light*. Called *dipak* when being offered. Light is the symbol of enlightenment. In the form of a lamp, *dipak* is waved in front of the statues both morning and evening in the temple, and as *arti* it is waved by the offerant at the end of all standard pujas.
- (3) *Incense*. This is called *dhupa* when being offered, rather than its common name of *agarbatti*. It is symbolic, when burning, of the scorching away of the karmas that bind a person's soul to *samsara*. It is burnt throughout the puja and then formally offered by waving the burning sticks before the statues prior to the offering to light.
- (4) *Sandalwood*. Known as *chandana* sandalwood is symbolic of sweet and pure ideal actions. It is used in Ayurvedic medicine as a cooling substance; cool state in the offerant, as opposed to dangerous, hot, passionate

state. It is daily made up into a paste and dubbed on auspicious parts of the Tirthankara statues by both priests and laity. After visiting the temple in the morning, people place a dot of paste on their foreheads as a sign of their pure state in having made puja.

- (5) *Flowers*. Just as flowers (*pushpa*) are sweet-smelling, so should the ideal Jain soul be “sweet” and not tarnished by evil passions which metaphorically give off a bad odour. Another explanation is that flowers give perfume to all indiscriminately : they bloom not for themselves but to give others pleasure. The ideal Jain should be as a flower, doing good to all without exception. Flowers are placed before the Tirthankara statues by the priests daily after they have been bathed with water and annointed with sandalwood. During special pujas flowers are offered in the form of garlands, or loose in thali/plates.
- (6) *Sweets*. When offered in the temple they are called *naivedya* (Jaini gives *caru*, 1979 : 201), rather than their ordinary name of mithai. They are a symbol of sacrifice. As sweets are loved by all, to give them symbolizes the giving up of what human beings prize most, wordly pleasures and comforts. On a daily basis, people bring with them to the temple tiny white balls made of crystalized sugar. For special occasions the more highly prized and expensive sweets are brought there being damp in texture, rather than dry, and cooked (these are not however, given in the reformed sects). During special pujas, platefull of these sweets are offered. After the 31 day fast, the women must go fasting to the temple and make offering before the Tirthankaras. One main item is a giant-sized *ladoo*, sweet with a silver flag stuck on the top. The flag symbolizes victory, and thus the whole offerings represents the faster’s victory over wordly attachments such as food.

- (7) *Fruit*. Both dried fruits such as nuts and fresh fruits are offered. The meaning given to fruit (*phala*) is that it symbolizes the best fruit that human life leads to, namely moksha. Dried fruits are very expensive and only rich people bring them to the temple daily. Fresh fruits are brought mainly on special occasions when the colour of the items offered is important. the coconut is a particularly important offering in the fruit category: the outer hairy husk symbolizes the material world, and the inner whole fruit represents the human soul. When offered with other dried fruits, such as almonds, coconuts are separated from their husk and the inner nut is offered whole on a plate. During special pujas they are offered whole with the husk; the red and yellow sacred thread is tied around them and they are placed under the platform on which the Tirthankara sits.
- (8) *Water*. When used in the temple it is called *jal*, distinguishing it from *pani*, which is drinking water. *Jal* must be sterilized by boiling or straining, or the addition of substances such as cloves, so that it no longer contains any living being. Water symbolizes the cleansing of the soul of all its sins.

We see that the standard eight offerings (rice, flowers, water, sandalwood, sweets, light, incense and fruit) are all symbols of a special kind : they represent states of the soul to be attained by the worshipper. Items added to the list in the Svetamber TapaGaccha may be either further examples of the same kind (e.g., money, offered as a symbol of the quality of charity) or they may be signs referring to the mythology (e.g., milk as representing the milk sea surrounding Mount Sumeru).

The same way of thinking is apparent in sections of the puja, such as the anointing of the auspicious parts of the *murti*. Here I shall briefly describe this ritual as carried out by another Jain community, the Svetambar Karataragaccha, in the puja to

the Dadaguru-devas. The Dadagurus are four prominent acharyas of this sect who in medieaval times strengthened the community by allaying the persecution of the Jains and making converts by means of preaching and miracles.

The puja to the Dadagurus is performed daily in the early morning after preliminary darshan of the separate Dada shrine carrying a thali with sandalwood paste, saffron, leaves and flowers from the temple garden. Having earlier bathed at home and wearing only three unstitched garments, he now ties a white cloth over his mouth, so that his hot breath should not reach the statue of the Dada. The *murti* is first bathed in water, and then carefully dried, while the *namaskara mantra* is muttered. After walking three times clockwise round the statue, the offerant proceeds to annoint the *murti* with sandalwood paste, leaves and petals, using the fourth finger of the right hand. Under his breath, he sings bhajans and occasionally breaks off to extol the beauty and freshness of the morning, the delightful scent of the flowers and sandalwood, and the brave deeds of the dadas.

As he places each dab of paste topped with petals, the offerant mutters a prayer in Hindi which expresses the idea behind the annointment. The nine parts are annointed in strict order.

- (1) *The toes*. "When we annoint the toes, we bear in mind that this puja is leading us along the road towards *mokhsa*."
- (2) *The knees*, "When people stand in meditation they will achieve *kevalajnana*."
- (3) *The forearms*. "If one wishes to attain omniscience one must give *dana* (charity) daily. This is what the arms remind us."
- (4) *The shoulders*. "By the strength of the shoulders we become spiritual victors."
- (5) *The top of the head*. "To go to *moksha* the soul must rise upwards to the spotless place."

- (6) *The forehead.* "The Tirthankaras achieved their success by hard mental work and meditation."
- (7) *The throat.* "For two days before *moksha* the Tirthankaras delivered speeches in the *samavasaran* for the benefit of humans, animals, and insects."
- (8) *The chest.* "Now only *raga* (attraction) and *dvesa* (aversion) are left in our hearts. The Tirthankaras rid their hearts of even these things."
- (9) *The navel.* "All qualities are concentrated here, and that is why we worship this place."

The puja ends with the private recitation of prayers under the breath, and on occasion, the wish, which need not be stated aloud, that the Dadaguru will help the offerant in some specific way (success in an exam, a safe journey, profit in a business venture, etc.).

The eight auspicious offerings and the anointing of the nine auspicious parts have the same overt symbolic mechanism : they use physical qualities (smell, coolness, the strength of shoulders, etc.) attributed to the offerings in one case and the *murti* itself in the other, to represent metonymically the spiritual qualities which the offerant wishes to attain.

But in the case of water there is more to it than this.

(a) Water can be used to purify the statue itself, to cleanse it of any evil influences which might become attached to the actual stone. This is achieved in the *Ararah Abhishek* ceremony (lit. eighteen anointing). Eighteen sacred substances are mixed in the water used to anoint the statues, including saffron, musk, sandalwood, gold, silver, curd, milk and various herbs. The water used for this ritual is collected from the well in the Dadabari precincts which is thought to be particularly pure. It is put in pots by the women and carried in procession through the streets and back into the temple (the Jal Yatra: water pilgrimage).

(b) Every morning in the Tapagaccha temple and after every puja during the statue-installation rites of both the sect, the Karataragaccha, and the Digambar Terapanthis there is a ritual called the *Shanti Puja* (peace puja). A huge *thal* (plate) is placed on the ground. People stand above this each holding small jugs filled with water.

They hold the jugs above one another so that water pours from the person's jug into another person's jug and through its spout into the next jug, and so on until the water splashes into the *thal*. As this continuous stream of water is being poured, special *mantras* for peace are read from a book called the *Bari Shanti*. The water brings out the power of the *mantras* which are said to induce peace. The laity then puts a little water on their hands and eyes to bring peace and happiness, or they take some home to induce peace there.

While there is no suggestion among Jains, as there is among Hindus, that the "god needs the attention of the faithful, nevertheless the anointing of the nine auspicious parts of the Dada *murti* and the *Atarah Abhishek* of the Tirthankara statue can be said to contribute to the power of these particular images. Many Jains would no doubt disagree with this idea. But in this case if power is attributed to the *murti*, a power which is spiritual and purifying in the case of the Tirthankara, but practical in the case of Dada, this is only realized after the *murti* has been anointed. It is the physical substance offered (or "presented" in Langer's terms) which have this effect.

Of course the substances themselves are subject to a transformation of their sacredness by the recitation of *mantras*, but I would argue that this is not sufficient. The auspicious substances are not simply any objects over which *mantras* are said, but things deliberately chosen for their physical qualities.

In the *Shanti Puja* it is the heavy, liquid, translucent, spreading and splashing qualities of water which are emphasized as it streams from jug to jug. This focus on the wateriness of water would not be necessary simply to denote the doctrinal

idea, "water is a symbol of the cleansing of the soul." What we have here is the representation of more than one idea simultaneously. Langer sees the "presentational" symbolism of objects as suited to such a function, whereas the "discursive" symbolism of language, which express ideas in a particular order, is not (1942 : 79-82). While I would not agree with her characterization of language as necessarily discursive, it is the case that the Jain puja already places language under a heavy burden, making use of several distinct meta-linguistic forms (prayers, mantras and parables, to name but three). The idea of the "presentational" symbolism of objects does seem apt : the water in the *Shanti Puja* becomes a focus in itself and an obstruction to the flow of any one line of reasoning we should note also that the "eight substances" do not add up to any coherent combination of ideas such as language achieves, but this fact allows water simultaneously to denote several disparate ideas and to become an object of power in its own right.

This paper has attempted to illuminate the many layers of meaning involved in two of the important elements of the Jain puja : the concepts of Being to whom the puja is offered, and the symbolizing function of the objects presented. In both of these, the ritual of the puja serves to hold together disparate, even conflicting, ideas. The role of physical objects as mediators in this is essential, permitting as it does a transmutation of ideas from a doctrinally approved discourse to one which is unacknowledged and back again. This is no doubt why Jains of reformed sects have not only objected to the offering of items (such as cooked food) which blatantly exhibit the quality of simultaneous meanings I have described, but have in the end, in the case of the Sthanakvasi and Svetambar Terapanthi sects, rejected the temple, the statues, and the puja, altogether.

Notes :

The field-work on which this paper is based was carried

out in Jaipur (Rajasthan) in 1982. I am grateful to Josephine Reynell, who worked in the same city in 1983, for detailed information on the eight substances offered in the Swetambar TapaGaccha temple.

1. In the *Uttaradhyayana* the “true sacrifice” of the Jains, as contrasted with that of the Vedic sacrifice, are the ten virtues : truth, penance, content, patience, right conduct, simplicity, faith, constancy, not injuring anything, and *samvara* (the stopping of karmic influx). The text describes these qualities in the person of the “true Brahmana” who rejects pleasures, greed, family relations, etc.,—the “sacrificer of sacrifices” (Muller 1895 : 136-41).
2. The *panchkalyana* rituals are performed using a small, easily moveable, substitute murti. Meanwhile the actual statues to be consecrated, which are often large and heavy, are kept on one side, covered in a white cloth until the *kevaljnana kalyana* has been performed, when they are placed in the temple and uncovered.
3. Each item offered should produce in the offerant the designated quality, which will affect the balance between the soul and the karmas attached to it. In general, however, the effect of the puja is categorized as *punya* which cannot do more than produce a good reincarnation, and thus only indirectly affect the path to *moksha*. Jains hold that *moksha* cannot be achieved in the current era and that the aim of good rebirth, with ultimate salvation held in mind, is a worthy one—a point which has been made about Theravada Buddhists by Southwold (1983 : 202-12). As used by the Jain laity, however, the term *punya* is sometimes ambiguous, as some people hold that it can affect success and happiness in this life.”

(Source : Singh, N.K. : *Ideal, Ideology and Practice*, Jaipur, 1987).

4

STATUS OF WOMEN

According to the author, Josephine Reynell : The intention of this paper is to examine the beliefs concerning the status of women within the Svetambar Jain sect. The attitudes held by this sect concerning women would appear to distinguish it, at face value, from both the Digambars, the other major Jain sect, and the wider Hindu society.

Since the beginning of the sect's history, Svetambar doctrine has maintained that women have a high religious status, equal to that of men. Yet contrary to this belief, statements such as the following appear in the Svetambar religious literature :

“Maidens are short of the nets of a fowler in the shape of cupid, which lead people, like deer to their utter ruin.”¹

This contradiction touches on a wider sociological issue which was brought to the fore by 19th century social theorists such as Weber² and Durkheim,³ and which has recieved considerable attention since then. It concerns the relationship between stated religious doctrine on the one hand and actual worldly practices and connected values on the other. More often than not, a dichotomy is found to exist between values pertaining to the spiritual realm and those practices and values arising from the condition of worldly existence. With regard to Svetambar women, the root of this dichotomy lies in the contra-distinction

1. B.D. Jain (trans.). *Jain Jatakas or Lord Rishaba's* (1925), p. 303.

2. Weber : *The Sociology of Religion*, (1922).

3. Durkheim : *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. (1915).

between religious beliefs relating to women and the beliefs and values arising from the actual power relations which exist between men and women in Indian society.

An issue of key significance in relation to this problem is the fact that the Jains have constituted, and still constitute a minority religious group within the wider Hindu dominated Indian society. In terms of Jain survival this has always been a potential problem, which has been succinctly encapsulated by P.S. Jaini, in his book *The Jaina Path of Purification*, where he says : Jains were constantly forced to mingle with non-Jain elements, hence to confront systems of custom and belief which invariably called their own into question. It fell to the Jaina Acharyas to strike a reasonable balance between these two priorities on the one hand the perpetuation of orthodoxy...on the other, of need for fruitful intercourse with Hindu society.⁴

The Jains, whilst remaining discrete in terms of religious organization, have adopted many social values and practices of the wider Hindu society. This very necessary interaction on the part of the Jainas has had particular repercussions with regard to Svetambar religious beliefs associated with women, in that the Svetambar doctrine propounding female equality with men, has been challenged by the contradictory beliefs of female inferiority held by the dominant society.

This preliminary investigation examines the extent to which the Svetambar beliefs of female equality, with all that they imply in terms of social practice, have been maintained in the face of this challenge, and the extent to which these beliefs have been compromised through Jain interaction with the beliefs and practices of the wider society. I shall look at this question in the light of three mediums. Firstly, I look at how women have been treated within the Svetambara canonical and religious story literature. Secondly, I examine the beliefs and resultant

4. P.S. Jaini : *The Jaina Path of Purification*. (1979) p. 287.

practices pertaining to female position of spiritual authority. Lastly, I investigate the effects, if any, of Svetambar beliefs on the religious and social position of lay women today.

Origin of the Svetambar Sect

Evidence suggest that the schism within the Jain church which eventually gave rise to the Svetambaras, originated in 300 B.C. when a famine in North India drove one group of Jains to south. The group who remained in the North later became known as the Svetambar Jains, whilst those who had migrated became the Digambaras. The split between the two sects was confirmed in a series of councils, the final and conclusive one being the 3rd Council of Vallabhi in the 5th century A.D. It was during this period between the 4th century B.C. and the 5th century A.D. that the Svetambar sect and its particular tenets regarding women were formulated.

Prevailing Beliefs Within the Brahminic Religion

In order to fully appreciate the Svetambara stance, it is useful to briefly consider the prevailing attitude to women held by the encompassing Brahminic society during this period. Within the Brahminic religion, which later developed into what we now refer to as Hinduism, women's status has undergone considerable changes. Indeed the Svetambar view strikes a chord of similarity with the beliefs held within Brahminism during the Vedic period (1500-500 B.C.). During this time female religious status was considered equal to that of men in that they played an equal and essential role within religious rites. Girls were initiated alongwith boys and underwent a period of religious study until marriage. Evidence suggests that some women did not get married but specialized in religious knowledge. They were known as Brahnavadinis and were the female counterparts to Brahnavadin or male celibate ascetics, who devoted their lives to religious study and pursuits.

From 500 B.C. female status began to decline and by the 2nd century B.C. the twofold path of asceticism and marriage was closed to women in that the female initiation rite had become a formality, taking place just before marriage and leaving therefore no time to study. By the 1st century A.D., female initiation was discontinued altogether, reducing women to the status of Sudras. Marriage was considered to be a woman's initiation rite and according to *Dharma Sastras* world renunciation to attain enlightenment was considered a male option. Relegated to the domestic sphere, women were excluded from access to religious knowledge and from the assumption of key religious roles. They were considered to gain salvation not in their own right but by the performance of *stridharma* which involved the exemplary enactment of the roles of daughter, wife and mother. Excluded largely from religious life, women later became adherents of the Bhakti movement, which developed from 500 A.D. onwards. This served to associate them with blind faith rather than with rationale thought. Although orthodox Hinduism denies women the role of world renunciation, female ascetics do exist in present day Hinduism. However they are not officially recognized and are regarded as a deviant minority.⁵

Clearly therefore, during the period in which Jainism arose under Mahavira and in which the sect of the Svetambars developed, female status within the Brahminic religion was declining. This prevailing attitude within the encompassing culture was significant and had a considerable influence upon the various religious groups emerged from the 6th century B.C. onwards, the strength of which can be gauged by briefly considering the attitudes concerning women held by the Buddhists and the Digambar Jains.

5. For example Manu's instruction on purifying the soul enjoin that the three higher castes should sip water three times and wipe their mouths once whereas women and *sudras* should perform each action only once.

The Digambar View

The Digambar Jains would appear to have colluded with the increasingly prevalent view of female inferiority. According to Digambar tenets, a woman is of inferior religious status to a man, in that women are believed incapable of attaining enlightenment. To do so she must be born as a man. According to Digambar belief a woman has a mind that is "fickle and devoid of purity, they have monthly courses and cannot concentrate undisturbed."⁶ As a result there is no formal institution of fully ordained female ascetics, for asceticism is considered to be an essential stage to enlightenment. In actual fact Digambar women do renounce the world, but these women have very low status as compared to the monks.

The Buddhist View

Like the Digambar Jains, the early Buddhists were influenced by the attitude of the surrounding society. The Buddha admitted unwillingly that women could attain enlightenment and under duress he created an order of nuns. He is held to have remarked that if women entered the order, it would only last for half its allotted time. Buddhist nuns therefore have always held a rather low status as have women in general. They rarely figure in the Jataka tales and are usually portrayed as evil temptresses, seducing men from the spiritual path.⁷ The nuns have to take an additional eight vows which expressly serve to subordinate them to the monks. Within Thailand⁸ and Ceylon, official ordination for women has died out. Despite this, in both countries women do renounce the world but are equivalent in

6. Ojha : "Feminine Asceticism in Hinduism : It's Tradition and Present Condition". In *Man in India*, (1981).

7. From the *Suttapahuda* of Kunda : V. 22-25 in S.B. Deo *History of Jaina Monarchism*, (1956) p. 478.

8. Thista : *Providence and Prostitution : Image and Reality for Women in Buddhist Thailand*. (1980).

status only to novice monks. In Thailand this low status is manifested by the exclusion of the nuns from extensive study and ritual action. They are instead relegated to the domestic sphere and are expected to cook for monks and the clean the monasteries.⁹ In Ladakh, the home of Mahayana Buddhism, there is a similar problem. Whilst women can become fully ordained nuns, they are considered impure and unsuited to extensive religious study. As a result they spend their time in agriculture, cultivating food for the monasteries.¹⁰

The Svetambar View

In view of the prevailing Hindu attitude to women during the period in which the Svetambar sect arose, and in view of the influence of these ideas on new non-Hindu religious groups, the Svetambar attitude is quite exceptional in that it went against the *grain* of contemporary thought. The Svetambars state that women are the religious equals to men and can attain enlightenment in their own right through religious action. As a result they recognize an order of female ascetics who are considered on par with the monks. Like the Digambara, they hold that in order to attain moksha, asceticism is an essential stage.

These beliefs are revealed through reference to women in the canonical sutras, which I now propose to examine. These *sutras* were committed to text certainly by the 3rd Council of Vallabhi in the 5th century A.D. It is probable that many of the *sutras* existed prior to this time but it is difficult to date them conclusively.

Canonical Literature

That the Svetambar inaugurated an order of female ascetics

9. Thista : *Nuns, Mediums and Prostitutes in Chiengai : A Study of Some Marginal Categories of Women*. (1983), p. 14-20.

10. Grimshaw Rizong—“A Monastic Community in Ladakh”, Ph. D. Thesis, Cambridge, (1983).

is proved by a variety of references to nuns in the ancient texts. Book 2 within the *Acaranga Sutra* consists of a set of rules for medicants and it is clearly stated before each rule that both monks and nuns are referred to. What is also significant is that the rules given apply to both the monks and nuns equally. There are no separate rules for either group implying that the nuns were treated on par, in religious terms, with the monks. The second *sutra*, the *Sutrakritanga* speaks of Nirgrantha monks and nuns worshipping Mahavira and being addressed by him. Another example comes from the eighth *sutra*, the *Antadasanga* where, there is a story of the eight wives of Krishna Vasudev becoming nuns.¹¹ The *Kalpa Sutra* gives an interesting set of figures regarding the numbers of ascetics under various Tirthankaras, showing that nuns were not only an accepted religious institution but there were far more women who devoted their lives to religious asceticism than men. For example it states that under Rishaba, the first Tirthankara, there were 84,000 monks and 300,000 nuns. Under Neminath, the twentysecond Tirthankara there were 18,000 monks and 40,000 nuns, whilst under Parsvanath there were 16,000 monks and 38,000 nuns and finally under Mahavira there were 14,000 monks and 36,000 nuns.¹²

Even more significant are the references to women achieving enlightenment in the *sutras*. The same set of figures mentioned previously in the *Kalpa Sutra*¹³ also give reference to the number of women who achieved *moksha* as opposed to men, under various Tirthankaras. Interestingly, twice as many women are listed as achieving this state as men. For example under Mahavira,

11. *Sutrakritanga Sutra in Sacred Books of the East*. Vol. XLV (trans.) H. Jacobi, (1895) v. 11. p. 338.

12. B.C. Law, *Some Jaina Canonical Sutras in Indian Culture*, Vol. 13, p. 151.

13. *Kalpa-Sutra in Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXII. H. Jacobi, 1884, p. 267, p. 278, p. 284.

700 men and 1,400 women reached enlightenment.

The *Uttaradhyayana Sutra*¹⁴ is particularly interesting in its references to women achieving enlightenment. One story concerns a Brahmin's wife and a queen. The Brahmin, Purohita, by name, and his sons renounce the world so his wife follows suit. When the reigning queen hears of this she also denounces the pleasures of worldly existence and decides to become a nun saying :

As a bird dislikes the cage, so do I (dislike the world). I shall live as a nun, without offspring, poor, upright, without desire, without love of gain, and without hatred.

The passage goes on to relate that both the queen and the Brahmin's wife together with their menfolk, achieve *moksha*. One of the most famous stories within the same *sutra*, concerns Rajimati, the fiance of Neminatha, the 22nd Tirthankara who renounced the world on his wedding day. Rajimati follows suit by becoming a nun. At the end of her life she achieves enlightenment.¹⁵

One of the more unusual features of the Svetambar attitude to women is found in the *Jnanatradharmakatha*, the 6th Anga, which relates how a women, Mallinath, becomes the 19th and the only female Tirthankara. This illustrates ostensibly that women are truly equal to men in that they can attain one of the most prized spiritual position within the belief system. However, this is not without its problems and I will return to this topic in a later section.

Non-Canonical Literature

These beliefs expressed in the canons regarding women, as noted above, continued to be held within the Svetambar sect,

14. *Uttaradhyayana Sutra* in *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XLV, p. 67 v. 53.

15. *Uttaradhyayana Sutra*, p. 112-119.

despite being surrounded by an unfavourable climate of opinion towards women. This is demonstrated by the references to women found in the 12th century works of Hemachandra, notably his *Trisastisalakapurusacaritra*¹⁶ or "Lives of 63 Great Men." Whilst his work is not original but makes use of earlier sources, it is probable that had beliefs regarding female religious status undergone a sharp decline, he would have omitted many of the favourable references to women. That he did not do so, indicates the continued acceptance of female religious equality with men, during his era.

Complimentary references to women abound in this particular work such as the following description of Abhinandita, the wife of King Srisena (who was a previous incarnation of the Tirthankara Shantinatha). She is described as being "irreproachable in conduct, delighting the heart by her speech, moonlight to the lotus of the eye. She did not deviate from good conduct at all, even in thought, but adorned herself with it."

There are many references to women becoming nuns, including the daughter of Mahavira, Priyadarshana, and the two daughters of Rishaba, Brahmi and Sundari.¹⁶ Priyadarshana is portrayed in a very favourable light vis-a-vis men. It would appear that her husband, Jamali, also took *diksha* but adopted "wrong belief". At first Priyadarshana followed him, but realizing her mistake repents, and returns to Mahavira, whilst Jamali remains unrepentant and arrogant.¹⁷

The earliest reference to a woman attaining moksa in this voluminous work, concerns Marudevi, the mother of the first Tirthankara Rishaba. When Rishaba attains Tirthankarhood, Marudevi is taken to be Samvasaran by her grandson. Her joy

16. Hemachandra, *Trisastisalakapurusacaritra* Vol. III (trans.) H. Johnson, 1949, p. 199.

17. Hemachandra, Vol. I, p. 209 and 264.

is so great at seeing her son as a Tirthankara, that she attains omniscience and *moksha* on the spot. She is considered by the Svetambars to be the first person to have achieved enlightenment in that particular cycle of time.¹⁸

Another story concerns a woman called Sumati and takes place during the 6th incarnation of Shantinatha. The story tells us that Sumati was pious from childhood in that she "followed the religion taught by the omniscient, knowing the principles of Jiva, Ajiva etc., rich in the performance of penance. Observing the 12 Lay Vows unbroken, she was always occupied with pujas to the Arhats and service to the gurus."¹⁹ One day, after a fast, she insists on giving food to the ascetics before breaking her fast. As a result, treasure rains down upon her. Sumati's parents, recognizing that she is an exceptional woman, hold a *sayamvara* for her to enable her to choose a suitable groom.²⁰ During the *sayamvara*, a goddess appears, telling Sumati that in a previous life they had both been sisters and had both been converted to Jainism. She advises Sumati to remember and profit from the experience of her former birth by becoming a nun rather than getting married. Sumati acts on this advice, and apologizing to the assembled persons for having gathered in vain, she takes ordination and later achieves *moksa*.²¹

There is the story of Sulakshana, a woman who takes the lead in religious matters over her husband. Sulakshana was a Brahmin woman. Her husband had fallen on hard times and had gone abroad to escape the shame cast on him by his friends.

18. Hemachandra, Vol. VI. 1962, pp. 193, 197.

19. Hemachandra, Vol. I, 1931, p. 197.

20. Hemachandra, Vol. III, 1949, p. 254.

21. *Sayamvaras* are referred to frequently in the Jain story literature. These were held by a girl's parents in order to find a suitable groom for their daughter. Eligible men would gather and would usually have to undergo a test of some sort. The man who acquitted himself best was considered the most suitable groom.

In his absence, a nun comes to stay with Sulkashana during *chaturmas* and converts her to Jainism. As a result, strong in right belief Sulakshana stops greiving over her husband and takes the vows of a lay woman. When her husband returns she converts him to Jainism and to make firm his belief she takes him to the Tirthankara Ajitnatha. Both she and her husband become ascetics and later achieve enlightenment.²²

A well-known woman who attained enlightenment under Tirthankara Mahavira is of course Chandanbala. Originally a Princess, she is taken under the protection of a merchant when her father's kingdom is overrun. The merchant's wife is overcome with jealousy however and one day she takes Chandanbala, cuts off her hair, binds her in chains and leaves her imprisoned in a far corner of the house. After three days the merchant grows suspicious. Forcing an old servant to reveal her whereabouts, he finds Chandanbala. Horrified, he takes her to the kitchen to break her fast. Leaving her with a basket of *urad dal*, which was all that was available, he goes to find a smith to cut her chains. Chandanbala being very pious, refuses to eat until she has offered food to an ascetic. She sits at the doorway with one foot inside the threshold and one foot outside. At that moment Mahavira passes. He has been fasting for six months but had refused to break his fast until he was offered food by a Princess who had been reduced to slavery, bound in chains, shaven, who had fasted for three days and who was sitting at the threshold of the house with one foot inside and one foot outside, weeping and sorting through a basket of *urad dal*. Chandanbala of course fulfills these conditions and Mahavira takes food from her, at which point her hair grows back, the chains break and the gods shower jewels upon her. She bequeaths this treasure to the merchant and when Mahavira attains omniscience, she takes ordination and becomes his chief nun. On her death she attains omniscience.²³

22. Hemachandra, Vol. III, pp. 255-58.

23. Hemachandra, Vol. II, 1937, pp. 131-136.

Finally there is the story of Devananda, the Brahmin woman, who first carried the embryo of Mahavira before it was transferred. Hemachandra tells us that one day she and her husband came to hear Mahavira speak. Both are disgruntled with worldly existence and take ordination. Later they attain enlightenment.²⁴

Even later than Hemachandra, stories were composed with female nuns at their centre. Muni Shri Mahenhra Kumar has recently published a series of books containing collections of stories gleaned from various sources dating from the 13th-17th century. Many of these stories concern women who are highly religious and either became nuns or achieved enlightenment. It is worth noting at this point that the story literature is of immense importance to the orthodox Jain laity and I have witnessed both monks and nuns using such as a basis for their preachings. Thus all these stories together with the ideas contained within them concerning women are still current today and bear an influence on the Jaina belief system.

Unfavourable Reference to Women

So far I have concentrated upon the evidence demonstrating that ideas relating to female religious equality have been maintained within the Svetambar belief system. However the issue is not as straightforward as it appears, for contained within the same texts which accord women religious equality, there are some very unfavourable references to women, indicating that the Svetambaras were not totally immune to the ideas and influence of the wider society.

Thus within the *Sutrakritanga*, a lecture is given to monks about women. It warns them of the dangers associated with women. "Therefore they should avoid women, knowing them to be like a poisoned thorn."²⁵

24. Hemachandra, Vol. VI, pp. 112-119 and p. 214.

25. Hemachandra, Vol. VI, pp. 191-193.

In the Acharanga Sutra, women are portrayed as temptresses leading men from the path of religion.

‘Women as monk with fully developed intuition and knowledge, calm, guarded, endowed (with knowledge) always restrained, perceives (a woman tempting him) he should consider within himself : what will this person do? the greatest temptation in the world are women.’²⁶

In Book 2 of the *Sutra*, rules are given to both monks and nuns. However in the section on begging, one verse switches from addressing itself to monks and nuns and addresses only monks, warning them not to stay within a householder’s home as his wife, daughter and servant girls might seduce him and cause him to break his vow of celibacy.²⁷

A particularly indicating picture of women is found in chapter 9 of the *Jnatradharmakatha*, the 6th *anga* of the Jain canon. In the story related here, two brothers are shipwrecked on the island Ratnadvipa, which is inhabited by a goddess who is described as being “wicked, ferocious, dreadful, vile and adventurous.” Under threat of decapitation, the two brothers agree to stay on the island and enjoy sensual pleasures with her. One day they escape and arrive in an area of the island which is heaped with human bones and emitting a putrid smell of rotting flesh. A man hanging on some gallows warns the brothers that this fate awaits all men from whom the goddess seeks pleasure and with whom she eventually becomes bored. A *yaksha* helps the brothers to escape by flying with him across the sea. He warns them however that if the goddess meanwhile, flies after them. At first she threatens them but they ignore her as instructed. Then she tells one of the brothers that she had loved him the best and that without him she will be piteous

26. *Acaranga Sutra*, p. 273, v. 11.

27. *Acaranga* in *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXII. H. Jacobi, 1884, p. 48, v. 4.

and helpless. Remembering her beauty and passion, "with his intellect infatuated" this brother looks back. the Yaksha drops him and immediately the goddess cuts him into little pieces. The other brother who was not tempted to look back arrives home safely. The moral of the story is clearly meant to pinpoint the dangers of women and sexual pleasure.²⁸

Similarly unfavourable comments are found in the later work of Hemachandra. Thus he tells us that Tirthankara Ajitnatha, in his previous incarnation as a monk, did not think about women, the mud of whose association is hard to remove and bolts the door of emancipation. For they if thought about serve for the destruction of *dharma*.²⁹

The ostensible purpose of all these references appears to be to warn men of the dangers of sensual pleasures. According to Jain doctrine, attachment to the pleasures of this world brings delusion, which hinders the growth of spiritual knowledge. This is expalined in the *Sutrakaritanga Sutra* where it says that a person who has embarked on the spiritual path should "walk about subduing his senses" as "every attachment is but a cause of sin."³⁰ Sexual relations are particularly harmful as not only do they increase a person's attachment to worldly things but in the process, thousands of tiny organisms are killed.

Such doctrine in theory apply to all Jainas, both men and women, yet I have come across no passages warning women of the dangers of male sexuality by portraying men in such a vitriolic light. Significantly, within the Hindu and Buddhist belief systems, women are represented as evil and seductive as well. What appears to have occured therefore with regard to the Svetambar tenets, is that from the beginning, the Svetambars

28. *Acharanga Sutra*, p. 124, v. 12.

29. *Jnatradharmakatha* (Nayadhammakahao : (ed.) Professor N.V. Vaidya; Ch. 9.

30. Hemachandra, Vol. II, p. 23.

have been influenced by the belief system of the wider society, whereby the rationale for actual female subordination "on the ground" was couched in terms of female inner, spiritual degradation within the belief system.

An alternative explanation, which is certainly more favourable to women, is that the warnings referring to female sexuality exist because it is considered that men are more prone to be tempted by such things and thus need to be dissuaded. This hypothesis is implied in fact by the *Sutrakritanga Sutra*, which says :

"In this world men have a natural liking for women, he who knows (and renounces) will easily perform his duties as a *sramana*".³¹

Hemachandra also hints that this weakness is a male weakness. A story is given of a householder who renounced the world together with his wife. One day in his wanderings he came across a group of nuns, one of whom was his wife. Remembering the sensual pleasures that he had enjoyed with her in the past he becomes infatuated with lust. He confides in a monk who tells the head nun. She in turn tells Bandhumati, who was the householder's former wife. She is filled with anguish as she realizes that her husband will always love her and therefore will be in constant danger of breaking his vow of celibacy. In order to prevent this she hangs herself to remove the temptation from him.

Whilst women are portrayed as the embodiments of sexual temptation within the canonical literature, it is in fact often the men who lust after women rather than the women seducing the men. Indeed it is often the women who warn men of the dangers of sensuality rather than leading them astray. The story of Mallinatha, the 19th Tirthankara, relates how six kings, who were her friends in a previous life, were captured by her

31. *Strakaritanga Sutra*, p. 264, v. 13.

extraordinary beauty and thus wish to marry her. Her father refuses their request so consequently they besiege his kingdom. Mallinatha at that point has a beautiful statue made of herself. She fills the hollow interior with food which then rots. In time she calls the six kings to her and shows them the statue. At first they admire it but when she opens the statue and putrid smell of bad food wafts forth, they turn away in disgust. She then reprimands them for their sensual admiration of her body, saying that the body which they lusted after and which seemed so beautiful is in fact made of 'filth, blood, flesh and fat.' She reminds them of their spiritual pursuits together in a previous life and under her influence they take ordination.

Whilst this alternative explanation is very plausible, the fact nevertheless remains, that within the literature the unfavourable portrayals of women, serve to superficially degrade them and detract from their religious status. As a result a cloud of suspicion tends to hang over the women so that their religiosity is not taken as given but must be tested. Thus in many of the stories, whilst women are portrayed as being noble and religious, they must at the same time prove their moral worth and religious convictions before they are accorded the full status which they are due.

For example if we return to the story of Rajimati, from the *Uttaradhyayana Sutra*,³² we find that in the early stages of her nunhood she was caught in a storm. She takes refuge in a cave and hangs up her clothes to dry. The brother of Neminatha, Rathanemi, comes by and takes shelter in the same cave. Tempted by the sight of her naked body, he encourages her to enjoy sensual pleasures with him for last time before following the Jain mendicant path. Rajimati however remains true to her vows and rather than succumb to his advances she admonishes him in no uncertain terms with the result that he

32. *Uttaradhyayana Sutra*, p. 11, v. 17.

is ashamed and returns to his vows. Having proved her moral worth, and set flight to suspicious labelling women as seducers of men, which leads eventually to her enlightenment.³³

Another story with a similar theme was related to me recently by a Svetambar Jain woman and concerned a heroine with the name of Subhadra. She was an extremely pious Jain and spent much time in religious practice. A non-Jain man catches sight of her and overcome by her beauty he determines to marry her. Knowing that she will only agree to marry a man of her own religion he pretends to her father that he is a Jain. The two are therefore married. When Subhadra reaches the house of her in-laws she is heartbroken to find that she has been deceived. Her in-laws ridicule her for her religious beliefs but despite this she does not abandon them. One day whilst her in-laws are out, a monk comes to the door begging for alms. He is troubled by a speck of dirt in his eye and so Subhadra, full of compassion, removes it for him using her tongue. A neighbour, seeing her to do this, suspects her moral worth and informs her in-laws, who assume that she behaved in an improper manner with the monk. They mistreat her and she retires to her room without food. At that time the gates of the city close and cannot be opened. A goddess informs the town-people that only a *suttee* lady of spotless morality can open the gates. All the women in the town try and fail. Subhadra then gains permission to try. By this time she has been without food for three days. After visiting the Jain temple, she goes to the gates and they open. She thus proves her moral purity and vindicates her religious beliefs. Under her influence, her repentant in-laws are converted to Jainism.³⁴

These are just two examples of a very common theme in religious stories concerning women. They illustrate that a certain

33. Hemachandra, Vol. AI, p. 181.

34. Hemachandra, Vol. AI, p. 65-66.

ambiguity hangs over female religious status due to an association within the belief system, of women and sensual temptation. Whether this association stems from ideas held by the wider society or whether it is really an attempt to thwart the lustful tendencies in men is not clear—it may be a mixture of both. The consequence however in either case; is to saddle women, despite their accredited religious worth, with imputations of an inherent sinfulness, derived from a moral untrustworthiness and deceit. Consequently, it is popularly believed that the sin of dectietfulness in particular leads to rebirth as a woman. Hence, when discussing one of the previous lives of Rishaba, Hemachandra states that two of Rishab's close friends committed a deceit and were thus later reborn as the two daughters of Rishaba, namely Brahmi and Sundari.³⁵ When dealing with the life of Mahavira, Hemachandra, in discussing his mother, describes her as; Unspotted by deceit which is the accompaniment of woman-birth.³⁶

The consequences of these beliefs become particularly clear in the next section where I deal with women in relation to position of spiritual power.

Women and Position of Spiritual Power

(1) Beliefs pertaining to the Aquisition of Tirthankarahood.

Out of the 24 Tirthankaras, the Svetambars recognize only one of them as a woman, a factor which would appear to be at variance with the beliefs that women are men's equals and can therefore attain enlightenment. At this point it is useful to briefly examine the factors which are believed to lead to birth as a Tirthankara, in order to gain an insight into the way in which women might have been excluded.

35. *Uttaradhyayana Sutra*, pp. 112 119.

36. Hemachandra, Vol. I, p. 84.

The nub of the matter concerns karma. To attain *Tirthankarahood*, a person must have accumulated in his previous birth, *Tirthankara* karma, which is sub-division of *nama* karma. *Nama* karma is one of the four *aghatiya* or secondary karmas accumulated by a person. It determines which out of the four possible births, a soul will take, together with the appropriate body, senses mind, sex and colour. Prerequisite to attaining this particular *Tirthankara* karma, is the precis of 20 deeds known as *sthanas*, which consist of the following: showing reverence (1) to the Arhats (2) to the sidhas, (3) to the scriptures, (4) to the perceptrors, (5) to the elders, (6) to the wise, (7) to the monks, (8) constantly applying the knowledge of these seven, (9) nontransgression of vows, (10) disciplined behaviour, (11) observance of the Six Daily Duties, (12) right conduct, (13) indifference to worldly attachments, (14) observance of penances, (15) the practice of charity, (16) service to others (particularly old or sick monks), (17) concentration and meditation, (18) aquisition of new knowledge, (19) devotion to scriptures and (20) on the glorification of Jainism.

Ostensibly none of these deeds would appear to be any more difficult to perform for women than for men. Hemachandra states however that *Tirthankara* karma is particularly difficult to aquire. Also for some reason which is nowhere clearly stated, it appears to be regarded as especially hard for women to aquire, so much so, that Mahavira is said to have regarded the occurence of a female *Tirthankara* as one of the ten wonders of the world.³⁷

According to one Jain informant, the factor that stands in the way of women accumulating *Tirthankara* karma is their association with sensuality, deceit and therefore sin. This does not contradict the belief that women can attain enlightenment. For to do this they must annihilate both good and bad karma, which the Svetambar beliefs accord women the capability of

37. Hemachandra, Vol. AI, p. 26.

doing. What they are not accorded the capability of, is the accumulation of this very special type of karma—the sin which led to their women's birth stands in the way.

In logical terms, this argument does not hold. Countless Jain stories show that deceit is also practised by men, who even if they are not guilty of deceit, are guilty of other kinds of sin. Indeed rebirth as a man (*purushveda*) is listed as one of the 82 consequences of sin, alongwith rebirth as a woman (*striveda*). If the argument were to hold, then the accumulation of good deeds and good karma would lead to rebirth as a man. However, Jain doctrine lists merely human birth as one of the consequences of *punya* or good karma. This human birth is not sex differentiated.³⁸

I suggest that what is at work here is the influence of prevailing beliefs held by the wider Indian society which say that women are inferior to men and therefore in worldly terms cannot hold position of power. It is this issue of power that is crucial. A *Tirthankara* holds tremendous power and influence over people within this world and it is this that bars women from attaining this position. On the other hand a woman can attain *moksha* because this in effect frees the person from this world with its attendant power relations between people. It involves power of the spirit and not power in worldly terms and thus it can safely be accorded to women.

The fact that one woman actually does achieve *Tirthankarahood* according to Svetambar belief, does not in fact serve to refute this argument but rather, in a circuitious way, to support it. The story goes that Mallinatha, the female *Tirthankara*, was, in a previous birth, a Prince called Mahabal. He renounced the world together with six friends. His strict religious practices incorporated the twenty deeds necessary for accumulating *Tirthankara* karma. However he commits one small

38. Hemachandra, Vol. AI, p. 215.

sin. He and his friends had vowed that they would all perform exactly the same penances. However, to accumulate more merit, Mahabal prolongs his fast by making excuses as to why he cannot break the fast, when the allotted time to do so arrives. Through this deceitful action he does longer penances than his friends, but in the process he accumulates *striveda*, namely that karma which leads to rebirth as a woman.³⁹ His prior accumulation of *Tirthankara* karma destines him for birth as a *Tirthankara*. The fact that he is born also as a woman is almost accidental—a punishment for a sin committed at the last moment. In this way, the existence of Mallinatha serves to detract from female religious status rather than to support it by re-affirming the insidious association between women and sin.

Nunhood

The second type of religious role that I wish to look at in relation to women is that of ordination. It is at this point that both belief and practice can be examined. Asceticism is regarded by the Svetambaras as an essential stage on the road to enlightenment. By granting that women's souls are equal to those of men and therefore recognizing that women are capable of reaching enlightenment, the Svetambar doctrine enables women to assume the roles of fully ordained ascetics. A comparison with Buddhist nuns is useful here in order to gauge the effect that Svetambar beliefs have had on the status of female ascetics. It will be recalled that Buddhist nuns have to take an additional eight vows which subordinate them to male authority. In addition, their low status is expressed by the fact that they are relegated to domestic tasks which bars them from extensive religious study and learning.

The Svetambar Jain nuns, on the other hand, are considered equal to monks in spiritual terms. Thus they take exactly the same set of vows as the monks. As a result there is no question

39. Hemachandra, Vol. I, Appendix, p. 441 & 444.

of them being relegated to domestic tasks. The vows apply as rigorously to the nuns as to the monks and nuns are separated from worldly life in an equal degree to the monk. Effectively therefore the vows prohibit them from undertaking any domestic oriented work, as such work would contradict the principle of *ahimsa*, which ascetics are required to observe to one-sensed and element bodies. Consequently the nuns, have equal time and opportunity to acquire religious knowledge through study as the monks.

The picture changes, however, when we turn to the question of the ascetics wielding worldly power and influence. In this context the doctrine of female equality is compromised by the social values of the encompassing society, which hold that within the public sphere, women are subordinate to men. Thus we find that the *prabartini pad*, who heads the order of nuns, is subject to the authority of the *acharya*, who heads the order of monks. Indeed it is maintained in some of the later writings that a monk of three years standing can become the upadhyaya of a nun of thirty years standing. Similarly, when monks and nuns are present together in any one town, it is the monks who take precedence over the nun in giving the daily preaching to the latter. The only way that the nuns are able to preach to the laity as a whole is when no monks are present. This in fact occurs quite frequently as there are far more nuns in existence than monks. During the *chaturmas* of 1983, I witnessed such a situation in the old city of Jaipur amongst the *Kharatara Gaccha Murti pujas*. No monks arrived for *chaturmas* and thus the nuns assumed sole responsibility for preaching and thus were given a free rein to control the teaching and preaching to the laity. Again when special rites or ceremonies are held then such occasions are usually conducted by the monks. The only exception that I observed to this general principle was in the case of long female group fasts. When such activities were in progress then

it was the nuns and not the monks who led the daily *kriyas* for the women.

The point which clearly emerges is that beliefs advocating female equality are tolerated as long as they do not threaten male power within worldly situation. As far as the spiritual aspect of religious roles are concerned, women are on par with men. This parity is transformed into female subordination, however, as soon as these roles begin to involve elements of influence or authority within this world.

Religious and Social roles Held by Lay Women

I now turn to the final section of this paper which looks at the religious and social roles of lay Svetambar women and examines to what extent if any, the religious beliefs have an influence on the expression of these roles as opposed to the social norms of female inferiority held by the encompassing society.

I speak now with reference to the Murti Puja. Svetambar sect, as it is with this sect, that I have most practical experience. It certainly seems that in purely religious matters women are not discriminated men as inferiors, but are regarded as equivalent to men. This is illustrated for example by the fact that within the temple, both women as well as men are allowed to perform the daily *deva puja* ritual, which involves anointing the sacred statues with sandalwood paste. When large public *pujas* are performed to mark special occasions, then the offerants must consist of both males and females, often the pairs will be married couples. I have come across no occasion or ceremony from which women were barred or not allowed to take part.

Indeed between the two sexes, it is the women who are most heavily involved in religious activity. My recent fieldwork results show that in terms of regular temple going, the performance of *samayak* and *pratikraman*, the attendance of preachings and *pujas* and the observance of food restrictions,

women are considerably more assiduous and regular in their practice than men. Fasting in particular seems to have become a female sphere of influence and most of the orthodox Jain women undertake quite long and complex fasts regularly, which gains them both status and public admiration from the rest of the community.

Yet, despite this, when we come to roles and position of power within the religious sphere, women are excluded. Thus we find that all the temple committees are run by men. Women therefore have little influence on *sangha* organization. The only committees considered suitable for women to run are those relating to specifically female issues, such as Mahila Mandals, collecting money for charity. I did come across one example where a woman's working group had been organised whereby poor Jain women could gather in one of the temple precincts to cook food for sale and thereby earn a little money. The committee running this organization was run by women.

Once attention is turned to women's social position, it is very clear that religious beliefs concerning female equality have very little influence at all as compared to the prevailing social norms. There is little therefore, that distinguishes the social position of a Jain woman from a Hindu woman.

Like the Hindu woman, the Jain woman is expected to regard her husband as godly and must do her best to accomodate herself to his wishes and demands. Once married, a woman is expected to obey both her husband and her affinal relatives. The younger woman especially must seek permission from her husband or in-laws for any activity she may wish to perform outside the home. In terms of power, therefore, a woman's self autonomy is quite limited, particularly when first married. As she grows older and becomes the mother of grown-up children and later a mother-in-law then her power within the home increases accordingly.

Outside the home, amongst the more orthodox sections of the Jain community, as amongst the orthodox sections of the Hindu community, a woman is not expected to work, her role is seen as being firmly rooted in the domestic sphere. As a result women are economically dependent on their husbands.

Both inside and outside the home, purdah restrictions in the past appear to have been as equally strict amongst the Jains as amongst other high caste-Hindu communities. Even today within the smaller towns and villages Jain women are expected to cover their faces when going outside the home or in the presence of elder male relatives and are not expected to speak to these relatives unless spoken to.

In social terms, therefore, women are clearly regarded as subordinate to men. In symbolic terms this inferiority is expressed within the custom of ascribing impurity to women during their menses and following childbirth—a custom which is as prevalent—amongst the Jains as amongst other Indian groups.

I hasten to add that the above brief comments refer in particular to the more orthodox Jain communities, of which I have more experience and not to the more modernized and westernized Jain families where women are permitted to work and exercise considerable autonomy and freedom. The point which I wish to emphasize here is that women from such families owe their elevated position more to the changing values within the Indian middle-class as a whole rather than to Jain religious beliefs of female equality.

There is only one sphere where evidence suggests that the social position of Jain women is in any way different from that of Hindu women. It concerns the legal sphere and rights of inheritance held by widows prior to the 1937 Hindu Women's Right to Property Act. In presenting the following information I am a little wary as it is taken from just one written source. However, this source appears to be reliable. I present it however

as the evidence is interesting and it is possible that someone else may throw more light on the issue. The apparently liberal views which follow with regard to property rights of Jain widows, were held, it would seem, by both Digambars and Svetambars, which further supports my earlier suggestions that Jain Svetambar religious beliefs have had little effect on the social position of women.

From what I can gather regarding legal practices applied to Hindu widows prior to 1937, widows were only given rights to a man's property if he had separated from the joint family. In such cases she was allowed to utilize the income of the property but could not dispose of the property. When her son came of age, then he assumed all rights over the property. If a man died childless, with no son to inherit, then the property went to his close agnates or male maternal relatives rather than to the widow. In these respects, Jain law differed considerably.

My evidence with regard to Jain law comes from a translation of the *Bhadrabahu Samhita* translated by Judge Jaini in the early part of this century.⁴⁰ The original text was reputedly written in the 4th century B.C., by Bhadrabahu, the Jain saint who led a group of Jains to south, following the famine in the north. This work agrees with the Hindu ruling that widows have no right to their husband's property if the joint family has not been divided. However, it states that in cases where the family has divided and the dead husband's separate property, then his widow inherits that property before the dead man's sons. Whilst a widow may institute her son as manager of the property, she has the final authority as to what is done with the property and the wealth that accrues from it. The key issue here is that with respect to childless widows, a widow is given full rights of disposal over the husbands property as opposed to her husband's

40. Hemachandra, Vol. IA, pp. 52-53. (Bhadrabahu Samhita tr. by Jaini)

male relatives who have no rights over the property. This is very different from the Hindu ruling.

These ideas, contained within the *Bhadrabahu Samhita*, are supported, according to Judge Jaini, by later Svetambar and Digambar work. He quotes a Digambar work dating from the 11th century, which states that:

‘If a lady is good she shall become owner of all the property of the deceased husband and whether there is a son or not, she shall have full powers like her husband.’⁴¹

Similarly he claims that the Svetambar saint, Hemachandra, in *sloka* 124 of his:

‘If a widow is separate, she can, according to her desire, spend her own property, neither her *dayadas* (sons or affinal male relatives) have the power to prevent her.’⁴²

Judge Jaini then goes on to show in his book that this law was actually practised amongst the Jain community and had its most noticeable consequences in the case of childless widows, who had the power to do what they wished with their inherited property. He gives examples of cases where legal evidence exists for widows giving their property, both moveable and immoveable to religious institutions and sometimes to relatives. The cases involve both Svetambar and Digambar widows. Occasionally it seems the husband’s relatives objected to the property being given away and would bring the case to court, citing the Hindu law whereby a man’s property goes to his male relatives and not to the widow, if the widow is childless. Jaini cites one example where this occurred and where the judge supported the Jain widow saying that the Jains :

“Are not governed by Hindu law in matter of adoption or the widows right to adopt, as also in matters of succession

41. Jaini, J.L. : *Jaina Law (in Library of Jaina Literature)* Vol. IA, 1916.

42. Ibid. , p. 107.

and inheritance. There is no such estate known amongst them as a widow's estate, with restriction as to powers of adoption, alienation or waste, she is heir to her husband to the fullest extent.....and she can do what she pleases with the estate which has descended to her."⁴³

This evidence relating to a widow's control of property is interesting in the context of this paper. The rights accorded to Jain widows cannot be credited to Svetambar religious beliefs about female equality as it appears that the Digambaras followed the above rulings too. I suggest instead that worldly values and interests were operating here with regard to the law. This supports my earlier suggestions that where power and the public sphere are concerned, women are subject to the social norms which serve the interests of a male-dominated society.

In this particular example it seems likely that the law relating to childless widows derives from the interests of the religious institutions in acquiring additional financial support. Observations on present religious practice plus evidence from the old text show that female religiosity is considerable amongst the Jains. It is therefore very likely that childless widows should have wished to donate their inheritance to religion as a religious act of *dana*. This is in fact supported by Jaini's evidence which shows that childless widows in the last century did give their property to religious causes. The law which enabled widows to do this was, it seems, promulgated by religious saints and leaders in whose interests it was to maintain the religious institutions in economic terms. The laws are therefore less derived from religious beliefs of female equality than from the concern to maintain the worldly strength and wealth of the religious institutions and therefore the Jain religion. This hypothesis finds support in fact from a judgment made by a court in Jabalpur in 1887, again quoted by Jaini, which specified that childless widows could alienate immoveable property for *religious purposes*.⁴⁴

43. Ibid., p. 110.

44. Ibid., p. 103.

Conclusion

The Svetambar beliefs according to women equal religious status with men are particular as they arose during the period when female status was declining in India. Yet it is this very non-conformity with the accepted idea of the dominant society that has caused contradictions to arise within the Svetambar belief system. The Jain community is part of a male-dominated society. In order to gain acceptance and ensure their survival as group within this society, the Jains have adopted the values and social norms of the dominant group. As a result the implications of the Svetambar beliefs concerning female equality cannot possibly be realized within the worldly sphere as they would threaten the very power relations existing between men and women upon which the Indian social fabric is based. Thus female religious and social roles have through necessity, been made subject to secular social norms in order to guarantee male dominance. The threat that women could pose to the male dominance, were beliefs concerning their religious equality realized in the social sphere, is expressed symbolically within the realm of religious beliefs. Hence we find apparently contradictory ideas which portray women as vehicles of worldly pleasures and sensuality with which they tempt men from the true path and thereby undermine male strength. Such derogatory beliefs both reflect male fears concerning female potential and at the same time serve to detract from the high status accorded to women within the Svetambara doctrine. As a result female motives become clouded with suspicion and it is implied within the religious story literature that women must display exemplary religious and moral conduct if they are to vindicate their spiritual purity and lay claim to their status as the religious equals of men, capable of achieving spiritual perfection.”⁴⁵

(Joshine Reynell is Professor, University of Cambridge, Deptt. of Social Anthropology).

45. Ibid., p. 103.

5

SATI IN JAINA LITERATURE

Sati tradition for centuries has seen a curse in Indian society. Jainism has always condemned the cult of Sati. How and who glorified this act of barbarism, is a matter of research and even debate.

According to *Acharanga Sutra* (Book 2), *Sutrakritanga* and *Uttaradhyayana Sutra*, the Jaina women have been treated as highly religious and pious. In Jaina canon both monks and nuns are treated equally. Women participated in all the religious activities in a big way. It is evident from the written facts that under the supervision and Tirthankarahood the number of Jain nuns was much higher almost being three times to the Jaina monks. It shows woman were greatly conscious in following and practicing ethical codes renouncing worldly pleasures. Hemachandra in a Jaina story reveals that Bandhumati, renounced the world together with his husband. Once she was noticed by her former householder husband; now a monk, walking in a garden along with other nuns. Realising the sensuality of her former husband, she hanged herself so that he may not break her bow of sensuality.

The barbarous act of sati was always condemned by the Jaina acharyas.

Jagdish Chand Jain[§] has made an interesting study of the age old custom of Sati as found in Jaina literature. He writes : "There is no joy on the birth of a girl in our society and therefore there is no sorrow on her death," remarked Mr. Justice Chandrashekhara Dharmadhikari while inaugurating the National

§ Jain, Jagdish Chand : *Sati in Jaina Literature*, EOJ, pp. 6378 - 6383

Convention of the Indian Federation of Women Lawyers, demanding the vigorous implementation of the Prevention of Sati Act.

1. Woman in Vedic Society

Jain observes : "The Rigvedic society predominantly followed patriarchal system in which the descent and the succession are traced through the male line. In this social organisation the most important thing is that a man becomes the father of a son which is more significant even than his wealth, honour, fame or sainthood. The father is the authority, the rule and the domination. He sees in his son the continuation of himself into the future which he must relinquish. A son preserves from the hell called *put*, therefore he is known as *putra*.¹ He gets married and brings home a girl. He begets offspring from her and thus the continuity of his clan is preserved. In this manner he gets rid of the obligation which he owes to the manes, which is known as *pitr-rna*. The son is believed to be more intelligent, more resourceful and more powerful as the money power is concerned. It is stated, "Women are created for procreating offspring, they are the soil and men the seed, the seed should be provided to the soil, without seed there is no use of the soil."² The son should be legitimate regardless of the owner of the womb. The womb should be pure, it should not contain the seed of any other male. To conspire with another man's wife is considered as bad as cheating him and depriving him of his exclusive sexual right over his wife, and thereby endangering the integrity of his family line. In a patriarchal society a son gained so much importance that the all-protector deities such as the Fire, the Indra, the Varuna and others were

1. पुन्याम्नो नरकाद्यस्मात्त्रायते पितरं सुतः।

तस्मात्पुत्र इति प्रोक्तः स्वयमेव स्वयंभुवा॥ (Manu, IX. 138)

2. अपत्यार्थं स्त्रियः सृष्टाः स्त्री क्षेत्रं बीजिनो नराः।

क्षेत्रं बीजवते देयं नाबीजी क्षेत्रमर्हति॥ (Narada, XII. 19)

invoked to provide a son to a woman, who has often been blessed by elderly people as *putravati bhava* or *satda-putravati bhava* (may you be blessed by a son or hundred sons). An injunction is laid down in the scriptures "Failure to produce a son leads to great disaster" (*aputrasya gatirnasti*).

2. Status of Woman in Society

In the earlier matriarchal society, a women ruled the family, clan or tribe. Women were the first cook, nurses, potters, basket weavers and agriculturists, cultivating with hoe. They practised sorcery and were believed to possess supernatural powers through the assistance of evil spirits and therefore had a command over the society. In the earlier Vedic community, we meet numerous women sages such as Ghosa, Lopamudra, Apala, Surya, Indrani, Visvavara and others, who not only composed hymns in praise of Agni and Indra but also performed the important function of a priest (*rtvik*). Here we come across individuals whose mothers are known, whereas there is no trace of their fathers. When Satyakama asked his mother about his father's name she expressed her ignorance saying that it was not possible for her to tell him exactly who his father was; henceforth he should call himself Satyakama Jabala (her mother's name was Jabala). Kunti's case is well-known. She was one of the wives of Pandu. As he was living apart from his wife; with her husband's approval, she made use of her charm and gave birth to three sons, Yudhisthira, Bhima and Arjuna by Dharma, Vayu and Indra respectively. We can take the worship of mother-goddess Shakti, which is prevalent in the form of Durga, Bhavani, Kali, Chamunda and so on; these are said to be pre-Aryan goddesses.

The status of a women was considered enviable in the primitive society, but as patriarchy came into vogue, individual property developd and the class division came into being. A Chinese poet Fu-Hsuan (3rd century B.C.) has remarked, "How sad it is to be a woman! Nothing on earth is held so cheap."

In Chinese mythology there are two principles, the Yang and the Yin. The former represents the male elements, depicting heaven, sun, height, light, strength and activity, whereas the latter represents the female elements, depicting earth, moon, depth, darkness, weakness and passivity—all weaker counterparts of the male elements. As we all know, Manu, the law-giver has declared: “A woman is guarded by father in her childhood, by husband in her youth and in old age by her son; never she be allowed to remain independent.”

Since a woman lost her independent status, she lost her productive capacity, she was asked to attend the household affairs, she became an object of pleasure, a plaything, a chattel and losing her identity remained only *bhogya* - to be enjoyed, to be used. She became a personal property of man, who could be bought and sold and could be used as a pawn or security to pay debts.

3. The Cult of Sati

The word *sati* means a good and virtuous faithful wife. In Hindu mythology Parvati, the spouse of Siva, was known as *sati*. It is stated that when her father, the sage Daksha, quarrelled with her divine lord, she flung herself into the flames of his sacrificial fire. But it was just out of wrath over the insult to her lord and not that she wanted to commit *sati*, lying on her husband's pyre. A woman was called *sati* or virtuous as she was faithful to her husband, helping him in procreation, giving birth to a son so that his clan continued from generation to generation and he was free from the debt of his ancestors.

It will be an interesting socio-economic study as to how this original meaning was suppressed and a *sati* was called the one who burnt herself with her husband's corpse on his pyre.

There was a common belief that the feudal lords who enjoyed a most luxurious and pompous life, commanding all powerful authority over their subjects, desired the same princely

paraphernalia for their enjoyment in the next life. In China the graves of the Shang Dynasty, belonging to the 14th century B.C., could not be dug out as there was a belief that the ancestors should not be disturbed while resting in peace in their graves. They could be dug out only after the year 1935 and it was found that they contained not only most precious and costly articles such as the valuable furniture mounted with the choicest brocades of gold and silver threads, dining room with valuable porcelain and gold and silver vessels and other cherished professions, but also women, concubines, slaves, attendants and horses etc. buried with the corpse. In India, in the Middle ages, we find, specially in the Deccan that in order to ensure the success of the king, many religious people leapt from pillars and broke their necks, some of them cut their own throats and drowned themselves in a sacred river. This sort of performance may not come strictly under the category of committing sati, but certainly it was a form of human sacrifice or religious, comparable to the *sati*-cult.

Coming to the Vedic period, one of the earliest hymns of the Rigveda (X. 18.8) has recorded : "Rise, come unto the world of life, O woman (spoken by husband's brother etc. to the wife of the dead man, and he is to make her leave her husband's body), come, he is lifeless by whose side thou liest."³ This indicates that the custom of *sati* may have been prevalent in some form or the other in those early days, though, nothing is stated here regarding the burning of a woman with her husband's corpse.

In general, the condition of a widow was not very happy. In the Rigvedic period we find a sanction that childless widow could marry with her brother-in-law (*devar* = *dvi-vara* or second husband) untill a son is born to her. This ancient custom is known as *niyoga* which means appointing a brother or any kinsman

3. *Hymns of the Rigveda*, 2nd edition, Book tenth, Banaras, 1986 trans. by Ralph T.H. Griffith.

to raise up issue to a diseased husband by marrying his widow. However, in course of time, this practice was discontinued and Manu had to declare : "Nowhere is a second husband permitted to respectable women (V. 162)."⁴

The life of an Indian widow was most miserable. She lived an extremely hard life, sleeping on the ground, eating simple food without spices and salt, wearing simple clothes without ornaments, using no perfumes. She was expected even to shave her head, living like an ascetic. Most of her time was spent in offering prayers and performing religious rites on behalf of her dead husband with whom she hoped to unite in the next world. A widow was not welcomed in the society, her presence was considered inauspicious at the family functions. The members of the family often picked up quarrel with her, making her responsible for the death of her husband. She went on accusing her ownself for the deeds performed in the previous life which were responsible for her husband's premature death. Under the circumstances, it does not seem unnatural that she dared to end her life by committing *sati* on the pyre of her husband.

Social conditions forced Jains to mix and mingle with non-Jains'. As a matter of fact Jains do not encourage practice of Sati. It was a cruel Hindu tradition because of ignorance, and total blackmailing by the relatives and the society. Jains respected women and provided equal status to them.

We are told that if a woman voluntarily burns herself with her diseased husband, she will reside in heaven for many thousands years as there are hairs on human body. We come

4. नारी तु पत्यभावे वै देवरं वृणुते पतिम्।

MBH, XIII. 12.19. As stated earlier, Kunti raised three sons by *niyoga*. Pandu wanted more but she protested saying that the custom permitted only three. A number of heroes of the MBH and the Puranas were born out of this practice. However, it is to be noted that later on, we are told in Bhasa's *Dutavakya* that Duryodhana refused to recognise Pandavas as heirs because they were born out of *niyoga*.

across Kunti and Madri, the two wives of King Pandu. When the king died, his wives disputed hotly with each other as which of the two have a privilege to commit sati. It was learnt that Madri was loved most, therefore she carried the point and got a chance to perform sati at her husband's pyre. Though some of the sages present there tried to dissuade her from what they thought it an unrighteous act. The Puranas contain references to *sati* sacrifice.⁵

There is scarcity of references to self-immolation or committing sati in Jain and Buddhist scriptures. In the *Mahanirvana Tantra* we are told about a certain princess, who in order to save her family from disrepute, wanted to commit *sati* but as this custom was not prevalent in her father's family she refrained from self-immolation. Kautilya's *Arthashastra* also does not mention this practice. The *Mahanirvana Tantra* (X. 79-80) has declared : "If a woman in her blindness climbs her dead lord's pyre, she goes to hell." Bana, the well-known writer of the *Kadambari* (7th century A.D.) has not favoured this custom.

The earliest datable reference to the practice of self-immolation or *sati* is noticed in the Greek accounts of Alexander's invasion. The places where women performed *sati* are memorialised by stone-shrines which can be noticed throughout India. These memorials were supposed to inspire other women to make similar sacrifice. There are about 140 major *sati* temples in India; out of these, 40 are situated in Rajasthan and 5 in Delhi. The first monument of a sati is found at Eran, near Sagar in the Madhya Pradesh. This place is important from the point of view of archaeology, having a huge Varaha temple of the Gupta period. Cunningham discovered here a number of *sati* memorials (See *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol.

5. *Agnipurana*, 222 - 19 - 23

10. p. 89-90). Here we have an inscription engraved on a pillar in 510 A.D.

The 'handmarks' of women who committed *sati* were imprinted on the walls with turmeric paste. These women were honoured and their virtues and fortitude were inscribed on these stones, specially constructed in their honour. We have a famous Mahasati Tower, constructed at Chittorgarh in Rajasthan. Hindu widows are also depicted seeking permission to become a sati from Mughal princes. Such monumental sati stones are found in Karnataka, Tamilnadu, Hampi, the capital of Vijayanagar empire and other places. A number of foreign travellers have recorded the *sati* custom in India. Abu Zaid, an Arab traveller, who visited India in 916 A.D. has mentioned this practice in South India. Similar is the case with Marco Polo, who visited the Pandya kingdom in 1293, Friar Odoric (1321-22), Friar Jordanus (1323-30) and others. Ibn Batuta, an Arab traveller, actually fainted viewing the horrible scene of burning of a widow near Dhar (Ujjain) in 1342. Abbe Dubois and others have recorded the systematic coercion of women who were obliged to commit *sati* when their half-burnt body was thrust back on the pyre, uttering their loud cries for mercy. The pyre was laid in a pit to avoid this horrible scene. If it was prepared on the surface the widow was tied to the logs or chained. In case she tried to escape she was hit by a bamboo pole on her head and was dragged to the fire. Some women were drugged into unconsciousness with opium or some such intoxicating object. The late professor A.S. Altekar, the Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology of Banaras Hindu University, whose sister performed *sati* in 1946 has remarked, "Even widows intensely anxious to follow their husbands were likely to recoil and jump out under the agony of flames." Nicolo dei Conti, another traveller of the 15th century, has stated that as many as 3000 of the wives and

concubines of the kings of Vijayanagar were pledged to be burnt on the pyre of their lord.

There is a record that from time to time numerous Hindu widows committed *sati*. It is said that from 1815 to 1828, 8000 widows died after committing sati; between 1817-1818 there were 839 *satis* in Bengal, out of which 534 were only from Calcutta division. The major episodes of committing *sati* in recent times have been recorded in 1979, 1980, 1982 and 1983. Coming to the recent period, it is officially reported that in 2004 there were 837 cases of 'bride burning' which is still more horrible than committing sati.

Among the Peshvas, in general, this custom was not in vogue but we read most pathetic heart-touching description of Ramabai's mahayatra, following the palaki procession (funeral procession) of her husband Madhavrao Peshva.

Jain further observes, depicting the Deorala Sati burning incident : The most deplorable story of our times recorded is that of the 20 year old Rajput girl, Roop Kunvar who committed *sati* in Deorala on January 17, 1987, on her wedding day with her husband Man Singh. Some orthodox people arguing in favour of this *heinous* custom, say that a *sati* is a rare woman who receives the power of goddess *sati* and therefore she deserves the highest respect. In their view it does not manifest the worst form of cruelty and injustice towards women, but on the other hand, such women are blessed with the possibility of divine transformation. But we must not forget that we are living in a civilised intellectual world, the age of advancement of science and technology, therefore to support the legend of burning of women in the remote past, upheld feudal lords, will be nothing but inhuman, barbaric and turning back the cycle of civilisation and freedom which we have achieved after a hard struggle of centuries.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy on prevention of Sati

We must be grateful to Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833), the greatest Brahman reformer of modern times, who launched a campaign against *sati* burning. Needless to point out that his movement was opposed by orthodox pandits, the so-called protagonists and the 'protectors' of Hindu religion. In this connection the name of Raja Kant Deb, known as Christo Kanto Das or Kanta Babu, who was appointed by Warren Hastings in 1775 as the Head of the British Courts, held to settle the disputes with regard to the religious sanctions of the Hindus, has to be mentioned. It is to be noted that the anti-*sati* feeling was so strong that Roy was threatened of the consequences of his campaign and had to be provided with a body-guard. At this time Lord William Bentinck was appointed as Governor-General of India and it was he who showed courage to pass a legislation on December 4, 1829 against widow burning despite the vehement opposition of the Hindus. The declaration ran as follows : "The practice of *sati* burning or burying alive widows of Hindus, whether the sacrifice be voluntary in part or not, is illegal, and punishable by the crime courts." There is no doubt that this courageous decree had a solitary effect in Bengal where the custom of *sati* was practised on a large scale as well as in other parts of India. However, orthodox Brahmana pandits, opposing the anti-Hindu legislation, passed by the Governor-General of India, made an appeal in the Privy Council in London; at this time Raja Ram Mohan Roy proceeded to London and tried to convince the authorities in favour of the anti-*sati* legislation.

Anti-Sati Law

After the Deorala tragic incident of the burning of Roop Kunwar on September 4, 1987 there was a hue and cry in the country. Consequently, an anti-*sati* law was passed on October 1, 1987, still the pro-*sati* sentiment was so strong amongst some dogmatists that a *Dharma Raksha Samiti* (Religion Protection

Society) was formed to spearhead the pro-*sati* movement. Even the man of status of Jagadguru Shankaracharya disfavoured the *Sati* Act, calling it anti-Hindu and anti-religion. And the latest is that a medical practitioner, also the President of an Oriental Institute of Thane (Bombay), has come out in favour of *sati* practice. He has also criticised the telecasting of a film "From The Dying Embers" on Doordarshan. He has written to the Minister of State for Home: "I possess deep reverence and respect for all those women of the past who have committed *sati* voluntarily".

Needless to say that this is putting the clock back and entering the arena of savagery and barbarism. We have to be extremely cautious of such anti-national people who are bent upon to put obstacles in our progress which we are pursuing after our hard-earned freedom from a foreign domination. We have got to mobilise all our resources and wage a war on war footing against widow burning, child marriage, *dowry*, illiteracy and female infanticide. We must not forget that the burning of Roop Kunwar involves pecuniary considerations of inheritance of the diseased husband's share in property.

JAIN RELATIVISM WITH HINDUISM AND BUDDHISM

Jains claim that they have very strong commitment to non-violence and other ethical principles. As a result Jains feel proud that their religion is the ancient religion, more scientific and morally high among the world religions.

According to Mridula Bhatnagar¹ : "Jainism a monastic religion is looked upon by Brahminic traditionalists as heretical. Jain religion consists of two fold order : Monastic order and lay community (the Sramanas). Sectorally Shvetambaras and Digambaras are two schools of thought (the sects) in Jainism, who differ from each other more in terms of conduct rather than in theoretical fundamentals.

In the Vedic period, there seem to have existed two distinct religious, cultural traditions—one, the strictly orthodox and Aryan tradition of the Brahmans and *second*, the struggling culture of the Munis and Sramanas. During the later Vedic period, the two streams tended to mingle, and the result was the great religious ferment from which Jainism appears to have originated. Jainism and other Sramika religious sects, like Buddhism grew up among the imperfectly Aryanised communities of the East in response to the cultural atmosphere and social needs. These sects spread out, flourished and became highly popular there. On the other hand, Brahmanical religion had its stronghold and influence in the North and the West.

1. Bhatnagar, Mridula: *Jainism and Hinduism*, p. 59 (in Singhi's *Ideal, Ideology and Practice*).

Jainism has initially emerged as a system of religious thought with a distinct philosophy of its own in contrast to Hindu philosophical tradition. Since, Hinduism has been a parallel dominant stream to that of Jainism, it was bound to have its influence on the later.” In fact Jaina canonical literature has rejected Hindu thought as a scientific religion. The treatment of Vedic literature in Jaina scriptures is somewhat of negative character.

The Vedas and Animal Sacrifice

Paul Dundas² has observed : “The attitude of the Jains to Hinduism were never uniform, albeit today relationships tend to be generally amicable, and throughout a long literary history they employed a variety of idioms and strategies, including accommodation, rejection, satire and transmutation, in an attempt to come to terms with the most all-embracing of the world’s religions. Certainly, the pull of Hindu culture exerted at times an intense influence. There can be no doubt, for example, that the greatest of Jainism’s literary enterprises, the Universal History, was gradually manufactured in order to provide a corpus of tradition which would be comparable with the accounts of the legendary royal dynasties found in Hindu epics and mythologic lorebooks on which the Jain writers unquestionably drew. From the eighth century, we also find the ford makers being linked with the gods of the Hindu pantheon through the use of Hindu names and epithets, while the elaboration of a full-scale Jain iconography of guardian gods and goddesses shows extensive Shaiva influence. The Hindus for their part incorporated the first fordmaker Rishabha as one of the minor incarnations (avatara) of god Vishnu. In the tenth century, the Digambara Somadeva appears to have been near to acknowledging the existence of a type of Hindu-Jain syncretism when he conceded

2. Dundas, Paul : *The Jains*, p. 200

that Jain could engage in any form of popular or regional custom provided it did not infringe any of the basic tenets of Jainism."

"Yet, despite such evidence of social and religious interaction, the Jains consistently attacked the foundations upon which Hinduism rested. The prestige of the Veda, the supposedly revealed collection of scriptures whose mastery enabled the Brahmin class to exercise ritual and social authority, was challenged by the Jains on the grounds that it was of the same human provenance as any other type of literature and that the Brahmin claim of absence of an author for it could no more be sustained on any logical grounds than an argument that anonymous poems were not written by anybody. The Jain scriptures, on the other hand, though being conveyed by the omniscient teachers, were deemed to be of human origin and manifestly greater worth (VTP pp. 72-101). Some Jain writers even claimed that the Hindus did not know their own scriptures because they were unfamiliar with references to the formakers in the Veda (e.g. KKP 35 pp. 170-1).

Conclusive proof for the Jains that the Veda was a false scripture which purveyed evil doctrine lay in its association with animal sacrifice. The Jains refused to accept that even in the controlled and delimited context of ritual action, the use of sanctified language in the form of mantras could neutralise the inevitable evil brought about by the slaughter of animals and lead both sacrificer and sacrificed to heaven. Hemachandra quotes verses by the principal Hindu lawgiver, Manu, which argue for the validity of sacrifice as example of *himsashastra*, 'the science of violence'. In reality, the Jain teacher asserts, a dreadful rebirth can be the only possible result for those who destroy animals under the pretext of worship (YS 2.33-40). The entire Jain attitude to ritual violence is summed up by Akalanka's scornful remark: if killing can bring about a religious goal, then one

should best take up the life of hunting and fishing (TSRV p. 563).”³

Hindu Mythology

Dundas traces that the Hindu God lack divinity, while Jain fordmakers are omniscient. He observes: “For Hemachandra, the term ‘god’ (*deva*) denoted an omniscient being who had conquered passions, was honoured by the entire universe, and described things as they really were. Such a being was to be meditated upon, served, regarded as a refuge and his teachings were to be accepted as the truth. Only the fordmakers could match up to this (YS 2.4-5 with comm.). The gods of Hinduism, on the other hand, be regarded as forfeiting any claim to divinity through their mythological association with a variety of worldly activities such as fondness for women and fighting, their encouragement of improper sectarian insignia such as rosaries and their general engagement in dancing, music and uproarious behaviour, none of which the Jains could regard as conducive to spiritual deliverance (YS 2.6-7). While a mystical writer such as the Digambara Yogindu (sixth century) might refer pityingly to the great Hindu gods Vishnu and Shiva because of their ignorance of the Supreme soul located within their own bodies. (ParPr 42). The general tone adopted by Jain literature towards these deities was one of mockery, often through a recasting of their mythical careers within the context of the law of rebirth and retribution applicable to all creatures.

Shiva was an easy target for Jain iconoclasm through his role within Hinduism as sustainer and destroyer of the universe and because of the phallic cult associated with him. Jinadasa, one of the first Jain writers to point the finger of scorn at this mighty figure, describes how in reality Maheshvara, the ‘Great Lord’ one of the names of Shiva, was the son of a nun who

3. Ibid., pp. 200-201

had been magically impregnated by a wizard seeking a suitable repository for his powers and subsequently came into possession of a spell which caused a hole in his forehead, the third eye of Shaiv mythology. As a result of his violent and lascivious behaviour, he was killed by Uma, one of the names of Shiva's wife Parvati (AvCu Vol. 2 pp. 174-6).

The Digambara story-teller Harishena gives a still more lucid account of Shiva's background, portraying him as the offspring of a Jain monk and nun who had broken their vow of chastity. Because of his unpleasant disposition while still a boy he was given the name Rudra, 'Terrible', another of Shiva's epithets. Rudra became a monk, practising austerities through which he gained power on Mount Kailash, which the Hindus believe to be sacred to Shiva, but he became infatuated with a group of girls who had come to bathe in a pool near him, and who were the daughters of a *Vidyadhara*, a semi-divine being who had been cheated out of his inheritance by his brother. In order to win them, Rudra killed the girls' uncle and restored their father to his throne. However, the heat of his semen burnt up the girls after he married them and he killed a further hundred women offered by other *Vidyadharas* through the massiveness of his penis.

The only *Vidyadhara* woman not destroyed by Rudra's potency was Uma who in a previous existence as a nun had become infatuated with Rudra, then a fisherman. As a result of sexual ecstasy with her, Rudra considered himself to be the creator of the universe and spread the Shaiva doctrine throughout India. Alarmed at the possibility of losing their kingdoms, the *Vidyadharas* tricked Uma into revealing a means of overcoming Rudra and murdered the couple as they slept together. The prevalence of the linga, the image of Shiva's penis, throughout the northwest of India is ascribed by Harishena to a Jain monk who advised a king to set them up to exercise the malign effects of the magic powers of the murdered Rudra (BKK 97).

In this story, Harishena performs the remarkable feat of devalorising Shiva by presenting him as a degraded Jain monk and at the same time giving Jainism the credit for the universal presence of his phallic emblem throughout India.

If Shiva is viewed in purely negative terms, the Jain attitude towards the other major deity, Vishnu, is rather more ambivalent, no doubt because of the close ties which the Jains came to form with the Vaishnavas, as can be seen from the early association of Krishna, one of Vishnu's most important incarnation, with the fordmaker Nemi (the two came to be regarded as being related). Although the Jains felt able to poke fun at Hindu claims about the omnipresence of Vishnu (cf. KKP 29 : if the supposedly omnipresent Vishnu exists in water, it would seem inappropriate to drink and wash with a god!), their reworking of the famous myth in which he assumes the form of a dwarf to take three massive steps through the universe in order to destroy the demon Namuci and measure out the cosmos does Vishnu the honour of presenting him as a mighty Jain monk, albeit a human one, who uses his magic power to overthrow a Brahmin minister who has attempted to expel the Jains from his master's kingdom (BKK 11 and DhMV 93).

The whole range of Hindu mythology as found in the *Puranas* was went up remorselessly by authors such as Haribhadra in mordant satires which were peculiar to Jainism. In his 'Rogues Story' (DhA), Haribhadra describes how a gathering of lowlife characters, cheats and confidence tricksters of both sexes complete with each other in recounting of tall stories and outrageous anecdotes which are then capped by reference to the bizarre antics of the gods as described in Hindu tradition. The point is clearly made that if the gods are depicted as behaving in a disreputable manner, it is hardly surprising when humans do the same. Such satires were not just for entertainment but a means of inculcating piety amongst the Jain community and subverting the authority of Hinduism."⁴

4. Ibid., pp. 201-203.

The Hindu Epics

Paul Dundas further observes : "The *Nandisutra*, one of the Shvetambara canonical texts, which deals with scriptural hermeneutics, links the two great Sanskrit epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, with the Veda as example of *mithyasutra*, false scriptures which convey a message of violence (NSH p. 64). Although the precise sense in which these epics can be regarded as scripture is problematic, they are both of central significance for Hindus through their delineation of ideal types and exemplary situation and provision of perennial sources of reference for the manner in which Hindu civilisation has articulated its sense of self-perception. Adaptations of epic narrative of the sort produced by Jain writers would have been a necessary strategy for a socio-religious group which felt itself to be in certain respects both different form and yet at the same time part of a larger culture.

In fact, the Jains seem at times to have employed the epic to engage in confrontation with the Hindus. In the sixteenth century, Jain writers in western India produced versions of the Mahabharata libelling Vishnu who, according to another influential Hindu text, the *Shivapurana*, had created a fordmaker-like figure who converted the demons to Jain mendicancy, thus enabling the gods to defeat them. Another target of these Jain Mahabharatas was *Krishna* who ceased to be the pious Jain of early Shvetambara tradition and instead is portrayed as a devious and immoral schemer. This Jain response seems to reflect a particularly bitter period of sectarian struggle during which, according to the chroniclers, large numbers of Hindus in Rajasthan were being converted to Jainism.

The Mahabharata, the story of the five Pandava brothers, who are cheated out of their kingdom by their relatives the Kauravas and return from exile in the forest to defeat them in battle and reclaim their rights, was never as elaborately treated

by the Jains as the Ramayana. Nonetheless, its hold on their imagination from a relatively early period can be seen from the fact that one of the central characters of the Mahabharata, Draupadi, the wife of all five Pandava brothers, is described at length in the 'Stories of knowledge and Righteousness' (JnDhK 1.16), the fifth Shvetambara anga. This scriptural story claims greater insight into the character and motivation of Draupadi by fitting them into an exclusively Jain context in which she herself is portrayed as a potentially pious but flawed Jain. There is also found here the misogyny which generally characterises Jain treatments of the epics (cf. BKK 83 and 84), for the violence and savage war in the Mahabharata are shown to be ultimately the result of Draupadi's foolishness in a previous birth in which she had given poisoned food to a monk.

The most famous portion of the Mahabharata is the *Bhagvad Gita*, 'The Song of the Lord', in which *Krishna* gives the Pandava hero Arjun advice about the necessity of fighting his relatives among the Kauravas in order to fulfill his obligations as a member of the warrior class, going on to elaborate a theology of action, knowledge and devotion which was to gain significant status among orthodox Hindu philosophers and eventually become an emblematic text in the twentieth century because of its association with Gandhi and others. Jain writers occasionally quoted from it and it is unquestionably referred to by Kundakunda when the 'Essence of the Doctrine' echoes its famous statement about the impossibility of killing or being killed by reference to the formakers' claim that no person can die until their due and karmically allotted span of life is completed (SS 247-9). In the seventeenth century the great scholar-monk Yashovijaya seems in the latter part of his life to have fallen under the influence of the Gujarati mystical poet Anandaghana (1603-73) and as a result wrote a work called the 'Essence of the Inner Soul' which cites the *Bhagvad Gita* extensively and assimilates, without entirely endorsing, many of its views and at times

approaches non-dualistic Vedanta. It is not unknown today for Jain ascetics to compare the *Bhagvad Gita* favourably with Mahavira's teachings."

"It was, however, the Ramayana which underwent the most remarkable and extensive transmutation at the hands of Jain writers in literary works of substantial artifice. The hero Rama, called by the Jains Padma, 'Lotus', in the Hindu epic the quintessential exemplar of the cardinal virtue of duty, exiled himself in the forest along with his wife Sita and brother Lakshman to enable his half-brother to succeed to the kingdom and subsequently rescued with the aid of an army of animals Sita who had been kidnapped and held captive on the island of Lanka by Ravana, the king of demons. This story gave full scope for a succession of poets to reshape and 'Jainise' an increasingly prominent Hindu theme, point to the causes disastrous effects of sex and violence and, significantly for a religion which in the early centuries of the common era courted aristocratic support, correlate martial vigour and religious piety.

The first Jain version of the Ramayana was written in about the fourth century in Prakrit by Vimla Suri. Here are found for the first time some of the major themes of the Jain treatment of the story; its location within an essentially Jain world which through the principle of rebirth is projected beyond the temporal limits of the Hindu epic, the distancing of Rama from deeds of violence, the lack of serious interest in any of Ravana's demonic qualities, and an insistence on the negative nature of women.

The fullest and artistically most impressive Jain treatment of the Ramayana is to be found in the seventh century Digambara Ravishena's Sanskrit 'Lorebook of Lotus' (PadP), where the whole story is put into the mouth of Gautama who tells it to King Shrenika who is dismayed at the nonsensicality of the Hindu Ramayana (PadP 2.249). Various ideological statements are made about kingship and Brahmanical authority throughout

the work. Thus, the entry of Rama, Sita and Lakshman into the forest and their stay there is portrayed as representing an acknowledgement of the primacy of asceticism over kingship, a point clearly made by Rama when he contrasts his state as a forest-dweller with Ravana's an earthly king (PadP 66). The forest itself is portrayed as being full of Jain temple and Digambara monks and the Brahmins who live there, rather than being holy men and sages who require Rama's protection, are malevolent and mean-spirited (PadP 35).

The 'Lorebook of Lotus', like the Hindu Ramayana, turns around the kidnapping of Sita, an event which is attributed to the lust and lies of the *Vidyadhara* woman Durnakha who falsely claims to have been raped by Lakshman by her story, causes Ravana who is king of the semi-divine *Vidyadharas* to become infatuated with Sita (PP 44). Ravana himself is presented as a devout and thoroughly undemonic Jain ruling as a Jain kingdom (PadP 67) who does not force himself upon Sita because he has taken a vow in front of monks not to have sexual relations with other men's wives (PadP 44.98-9 and 46.54-66). Prior to battle with the heroes he prays to Shanti, the fordmaker associated with peace (PadP 68.22), but his egoism compels him into combat where, despite his remorse for the seizing of Sita (PadP 72), he is killed by Lakshman. Rama tells his relatives not to weep for him for that is how the world works (PadP 77.48ff).

It is in the latter portions of the 'Lorebook of Lotus' that Ravishena draws out its full significance as a Jain story. As in the Hindu epic, Rama builds a pyre to test Sita's chastity but as the fire blazes up around her, she praises the fordmakers at which the flames turn to water and she then pulls out her hair in token of her intention to become a Jain nun (PadP 105.21ff). A monk who has attained enlightenment at the same time as the miracle tells Rama that the whole course of events described in the epic stemmed from Sita's insulting in an earlier birth a Jain monk, while Rama and Ravana have hounded each

other through a variety of existences out of desire for her (PadP 106).

Sita takes the religious death of *sallekhana* and reborn as a god and Rama, after ruling for a while, renounces the world on Lakshman's death to become a monk. Observing the power of Rama's austerities from heaven, Sita returns to earth in her old form to tempt Rama back to their old relationship, but he remains steadfast and attains enlightenment (PadP 122). Sita then travels to hell in order to visit Lakshman who has carried out all the acts of violence in the story and he and Ravana, also in hell, lament their actions which they now realise were committed out of delusion (PadP 123). In conclusion, Rama predicts that Sita will be reborn as a universal emperor, while Lakshman and Ravana, after working out their bad karma in hell, will be her sons and they will all eventually attain spiritual deliverance (PadP 123)."⁵

The Jains and the Buddhists

On the Jains and Buddhists relations, Dundas observes and analysis in the following words : "There is no record of Mahavira and the Buddha ever having encountered each other, although they were near exact contemporaries and lived and taught in the same region. The Buddhist texts of the Pali Canon were familiar with Mahavira, whom they called Nigantha Nataputta, and his claim to omniscience, and one of them (*Digha Nikaya: Sangitiparyasutta*) describes how his death and the squabbling which ensued amongst his followers were reported to the Buddha. The general attitude of the Buddhists towards the Jains was one of disdain for their insistence on the practice of asceticism as a means to enlightenment.

The early texts of the Shvetambara scriptural canon seem to have had some limited familiarity with Buddhist teachings. The *Sutrakritanga* clearly alludes to the standard Buddhist

5. Ibid., pp. 203-206..

analysis of the human personality into five factors, although the people holding this view are described only as fools (SKS 1.11.17). However, what little can be connected with the Buddhists elsewhere in the same text suggests that the Jains did not have, or did not wish to have, any accurate understanding of Buddhist ideas about the important question of Karma, no doubt because they felt that denial of this is a most curious travesty of Buddhist teachings in which a Buddhist monk is made to argue that cannibalism can be acceptable if carried out through error (SKS 2.6.26-9).

No early Jain text shows any knowledge of the Buddha himself and the tenth century Digambara Devasena dismisses him as a lapsed follower of Parshva who could not accept that living entities were embodied souls and so having taken to the wearing of orange robes, promulgated a path in which there were no dietary restrictions and a doctrine which stated that the man who performed an action is not the same as the man who experiences its results, as a consequence of which he went to hell (DS 6-9). Classical Jainism refused to credit the Buddha with any authority because his knowledge was only partial and not complete like that of the omniscient fordmakers (Asht 1.3-4), and the epithet *jina*, 'conqueror', which the Buddhists also applied to their founder was regarded as totally inappropriate. It was only the Jain fordmakers, it was argued, who through conquering the passions, the senses, difficulties of the ascetic life and harming karmas could be regarded as the true *jinas*, whereas the Buddhists, who for the Jains had an excessively mentalist and therefore illusionist approach to reality, could not accept the real existence of these negative factors (LV pp. 223-7).

Certainly, the most prevalent Jain view of the Buddhists was that their code of monastic law, which was less stringent about matters which the Jains considered to be important such

as diet and austerities, showed them to be lax and corrupt and the standard claim in the medieval period was that the Buddhists were habitual meat-eaters, although this most likely derives from the fact that Buddhist monastic law states that an ascetic can eat anything which is put into his alms bowl provided it has not been especially prepared for him. A well-known verse satirising the Buddhist monastic life as involving 'a soft bed, food and drink, gambling and at the end of it all deliverance' (Abhayadeva on Sth 607; cf. MSP p. 65 and YS 4.102.10) encapsulates the Jain contempt for a tradition whose followers they regarded as no more than householders.

The hostility can be found throughout the medieval hagiographies which frequently describe great Jain teachers vanquishing the Buddhists in debate or regaining control over holy places, and evidence of tension between the two communities is also to be seen in the Jain narrative literature where there are stories of Buddhists falsely converting to Jainism to contract marriages with pious Jain girls (BKK 68; KKP 22; MSP pp. 72-3), seeking revenge upon those who have genuinely converted (BKK 156) and generally fomenting trouble against the Jain community (KKP 26).

The Jains interpreted the Buddhist doctrine of impermanence and, as it later became formulated, the momentariness of things as the classic example of a one-pointed (*ekanta*) and inadequate standpoint. Denial of the continuing presence of some kind of permanent entity could only destroy the ethical and soteriological validity of any religious path (YB 464). Change, by which according to the Buddhists the truth of impermanence can be seen, makes no sense without some underlying essence which can provide a locus for modification, and moral anarchy would come to prevail as a consequence of this erroneous belief for, without a permanent experience of the results of action who could be deemed to be identical with the performer of the original action, karma would make no sense as an explanation of the

process of retribution. The very goal of Buddhist practice, *nirvana*, would seem to be illogical if momentariness dictated that there was no person who could experience such a state (VTP pp. 285-306).

Such criticisms, were, in fact, hardly strange to the Buddhists and some of them had been voiced from within the Buddhist intellectual community itself as over the centuries it tightened up or modified the categories with which it worked. That the Jains did not wish to consider whether the Buddhist justifications of their position had any force bears witness to an interpretation, hardly relativistic, of Buddhism as forming with Hinduism the two sides of the coin of false belief, with incorrect conceptualisation of reality regarded as combining with a generally immoral conduct of life in both religions.”⁶

Dundas further observes : “However, there is also evidence of more ambivalent Jain attitudes to Buddhism and they inevitably centre around Haribhadra. In his two works on Yoga, Haribhadra evinces a willingness to acknowledge the areas in which Buddhism and Jainism show similarities, and at times his attitude to Buddhism is a respectful one. For example, he suggests that the Jain who has attained correct belief and the *bodhisattva*, the figure whom Mahayana Buddhism regarded as exemplifying the main Buddhist ethical values, were essentially the same since both were characterised by a willingness to do good to others (YB 270, 273 and 274). Furthermore, one of Haribhadra’s Buddhist sentiments, is a commentary on that part of the Avashyakasutra dealing with temple-worship called the ‘Extension of Play’ (*Lalitavistara*) which, apart from a difference of gender, is the same title as a well-known biography of the Buddha.

The medieval hagiographers appear to acknowledge Haribhadra’s interest in Buddhism by turning him into a scourge

6. Ibid., pp. 206-208.

of the Buddhists and, in a story which does not appear to antedate the twelfth century, they describe his violent revenge on the Buddhists who had killed his nephews. Such a story may have been intended to 'reclaim' Haribhadra fully as a prominent Jain teacher at a time when Jainism was trying to establish a firm identity to facilitate conversions which might otherwise have been jeopardised through an excessive stress on relativism. Certainly, the account of the murdered nephews has a great deal in common with the hagiography of the great Digambara Akalanka, whose writings were of vital importance in the creation of a near-definitive Jain epistemology and logic achieved largely through incisive controversions of Buddhist logicians such as Dharmakirti. It was also during the medieval period that the story began to circulate that Haribhadra had written the 'Extension of Play' to bring back to Jainism a monk who had been studying Buddhism so intently that he had begun to be convinced by it.

Yet, despite the polemical tenor of such stories, there can still be seen occasional vestiges of the fascination which Buddhism has at times had for the Jains. The following story by one of the chroniclers of the Kharatara Gaccha is perhaps representative of the way many medieval Jains saw Buddhist teachings, as something both alluring and dangerous:

Once King Kumarapala said to Hemachandra, 'Master, if you could give me the means of making gold, I could inaugurate a new era like the legendary King Vikramaditya.' The teacher replied, 'Such a means is to be found in a Buddhist book brought back by Haribhadra's pupils, but it now belongs to the Kharatara Gaccha.' Then the king arrested certain laymen who came from various regions and had come to his capital of Patan on business, saying, 'If you get the book brought to me, then you will be released.' So the laymen sent word about the matter to the head of the Kharatara Gaccha, who then went to Chittor, took the book from a pillar within the temple of Wishing-jewel Parshva,

brought it to Patan and gave it to the king. But when the king saw the following warning written on the book (by Jinadatta Suri), 'This book is not be opened or recited, but to be worshipped in a library,' he said, 'I will not open this book'. Hemachandra said, 'One must not infringe the instructions of great men'. Then Hemachandra's sister, a nun called Hemashri, said, 'I will open it, for I do not fear the words of Jinadatta Suri'. So the king gave the book to her, but as soon as she opened it her eyes started out of her head and fell the book away in his library. But during the night the library caught fire and was completely burnt, and the book flew up to heaven where it belonged. (Kh GSp. 25)"⁷

7. Ibid., pp. 208-209.

JAINA SACRED CENTRES (TIRTHAS)

The Sacred Centres

1. Abhanagri:—This place is now in Jaipur district of Rajasthan, and is situated near Bandiqui Railway station. It is still well-known for the temples, dedicated to Rishabha and Mahavira. See for details, K.C. Jain, *Ancient Cities and Towns of Rajasthan*, Delhi, 1972, pp. 275 ff. and Appendix No. 16. At present it is known as Abaneri.

2. Ablur (Abbaluru):—The well-known Ablur epigraph, dated circa 1200 A.D., proves that this place in Dharwar district of Karnataka, had a Jina temple, before 1200 A.D., which was destroyed by Ekantada Ramayya, the Saiva teacher (see E.I., V, p. 256).

3. Acalagadh:—This is a well-known *tirtha* on Mount Arbuda. The fort of this place was built by king Kumbha. It has the temples of Santinatha, Adinatha, Kuntunatha etc. For details, see *Prachin Jaina Lekha Sangraha* (Jinavijaya), II, Nos. 263, 268 and *Tirtha Darshan*, Vol. I, Madras, 1980, pp. 320 ff.

4. Acalapura:—It is now known as Elichpur. It was surely an early Svetambara centre. See *Prakrit Proper Names*, I, p. 8; and J.C. Jain, *Bharat ke Prachin Jain Tirtha*; Varanasi, 1952, p. 62. It is situated in the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra.

5. Adaki:—This was an important centre of Jainism in Gulbarga district in Kamatala and has yielded a few Digambara epigraphs of the 12th century. The Koppa *Jinalaya* of this place was dedicated to the god Parsvanatha. Its ancient name was

Adakki and it had some other Digambara temples; for details, see P.B. Desai, *Jainism in South India* etc., pp. 179 ff.

6. Aghata:—Its present name is Ahar and it is situated near the well-known Udaipur city of Rajasthan. It was a well-known Svetambara centre from the 10th century A.D. The Parsvanatha temple of this place is as old as 972 A.D. It had also a temple of Mahavira. Several Jain manuscripts were copied at this place and it is mentioned as a tirtha in the 10th century poem the *Satyapuriya Mahavira Utsaha*. For some other details on Aghata, see K.C. Jain, *op. cit.*, pp. 222 ff.

7. Agra:—From the days of Akbar, Agra became a centre of Jainism and by the end of the 17th century, it had as many as 48 Jina temples. This is known from a poem called *Argalapura Jinavandana*—Argalapura being the name for Agra. Hiravijaya visited this place in V.S. 1639 during Akbar's rule. See for details, *Bharat ke Digambara Jaina Tirtha*, I, pp. 58 ff; and *Tirtha Darshan*, I, p. 131; and Nahar, *Jain Inscriptions*, I, Nos. 295, 307, 309, 310, 311, 322, 433 and 506; also *ibid.*, II, Nos. 1442 ff.

8. Ahicchatra:—From very early times, Ahicchatra was a centre of Svetambara Jainism. It is identical with the present-day Ramnagar in Bareilly district of U.P. (see Cunningham A.G.I. ed., S.N. Majumdar, pp. 412 ff.); see also Law, *H.G.A.I.*, pp. 63 f. Jinaprabha, the author of the *Vividha-tirthakalpa* (p. 14) has connected this place with Parsvanatha, and we have already seen, in our earlier volume (*supra*, pp. 93 ff.) Parsva temple of this place existed as early as the second century A.D. Jinaprabha gives a very vivid account of this place and mentions atleast two Jina temples of Ahicchatra and other temples, dedicated to Hindu deities like Hari, Hara, Hiranyagarbha, Chandika etc. There is little doubt that as late as the days of Jinaprabha, this place used to attract Jain pilgrims. The only Digambara work of antiquity to refer to this great Jain tirtha

is the *Nirvankanda*, written in the 12th century (see *Tirthavandanasangraha*, p. 37).

9. Ajahara:—This particular *tirtha* is associated with Parsvanatha in Jinaprabha's celebrated work (p. 106), where we have the form *Ajjahara*. It is situated in Junagarh district, and is near the Una Railway station. The earliest epigraph, from this place, is dated in V.S. 1042 (see *Jaina Tirthano itihasa* by Jnanavijaya, Veraval, 1924). The Digambara Sumatisagara, a writing in the middle of the 16th century, mentions it in his *Tirtha Jayamala* (verse 12); see *Tirthavandanasangraha*, p. 56. It is also mentioned in the famous Ranakpur epigraph of Kumbha, dated V.S. 1496 (see *Prachin Jain Lekha Sangraha*, II, p. 171). For more details, see *Tirtha Darshan*, II, pp. 412 ff.

10. Ajayameru:—Ajmer, the modern name of the ancient Ajayameru, was associated with Jainism from the days of the early Cahamana kings. It was closely associated with the activities of the monks of the Kharatara *Gaccha* (see KB, pp. 16, 19, 20, 24, 25, 33, 34, 44, 84, 91, 92). A temple of Parsvanatha existed in this place in the days of Amoraja. There was also a temple of Mahavira at this town (see *Prachin Jaina Lekha Sangraha*, II, No. 445). There was a temple, dedicated to Adinatha, at this town (see KB, p. 84). For detailed discussion, see Jain, K.C., *op. cit.*, pp. 304 ff.

11. Alabhiya:—This old town was associated with the activities of both Buddha and Mahavira. It was probably situated to the east of Ayodhya; see *Prakrit Proper Names*, I, p. 90.

12. Amijhara:—It is dedicated to Parsvanatha and it became a Jain *tirtha* from roughly 1500 A.D. It is identified with modern Amjhara in Dhar district of M.P., see *Tirtha Darshan*, II, p. 498.

13. Amkalesvara:—This place had a Jain shrine called Cintamani Parsvanatha in the 16th century. As we have already seen, it was at this place that the *Yasodharacharita* of Vadichandra was written in 1600 A.D. It is near Broach in Gujarat. See Premi,

p. 388 and *Tirthavandanasangraha* pp. 118-19. Its earlier name was probably Alakesvara (see *Bhattaraka Sampradaya*, p. 30 and footnote 9).

14. Anahilapura:—This town also had a number of Jain temples from the days of Vanaraja.

15. Apapa:—According to Jinaprabha, it was the earlier name of Pava, where Lord Mahavira breathed his last. It is near Kushinagar, Deoria, U.P.

16. Arasana:—This was a famous Svetambara centre of pilgrimage in Gujarat and it is at present known as Kumbhariya. The temples of this place have yielded a number of important epigraphs of the medieval period. See Jinavijaya, II, Nos. 277 ff.; and also the very valuable discussion in Gujarati entitled *Avalokana* pp. 165 ff. in the same book (*Prachin Jaina Lekha Sangraha*, Vol. II). The earliest temple of this place was dedicated to Lord Neminatha. There are also temples of Mahavira, Parsva, Shantinath etc. The KB (p. 71) calls it a *mahatirtha* (a great centre of pilgrimage).

17. Arbuda:—It was a great *tirtha* from the 11th century, when in V.S. 1088, a temple, dedicated to Rishabha, was built by Vimala *Dandanayaka* during the reign of Chalukya Bhima I. the original image of Rishabha, according to Jinaprabha, was made of brass (p. 16). Two hundred years afterwards or in V.S. 1288, Tejapala constructed the Neminatha temple. Even this great temple-complex of Mount Abu was not spared by the Muslims and we are told, by the author of the *Vividhatirthakalpa*, that it was repaired in Saka 1243, corresponding to 1378 A.D. He also refers to the Mahavira *caitya* on the top of the mountain, built by the great Kumarapala (see for details, pp. 15 ff.). We have already discussed a few of the important epigraphs from this place. In the Sirohi district of Rajasthan, where Abu is situated, there are a number of smaller Jain *tirthas* (for important

epigraphs of this place, see Jinvajaya, *Prachin Jaina Lekha Sangraha*, II, Nos 64 ff.).

18. Annigeri (Annigere):—This was a famous Digambara centre of the Dharwar district in Karnataka. The earliest Jina temple of this place was built in 751 A.D. (see *Supra*, Vol. I, pp. 180-81). The temple of this place was in charge of the monks of the Mulasangha and Balatkaragana.

19. Arasibidi:—This was a well-known Digambara centre of the Bijapur district of Karnataka. It came into limelight from the 11th century (see details, *Supra*, p. 97).

20. Asapalli:—This place is still known as Ashawul and it is almost the site of the present Ahmedabad in Gujarat. It came into limelight in days of the Chalukya Karna 1066-1092), as we learn from Merutunga (PC, p. 55). Several Jain manuscripts, dating from the 12th century (the earliest of such manuscripts was copied in V.S. 1191, see *Jainapustaka Prashasti-Sangraha*, p. 5), to the last quarter of the 13th century, were copied at this place. There is a reference to the Sri Vidyamatha of this place in a manuscript of Hemachandra's *Vyakaranalaghuvriti*. This place was destroyed by the Muslims.

21. Ashtapada:—This is generally identified with Kailash and according to the Jain tradition, Rishabha died on the summit of this mountain. However, it is doubtful whether this particular Jain *tirtha* even existed in reality (see also *Vividhatirthakalpa*, p. 31).

22. Ayodhya:—This famous ancient town is represented as the birth-place of the five Tirthankaras, namely Rishabha, Ajita, Abhinandana, Sumati and Ananta. Jinaprabha saw a number of Jina temples in this town. Probably, the earliest temple of this town was dedicated to the Tirthankara Suvrata, which has been mentioned in the *Paumacariyam* (see 89.20). For further details, see also *Vividhatirthakalpa*, pp. 24 ff.

23. Ayyavale (Aihole):—This place in Bijapur district of

Karnataka has supplied a very early Jain epigraph, dated 634 A.D., composed by the Digambara poet Ravikirti (see for further details, *Supra*, Vol. I, pp. 177 ff.). This epigraph shows that in the first half of the 7th century, there was a Jinendra temple, built of stone at this place. Another epigraph, noticed in the present volume (p. 98), dated 1116 A.D., records the reconstruction of the same temple. As noted by Desai (*Jainism in South India etc.*, p. 318), the merchants of this particular place were quite influential in South India.

24. Badli:—It is a place in Belgaum district of Karnataka and an epigraph from this place discloses the existence of a Digambara shrine, called Brahma Jinalaya, which was built by Marasimha (see *Jainism in South India etc.*, p. 118).

25. Badanavara:—This is a place in Dhar district of M.P., and is known for the beautiful temple of Adisvara; see *Tirtha Darshan*, pp. 506-07.

26. Bahadameru:—It was a well-known centre of Jainism in Rajasthan. Its modern name is Barmer. The KB (p. 49) refers to the Rishabha temple of this town in connection with the wanderings of Jinesvara II of the Kharatara *Gaccha* in V.S. 1283. A temple of Mahavira existed here in V.S. 1327 (see *Jainapustak-Prasasti-Sangraha*, p. 98). These references show that in the 13th century, Barmer was a Svetambara centre and the temple dedicated to Rishabha and Mahavira were its principal shrines.

27. Baligrama:—This was a famous Jain Tirtha, associated with the Tirthankara Shantinatha now known as Balgambe, which is in Shimoga district of Karnataka. This temple of Shantinatha was originally built by Jayasimha II (1015-1043) at the Western Chalukya dynasty. It was also a great centre of the Brahmanical religion in the early medieval period, and there were temples dedicated to Rudra, Hari, and other gods. There was also a Buddhist temple at this town.

28. Bandhavapura:—This was the Sanskrit name of the well-known Bandalike in the Shikarpur *taluk* of Shimoga district in Karnataka. As noted by us this place was recognised as a *tirtha*, as early as the 1st quarter of the 10th century A.D. The Shantinatha temple of this town was well-known throughout Karnataka.

29. Bankapura:—This great Jain *tirtha* of Dharwar district of Karnataka, became a Jain centre from the 9th century A.D., as we learn from the *prasasti* of Gunabhadra's *Uttarapurana* (see *Supra*, Vol. I, p. 306) written in Saka 820, corresponding to 898 A.D. It was founded by Bankeyarasa, a *samanta* of the 9th century A.D. (see Premi, *op. cit.*, p. 463 footnote 4). Jain inscriptions of later times also have been discovered from this place. Even in the seventeenth century, it was considered a flourishing Jain *tirtha* by the Svetambara Silavijaya, who visited the Jain *tirthas* of South India in the 2nd half of that century (see Premi, *op. cit.*, p. 463).

30. Belgola:—Belgola, or more correctly Sravana Belgola in Hassan district of Karnataka became a great Jain *tirtha* from the post-Gupta period (see *Supra*, Vol. I, pp. 185-86, 190-91, 194, 202, 206, 210, 317, 328, 333). One of the earliest Jain saints, connected with this place, was Prabhachandra (see *Supra*, I, p. 194), who has been mentioned in an epigraph of circa 600 A.D. One of the earliest temples of this place was dedicated to the Tirthankara Chandraprabha or Chandranatha; among them we can mention Parsvanatha temple, Bhandari *basadi*, Nagara Jinalaya, the temple dedicated to 24 Tirthankaras etc. For a more detailed account of the temples of this place, see the revised edition (introduction) of *E.C.*, II.

31. Belur:—This place in Hassan district of Karnataka was associated with Jainism from the early medieval period, and a few epigraphs also have been discovered from the ruined temples of this place (see above, pp. 122-23).

32. Bhadresvara:—It is a well-known Svetambara *tirtha* of Cutch district of Gujarat, and was the birth-place of the great Jain tycoon Jagado. The temple of Parsvanatha of this place is well-known. In the *Jagaducharita* (canto VI), there is a reference to the Viranatha shrine of this place, which has beautified by that merchant. The same work also gives in the same canto (VI), the very revealing information that Jagadu had constructed a mosque (apparently for the Muslims) at that town. The same work also discloses the fact that the Jain kings Kumarapala and his two predecessors Mularaja I and Karna had built tanks at this town. A separate Jina temple, containing the icons of all the 24 Tirthankaras, was also built by Jagadu. And lastly a *paushadahsala* was also erected by that merchant in the same place; see *Jainism in Gujarat* by C.B. Sheth, pp. 155 f. In V.S. 1309, a manuscript of a particular book of the *Uttaradhyayanāsūtra* was copied at this town (see *Jainapustakaprasastisangraha*, p. 125). See also *Tirtha Darshan*, Vol. II, pp. 396 f.

33. Bharangi:—This place in Shimoga district of Karnataka, was quite well-known for the temple of Parsvanatha, which was built before 1415 A.D.; see J.S.L.S., III, Nos. 610, 641 and 646.

34. Bharatpur:—This place in Mewar (Rajasthan) was a well-known Jain *tirtha* from the 10th century A.D. A temple of Adinatha was built at this town by Rana *Bhartrbhata* in the first half of the 10th century; see K.C. Jain, *Jainism in Rajasthan*, Sholapur, 1963, p. 29. A separate *Gaccha* called the *Bhartpuriya Gaccha* of the Svetambaras, was named after this place; see *Jainapustaka-prasastisangraha*, Jinavijaya, p. 129. At present, it is known as Bhatvera. This particular *Gaccha* originated in the 13th century.

35. Bhatkal:—This place in North Kanara district of Karnataka, was founded in the 15th century and was associated with the Digambara Jains, from the very beginning of its

existence. We find references to several temples of this place in the epigraphs, discovered from this town. The shrines, dedicated to Parsva, Mahavira are quite famous. Another temple, called the *Ratnatraya basadi*, dedicated to Aranatha, Mallinatha and Suvrata, was built in the 16th century; see Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 395. We further learn from an epigraph, discovered at Bilgi in the same district, that this town owed its existence to the saint Vijayakirti II of the Mulasanga, *Pustaka Gaccha* (see *J.S.L.S.*, IV, No. 490)

36. Bhimapalli:—It is a village, 10 miles South-west of Patan in Gujarat and as a well-known Jain centre from the last quarter of the 12th century. The temple of Mahavira, of this place, was celebrated throughout Gujarat and this tirtha was closely associated with the activities of the monks of the Kharatara *Gachha*. See K.B., pp. 44, 50-51, 56, 59-60, 62-64, 69-71, 73, 77-79, 87.

37. Bhinmal:—This ancient place, situated in the present Jalore district of Rajasthan, was known by several names like Bhinnamala, Srimala etc. Its association with Jainism, goes back, according to a later day epigraph, dated 1276 A.D., to the days of Mahavira himself. It is, however, difficult to accept this statement of that epigraph. But, as noted by us, as early as the days of the composition of the *Kuvalayamala* (778 A.D.), it was considered a Jain centre of pilgrimage. Siddhasena mentions this place as a *tirtha* in his *Sakalatirthastotra* (see *G.O.S.*, 76, p. 156). The Jain temple of this place is referred to by both Dhanapala and Jinaprabha. Siddharsi's *guru* was associated with this *tirtha*, apparently in the last quarter of the 9th century. Some of the other temples, dedicated to Shanti and Parsva, also existed at this town. Its connection with Jainism is also told in the *Srimala-mahatmya*, a work of the medieval period; for further details, see K.C. Jain, *Ancient Cities* etc., pp. 161 f. See also for a modern account of this ancient *tirtha*. *Tirtha Darshan*, I, pp. 294 ff. The temple of Shantinatha, of this place, was

reconsecrated by the great Hiravijaya in V.S. 1634.

38. Bhragukaccha:—This ancient port city was associated with the Jain religion, probably from pre-Christian times. As early as the 2nd century A.D., two Buddhist monks were defeated in a debate by a Svetambara monk called Jinadeva, at this town. This indirectly proves the association of the place with Jainism in the early centuries of the Christian era (see also *Supra*, Vol. I, p. 99). In several works of quite early times, including the *Nirukt* and *Bhashya* commentaries, Bhragukaccha, has been recognised as a *tirtha*, and there are early references to the Shakunika-vihara of this place, which was dedicated to the Tirthankara Suvrata. The earliest datable reference is in *Dharmopadesamala*. The great Jinaprabha also in his celebrated work, the *Vividhatirthakalpa* (pp. 20 ff.), gives a short history of this *tirtha*, which like many holy centres of India, was completely destroyed by the Muslim iconoclasts. There was another temple here, called the Mulavasati (see *Supra*, I, p. 159). For a modern account, see *Tirtha Darshan*, II, pp. 498 f.

39. Biligi:—This Jain centre of the North Kanara district of Karnataka, was associated with the Digambara religion from the 16th century, and it appears that the Ratnatraya *basadi* was the earliest Jina temple of this town. It was built, according to an epigraph, of that temple, in the early 16th century (see Desai, *op. cit.*, pp. 128 ff.).

40. Bodhan:—It is situated in the Nizamabad district of modern Andhra Pradesh. The original Jina temple of this place, was afterwards destroyed by the Muslims, and converted into a mosque. A teacher called Munichandra Siddhantadeva, has been mentioned in a damaged Jain epigraph of the time of the Western Chalukya emperor Vikramaditya VI. This epigraph also mentions a Jina temple of this place; see *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 7; see also Desai, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-03. However, at present there is practically no trace of Jainism at this place.

41. Campa:—This celebrated city of ancient India was intimately connected with the activities of the early Jain saints, including Lord Mahavira. The extensive ruins of this city are lying scattered near the modern town of Bhagalpur in Bihar. The 12th Tirthankara Vasupujya, according to the Jain canonical texts, was born in this city and also breathed his last here. Lord Mahavira also spent 3 years of his missionary life in Campa (see *supra*, Vol. I, p. 24). His meeting with Ajatsatru also took place in this city. Jinaprabha in his celebrated work the *Vividhatirthakalpa* (pp. 65 f.), gives a brief yet authentic history of this town. It was here that the greatest and most original work on Jain philosophy, namely the *Dasavaikalika*, was composed by the Brahmin Svayambhava. The pre-Buddhist shrine, dedicated to *Yaksha* Purnabhadra, existed according to the *Aupaapatika* (see *Supra*, Vol. I, p. 247) and the Vaishnava *Harivamsa* (critical edition, I, 23.34) in this city. This lovely city was afterwards destroyed, according to Jinaprabha, by the Bengal Sultan Shams-Ud-din in V.S. 1360, an information, which is not otherwise available. From quite early times, the Vasupujya temple of this place, was recognised as a celebrated shrine throughout India. Several Jina literary texts from the early period mention the Vasupujya temple complex of this city. Jinasena II, the author of the *Harivamsa* (22.1 ff.) describes this temple complex. He also refers (19.115) to the *manastambha* of this great temple.

42. Candrapuri:—This is, according to the Jain tradition, the birth-place of the 8th Tirthankara Chandraprabha. It is a few miles from Varanasi and has been identified with the place of the same name (also sometimes called Chandramadhava). See *Vividhatirtha-kalpa*, p. 74; and *tirthavandanasangraha* pp. 140-41.

43. Chandravada:—This is a place on the Yamuna near Firozabad in Agra district of U.P. It is sacred to Chandraprabha. It has been claimed that the Jina temple of this Tirthankara was

constructed in 996 A.D. See for details, *Tirthavandanasangraha*, p. 140

44. Chandravati:—It is an ancient town near Abu, in Sirohi district of Rajasthan. Its association with Jainism dates from the 11th century. It was connected with the Tirthankara Chandraprabha, as we learn from the *Vividhatirthakalpa* (p. 85). Siddhasena, the author of the *Sakalatirtha-stotra* (G.O.S., 76, P. 156) includes it in his list of *tirthas*. Later writers speak of a very large number of Jain temples of this place. According to the *Tirthamala*, written in 1443 A.D., there were 1800 Jina temples at this town, including the great temple of Rshabha (see for further details, Jain, K.C. *Ancient Cities* etc., pp. 344 f.). This temple of Rshabha is mentioned as the Yugadideva *Prasada* in the *KB* (p. 87); see also, *Supra*, p. 51.

45. Chandrikavata:—This place has been mentioned as the seat of a line of Digambara Jain teachers of the *Sena sangha*. According to Desai (*op. cit.*, p. 136), this place is identical with the present-day Chandakavate in the Sindgi *taluk* of the Bijapur district of Karnataka. This *tirtha* contains a few Jain epigraphs, including one dated 1068 A.D. The earliest *guru* of the line, who had the seat, at this place, was Dharmasena, who founded a monastery at this place in the early 9th century. His disciple Kumarasena was a very influential monk, who afterwards left this *tirtha* for Mulgund (see for further details on the monks of this line, *Supra*, p. 103).

46. Carupa:—This place is situated in the Patan *taluk* of Mahasena district of Gujarat. It is well-known for the temple of Parsva (see *Vividhatirthakalpa*, p. 106). The temples, dedicated to Adinatha, Shanti and others were built afterwards. However, at present, no other temple, except that of Parsva, exists in this place. Sumatisagara, writing in the 16th century, mentions this particular *tirtha*; see *Tirthavandanasangraha*, p. 56. It is under the control of the Svetambaras; see *Tirtha Darshan*, II, pp. 382 f.

47. Chitrakuta:—This celebrated fort was also a great centre of Jainism from the 8th century A.D. The great Haribhadra was a native of Chitrakuta (see *Supra*, Vol. I, p. 157). Several other authors afterwards wrote their works at Chitrakuta. It was intimately connected from the 11th century with the activities of the monks of the Kharatara *Gaccha* (see K.B., pp. 10, 12-15, 19-20, 49, 56, 69). The temples of Mahavira and Parsva were the two earliest Jina temples of Chittor (see *Supra*, p. 53). The Digambaras also had their temples at Chittor and in this connection we learn about the erection of the two Digambara temples, namely those dedicated to Adinatha and Chandraprabha at this town. *Kirtistambha* is a Digambara monument. the Digambaras also had a separate Parsva temple at Chitrakuta (see *Bharat ke Digambara Jain Tirtha*, IV, p. 96). There was a separate Digambara branch connected with Chitrakuta (see *Bhattaraka Sampradaya*, No. 90); see for more discussion, *Tirtha Darshan*, I, pp. 182 ff.

48. Culagiri:—This *tirtha* is situated in the West Nimar (Khargon) district of M.P. It is famous for the great image of Adinatha (84 feet). There is also a beautiful icon of Shantinatha (13 feet); a few other temples also exist in this place. Several epigraphs of this place are known and the earliest among them is dated in V.S. 1223 (see *J.S.L.S.*, III, Nos., 370-71); see also *Tirthavandanasangraha*, pp. 142 ff.

49. Dadhipadra:—This place in the Panchmahal area of Gujarat, was connected with Jainism, from atleast the 12th century. A temple of Shantinatha, of this place, is mentioned in the *Santinathacharitrapustaka-prashasti* (see Jinavijaya, *Jaina pustaka* etc., p. 7) dated V.S. 1227. Probably this temple is mentioned in another Jain manuscript of V.S. 1322 (see *ibid.*, p. 35).

50. Dahigaon:—This Digambara *tirtha* has now a modern temple, dedicated to Mahavira. It is situated amidst old ruins

in the Sholapur district of Marashtra; see *Tirtha Darshan*, II, pp. 546 f.

51. Darbhavati:—This ancient Svetambara *tirtha*, situated in Vadodara (Baroda) district of Gujarat, is well-known for the two temples, dedicated to Parsvanatha. It is recognised as a *tirtha* (*Vividha-dharmika-virajamana-Darbha-vatisthana*) is a manuscript of Hemachandra's *Yogasavrutti* written in V.S. 1251 (see Jinavijaya, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 f.). In an earlier Jain manuscript, dated V.S. 1211, this place has been mentioned. It has also been mentioned in several other later manuscripts (see *ibid.*, pp. 107, 113, 131, 148). Even the Digambara writers like Jnanasagara and Jayasagara have mentioned the Parsva temple-complex of this place, called by the name 'Lodana-Parsvanatha' (see *Tirthavandanasangraha*, p. 145). There are also epigraphic references to it; see Jinavijaya, *Prachin-Jaina-Lekha-sangraha*, II, Nos. 38-39, 41, 43.

52. Dasapura:—This is identified with modern Mandasor in M.P. and it was associated with Jainism, even from pre-Christian times. The Jain commentaries mention the Jivantasvamin icon of this place and the Acharyas of the first century A.D., also frequently stayed at this town. The Nindhava Goshtamahila started a schism at this town, 584 years after Lord Mahavira. Afterwards, Samantabhadra according to a later literary and epigraphic tradition, visited this old town; see *Prakrit Proper Names*, I, pp. 461 f.; see also *Supra*, Vol. I, p. 104; and for Samantabhadra's visit to this town, see Prabhachandra's *Kathakosa*, p. 13. According to the *Vividhatirthakalpa* (p. 85) there was an old temple of Suparsvanatha at this town. That work (p. 70) also mentions its association with the famous Svetambara saint Aryarakshita.

53. Delavada:—The Parsva temple-complex of this place, situated in Junagarh district, was repaired in V.S. 1784. See *Tirtha Darshan*, II, pp. 414 f.

54. Deogarh:—This great centre of Digambara Jainism in the newly-created Lalitpur district of U.P. probably sprang into limelight in the Gupta period, although the earliest Jain epigraph, from this place, is dated in the Vikrama year 919 of the reign of Pratihara Bhoja (see *Supra*, Vol. I, p. 167). In the 9th century, it was called Lucchagira. Afterwards, it was given the name 'Kirtigir'. As we have already seen, this temple-complex was under the supervision of the monks of the Mulasangha and the Sarasvati *Gaccha*. A Chandella epigraph also was discovered from this place (see above, p. 54). As we have already said, this place is surprisingly ignored in the Jain literature. For a fuller account of the temples of this place, see *Bharat ke Digambara Jaina Tirtha*, I, pp. 179 ff.; and also the classic work of Klaus Bruhn, *The Jina Images of Deogarh*, Leiden, 1969.

55. Devagiri:—Devagiri or Daultabad was also considered a Jain *tirtha* and the great Jinaprabha wrote a section of this *Tirthakalpa* at this town. At this place, a Jain work was copied in V.S. 1383 (see *Jainapustakaprasasti-angraha*, p. 136). Sribhushana of the Kashtha Sangha, Nanditata *Gaccha* composed his *Parsvanatha Purana* in V.S. 1654 in the Parsva temple of Devagiri (see *Bhattaraka Sampradaya*, No. 709). Elsewhere Devagiri has been called a *mahasthana*.

56. Devakulapataka:—This *tirtha* is in the Udaipur district of Rajasthan and is known for its Adinatha temple, which has one of the finest icons of Rishbhanatha of Rajasthan. It is repeatedly mentioned in the *Somasaubhagyakavya* (see *Tirtha Darshan*, I, pp. 202 f.). The *Sridharacharita of Manikyasundara* was written in V.S. 1463, at this town (see *J.S.B.I.* VI, p. 516). Several epigraphs, from this place, are known and one of them, dated V.S. 1381, refers to the Shantinatha temple of this place (see Nahar, *Jain Inscriptions*, II, No. 1988). For other epigraphs, see *ibid.*, II, Nos. 1961 ff. There is little doubt that it was once a great Svetambara centre.

57. Devapattana:—It was a great Jain centre from quite early times. It is also known as Prabhasa Patan (Junagarh district, Gujarat). The world-famous Saiva temple of Somanatha was destroyed by the Muslims in the early 11th century. However, the Chandraprabha temple of this place, according to Jinaprabha, was founded after the destruction of Valabhi in V.S. 845 (see p. 85 of the *Vividhatirthakalpa*). Merutunga in his PC (p. 109) has also mentioned this *tirtha*. Elsewhere Jinaprabha has also referred to the Parsva temple of this place (p. 106). Even Hemachandra and Kumarapala showed their respect for this great *Tirtha*; see for a modern account, *tirtha Darshan*, II, pp. 407 ff.

58. Dhara:—This celebraed capital of the Paramaras, was associaed with Jainism from the very beginning of its existence. As early as V.S. 990 or 933 A.D., there existed a temple, dedicated to Parsvanatha at Dhara. This is disclosed by the *Darsanasara* of Devasena, which was written in that shrine of this town in 933 A.D. (see *Supra*, Vol. I, pp. 163 f.). This temple of Parsva at Dhara has also been mentioned by Digambara poet Madankirti, who flourished in the beginning of the 13th century, in his *Sasanacatuśtrimsika* (see *Tirthavandanasangraha*, p. 31). This proves that this particular Digambara temple, survived at least for four centuries, probably till the destruction of this great town, by the Muslims. The KB (p. 44) mentions the Svetambara temple of Shantinatha, of this Kharatara Jinapatisuri in V.S. 1254. A third Jain temple of this town, namely the Jinavara *Vihara*, has been mentioned by Nayamandin, the author of the *Sudarsanacarita*, which was composed in 1043 A.D. (see p. Bhatia, *The Parmaras*, New Delhi, 1970, p. 267). See also *Supra*, pp. 57 ff. As noted by us several Jain works were written at Dhara, between 900 and 1300 A.D. The philosophers and writers, belonging to both the sects, were honoured by the Parmara kings.

59. Dharasiva:—The great Dharasiva *tirtha* is only 3 miles

from the town of Osmanabad in Maharashtra. It has a few very old Parsva icons, some of which were probably fashioned in the pre-Gupta period. The history of this *tirtha* has been given both in Harishena's *Brahat Katha Kosa* (story 56) and the *Karakandacariyu* of Kanakamara (Books IV and V). There is little doubt that the famous caves of Darasiva, which were near the city of Terapura, were quite well-known in the early medieval period. For more details on these caves of Dharasiva, see the learned Introduction in Hindi and English by H.L. Jain to his edition of *Karakandacariyi* (2nd edition, Delhi, 1964).

60. Dhavalakkapura:—The present name of this ancient town is Dholka (Ahmedabad district, Gujarat) and it has still a few Jina temples, including the great Kalikunda Parsvanatha shrine. The *Puratanaprabandhasangraha* (p. 26) mentions the Simandharasvamin temple of this town built by merchant called Uda. It was popularly known as Udavasati and it was consecrated by Devacharya in the first quarter of the 12th century. This work also refers to the temples of Parsva of this town and associated him with the celebrated saint Abhayadeva, the author of the Anga commentaries (p. 95). This town was closely associated with the religious activities of the two great Jain ministers, namely Vastupala and Tejapala. In V.S. 1372, the *Pundarikacarita* of Kamalaprabhasuri was written at this town. (see *J.S.B.I.*, VI, P. 182). For the Parsva temple of this town, see also *Prabhavakacarita*, p. 165.

61. Dhuleva:—The famous Rishabhadeva temple of this place, situated in the Udaipur district, is popularly known as the Kesariyaji temple. The earliest known epigraph, from this place, is dated in V.S. 1431, corresponding to 1373 A.D. For some other Digambara records, from this temple, see *Bharat ke Digambara Jaina Tirtha*, IV, pp. 110 ff. It was under the supervision of the monks of the Kashtha Sangha.

62. Diva:—This *tirtha*, sacred to Parsvanatha, is situated in Junagarh district of Gujarat; see *Tirtha Darshan*, II, pp. 410f.

63. Diyana:—This place in the Sirohi district, is famous for the old Jina temple, dedicated to Jivitasvami Mahavira. It was known as Nana in ancient times, and the relevant epigraphs, discovered from this place, prove that as early as the 10th century A.D., there was a temple, dedicated to Mahavira, in this place. Numerous other epigraphs have also been discovered from the same *tirtha*; see in this connection, 'Jain, K.C., *op. cit.*, pp. 415 ff.; and Nahar, *Jain Inscriptions*, I No, 885 ff.; see also *Tirtha Darshan*, Vol. I, pp. 268 f.

64. Dronagiri:—Dronagiri is generally identified with a small hill near the village Dronagiri in the Chhatarpur District of M.P. It has the temple of Adisvara and also a few other shrines; see for details, *Tirtha Darsan*, II, p. 522; and *Tirthavandanasangraha*, p. 150. For a more detailed treatment, see *Bharat ke Digambara Jaina Tirtha*, III, pp. 159 ff. The earliest temple, dedicated to Adinatha, has an epigraph of V.S. 1549.

65. Dungarapura:—This place, in the district of the same name, in Rajasthan, as we have already seen, was a centre of both the Svetambara and the Digambara Jains, from the 14th century. the Parsva temple, of this town belonged to the Svetambaras and the Adinatha temple of this place, was under the supervision of the Digambaras.

66. Dvarsamudra:—This place is also called Dorasamudra and is situated in the Hassan district of Karnataka. The Punisa Jinalaya of this place, was built in the 11th century and was probably the earliest Jain shrine of Dvarsamudra. It was dedicated to the temple built by Boppa, the son of the famous Gangaraja, the Jain general of Vishnuvardhana, was given the name Vijaya-Parsva Jinalaya. There was another temple dedicated to Shantinatha, at this place (see for further details, *Supra*, p. 124).

67. Elura:—This name stands for Ellora in Maharashtra,

where we have Jain cave-temples alongwith those of the Brahmins and the Buddhists. Some of the caves were excavated in the post-Gupta period, and we have an epigraph from this place, which refers to the erection of a Parsva temple in 1235 A.D. (see *J.S.L.S.*, III, No. 481). This place has been mentioned both by Janansagara and Sumatisagara (see *Tirthavandana-Sangraha*, p. 125). For further details, see *Bharat Ke Digambara Jain Tirtha*, IV, pp. 259 ff.

68. Erambarage:—This was the old name of Yalbargi in the Raichur district of Karnataka. It was also known as Erambarapuram. There was a temple of Parsvanatha at this place. Some other Jain shrines of this town, are also known; it was once a flourishing Jain centre (see Desai, *op. cit.*, pp. 207 f., 220 etc.).

69. Eramadavela:—It is situated in Jalgaon district of Maharashtra. We know of two Digambara temples of this place, dedicated respectively Neminatha and Dharmanatha; (see *Tirthavandanasangraha*, p. 125).

70. Gabbur:—This is a place in the Raichur district of Karnataka, and had a Jina temple called Nagara-Jinalaya or Brahma Jinalaya in the 12th century; see Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 394.

71. Gajapamtha:—This place is in the Nasik district of Maharashtra. It is mentioned by several authorities, including Gunabhadra, Asaga (10th century), Sumati, Jayasagara and others. Asaga in his *Shantinathacarita* clearly refers to it, as situated near Nasike; see *Tirthavandanasangraha*, pp. 137 f.

72. Gandharatirtha:—This Jain *tirtha* on the sea-coast in Broach (Bharuch) district of Gujarat, came into limelight only during the days of the great Hiravijaya, in the 16th century. It has the temples of both Parsva and Mahavira, and also an interesting image of Hiravijaya himself; see in this connection, the long and interesting epigraph, (No. 450 in Jinavijaya's *Prachin*

Lekha Sangraha, Vol. II) dated 1587 A.D. The icon of Parsva was consecrated by Vijayasena Suri, the most important disciple of Hiravijaya. The Digambaras also had a temple, dedicated to Adinatha, at this place (see *Bhattaraka Sampradaya*, No. 484).

73. Gaya:—Jnanasangara, the Digambara writer, who flourished in the 16th century (see *Bhattaraka Sampradaya*, p. 295), in his *Sarvatirthavandana* associates Gaya (of Magadha) with Akalanka, and mentions that the latter had erected the temples of Sambhava, Nemi and Suparsva at that town; (see *Tirthavandanasangraha*, pp. 177, 138).

74. Gerasoppe:—This place in North Kanara (Uttar Kannad) district of Karnataka, was associated with Jainism, atleast from Saka 1300, corresponding to 1378 A.D., the date of the earliest dated Jain epigraph from this town (see *J.S.L.S.*, IV, No. 397). The epigraphs, found from this town, disclose the existence of several Jain temples, the earliest of which was probably the temple of Anantanatha, which was built by a rich woman, called Ramakka (see *M.A.R.*, 1928, P. 97; *J.S.L.S.*, IV, No. 400), before 1392 A.D. Other epigraphs refer to the temples of Parsvanatha (1421 A.D.), Neminatha (15th century), Vardamana etc. of that town. According to a somewhat later epigraph (1560 A.D. — *J.S.L.S.*, No. 674), the Anantanatha temple was actually built by Ramakka's husband Yojana Setti. The same epigraph also mentions the temple of Neminatha of Gerasoppe. We learn from that epigraph that another name of Gerasoppe was Ksemapura (for further details, pp. 340 ff.). Visvabhushana of the Balatkara *gana*, who flourished in the 3rd quarter of the 17th century, has mentioned the temple of Parsva (called by the name 'Vamasuta') of this place and the earlier writer Janansagara has also described the three Parsva temples of this place (see *Tirthavandanasangraha*, pp. 70, 93). there is therefore little doubt that this town was intimately associated with Jainism from the 14th century.

75. Ghogha:—It is situated in Bhavnagar district of Gujarat, near the sea-shore, and is well-known for the temple of Parsvanatha. A copy of the *Neminathacarita* was written in V.S. 1512, at this town. It is again mentioned in an image inscription V.S. 1513 (see *Bhattaraka Sampradaya*, Nos. 251, 429). Probably the Parsvanatha temple of this place, is referred to by the term 'Gogamandira' in a literary record of V.S. 1575 (see *ibid.*, No. 469). See for a modern account, *Tirtha Darshan*, II. pp. 422 f.

76. Ghotarsi:—This place is situated near Pratapgargh in Rajasthan and the existence of a Parsvanatha temple, at this place, is proved by a fragmentary 10th century epigraph, discovered from the ruins of this place (see K.C. Jain, *Ancient Cities of Rajasthan* etc., p. 413).

77. Giripura:—It is identical with Dungarpura (No. 64); it is mentioned in the *prashasti* of the *Chandanacarita* of Subhachandra (see *Jaina-grantha-prashasti-sangraha*, I, p. 53).

78. Gobbur:—See No. 70 Gabbur.

79. Godi:—It has a temple of Parsvanatha belonging to the Svetambaras. It is situated in Sirohi district of Rajasthan. An epigraph, of V.S. 1245, has been found from this temple-complex; see *Tirtha Darshan*, I, pp. 250 f.; and *Tirthavandana-sangraha*, p. 139. It is also known by the name 'Gohili'.

80. Gopacala:—This place is identical with the famous town of Gwalior and as we have already noted, it was a celebrated centre of Jainism in the medieval period. According to a Svetambara tradition, recorded in the *Prabhavakacarita* (p. 84) and the *Prabandhakosha* (p. 29), the 8th century Jain savant Bappabhatti built a Mahavira temple at this place. However, most of the epigraphs, discovered from Gopigiri, belong to the Digambaras (see *Supra*, pp. 176 ff.). Almost all the kings of the Tomar dynasty of Gwalior actively supported the Digambara saints and literary luminaries, including that great Apabhramasa poet Raidhu.

81. Gudivada:—It is in Krishna district of Andhra Pradesh and has a medieval temple of Parsvantha; see *Tirtha Darshan*, II, pp. 558 f.

82. Haduvalli:—It was also known as Sangitapura and is now situated in North Kanara district of Karnataka. The present name is Hadoli. The rulers of this area were champions of the Jain faith and there was a pontifical seat of the Digambaras, which started from the middle of the 15th century (see Desai, *op. cit.*, pp. 125 ff.); see also *Tirthavandanasangraha*, p. 186.

83. Hale Sorab:—This place, which has yielded a few epigraphs of the 14th century, is in Shimoga district of Karnataka (see *J.S.L.S.*, III, Nos. 593, 603, 838).

84. Halsi:—This place in the present Belgaum district of Karnataka and was known by the name Palasika in the days of the early Kadambas; as early as the 4th century, there was a Jina temple at this place; see *Supra*, I, pp. 139 ff.

85. Hanturu:—It is situated in Chikmagalur district of Karnataka and had a very large Jain temple-complex of the 12th century; see for further details, *Supra*, p. 119.

86. Hassan:—This place is the headquarter of the same name, in Karnataka. The name of the Parsvanatha temple of this place has been mentioned by the 17th century Digambara writer Visvabhushana (see *Tirthavandanasangraha*, p. 94).

87. Hastagiri:—This is a *tirtha* connected with Adinatha. It is situated near Satrunjaya. See *Tirtha Darshan*, II, pp. 426-27.

88. Hastikundi:—This ancient Svetambara Jain centre is situated in the modern Pali district of Rajasthan. As early as the first quarter of the 10th century, a Rishabha temple was built of this place (see *Supra*, I, p. 155). Afterwards a temple of Mahavira was built at this place. See for a modern account, *Tirtha Darshan I*, p. 220. A separate *gaccha*, called *Hastikundiya gaccha*, was started by Vasudevacharya in the 10th century;

see for further details, Jain, *Ancient Cities and Towns* etc., pp. 270 ff.

89. Hastinapur:—This ancient city, according to the Jain tradition, was the birth-place of the Tirthankaras like Shantinatha, Kunthu and Aranatha. However, no early Jain epigraph has been discovered from this place. The earliest epigraph, incised on a Digambara icon of Shantinatha is dated V.S. 1237, corresponding to 1180 A.D. (see *J.S.L.S.*, V. p. 50). However, the name of Hastinapur does not occur in this epigraph. It appears from the *Vividhatirthakalpa* (p. 96) that this place was practically rediscovered by the great Jain saint Jinprabha and the shrines of Shanti, Kunthu, Aranatha and Mallinatha (p. 27) were built in his time. The earlier Jain writers had practically no idea about the exact location of Hastinapura. It is interesting to note that even in Jinprabha's time (early 14th century), the town stood on the bank of the river Bhagirathi.

90. Hattana:—This place in Tumkur district of Karnataka had a Jain shrine called Nakhara Jinalaya (see *J.S.L.S.* II, No. 218); see also *Supra*, p. 120.

91. Hattiyamattvra:—This is a place in Dharwar district of Karnataka. It had a Jina temple during the days of the Yadavas; see *J.S.L.S.*, V, Nos. 340-41.

92. Hemavati:—It is in Anantapur district of Andhra Pradesh. It was once the capital of the Nolamba Pallavas and a damaged epigraph from this place (ancient Henjeru) of the 9th century, mentions a local Jain temple. See Desai, *op. cit.*, pp. 157, 162.

93. Heragu :—This place in Hassan district of Karnataka had once a great Jain temple-complex, dedicated to Parsvanatha (see *J.S.L.S.* III, No. 339). For further details, see *Supra*, p. 125.

94. Hire-Abli:—This place in Shimoga district of Karnataka has yielded a large number of epigraphs. There was a famous

temple of Parsvanatha in this place; see for further details, *Supra*, pp. 115, 187.

95. Hogekeeri:—It is in Shimoga district of Karnataka and its former name was Vokeyakera. It had a well-known Parsva temple, from which a few of the 15th century, have been discovered; see *J.S.L.S.*, II, Nos. 654-55, 658.

96. Honwad:—This place in Bijapur district of Karnataka, was formerly known as Ponnavaḍa. A great temple of Shantinatha, called Tribhuvanatilaka, existed in this place, as early as the 11th century. There were two other shrines, dedicated to Parsva and Suparsva respectively at this place; for further details see Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 106; and *J.S.L.S.*, II, No. 186.

97. Hosahollu:—It is in Mandya district of Karnataka and it had once a very large Jain temple-complex called Trikuta Jinalaya, in the early 12th century; see *J.S.L.S.*, II, No. 284.

98. Humcha:—This great Jain centre of Shimoga district of Karnataka, has yielded a very large number of important Jain epigraphs. The earliest Jain temple of this place was built in the 9th century; the ancient name of Humcha was Pomburca. Epigraphs of this place, mention Paliyakka temple. Pattanaśvami temple, Nokkiyabbe temple, Urvitilaka temple and some other temples. As late as the 17th century, it was considered a *tirtha*, as we have its name in the list of Jain *Tirthas* of South India, given by the Svetambara Silavijaya of the Tapa *Gaccha* (see Premi, *op. cit.*, p. 463); for a modern account of the ancient Parsva and Padmavati temples of this place; see *Tirtha Darshan*, II, pp. 566 f.; see also *Tirthavandanasaṅgraha*, p. 159; and the introduction in Hindi in *J.S.L.S.*, III, pp. 161 ff. The Digambara writers like Jnanasagara and Topakavi have mentioned this *tirtha*. As already noted by us, some of the surviving temples of this place, are important for the historians of the Indian Architecture; see in this connection, *Aspects of Jain Art and Architecture* (Shah, pp. 185 ff).

99. Idar:—This Jain centre is situated in the present Sabar Kantha district of Gujarat. It was also known as Iladurga, Ilapadra etc. It was an old *tirtha*, being associated with Shantinatha. Jinapati in his *Tirthamala* mentions a temple of Adisvara, which was built by Kumarapala in this place. We have also an *Idaranayaka-Rishabha devastavana* by Munisundara and another *Iladrga-Rishabha-Jinastotra* by Somasundarasuri (See *Tirtha Darshan*, II, P. 364, and *Jinaratnakosa*, p. 40). The Digambaras also had a separate pontifical seat at this place, see *Bhattaraka Sampradaya*, pp. 136 ff. The *Palyaridhana-katha* of Digambara Brahma Srutasagara was written during the reign of Bhanu of Idar; see *Jaina-granthaprasasti-sangraha*, p. 219.

100. Ingalesvara:—It is situated in Bijapur district of Karnataka, and it was a stronghold of the Digambara Jains and the sect *Ingalesvara bali* belonging to the Mulasangha and Pustaka *Gaccha*, was evidently associated with this place. Several epigraphs of this place, are known (see Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 392 and footnotes 1-2). There was a temple called Tirthada *basadi* at this place (see *A.R. South Indian Ep.*, 1929-30, App. E, No. 70). The earliest epigraph of this village is dated in the Saka year 1117, corresponding to 1198 A.D. (see *J.S.L.S.*, IV, No. 283). The monks of this particular *bali* were known throughout Karnataka.

101. Ingalgi:—This old place, associated with Jainism, is situated in Gulbarga district of Karnataka, and the earliest epigraph from this place is dated 1094 A.D. The Mahumanikyadeva temple (probably Mahavira) of this place, was built, according to this epigraph, in that year, by Jakaladevi, a prominent queen of the emperor Vikramaditya VI. See Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 190. The earlier name of this place was Ingunige. See also *J.S.L.S.* V, No. 58.

102. Indrapura:—This place was apparently in Rajasthan,

and there was an old temple of Shantinatha, at this place, in the 12th century (see *KB*, p. 20). It was visited by the Kharatara saint Jinachandra II in V.S. 1221.

103. Jahanavada:—This is identified with modern New Delhi. A poem called *Ajitapurana* by Arunamani, of the Mathura *Gaccha*, was composed in the Parsvanatha temple of this town, during the rule of Avarangasaha in V.S. 1716. Avarangasaha is no other than Aurangzeb, the Mughal emperor. See *Jaina-grantha-prasasti-sangraha*, p. 99.

104. Jahangirpura:—This place is identified with modern Sultanganj in Bihar and is mentioned by Jananasagara (16th century). The Jina temple, of this place, was built, according to authority, by one Kirtimalla, and it was also known as Laghu-Kailasa (see *Tirthavandanasangra*, p. 77), see also *Prachin Tirthamalasangraha*, I, p. 81; and *Jaina tirthano itihasa* by Nyayavijaya, Ahmedabad.

105. Jaisalmer:—This great Jain centre in the district, of the same name in Rajasthan, still has a large number of magnificent Svetambara temples, which have not only yielded numerous important epigraphs, but also have a few great libraries. As noted by us, the earliest reference, to this place, is found in connection with the activities of the Karatara Jinapati in V.S. 1224. There is little doubt that even in the later part of the 12th century, there was a Jain community at Jesalameru, which is the earlier name of Jaisalmer. The earliest temple of this place was dedicated to Parsvanatha, which was constructed before 1218 A.D. The *KB* records that on numerous occasions, prominent Kharatara saints visited this place and participated in the consecration ceremonies of the Jina icons (see pp. 34, 52, 58, 61, 63, 81, 86, 93-94). Afterwards, the temple of Sambhavanatha was built in 1437 A.D. Some other temples of Jaisalmer were also built afterwards; see in this connection, Jain, *Ancient Cities* etc., pp. 371 ff.; and P. C. Nahar, *Jain Inscriptions*, III, *Introd.*, pp. 14 ff. The temples of Shantinatha, Chandraprabha, Sitalanatha,

Rishabahanatha, Mahavira were built in the 15th century. See *Tirtha Darshan*, Vol. I, pp. 160ff. The epigraphs of this place have been edited by Nahar in his third volume of *Jain Inscriptions* and by Nahata in his *Bikaner Inscriptions*, Nos. 2618-2875.

106. Jakhoda:—This place is situated in the Pali district of Rajasthan, and is well-known for the temple of Shantinatha, which was installed in the 14th century; see *Tirtha Darshan*, I, pp. 224 f. It is also mentioned in the *Tirthamala* of the poet Megha, composed in the early 15th century.

107. Jamanapura:—This place in Mahesana district of Gujarat, has the Svetambara temple of Chandraprabha. The Jamanakiya *gaccha* originated at this place and is mentioned in a metal icon of V.S. 1285; see *Tirtha Darshan* II, pp. 348 f.

108. Jangalu:—It is a place in Bikaner district of Rajasthan. It was known in the 12th century as Jangala-kupadurga, as we learn from a Jain inscription of V.S. 1176. This inscription mentions the Mahavira temple of this place and further records the installation of an image of Shantinatha in that temple (see Nahata, *Bikaner Jainalekhasangraha*, No. 1543). This place was also known as Ajayapura, as we learn from another Jain inscription, recording the installation of an image of Mahavira, of the same date.

109. Javalipura:—This was a very important place connected with Jainism from quite early times. Javalipura had a number of Jain shrines in the 8th century, including the temple of Rishabhadeva, in which the *Kuvalayamala* of Udyotana was composed, in the Saka year 700, corresponding to 779 A.D. Apparently that author also mentions other Jina temple of that town (see *Supra*, I, p. 153). Afterwards, the Parsvanatha temple on the Svarnagiri hill near this town was built by the great Chalukya Jain sovereign Kumarapala (see Jinavijaya, *Prachin Jainalekhasangraha*, II, No. 352) in V.S. 1221. The *mandapa*

of the Adinatha temple was built in V.S. 1239. There were several important Jain temples at this town; see in this connection, Jain *Ancient Cities* etc. pp. 188 ff. This place was also very intimately connected with the activities of the monks of the Kharatara *Gaccha* (see *KB*. 6, 44, 47-52, 54-55, 58-61, 62, 65, 73, 77, 79-80). The *KB* (p. 51) mentions a temple of Shantinatha, situated on Svarnagiri of this town. Elsewhere (*KB*, pp. 54-55, 59) we are told of the Chandraprabha temple of this place, which was also very closely associated with the monks of this *Gaccha*. A second temple of Mahavira of this place, called Chandanvihara is mentioned in two Jain epigraphs, from this place (see Jinavijaya, *op. cit.*, Nos. 362-63). The *KB* (p. 64) also mentions the destruction of Javalipura by the Muslims, which took place before V.S. 1371. However, we have Jain epigraphs, from this place, even of the 17th century; see Jinavijya, *op. cit.*, Nos. 355-359.

110. Jinagiri:—This ancient Jain *tirtha* of Tamilnadu, is situated in South Arcot district. It was known by several names like Uccandavalamali, Vadapali, Varatirumalai, Tirumetrisai, Narapattirandu, Perumapalli etc. Several Tamil epigraphs from this place, are known. It was the home of Viranandi of Nandi sangha. The monks of this place afterwards popularised Jainism in other places of Tamilnadu. The main icon of the present temple is that of Parsvanatha (see *Tirtha Darshan*, II, pp. 580 f).

111. Jina-Kanci:—This is another celebrated Jain *tirtha* of Tamilnadu, near Kanchi in the district of the same name (the present name of this district has been changed to Chengalpattu, apparently to satisfy Tamil Chauvinism). Its history goes back to the days of the Pallavas; see the Introduction to A. Chakravarti's *Jain Literature in Tamil* (revised edition, New Delhi, 1970), pp. X ff. The presiding deity of the *tirtha* is Vardhamana, and some 17 epigraphs, ranging from the 12th century to the 16th have been found from this temple complex.

Several inscriptions belong to the reign of the Cola kings like Kulottunga I, Vikrama Cola etc. Four epigraphs, of the time of the Vijayanagar kings, like Bukka II and Krishnadeva are known. There is little doubt that it was the greatest Jain centre of Tamilnadu from early times to the modern period. It was also known as Trailokyavallabh temple. There was also a temple of Chandraprabha near the main temple of Vardhaman (see *Tirtha Darshan*, II, pp. 591f.; see also Desai, *op. cit.*, pp. 34 f.). For the inscriptions of this place, see *E.I.*, 7, pp. 115 ff.

112. Jirapalli:—This old *tirtha* is situated in Sirohi district of Rajasthan and is also known by the name Jiravala Parsvanatha. From quite early times, the temple of this place, was known throughout the Jain world. Velankar lists some six works eulogising the main shrine of this *tirtha* (*Jinaratnakosa*, p. 14). Strangely enough, however, Jinaprabha has ignored this great *tirtha* in his *Vividhatirthakalpa*. The *KB* (pp. 86-87) has mentioned the Parsva temple-complex of this place, twice in connection with the activities of the Karatara *acharya* Jinapadmasuri in V.S. 1393. We also have references to the monks of the Jirapalli *Gaccha* who flourished after V.S. 1400. The earliest known inscription (P.C. Nahar, *op. cit.*, II, No. 1049), mentioning this *Gaccha*, is dated in V.S. 1406; see also Jain, *Ancient Cities* etc., pp. 427 ff. This temple, like many other temples of Rajasthan and Gujarat, was destroyed by the Muslims, and afterwards a new *mulnayaka*, namely Neminatha, emerged as the principal deity of this ancient temple-complex.

113. Jirnadura:—This is identical with Junagarh in Gujarat, and was a well-known Jain centre from the 16th century. A Jain manuscript, was copied at this place, in V.S. 1626, corresponding to 1568 A.D.; see A.M. Shah, *Sri-Prasastisangrah*, No. 469; A temple of Nemisvara (Neminatha) of this place is mentioned in a manuscript of V.S. 1778.

114. Jhadoli:—It is a *tirtha* situated in Sirohi district of Rajasthan and is well-known for its Adisvara temple. We have

epigraphs, in this temple from the 12th century and originally the *mulanyaka* of this temple was Mahavira. Probably there was a smaller temple of Shantinatha in this big temple-complex, as we have reference in Megha's *Tirthamala* to that temple, situated at this place. See *Tirtha Darshan*, I, pp. 276 f.

115. Jhagadiya:—It is situated in Bharuch (Baroach) district of Gujarat and the icons of this village were dug out only a century ago from a place near it. The local king then erected a new temple, and according to an inscribed image, all the icons were fashioned in V.S. 1200. The *mulnayaka* of this temple is Lord Adinatha; see *Tirtha Darshan*, II, pp. 470f.

116. Jhalarpatan:—It is another name of the ancient Chandravatī, famous for the great Shantinatha temple. The KB (p. 87) mentions the *Yugadideva* temple of this place; see for details, Jain *Ancient Cities* etc., pp. 134 ff.; see also *Bharat ke Digambara Jaina Tirtha*, IV, pp. 34 ff.

117. Jhunjhunu:—This place is mentioned in two Digambara literary records of the 15th century, as a town full of Jina temples; see *Bhattaraka Sampradaya*, Nos. 253-54.

118. Kacholi:—This *tirtha*, sacred to Parsvanatha, was known as Kaculika in early times and has an epigraph of V.S. 1343, which proves that it existed before 1300 A.D. It is situated in Sirohi district of Rajasthan. See *Tirtha Darshan*, I, pp. 288 f.

119. Kadakol:—This was a *tirtha* in Dharwar district of Karnataka and has yielded a number of epigraphs which prove that it existed as a Jain sacred place, before the 13th century; see Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 146; see also *J.S.L.S.*, II, Nos. 442, 490, 508, etc; also *ibid.*, IV, p. 350 dated 1280 A.D.

120. Kakandi:—This *tirtha*, associated with the birth of the 9th Tirthankara Pushpadanta, is generally identified with Kakan in Munger district of Bihar. A few scholars are of the opinion that Khukhud in Gorakhpur district of U.P., is the modern

site of Kakandi; see J.C. Jain, *Bharat ke Prachin Jain Tirtha*, Varanasi, 1952, p. 26.

121. Kalbhavi:—This place in Belgaum district of Karnataka, was known as Kumudavada in the 8th century and had a Jain temple of that time, which was under the supervision of the monks of the Maitapa *anvaya* and the Kareya *gana*, which was a section of the famous Yapaniya Sangha (see above, p. 99; and Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 115).

122. Kalholi:—This place is also situated in Belgaum district of Karnataka and was known as Kalpore of Sindana-Kalpore, in early times. From an inscription of A.D. 1204, we learn that there was a temple of Shantinatha at this place, and was under the supervision of the monks of the Hanasoge section of the Pustaka *Gaccha* the Mulasangha and the Kundakunda *anvaya*; see Desai, *op. cit.*, pp. 116 f.; and also *Supra*, p. 101.

123. Kalugumalai:—This ancient place in modern Tirunelveli district of Tamilnadu was once a flourishing centre of Jainism (see Desai, *op. cit.*, pp. 64 ff; see also *Supra* I, pp. 130 f.). Inscriptions from the 3rd century B.C. to the 11th century A.D., have been found from this site.

124. Kampilya:—It was one of the earliest cities of Northern India and its association with Jainism, dates from the pre-Christian times. According to the Svetambara canonical tradition, Asamitta, the fourth *Ninhava* (rebel), who flourished 220 years after Mahavira, was associated with this city. It is identified with modern Kampil in Farrukhabad district of U.P. It is claimed to be the birth-place of Vimalanatha, the 13th Tirthankara. Early Jain epigraphs have been discovered from this place. The author of the *Vividhatirthakalpa* (p. 50) has also written on this *tirtha*.

125. Kanchi:—This great city of Tamilnadu was surely a stronghold of Jainism, in the post-Christian period. We have already discussed Jina-Kanchi. The great Samanta bhadra was a resident of this city (see *supra*, I, p. 325). An eighth-century

epigraph from this city, of the time of Nandivarman II, refers to an Arhat temple of this city.

126. Kanyakubja:—This ancient place of U.P. Kannauj was associated with the activities of the great Svetambara *acharya*, Bappabhattacharya; see *Prabhavakacarita*, pp. 80 ff.

127. Kanyanayana:—This was a famous Svetambar *tirtha*, probably situated near Delhi. Its history can be traced from 12th century, when an icon of Mahavira was installed in the existing *Chaityalaya*, of this place, in V.S. 1233 by the Kharatara *acharya* Jinapati (KB, p. 24). That work includes this *tirtha* in Vagada *desa* (probably eastern Rajasthan); see *ibid.*, p. 65; and pp. 66, 68, 72. The Mahavira temple of this place was quite popular with the Kharatara *acharyas*. This *tirtha* according to the *Vividhatirtha* was destroyed by the Muslims in V.S. 1385 and afterwards the author of this work, namely Jinaprabha, with the help of Muhammad Bin Tughluq, repaired this *tirtha* and, once more, installed the icon of Mahavira in the same temple-complex of Kanyanayana (see *Vividhatirthakalpa*, pp. 45 f.).

128. Kapparada:—This *tirtha* is situated in the Jodhpur district of Rajasthan, and has a temple of Parsvanatha. Its old name was Karpatahedaka. The present temple was, however built in the early 17th century; for details, see *Tirtha Darshan*, I, pp. 150 ff.

129. Karakala:—This place, in South Kanara district of Karnataka, emerged as a Jain *tirtha* in the 15th century. There were several Digambara temples at this place, including one dedicated to Gomateshvara and another to Parsvanatha. See for the epigraphs of this place, *S.I.I.*, Vol. 7. The local kings of the area, gave full patronage to the Jains and their temples. Karnataka is extremely well-known for its famous Jain *manastambha*, which is 59 feet in height, and is fashioned out of a single stone. This place was under the supervision of the monks of the Panasoge *shakha*. The great icon of Bahubali,

of this place, was built by Pandyaraya in Saka 1353, corresponding to 1432 A.D. (See *J.S.L.S.*, III, No. 624). A detailed account regarding some Jain shrines of this place can also be obtained from an epigraph of the place, dated Saka 1508, corresponding to 1586 A.D. (see *J.S.L.S.*, III, No. 680). The 16th century Digambara writer, Jananasagara has mentioned the famous statue of Gomateshvara and also a temple of Neminatha of this place. The 17th century writer Visvabhushana has also mentioned this place as a Jain *tirtha*; see for details *Tirthavandanasangraha*, pp. 127f; and *Tirtha Darshan*, II, pp. 570f.

130. Karanja:—This well-known Digambara *tirtha* in the Akola district of Maharashtra, like Karakala, entered into limelight in the 15th century. Jnanasagara mentions the Chandranatha (Chandraprabha) temple of this place; see *Tirthavandanasangraha*, p. 81. Afterwards, a temple of Parsva was also built in this place. Silavijaya (17th century) in his *Tirthamala*, has given a detailed account of this *tirtha*, which shows that it was a flourishing Jain centre in his time (see in this connection, Premi, *op. cit.*, pp. 455 f.). In the second Chandraprabha temple of this place, there is an old library, which contains an invaluable collection of nearly 1000 Jain manuscripts.

131. Kasahrada:—This ancient Svetambara *tirtha* is situated in the Sirohi district of Rajasthan, and has an eleventh century Jain temple, dedicated to Shantinatha. It is mentioned in the *KB* (p. 36) in connection with the activities of the Karatara Jinapati, who flourished in the 12th century. The *Vividhatirthakalpa* (p. 85) associates this *tirtha* with Adinatha. A Svetambara *Gaccha*, called Kasadraha *Gaccha* was associated with this place, and the earliest mention of this *gaccha* is found in an epigraph of V.S. 1222 (see Jinavijaya, *Prachin-Jaina Lekha-sangraha*, II, No. 230). According to a statement, recorded by Devasuri (circa 1200 A.D.), the author of the *Padmaprabhacarita*, the Jalihara and the Kasadraha *Gacchas* originated from the Vidyadhara shakha of the ancient Kotika *gana* (see *J.S.B.I.*, VI, P. 81).

132. Kaushambi:—This great city is now represented by the extensive ruins at Kosam in the Allahabad district of U.P. This great city was associated with Jainism even from the pre-Christian period. As early as the 3rd B.C., as the evidence of the *Kalpasutra* suggests, there was a *shakha*, connected with this city. Lord Mahavira, as we have already seen in the earlier volume (p. 47) of the present work, personally visited this place, during the reign of the celebrated king Udayana. It is also the birth-place, according to the Jain tradition, of Padmaprabha, the 6th Tirthankara. Jinaprabha, has also written on this *tirtha* (p. 23), although it is doubtful whether he actually visited it. Even during Hiuen-Tsang's visit (7th century), it was a ruined city.

133. Kavi:—This *tirtha*, sacred to Lord Adinatha, is situated in Bharuch (Bhorach) district of Gujarat. Its history goes back to the quarter of the 16th century; see *Tirtha Darshan*, II, pp. 464 f.

134. Khajuraho:—This world-famous place, situated in Chattarpur district of M.P., was also a celebrated Digambara centre and we have the temples of Shanti, Parsva and Adinatha, in this place, of the time of the Chandellas. The earliest Jain inscription of this place, is dated in V.S. 1011 corresponding to 955 A.D. The Digambara *Acharya* Vasavachandra, has been represented in that epigraph, as the *guru* of king Dhanga. The Jains retained their popularity till the time of the disappearance of the Chandellas from history; see *supra*, pp. 54 ff.; see also for a detailed treatment of the Jain temples of this place, *Bharat ke Digambara Jaina Tirtha*, III, pp. 131 ff.

135. Khandagiri:—This place was associated with Jainism, from the pre-Christian times. The evidence of Kharavela's famous epigraph shows that it was known as Kumarihill in the 1st century B.C. (see *Supra*, I, p. 88). This particular name is found in a 10th century Digambara epigraph, from the same hill, and also in the *Brahathkathakosha* of Harisena, composed in 931

A.D. (see above, I, p. 171). The inscription of Udyotakesari proves that this hill, continued as a popular Jain centre, for a very long time, and the evidence of Harisena's work also proves the same thing. However, in all the works on the Jain *tirthas*, this hill in Puri district of Orissa, has been ignored.

136. Khedabrahma:—This place in Sabarkantha district of Gujarat, is associated with the temple of Lord Mahavira from the medieval period; see *Tirtha Darshan*, II, p. 360..

137. Kojara:—This *tirtha*, sacred to Sambhavanatha, is situated in Sirohi district of Rajasthan, and an epigraph of V.S. 1224 suggests its antiquity; see *Tirtha, Darshan*, I, p. 284.

138. Kollapura:—This *tirtha* as we have seen, was a celebrated Digambara *tirtha* and could boast of a number of Jain temples.

139. Kopana:—This celebrated *tirtha* situated in Raichur district of Karnataka, emerged into limelight in the 9th century A.D., and it was surely considered a most important *tirtha* from that time (see *Supra*, I, p. 195). Several epigraphs, inscribed after 1000 A.D., are also known (see above, pp. 93 ff.), and we have references to some Jain shrines of this place, including the Kusha Jinalaya. Even in the epigraphs from Sravana Belgola and other places, we get references to Kopana, as a *mahatirtha*.

140. Kotitirtha:—It appears that this famous Jain *tirtha* was situated in Varendra (North Bengal). This is apparent from a verse of the *Brahatkathakosa* and also Prabhahcandra's *Kathakosa*, already noted; see also *Tirthavandanasangraha*, pp. 134 f.; for the *Brahatkathakosa* passage, see story No. 16, verse 45.

141. Kshemapura:—This was another name of Gerascoppe, which has already been discussed (see in this connection, *J.S.L.S.*, IV, pp. 303, 315). In an inscription, dated 1421 A.D., Kshemapura is called a *tirtha* (see *M.A.R.*, 1928, p. 93).

142. Kuppaturu:—This *tirtha* in Shimoga district of Karnataka, was well-known for its Parsva temple, which was known as Brahma-Jinalaya, see above pp. 113 f. Its antiquity goes back to the 11th century; See *E.C.*, VIII, Sorab, 262.

143. Laja:—This *tirtha*, sacred to Adisvara, is situated in Sirohi district of Rajasthan and its antiquity goes back to 12th century; see *Tirtha Darshan*, I, p. 278.

144. Lakshmani:—This *tirtha*, sacred to Padmaprabha, is situated in Jhabua district of M.P. It is mentioned in the *Pravasagiti* of Jayananda (15th century) as a great Jain centre with more than one hundred temples and 2000 devotees. It is a Svetambara centre; see *Tirtha Darshan*, II, p. 480.

145. Lakshmesvara:—This ancient *tirtha* in Dharwar district of Karnataka, existed from the 6th century A.D., and the Sankha Jinendra of this place was known throughout Karnataka. There were several other temples at this holy *tirtha*, Some of them were apparently built by the Western Ganges, and some afterwards. Among the prominent Jina temples, we can mention *Tirtha basadi*, *Mukkara basadi*, *Ganga-kandarpa Jinamandira*, *Peramadi*—*Caityalaya*, *Sri-Vijaya basadi*, *Marudevi basadi*, *Dhavala Jinalaya*, *Goggiya basadi*, *Anesejjeya basadi* and also a temple, dedicated to Shantinatha. That the *Anesejjaya basadi* of this place, was one of the most prominent Jina temples of South India, is also proved by the famous Ablur epigraph, which mentions it especially in connection with the eight hundred Jain temples. It was originally built by Kumkumadevi, the younger sister of Chalukya Vijyaditya (see *I.A.*, 18, pp. 37-38). We have also other epigraphs from the same *tirtha*. As late as the 17th century, this place was known as a Jain *tirtha* (see Premi, *op. cit.*, 463).

146. Lavanakhetaka:—This place in Western Rajasthan was also known by the names Khetanagara or Khedanagara, and it was one of the oldest towns in the Marwar area of that

province. It was recognised as a *tirtha* by Siddhasena, in the 12th century (see *G.O.S.*, 76; P. 156). Epigraphs prove the existence of temples, dedicated to Rhshabha, Shantinatha and Mahavira (see K.C. Jain., *op. cit.*, pp. 299 f.), at this town. The *KB* also mentions it thrice in connection with the wanderings of the monks of the Karatara *gaccha* (see pp. 34, 80-81).

147. Lodrava:—This *tirtha*, sacred to Parsvanatha, is situated in Jaisalmer district of Rajasthan. Several inscriptions from this place are known (see Nahar, Jain Inscriptions, III, No. 2498, 2530, 2543, 2560-01, 2560-61, 2572 etc.). The Parsva temple of this place, was originally built in the 11th century; see Jain, *op. cit.*, pp. 370 f.; see also *Tirtha Darshan*, I, pp., 164 ff.

148. Lokkigundi:—This place in Dharwar district of Karnataka, is now known by the name Lakkundi, and there was once several Jina temples in this place. The great Jain lady Attimabbe, constructed in the first decade of the 11th century, a Jain temple at this place (see *S.I.I.*, XI, p. 39). The temple of Shantinatha, of this place, is mentioned in an epigraph of 1185 A.D. (see *J.S.L.S.* IV, No. 274). There was also a temple of Neminatha at this village (for details, see Desai, *op. cit.*, pp. 140 f.).

149. Madalura:—The existence of a Parsvanath of this village, in Kolhapur district of Maharashtra, is disclosed by a 12th century epigraph found from Bamani in the same district. A grant was made in favour of this temple by king Vijayaditya in 1150 A.D. The grant was made after washing the feet of Arhannandi Siddhantadeva, a disciple of celebrated Maganandi Siddhantadeva, who was a disciple of Kulacandramuni, belonging to the Kundakunda lineage; see *C.I.I.*, VI, No. 54.

150 Mahuva:—This *tirtha*, situated in Bhavnagar district of Gujarat, was known in earlier times, as Madhumati (see *Vividhatirthokalpa.*, p. 3). It is mentioned in the *Tirtha-mala*

of Vinayavijaya composed in the 14th century. The place is sacred to Lord Mahavira; see *Tirtha Darshan*, II, p. 418.

151. Maleyakheda:—It is the ancient name of Malkhed and represents Manyakheta of the Rashtrakutas. It is situated in Gulbarga district of Karnataka, and was considered by the Jains of the medieval period, as a great Jain tirtha. It is mentioned by both Jananasagara and Vishvabhushana. The latter writers refer to its Neminatha temple, which is mentioned by a 14th century epigraph, edited by Desai (see *Jainism in South India* etc., p. 422). For more details on Jainism in this place, see *ibid*, pp. 192 ff.; and *Tirthavandanasangraha*, p. 164.

152. Maleyura:—It was a very important Jain *tirtha*, sacred to Parsvanatha. It is situated in Mysore district and has yielded a number of epigraphs, the earliest of which, is dated in Saka 1103, corresponding to 1181 AD. (see also *Supra*, pp. 196 f.). The Vijayanatha temple (probably Parsvanatha) is mentioned in several later inscriptions.

153. Mandavagadha:—This *tirtha*, sacred to Suparsvanatha, the 7th Tirthankara, is situated in Dhar district of Madhya Pradesh. There is also an old temple of Shantinatha in this place. Sumatisagara (16th century) and Jnanasagara (*circa* 1575 A.D.) have mentioned the Mahavira temple of this place, which does not exist now; see *Tirthavandanasangraha*, p. 165; and *Tirtha Darshan*, II, pp. 488 f. At present it is known as Mandu.

154. Mangalapura:—This place was an important *tirtha* and it was sacred to Abhinandana, the 4th Tirthankara. Jinaprabha has included this *tirtha* in his valuable work (pp. 57f.) It is apparent from his work that this *tirtha* existed even before 1000 A.D. It was destroyed by the Muslims apparently in the 13th century (see *Vividhatirthakalpa*, p. 57) and was rebuilt Jinaprabha (p. 58) further tells us that this temple once received a grant of land from Jayasimha, the king of Malwa, who was probably the Paramar Jayasimha II, who ruled in the 3rd quarter of the

13th century (see *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 71), See also *Tirthavandanasagra*, pp. 162 f.

155. Mangi-Tungi:—This ancient Digambara *tirtha* is situated in the Nasik district of Maharashtra, and is considered sacred to the first Tirthankara Adinatha. According to the Digambara tradition, this place represents, the spot, where Balrama, the elder brother of Vasudeva, breathed his last. The earliest epigraph, from this place, is dated V.S. 1443, corresponding to 1387 A.D. However, in much earlier Digambara works, this *tirtha* is mentioned by name (see *Tirthavandanasangraha*, pp. 134 f; For some further information, on this *tirtha*, see Premi, *op. cit.*, pp. 434 ff. See also *Tirtha Darshan*, Vol. II, pp. 538 f.

156. Marukotta:—This town was apparently situated in the desert area of Marwar in Rajasthan, and is mentioned several times in the *KB* (pp. 8-9, 13, 20, 23, 34, 65, 73). It is aparent from the same text that Jainism was quite popular from the early medieval period, at this town. The same source informs us that there was a temple, dedicated to the Tirthankara Chandraprabha at this town.

157. Maruru:—This place in South Kanara district of Karnataka had a Parsvanatha temple of the late medieval period; see *J.S.L.S.*, IV, Nos. 494-495.

158. Maski:—This well-known place, associated with the inscriptions of Asoka, in Raichur district of Karnataka, was considered a Jain centre, in the medieval period. There were two Jain temples, including the one called Jagadekamalla Jinalaya, apparently named after Jayasimha II; see Desai, *op. cit.*, pp. 393 f.

159. Mathura:—This was undoubtedly one of the earliest and the greatest Jain *tirthas* of Northern India. As already noted by us, Mathura had emerged as a Jain *tirtha* even in the pre-Christian times. It was at first a great Svetambara *tirtha* and

afterwards the Digambaras also slowly made their presence felt in this town. We have also seen that in all the important Svetambara texts of later times, Mathura was recognised as a great *tirtha*, and in the early medieval period, the celebrated saint Bappabhatti gave a new lease of life to this religion in this city. The Digambaras, belonging to the Panchastupanikaya sect originally belonged to Mathura (see *Supra*, Vol. I, p. 106). The celebrated Jinaprabha in his *Vividhatirthakalpa* (pp. 17 ff.), has given a history of this *tirtha* and has connected it with Suparsvanatha. The great Svetambara scholar (circa 600 A.D.), Jinbhadra had rescued a copy of the *Mahanisitha* manuscript from the white-ants in the temple-complex of Mathura. The *Brihatkathakosha* (early 10th century) also has alluded to the popularity of the Digambara religion in this city. The excavations in the Kankalitila area of this city have brought to light, hundreds of Jain antiquities of the Kushana period.

160. Mattavura:—This place, in Chikmagalur district of Karnataka, has yielded epigraphs, which prove that it was very closely associated with Jainism, from the 11th century. The earliest epigraph from this place, bears the date Saka 991, corresponding to 1069 A.D. (see *M.A.R.*, 1932, p. 171; see also *J.S.L.S.*, IV, No. 152). Its modern name is Mattavara and other epigraphs discovered from this place, show that the Hoysala kings took active interest in the Jain shrine of this village; see also *Supra*, pp. 118 f.

161. Merta:—This well-known place in Rajasthan, was connected with Jainism, from quite early times. From the literary sources, we learn that a temple of Mahavira was built at Merta in the 11th century; see *Jain Ancient Cities and Towns* etc., pp. 178 f.; Several Jain works were written at this place. The *KB* (pp. 66, 68, 73) also associated this place with the activities of the monks of the Kharatara *Gaccha*. The Digambaras also took active interest in this place, in the 16th century (see *Bhattaraka Sampradaya*, No. 279). For the Svetambara

inscriptions, from Merta, see Nahar, *op. cit.*, No. 750 ff.

162. Mirpur:—This place, sacred to Parsvanatha, is situated in Sirohi district of Rajasthan and was known as Hamirpura in earlier times; see *Tirtha Darshan*, I, pp. 252 f.

163. Mithila:—This ancient city of the epic fame, was also looked upon as a *tirtha* by the Jains of the earlier times, Lord Mahavira himself stayed for six years in this city; see *Prakrit Proper Names*, II, p. 603; see also *Supra*, I, p. 24 according to the Jain tradition, the two Tirthankaras, Malli and Naminatha were born, in this city. The Jain rebel Asamitta was associated with this city in the 3rd century B.C. According to the *Vividhatirthakalpa* (p. 32), this ancient city was situated on the confluence of the Banganga and the Gandaki and was known as Jagai in Jinaprabha's time. This information is vital for the exact identification of the ancient Mithila place.

164. Modhera:—This ancient place, famous for the Sun-temple, in the Mahesana district of Gujarat, was connected with Jainism, from the 8th century. According to the *Prabhavakacarita* (p. 80), Bappabhatti was initiated by Siddhasena, at this place, apparently in the 8th century. Both this work and the *Vividhatirthakalpa* (pp. 19, 86) refer to the temple of Lord Mahavira this place and it is quite probable that the Vira temple here is older than the famous Surya temple of this place. At present, the temple of this place is dedicated to Parsvanatha. The Svetambara Modhera *Gaccha* originated from this place; see *Tirtha Darshan*, II, pp. 374 f.; see also Nahar, *Jain Inscriptions* IIm, No. 1694, dated V.S. 1227, where we have a reference to the Modha *Gaccha*.

165. Mudabidri:—This important Digambara Jain *tirtha* is situated in the South Kanara district of Karnataka and is also known as Bidure or Bedari. The earliest Jain epigraph, from this place, is dated in the Saka year 1426, corresponding to 1504 A.D. (see *J.S.L.S.*, IV, No. 455). A copper plate inscription,

from this place, dated 1546 A.D., discloses the name of the Chandranatha (i.e. Chandraprabha) temple, by the local ruler of Biligi. It is interesting to note that this temple of Chandraprabha is mentioned by the sixteenth-century Digambara writer Jnanasagara, and also by Visvabhushan; see *Tirthavandana-sangraha*, pp. 71, 93 and 167. Jnanasagara also mentions the Parsvanatha temple of this place which too, is mentioned in a copper plate inscription, found from this place, dated 1563 A.D. The temple of Chandraprabha, according to the earlier inscription, was known as Tribhuvana-Chudamani temple. An inscription of 1622 A.D., mentions one Tribhuvanatilka temple of this place (see *J.S.L.S.*, IV, Nos. 478 and 504). From this town were discovered invaluable manuscripts of the entire *Dhavalā* and *Jayadhavalā*. The 17th century Svetambara writer Silavijaya has mentioned 19 Jain temples of this place, including the temples of Adisvara, Santisvara, Chandraprabha and Parsava. He has also referred to the palm-leaf manuscripts, preserved at this town (see Premi, *op. cit.*, p. 462).

166. Muktagiri:—This hill, sacred to Parsvanatha, is situated near Acalapra, in the Amravati district of Maharashtra. It is mentioned by the later medieval Digambara writers, including Jnanasagara, Sumatisagara and others. It is also called Medhagiri; see *Bharat ke Digambara Jaina Tirtha*, IV, pp. 319 ff.; and *Tirthavandanasangraha*, pp. 166 f.

167. Mulgund:—Famous for Jaina temples.

168. Mundasthala:—This Svetambara *tirtha*, sacred to Lord Mahavira, is situated in the Sirohi district of Rajasthan. A number of epigraphs of this place, dating from the 12th century, are known; see Jinavijaya, *Prachin Jaina-Lekha-Sangraha*, Nos. 272 ff. The temple was actually known as the Jivantsvami-Mahavira temple. This temple is also mentioned by Jinaprabha in his *Vividhatirthakalpa* (p. 86). In an inscription of the 14th century,

it is called a *mahatirtha* (see *Arbudacala-pradakshina*, No. 48). Its present name is Mungathala; see for further details, Jain, *Ancient Cities and Towns* etc., pp. 418 f.

169. Nadlai:—This holy place is situated in the district of Pali in Rajasthan. It was associated with Jainism, at least from the 10th century A.D. It was known by the names Naduladagika, Nandakulavati, Naradapuri etc. (see Jain, *op. cit.*, p. 289). As we have already seen (see *Supra*, pp. 44 f.), there were formerly two important Svetambara temples, namely those of Mahavira and Neminatha, at this place. At present, we have two principal temples of Lord Neminatha and Lord Adinatha. The famous Vijayasena, the disciple of great Hiravijaya, was born at this place. For other details see Jain, *op. cit.*, 290 ff.; and *Tirtha Darshan*, I, pp. 204 ff.

170. Nadol:—This place is also situated in the Pali district of Rajasthan and in ancient times, its principal Jina temple was dedicated to Lord Mahavira. At present, however, the principal deity of this *tirtha* is Padmaprabha, although the old temple of Neminatha still stands. As noted earlier (vide p. 45), this place is called a *mahasthana* in a 12th century epigraph. For details, see Jain, *op. cit.*, pp. 278 ff.

171. Nagapura:—This ancient Svetambara *tirtha* is now represented by the town of Nagaur, situated in the district of the same name in Rajasthan. It is mentioned for the first time, in the 9th century Svetambara work of Jayasimha entitled *Dharmopadeshmala* (see *Supra*, I, p. 286). The Jain shrine of this place, referred to in this work, has been mentioned also by later writers. There were also other temples and the temple of Neminatha was built, according to an epigraph in circa 1100 A.D. This temple was associated with the activities to the great Karatara *acharya* Jinavallabha (see KB., p. 13). At present this *tirtha* is associated with Adinatha, see *Tirtha Darshan*, I, p. 142. The Nagapuriya Gaccha originated from this town.

172. Nagaharada:—This *tirtha*, situated in Udaipur district of Rajasthan, is at present known as Nagda and is famous for its beautiful temple, dedicated to Shantinatha. In earlier times, the Parsva temple of this place was quite well-known and is mentioned in the 13th century Digambara poem *Sasana-chatuśtrimisika* (p. 31 of the *Tirthavandanasangraha*) and its also mentioned in the *Tirthavandana* (verse 6) of Udayakirti (see in this connection, *Tirthavandanasangraha*, pp. 153 f.). The present temple of Shantinatha of this place was built during the reign of Kumbhakarna (see *PRAS, W.C.*, 1905, p. 61). Jinaprabha in his *Vividhatirthakalpa* (p. 86) has mentioned Nagaharada as a *tirtha*, sacred to Parsvanatha. See for some more details, Jain, *op. cit.*, pp. 217 f.

173. Nagara-Mahasthana:—This place of Jaipur district of Rajasthan, was connected with the Tirthankara Yugadideva or Risbhanatha, from the early medieval period. The KB (p. 85) mentions this *tirtha* and the *Prabandhachintamani* (pp. 62 f.) also associates this place with that Tirthankara.

174. Nagarakotta:—This great *tirtha* in the Dharmashala district of Himachal Pradesh, is mentioned in several Svetambara works. The KB (p. 50) proves that there was a temple of Santinatha at Nagarakotta (Nagarkota) in the 13th century. The *Vijnapati-triveni*, composed by Jayasagara in V.S. 1484, corresponding to 1426 A.D., mentions this place as a *mahatirtha* (see *Vijnapti Lekha Sangraha*, ed. Jinavijaya, Bombay, 1960, p. 55) and also calls it by the name Susarmapura. It also mentions the great Shantinatha temple-complex of this place (p. 56). The same work also mentions the temples of Mahavira, Adinatha and Neminatha of this place (see pp. 56-57). The king of this place in V.S., 1484 was a great patron of the Svetambaras. The *Nagarakottachaityaparipati* (ibid., p. 70) of the same Jayasagara, mentions also these four Jina temples of this place and also the temple of Ambika.

175. Nakoda:—This place, sacred to Parsvanatha, is situated

in the Barmer district of Rajasthan. It was known both as Nagara and Virampua in ancient times. It came into limelight in the 14th century, and we have known from the epigraphic sources, that formerly it was famous for the temple of Lord Mahivra and there was also a temple of Shantinatha at this place (see Jain, *op. cit.*, p. 432). Afterwards, a few other Jina temples were also built. See *Tirtha Darshan*, pp. 176 ff.

176. Nalakacchapura:—This place in Dhar district of M.P., as already noted by us, was connected with the activities of that prolific Digambara literature Asadhara, who wrote his works in the Neminatha temple of this place; see Premi, *op. cit.*, p. 343. This place is also mentioned along with Dhara (which was not far from it) in the colophon of a Svetambara manuscript, dated V.S. 1295 (see Jinavijaya, *Jaina-pustaka-prasasti-sangraha*, p. 120).

177. Nana:—This place in the Pali district of Rajasthan is considered a *tirtha*, sacred to Lord Mahavira. The earliest Jain inscription of this place, is dated in 960 A.D. (see *A.P.J.L.S.*, No. 341) which is incised on the door of the Mahavira shrine of this place. Some other epigraphs of the village, are also known (See Nahar, *op. cit.*, 1, Nos. 885 ff.). This *tirtha* was connected with the Svetambara *Gaccha* Nanavala or Nanakiya. For details, see *op. cit.*, pp. 415 ff.

178. Nandiya:—Situated in Sirohi district of Rajasthan has a great Mahavira temple.

179. Naraina:— It is a place, situated at a distance of 40 miles, north-east of Ajmer and was known by the names Naranayana, Naranaka etc. It is mentioned in the *KB* (p. 25). It is recognised as a *tirtha* in the 12th century work *Sakalatirthastotra* of Siddhasena. Dhanapala in his *Satyapuriya Mahavira Utsaha* mentions the Mahavira temple of this place, which according to Bijolia inscription of V.S. 1226, was built by an ancestor of Lolaka, who is mentioned as living in that

year. It therefore appears that this temple was built in the early 11th century. (see verse No. 36 of *J.S.L.S.*, IV, No. 265). K.C. Jain (*op. cit.*, p. 317) mentions the date V.S. 1009 on a standing image of Parsvanatha at this place.

180. Naravara (Narabhata):—This place is now known as Narhad and is situated in Jhunjhunu district of Rajasthan. It has been claimed that this place was connected with Jainism, even in the post-Gupta period, as two icons of Neminatha and Shantinatha, dated V.S. 650 A.D., were recently unearthed from this place (see *Indian Archeaology, A Review*, p. 83). The KB (P. 66) refers to the fact that the main icon of the Parsvanatha shrine of this place was installed by the Karatara Acarya Jinadatta, apparently in the 12th century. This place has also been referred to by Vinayaprabha Suri (14th century) in this *Tirthayatrastavana* (see Jain, *op. cit.*, P. 324). A temple of Adinatha of Naravara is mentioned in a manuscript, dated V.S. 1365.

181. Nasikya:—The well-known Nasik or Nasikya in Maharashtra is recognised as a *tirtha* in the *Vividhatirthakalpa*. This work mentions the Jivitasvami Tribhuvanatilaka Chandraprabha temple of this place (p. 85). There is a separate *Kalpa* (No. 28), of that work, on this celebrated *tirtha* of Nasikya. This temple of Chandraprabha of Nasik has been mentioned in the *Prabhavakacarita* (p. 188). The Digambara *tirtha* of Gajapantha is near Nasik, see *Bharat ke Digambara Jain Tirtha*, IV, pp. 203 ff.

182. Nitoda:—This *tirtha*, sacred to Parsvanatha, is situated in Sirohi district of Rajasthan. An epigraph of V.S. 1200, from the Parsva shrine of this place, shows that in the 12th century, the main temple of this *tirtha* was dedicated to Neminatha; see *Tirtha Darshan*, I, p. 264.

183. Nilakantha:—This place, in Alwar district of Rajasthan, was formerly known as Rajyapura and also Parangara (Parsvanagara). Another modern name of this place is Rajorgarh

(see Jain, *op. cit.*, pp. 195 ff.). The place derives its name from the celebrated Nilakanthesvara Siva temple of this village. The discovery of Jain antiquities, of the medieval period, proves its close association with Jainism. A tenth century inscription records the installation of an image of Shantinatha at Rajyapura, in V.S. 979, in the temple of that Tirthankara, during the reign of a king called Savata. The temple was constructed by the Jain architect Sarvadeva, son of Deddulaka and grandson of Arbhatta of the Dharkata family, hailing from Purnatallaka (see *Indian Archaeology : A Review*, 1961-62, p. 85).

184. Niralgi:—This place in Dharwar district of Karnataka, had a Digambara temple, called Mallinatha Jinesvara in the 12th century. An epigraph of 1147 A.D. of the reign of Jagadekamalla II, from this place mentions of Jain *Acharya* of the Mulasangha, Surasthagana, and Chitrakuta *anvaya*; see Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

185. Odalavadi:—This place in the Polur *taluk* of Tamilnadu had a Jain temple in the 13th century, which according to Desai (*op. cit.*, p. 95), was dedicated to Gommatanatha.

186. Osia:—This place in Jodhpur district of Rajasthan, was associated with Jainism from at least 8th century A.D. This is proved by an inscription of this place, dated V.S. 1013, which records the repairing of the Mahavira temple of this place, which according to this epigraph existed during the days of the Pratihara Vatsaraja (see *Supra*, I, pp. 134 f.). This particular temple of Lord Mahavira is mentioned in later inscriptions and literary texts. Two inscriptions of V.S. 1245, from this place, mention the *rathasla* of Lord Mahavira; see Nahar, *Jain Inscriptions*, I, Nos. 806-807. Osia was known as Upakesapura (see Nahar, *op. cit.*, 2, No. 788). Jinaprabha in his *Vividhatirthakalpa* (p. 86), associated Upakesa *tirtha* with Lord Mahavira. Siddhasena in his *Sakalatirthastotra* (G.O.S. 76, P. 156) recognises it as a *tirtha*. Monks belonging to the Upakesa or Ukesa *Gaccha*, played an important part in the religious life of the Svetambara Jains, in the medieval period.

187. Pabhosa:—This place near Kaushambi, in Allahabad district of U.P., has yielded pre-Christian epigraphs, and ancient Jain icons, including a magnificent sitting icon of Padmaprabha (see for further details Supra, I, p. 91). See also *Tirtha Darsan*, I, pp. 98 f. The Digambaras have recently appropriated this place, although the two relevant epigraphs were inscribed before the birth of the Digambara sect.

188. Padaliptapura:—This is the ancient name of the famous Palitana, a small town near the celebrated hill of Satrunjaya. The Mahavira temple of this place, according to the PC (p. 100) was in existence in Vastupala's time and that minister also built a *paushadhashala* there (p. 100). Probably this town was named after the saint Padaliptasuri. This is confirmed by the evidence the *Prabhavakacarita* (p. 38). However, it is extremely doubtful, whether the town is as old as the time of Padalipta, who according to the Jain tradition, flourished in the early centuries of the Christian era. It should, however be remembered that the hill Satrunjaya was a Jain *tirtha* from the pre-Christian times, as we have already shown.

189. Palasika:—This ancient Jain *tirtha* of great importance, is now known as Halsi and is situated in the Belgaum district of Karnataka. Palasika had a Jain temple which was probably built in the 4th century A.D., and in all probability, was dedicated to Rishabha. The Kadamba kings were good patrons of Jainism. It further appears that there were several Jina temples at Palasika, in the early period; however at present, there is no trace of Jainism at Halsi; see Desai, *op. ci.*, pp. 110.

190. Pali:—The *tirtha*, now sacred to Parsvanatha, is situated in the district, of the same name, in Rajasthan. It was formerly known as Palli or Pallika. According to Jinaprabha's *Vividhatirthakalpa* (p. 86), it was a *tirtha*, sacred to Vira or Lord Vardhman Mahavira. The form *Palli* is found in the text and also the *KB* (p. 1). In the epigraphs, from this place, we have the form *Pallika* and also *Pali*. The earliest inscription

from this place is dated in V.S. 1144, which proves that it was built before that date; see Jinavijaya, *Prachin Jaina-lekhasangraha*, II, No. 397. This particular epigraph and also Nos. 381 and 383 of that list mention the Viranatha or the Mahavira *Chaitya* of this place. In the 17th century, this temple was converted into a shrine, dedicated to Parsva, and was given the name of Navalakha temple (see *ibid.*, Nos. 398-399). The Palli or Pallivala *gaccha* of the Svetambaras, originated from this place.

191. Patliputra:—This great and ancient city was connected with both Jainism and Buddhism, from quite early times. Several early Svetambara *acharyas* were associated with this city, see *Prakrit Proper Names*, I, pp. 446 f. According to the 7th century text, the *Avashyakachurini*, II (p. 187), the first Svetambara council was held here during the reign of Nanda. Jinaprabha in his *Tirthankalpa* (p. 69), gives us the vital information that the Brahmin Jain philosopher Umasvati composed his *Tattavarthadhigamsutra* in this city. The city was also connected with the activities of the great Jain saints like Sthulbhadra, Bhadrabahu I, Mahagiri and Suhastin. In Jinaprabha's time, Patliputra was considered as sacred to Neminatha (see pp. 67, 86).

192. Pattana:—This ancient town of Gujarat, also known as Anahilapura, is now situated in the Mehesana district of Gujarat, was perhaps the greatest Svetambara centre of Gujarat, from the outh century to the late medieaval period. As early as V.S. 802, according to both the PC (p. 13) and the *Vividhatirthakalpa* (p. 51), the great parsva temple of this place, was built by the Capotkata king Vanaraja and it came to be known as the *Vanarajavihara* (see also *Prabhavakacarita*, p. 163). Afterwards, many other Jina temples were built, at this the great temple of Aristanemi of this town and he represent it as the tirtha, sacred to repeatedly mentions the Shantinatha of this place, which was apparently in existence, before 1300 A.D. (see also KB, p. 49). A temple of Mahavira was built

here during the time of the Karatara Jinpati in V.S. 1246, corresponding to 1188 A.D. (see KB, p. 44). Hundreds of Jain works were written at Pattana and almost all the great Jain saints and writers were, by some way or other, associated with this town. Even in the Muslim period, there were more than hundred Jina temple at this town; see *Tirtha Darshan*, II, pp. 350 ff.

193. Pava:—According to both the Jains and the Buddhists, this was the place where Lord Mahavira had breathed his last. The present day Jains identify it with Pavapuri of the Nalanda district of Bihar. But there is little doubt and as suggested by the evidence of the early Pali literature, it was near Kushnara, the place of Buddha's death in Gorakhpur district; see in this connection, *Bharat ke Digambara Jaina Tirtha*, I, pp. 175 ff.

194. Pavagiri:—This place in the Panchmahal district of Gujarat is considered a Digambara *tirtha*, sacred to Parsvanatha. It was in existence in the 15th century and the earliest epigraph, from this place, is dated in V.S. 1643. See *Tirthavandanasangraha*, pp. 155 f.; see also Premi, *op. cit.*, pp. 427 f.; and *Tirtha Darshan*, II, pp. 462 f.

195. Penugonda:—This place, in the Anantapur district of Andhra Pradesh, is known for its Parsvanatha temple, and has yielded a few Jain antiquities. In the 16th century, it was considered an important Digambara centre; see Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

196. Phalavardhika:—This celebrated *tirtha*, sacred to Lord Parsvanatha, is situated in the Nagaur district of Rajasthan. According to Jinaprabhas *Vividhatirthakalpa* (p. 105), there was a Vira temple at this place. The Parsva temple was considered very sacred in Jinaprabha's time and its original icon was once broken by that iconoclast, Muslim invader Shahbuddin (Muhammad of Ghur), in the last quarter of the 12th century. However, the evidence of both the *Tirthakalpa* and the KB suggest that it continued as a Svetambara *tirtha* in the later period also. See for a modern account, *Tirtha Darshan*, I, pp.

146 ff. The earliest inscription from this place, is dated V.S., 1221; another epigraph has no date, but mentions the temple of Parsva of this place (see Jinavijaya, *Prachin Jaina-Lekha-Sangraha*, II, Nos. 444-445). See for some other useful details, Jain, *Ancient Cities and Towns etc.*, pp. 424 ff.

197. Pindawara:—This place, sacred to Lord Mahavira, is now situated in the Sirohi district of Rajasthan and was known, in ancient times, as Pindaravataka, and this name occurs in an epigraph from Ranakpur, dated V.S. 1496; See Jinavijaya, *op. cit.*, II, No. 307. Several epigraphs from the Mahavira temple of this place, belonging to the 16th century, are known; see Nahar, *Jain Inscriptions*, I, No. 946 ff. One of the earliest metal Jain icons, dated V.S. 744, is preserved in this place; see also *supra*, I, pp. 152 f.; it was, however, discovered from Vasantgadhd fort, which marks the site of the ancient Vasantapura, which was a great Jain centre in the 9th century, as the evidence of Jayasimha's *Dharmopadeshamala* suggests.

198. Podanapura:—This ancient place is now known as Bodhan and is situated in the Nizamabad district of Andhra Pradesh. It was a stronghold of Jainism, before the 12th century. A damaged epigraph, of that time of this place; see Desai, *op. cit.*, pp. 102 f.; see also *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 7; see other Jain epigraphs, *J.S.L.S.*, V, Nos. 35, 46, 65 and 72.

199. Ponnugunda:—This place, now known as Hungund, is in the Bijapur district of Karnataka. There were at least three Digambara temples at this place in the 11th century, called by the names Tribhuvana-tilaka Jinalaya, Mahashrimanta *basadi* (mentioned in the Nandavadige epigraph of the same district) and the Arasara basadi, which is mentioned in an epigraph from Hungund, dated 1074 A.D., in the reign of Somesvara II; see Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

200. Prahladanapura:—This *tirtha*, now known as

Palanpur, is situated in the district of the Banaskantha in Gujarat. It is also the district headquarters. The *KB* repeatedly refers to this place and mentions several temples, including those of Mahavira, Rishaba, Nemi, Parsva and Nandisvara were built in V.S. 1305, during the reign of the Khartara *acharya*, Jinesvara II at this town. However, at present the Parsva temple of this place is a most important Jain shrine; see *Tirtha Darshan*, I, p. 336. The earliest reference to Prahaladnapura is found in a Jain Manuscript, dated V.S. 1274; see Jinavijaya, *Jaina-pustaka-prasasti-sangraha*, p. 115. This town was founded by prince Prahladana of the Paramar *vamsa*; see *Prabhandhakosa*, p. 84 and the PPS, p. 43. This prince was a contemporary of Hemachandra and Kumarapal.

201. Pratishthana:—This ancient town is now known by the name Paithan, which is situated in the Aurangabad district of Maharashtra. According to the Svetambara tradition, as early as the time of the Satvahana king Hala, Jainism gained a firm foothold at this place. Jinaprabha has written three separate *kalpas* on the *tirtha*, which was considered, sacred to Muni Suvrata (see *Vividhatirthakalpa*, Nos. b23, 33-34). We further learn from that work (p. 47) that the saint Kalkacharya visited this town, 993 years after the Nirvana of Lord Mahavira. At present, the Digambaras have appropriated this *tirtha*; see *Bharat ke Digambara Jaina tirtha*, IV, pp. 274 ff.

202. Prayaga:—This ancient Hindu *tirtha* is also mentioned in the Jain literature, as a sacred place of the Jains. The *Vividhatirthakalpa* makes this place a *tirtha*, associated with Sitalanatha, the 10th *Tirthankara*. The Digambaras also have now a few temples at this place; see *Tirtha-vandanasangrah*, pp. 160 f.

203. Puli:—This ancient place, now known as Huli, is situated in the Belgaum district of Karnataka, and had a well-known temple-complex, called Manikyati *tirtha basadi*; it was apparently a sacred place of the Jains. There were several Jina

temples, at this place, and an epigraph of the 11th century, refers to the monks of the Yapaniya sangha and Punnagavrakshamulagana; see for some more details, Desai, op. cit., pp. 117 f.

204. Pundravardhana:—This was a great Jain centre in pre-Christian times, as there was a separate *sakha* of the Svetambara Jains, called the Pundravardaniya. At the time of Hiuen-Tsang's visit (in the 7th century), there were numerous Digambara Jains at this town (see Watters Y-C, II, p. 184). Strangely enough, after that, we do not get any reference to the Jains in any work of literature or any epigraph. The *Vividhatirthakalpa* (p. 86) mentions the Vira temple of Pundraparvata, which may be identical with Pundravardhana.

205. Purikaranagara:—See Lakshmeshvara. (No. 145)

206. Purimatala:—See Prayaga; it is associated with Rishabha.

207. Pushkara:—This great Hindu *tirtha* was also associated with the Jains, from the 12th century, as the evidence of the *KB* (pp. 24, 44) suggests; see also Jain, *Ancient Cities* etc., p. 104.

208. Radavara:—This *tirtha*, sacred to Lord Mahavira, is situated in the Sirohi district of Rajasthan; see *Tirtha Darshan*, I, p. 243.

209. Rajgraha:—This great city of ancient India, was intimately connected with the activities of Lord Mahavira (see *Supra*, I, pp. 7, 13, 21, 23, 25, 35 etc.). According to the Jain tradition, it was also the birth-place of Muni Suvrata. A few Jain antiquities of the Gupta period are also to be found in this place; see *supra*, I, pp. 106 f. Even in later times, Jain monks, living in Gujarat and South India, used to visit this ancient city. For a modern account, see *Tirtha Darshan*, I, pp. 40 ff.; and see also *Tirthavandana-sangraha*, pp. 168 ff.

210. Rajanagara:—This *tirtha* came into prominence only in the 17th century. It is dedicated to Adinatha, the earliest

reference to this place is to be found in a Svetambara manuscript of V.S. 1654; see *Sri-prasasti-sangraha*, p. 153, No. 601; see also *Tirtha Darshan*, I, p. 197. The Svetambara Terapanthi sect originated from this place. It is situated in the Udaipur district of Rajasthan.

211. Rajyapura:—This place, now known as Rajorgarh, had a temple of Shantinath in the 10th century. It is in Alwar district of Rajasthan; see *Supra*, I, p. 156.

212. Ramagiri:—As noted by us, this place was connected with Jainism, from very early period. It is mentioned by Vimla in his *Paumacariyam* (40.16), and by Ravishena (40.27 ff.) in his *Padmapurana* and also by Jinasena II in his *Harivamsa* (46.18 f). The *Brihatkathakosa* (59.194) describes it as situated between Kalingavishaya and Andharavishaya. Almost all the above-mentioned authorities describe this place as abounding in Jina temples; see in this connection the passages, quoted in the *Tirthavandanasangraha*, (pp. 8, 15, etc.) Ugraditya (8th century) wrote his medical treatise *Kalyanakaraka* in this place (see *supra*, I, p. 205). An inscription from Ramakonda (Ramatirtha) in Vishakhapatnam district of Andhra Pradesh, dated in first quarter of the 11th century, of the time of the Eastern Chalukya king Vimaladitya (1011-1022), practically proves that this place is identical with Ramagir, mentioned by Vimla, Ravishena and other poets; see also *Supra*, p. 86. It is also tempting to suggest that this is identical with Ramagiri of *Meghadutta*. The evidence of Vimlasuri's *Paumocariyam* further suggests that Ramagiri was one of the earliest Jain tirthas of Southern India. The epigraph, mentioned above, certainly proves that, as late as the 11th century, Ramakonda or Ramagiri retained its position as a major Jain *tirtha*.

213. Ramateka:—This place, in the Nagpur district of Maharashtra, according to a few scholars, represents Kalidasa's

Ramgiri. However, this is nothing more than mere conjecture. The Digambara Jains, have a Shantinatha temple on the hill-top here; and this temple dates from the 16th century; see *Tirtha Darshan*, II, p. 530.

214. Ranakapura:—This celebrated Svetambara *tirtha* dedicated to Adisvara, is situated in the Pali district of Rajasthan. As we have already noticed (see above, p. 175), this temple was built in V.S. 1496, during the reign of the great Kumbha. This *tirtha* was visited by the poet Megha in V.S. 1499, who has referred to the seven Jina temples of this place. The temple of Adisvara was named after its builder, namely minister Dharana and it came to be known as Dharanavihara and also Trailokyadipaka. Later inscriptions from this temple-complex have also been discovered; see Jinavijaya, *Prachin Jainalekhasangraha*, II, No. 307 ff. One inscription (No. 308) mentions the celebrated Hiravijaya, it during the time of Emperor Akbar. For a very useful account of this *tirtha*, see the *Avalokana* in Gujarati of Jinavijaya in Vol. II of his great work on Jain epigraphs, pp. 185 ff.; for a modern appreciation, see *Tirtha Darshan*, I, pp. 210 ff.

215. Ranastambhapura:—This place in the Sawai Madhopur district of Rajasthan, was associated with Jainism, during the days of Prithviraja I of the Chauhauna dynasty, who ruled in the first quarter of the 12th century. Siddhasenasuri, who lived in the 12th century includes this place in the list of holy Jain *Tirthhas* (see *G.O.S.* 76, pp. 312 and 316). See also Jain *Ancient Cities* etc., p. 330. Afterwards, in the Mughal period, a temple of Mallinatha was built in this fort (see *ibid.*, p. 335). Several Jain works were also written in this place.

216. Ratnapuri:—This place in the Faizabad district of U.P., according to the early Svetambara tradition, was the birth-place of Darmanatha, the 15th Tirthankara. There are few Svetambara and Digambara temples in this place; however no

early inscription or, even sculpture (of the pre-Muslim period) is available, at present, from this place. Jinaprabha, describes it as situated near Ayodhya (p. 86) and devotes a kalpa on this tirtha, which he himself never visited. He calls it by the name Ratnavahapura and describes it as situated on the Ghagra river.

217. Rayabag:—This place, in the Belagaum district of Karnataka, was once a flourishing Jain centre under the Ratta kings. A few epigraphs have been discovered from the local Adinatha temple of this place; see *J.S.L.S.* III, Nos. 314, 446; IV, Nos. b 128, 317, 492-93. The earliest epigraph is dated 1041 A.D.

218. Reshandigiri:—This place in the Chatarpur district of M.P., is dedicated to Parsvanatha and there is also a late medieval temple of Sreyamasanatha. According to Premi (*op. cit.*, pp. 449 f.), this tirtha was probably near Rajgir. See in this connection, *Tirtha Darshan*, II, pp. 520 f.; see also *Tirthavandanasangraha*, pp. 170 f.

219. Rohitaka:—A yaksha shrine of this place, is mentioned in the Upanga text, the *Nirayavalika* (see *Supra*, I, p. 251). It is also mentioned in the *Brihatkathakosha* (story No. 136), where the Hindu deity Karttikeya is represented as a Jain muni, which is both amusing and ludicrous; see also *Sriprasasti-sangraha*, No. 666. The modern name of this place is Rohtak in Haryana. A temple of Parsvanatha of this place was in existence during the time of emperor Babur (Babbar) in V.S. 1584 and 1586. (see Mukhtar, *Jaina-grantha-prasasti-sangraha*, I, pp. 141, 222). The temple was under the supervision of Digambara monks of the *Kashtha Sangha*, Matunvaya and Pushkara gana.

220. Rudrapalli:—This was a place near Delhi and Svetambara *Gaccha*, originated from the Karatara *Gaccha*, in this place, in 1147 A.D. (see *I.A.*, XI, p. 248; see also KB., pp. 17-18). The KB (p. 18) mentions two temples of this place, namely those of and Rishabha. For references to this *Gaccha*,

see Nahar, *op. cit.*, I, Nos. 461, 990, 122, 734. etc.; II, Nos. 2029, 1052, 1325 etc.; see also *J.S.B.I.*, VI, pp. 172, 353, 370.

221. Sagapattana:—This place, known at present as Sagwara, had a temple of Adinatha in the 15th century. It is now near Dungarpur in South Rajasthan. As noticed above, Subhachandra wrote his *Pandava-purana* in this Adinatha temple; of V.S. 1608. Another Digambara writer Gunachandra wrote his *Ananta-Jina-vratapuja* in the same Adinatha temple of Sagwara in V.S. 1633; see Muktar, *Jaina-grantha-prasastisangraha*, pp. 34, 50; see also *Bhattaraka Sampradaya*, No. 330, which shows that the Adinatha temple here, was built in the 15th century. A temple of Sambhavanatha of his place, was in existence in V.S. 1639; see *ibid.*, No. 4063.

222. Sakambhari:—The present name, of this famous place of antiquity is Sambhar, and it is situated in the Jaipur district of Rajasthan. We have already seen that the Chauhans of Sakambhari were good patrons of Jainism. A large Jain temple was built in this place by a merchant called Padma, an ancestor of Jinadasa, the author of the *Holirenukacarita* which was written in V.S. 1608. The above-mentioned Jina temple of Sakambhari was built apparently in the 15th century; see Mukhtar, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

223. Saketa:—See Ayodhya.

224. Sammeta:—This great *tirtha* is generally identified with the Parasnatha hill situated in the Giridih district of Bihar. A majority of the Tirthankaras, according to the Jain tradition, breathed their last on the summit of this hill. However, no epigraph of pre-Muslim period, has been discovered from this hill, as yet, although there are early literary references to it. However, the name of this hill, shows that it was surely associated with Parsvanatha, the real founder of Jainism; for a modern account, see *Tirtha Darshan*, I, pp. 14 ff.

225. Sangramapura:—This place, now known as Sanganer,

is few miles from Jaipur in Rajasthan and has a beautiful Jina temple, which according to Jain (see *Ancient Cities and Towns* etc., p. 456), has an epigraph of the 10th century (see Appendix 65 of that work). In the later period, a number of Jain works were written in this place.

226. Sankhesvara:—This place in the Mahesana district of Gujarat was associated with Parsvanatha from quite early times. The KB (pp. 60, 63, 74) mentions this temple of Parsvanatha thrice and associates it with the Karatara Acharyas like Jinachandra III and Jinakusala. According to that work, when Jinachandra III first visited it in V.S. 1352, it was known as a great tirtha Jinaprabha in his celebrated work (p. 52) has devoted a Kalpa on it. The Digambara writers the Sumatisagara and Jnanasagara have mentioned the temple-complex of Sankhesvara; see *Tirthavandanasangraha*, pp. 54, 56, 61, 76 etc. Sajjana and Avastupala also were associated with this *tirtha*; see also *Tirtha Darshan*, II, pp. 439 ff. It still attracts thousands of Jain visitors every year. It was also known as Sankhapura.

227. Satrunjaya:—This is probably the greatest Svetambara *tirtha* of India. It is mentioned even in a Jain Anga text, as the mountain, where the five Pandavas breathed their last. This is, however, not supported by the evidence of the *Mahabharata*. In any case, this proves that even in the pre-Christian period, this mountain was looked upon as a holy place by the Svetambara Jains. An interesting history of this *tirtha* has been given by Jinaprabha, in the very first *Kalpa* of his work; see pp. 1 ff. The devout Jains, from the earliest times, used to visit this place. Almost all the Jain writers, of the two sects, have mentioned this *tirtha*. Jinaprabha gives the interesting information that atleast once in V.S. 1369, the original image of the *mulanayaka* Rishabha was destroyed by Samara Shah in V.S. 1371. For a modern account, of this great *tirtha*, see *Tirtha Darshan*, II, pp. 428 ff.

228. Satyapura:—This great Svetambara tirtha, sacred to Lord Mahavira, now known as Sanchor, is situated in the Jalore district of Rajasthan. The evidence of the *Vividhatirthakalpa* (pp. 28 ff.), proves that this tirtha was probably in existence even in the pre-Gupta period (see Supra, I, p. 157). Dhanapala, who lived between 970 and 1030 A.D., wrote a poem on this famous Mahavira temple of Satyapura. The first Muslim attack on this Jain tirtha was made by Sultan Mahmud in V.S. 1081, according to Jainprabha and the second and third on the part of the Muslim iconoclasts, proved unsuccessful. However, the same authority informs us (p. 30) that Ala-ud-din himself came and destroyed it in V.S. 1225, rediscovered it in V.S. 1367. An epigraph of V.S. 1225, discovered from Sanchor, not only calls it a *mahasthana* (great tirtha), but also mentions it Mahavira chaitya (see Nahar, *op. cit.*, I, No.932). The first Muslim attack on Satyapura, mentioned by Jinaprabha, has also been referred to by Dhanapala in his *Satyapuriya Mahavira Utsaha*. It should be remembered that Dhanapala was an exact contemporary of Mahmud. For details, see K.C. Jain *op. cit.*, pp. 193 ff.; and *Tirtha Darshan*, I, pp. 298 f.

229. Serisa:—This place, sacred to Parsvanatha, is situated on the Ahmedabad Mahesana road in Gujarat. It is mentioned several times in the *KB* (pp. 62, 78-79) as the tirtha, sacred to Parsva. Jinachandra III of the Karatara *Gaccha* paid a visit to it in V.S. 1364 and Jinakusala of the same *Gaccha* visited it twice in V.S. 1381; see also *Tirtha Darshan*, II, pp. 452 f. Jinaprabha also mentions it thrice in his celebrated work (pp. 24-25, 106).

230. Sesali:—This tirtha, sacred to Parsvanatha, is situated in the Pali district of Rajasthan; see *Tirtha Darshan*, I, p. 240.

231. Sevadi:—This was a well-known tirtha and is mentioned as Samipati in the epigraphs, discovered from this place, is now situated in the Pali district of Rajasthan. In the epigraphs, from this place, we find references to the temples

of Aristanemi, Dharmanatha, Viranata (Mahvira) and Parsvantha; see Jinavijaya, *Prachin Jaina-Lekha-sangraha*, II, Nos. 323-330. At present, the presiding deity is Shantinatha. The available dates, found from the epigraphs, range from V.S. 1167 to V.S. 1321. See for more details Jinavijaya's *Avalokana* in his above-mentioned work, pp. 211 ff.

232. Shanderaka:—This *tirtha*, now known as Sandera, is in the Pali district of Rajasthan and, at present, this *tirtha* is dedicated to Shantinatha. In earlier times, however, there were temples, dedicated, not only to Shantinatha, but also to Mahavira and Parsvanatha, at this place. The temple of Mahavira is mentioned in an epigraph of V.S. 1221 (see Nahar *op. cit.*, I, No. 883). Another temple of Parsva is mentioned in an epigraph, of that place, dated V.S. 1236 (*ibid.*, I, No. 884). Siddhasena in his *Sakalatirthastotra* (G.O.S. 76, pp. 312-16), recognises it as a *tirtha*. A separate Svetambara *Gaccha*, called Sanderaka *Gaccha*, originated from this place, in the 10th century or more correctly, V.S. 964, according to a later epigraph (see Jinavijaya, *op. cit.*, II, 336), and the founder was Yasobhadrasuri. In several epigraph of later times, the monks of this *Gaccha* have been mentioned. See Jinavijaya, Nos. 217, 213, 108-9, 388, 385, 540 and Nahar, *ibid.*, I, Nos. 889, 519, 415, 357 etc. etc.

233. Shergarh:—This place, situated some 90 miles South-west of Kota, in Rajasthan, was once known as Kosavardana and there were Jain temples in this place, in the early mediæval period. Epigraph of the 10th century, and also of later period, refer to the building of Jina temples and also to festival, connected with Neminatha at this town; for details, see K.C. Jain, *op. ci.*, p. 240.

234. Simhapura:—This *tirtha*, also known as Simapuri, is identified by the present-day Jains with Sarnath near Varanasi, the world-famous Buddhist *tirtha*; see *Tirtha Darshan*, I, pp. 86 ff. Simhapuri is the place, where according to the Jain tradition, the 11th Tirthankara Sreyamsa was born. However, the evidence

of Hiuen-Tsang seems to suggest that this place is identical with Simhapura, situated in the salt Range (Punjab, Pakistan), which has been described by that pilgrim as connected with a "founder" of the "white-cloth" sect (see Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels* etc., I, p. 251); see also *supra*, I, pp. 97-98, 151-52 etc. The present Simhapuri near Sarnath, has no old sculpture or epigraph and we can safely ignore its claim as the *tirtha*, associated with Sreyamsa. However, as we have already pointed out, all the Tirthankaras before Parsvanatha, like the previous Buddhas, were mythical figures, and had no real existence.

235. Simhapura (2):—This place, sacred to Neminatha, was a Digambara *tirtha* on the river Kaveri; see *Tirtha-Vandanasangraha*, p. 80, where we have a description of this place by Janansagara, who lived in the 16th century. It was also called Narasimhapattana; see *ibid.*, p. 184 and *Bhattaraka Sampradaya*, No. 720.

236. Sirohi:—This well-known place is also a district town of Rajasthan. The Adinatha temple of this place was built in the last quarter of the 13th century. Afterwards, temples, dedicated to Parsva, Shanti and others were also built in this place. The great Hravgiyaya also was associated with this place and several Jain works were written here in the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries; see *Sri-Prasasti-Sangraha*, Nos. 112, 246, 355, 374 etc. See for a modern account, *Tirtha Darshan*; I, pp. 248 f.

237. Sonagiri:—This Digambara *tirtha*, situated in the Datia district of M.P., has now numerous Jina temples quite a few of which, were built before the arrival of the British. An inscription, found in the pedestal of an image of the temple No. 76 to this *tirtha*, has been assigned to the 7th century A.D. (see *J.S.L.S.* V, No. 5). Several other image-inscriptions of the period between 1200 and 1600 A.D., have also been discovered from different temples of this Digambara *tirtha*; see *J.S.L.S.*, V, Nos. 108, 110, 138, 178, 190-191, 226, 229 etc; see also *Bharat ke Digambara Jaina Tirtha*, III, pp. 54 ff.

238. Sravasti:—This great city of the ancient Koshala Janpada is now situated in the Bahraich district of U.P., and was the birth-place, according to the Jain tradition, of Sambhavanatha, the 3rd Tirthankara. As noted in the earlier volume of the present work (p. 39), and early Svetambara Shakha, called Sravastika had originated by 300 B.C., and it was obviously connected with this great city, which was visited by Lord Mahavira himself. The discovery of pre-Gupta Jain images, from this place in earlier days; see for details, Supra, I, pp. 92 f. Jinaprabha in his celebrated work (pp. 70-71), mentions the fact that in his time (early 14th century), this city was known as Mahetha (Maheta) and the village of this name, is still known (see Cunningham, A.G.I., revised ed. p. 469). The Sambhava temple was still standing at the time of Jinaprabha, who gives us the interesting information that it was destroyed by Ala-uddin's general Habbasa, who came to this place from Baraich; see for a modern account, *Tirtha Darshan*, I, pp. 112-13. See for an interesting Digambara story in connection with this city, Harishena, *brahatkathakosha*; story No. 156 (Upadye's ed., pp. 348-49).

239. Sripura:—This place is identical with Sirpur in the Akola district of Maharashtra. The Parsvanatha temple of this place was known even to Jinaprabha (pp. 102 f.), who wrote a *Kalpa* on this tirtha. The Digambara Madanakirti, who flourished in the 12th century, has mentioned this tirtha in his *Sasanacatuśtrimśika* (verse No. 3); see also *Tirthavandanasangraha*, pp. 179 f.; and *Bharat ke Digambara Jaina Tirtha*, IV, pp. 288 ff. The Svetambara Silavijaya, writing in the 17th century, has also mentioned it; see Premi, *op. cit.*, p. 454.

240. Srirangapattana:—This place near Mysore town in Karnatka had temples of Rishabha, Parsva and Mahavira during Silavijaya's time; see Premi, *op. cit.*, p. 459; and *Tirthavandanasangraha*, pp. 180-181.

241. Stambhapura:—This great tirtha, now known as Cambay, was undoubtedly one of the greatest Svetambara tirthas, of the medieaval, period, in Gujarat. The earliest reference to this place, as noted by Altekar (*A Histor of Imporant Towns in Gujarat, I. A.*, Supplement, p. 47) is found in the Kavi grant of Rashtrakuta Govinda III, dated Saka 749. However, this place came to be associated with Jainism, according to the author of the *Vividhatirthakalpa*, from the days of Abhayadeva, the famous author of the nine Anga texts, and one of the earliest saints of the Kharatara *Gaccha* (see pp. 12 f.; pp. 104 f.; see also *KB*, p. 6). That Abhayadeva was the founder of this tirtha, sacred to Parsvanatha; is also supported by the eviden of the *Prabhavakacarita*, pp. 165 f. and also the P.C. (p. 120). A manuscript of the original *Bhagavati*, which was copied at Stambhatirtha between V.S. 1110 and 1119 is probably the earliest Jain work to refer to this holy place (see Jinavijaya, *Jaina pustakaparasasti-sangraha*, p. 99). This shows that even in Abhayadeva's life-time, it was recognised as a tirtha. Hundreds of Jain manuscripts were afterwards copied here and other temples were also built in this place. For the epigraphs of this place, see Jinavijaya, *Prachin Jaina-Lekha-sangraha*, II, No. 447 ff.; and for the manuscripts, copied here, see the same writer's *J.P.S.*, p. 167.

242. Surat:—This well-known place, also known as Suryapura, is situated in Gujarat, and had a temple of Chandraprabha in the 16th century; see Jnanasagara, verse 71, quoted in *Tirthavandanasangraha*, p. 76. A temple of Rhshabha of this place has been mentioned in a literary record of V.S. 1664; see *Bhattaraka Sampradaya*, No. 497; see also *ibid.*, No. 65. For a reference to Vasupujya temple of this town, see *ibid.*, Nos. 154, 159. See also *Tirthavandana-sangraha*, p. 185.

243. Surparaka:—This place, now represented by Sopara in Maharashtra, was connected with Jainism, from early times (see *supra*, I, p. 111); see *Prakrit Proper Names*, II, pp. 862 f.

The Jivantasvami Rishabha temple of this place, has been mentioned in the *Vividhatirthakalpa* (p. 85). The *Puratanaprabandhasangraha* (p. 42) also mentions this temple and refers to its hoary antiquity.

244. Tagadurai:—A tirth identified at Dharmapuri district town of Tamilnadu.

245. Tagarapura:—This place was also known as Terapura and the Jain caves here were quite well-known in earlier times. As we have noted, in connection with Osmanabad, both Harishena and Kanakamara have mentioned in the 7th century *Curni* on the *Uttaradhyayana* (p. 62) and the *Vyavaharabhashya* (III, 339) also proves its association with Jainism. It appears from these two references that in earlier times, Tagara (it is mentioned in an early text as the *Periplus*) was a Svetambara stronghold, and only at a later period, it came under the influence of the Digambaras.

246. Tahangarh:—Its ancient name was Tribhuvanagiri and it is some 14 miles South of Bayana in Rhajasthan. The Santinatha temple here was consecrated by the Kharatara Jinadatta before V.S. 1211 (see *K.B.*, p. 19). The next Acharaya Jinachandra II visited it in V.S. 1214 (see *K.B.*, p. 20). The Digambaras also had their temples, at this place. A temple named after a local ruler called Ajayapal, was under the supervision of the monks of the Mathura *sangha*; for further details, see Jain, *Ancient Cities*, etc., pp. 361 f.

247. Taladhvaja:—This place near Shatrunjaya in the Bhavnagar district of Gujarat, is now sacred to Sumatinatha and was known even before 1200 A.D. See for more details, *Tirtha Darshan*, II, pp. 420 f.

248. Talanapura:—This place in Dhar district of M.P., is sacred to Adinatha and is respected by both the Svetambaras and the Digambaras. There are a few old icons in this temple-complex; see for details, *Tirtha Darshan*, II, p. 483.

249. Talapataka:—It is near Banswara in Rajasthan and its modern name is Talawada. Formerly, there was a temple of Shantinatha at this place, and it is also recognised as a *tirtha* in Siddhasena's *Sakalairtha-stotra* (G.O.S., 76, P. 156). At present, there is a temple of Sambhavanatha. See for further details, K. C. Jain, op. cit., pp. 420 f.

250. Tamralipti:—As we have already seen in the earlier volume of the present work (p. 37), there was a Svetambara *Shakha*, connected with this famous port, in the 4th century B.C. Jainism was in a flourishing state, even in the days of Hiuen T-sang, in every part of Bengal. The discovery of hundreds of early medieval Jain icons from almost all parts of West Bengal, proves its great popularity before 1000 A.D. Even in Mahavira's time, the residents of Tamalipt were attracted towards the religion of the Nirgranthas (see *Supra*, 1, P. 38), Prabhachandra's *Kathakosa* (11 century) refer to the Parsva temple of this town (p. 26). Probably after 1100 A.D., Jainism lost its hold in Bengal.

251. Taranga:—This sacred hill in the Mahesana district of Gujarat, became a holy place of Svetambaras, from the days of the celebrated Kumarapal. A magnificent temple of Ajitanatha, the 2nd Tirthankara, was built by this great king, on the hill, see *Prabhavaka*, p. 207; PC., p. 96; and PPS., pp. 47 f. Jinaprabha also in his celebrated work (p. 85), associates this hill with Ajitanatha. And there are several references to it in the KB. (pp. 52, 55 and 59); see also above, p. 23. The Digambaras also became interested in this place, from the 16th century (see *Tirthavandanasangraha*, pp. 246 f.) and one of their temples was built in V.S. 1611. It was also known as Tarapura, and Taranagadh. According to the *Kumarapalapratibodha* (p. 443), there was formerly a temple of Tara, built by Vatsaraja, on this hill, from which it came to be known as Tarapura; see also *Bharat ke Digambara Jaina Tirtha*, IV, pp. 137 ff. and *Tirtha Darshan* 11, pp. 355 ff.

252. Tavanidhi:—This place, sacred to Shantinatha, in the Shimoga district of Karnataka, has yielded a few Jain epigraphs of the 13th century. It was also known as Tavanandi. It was a surely Jain sacred place where Jain monks embarked on voluntary death; see for inscriptions from this place, J.S.L.S., III, Nos. 534, 540, 568-69, 577-78.

253. Taxila:—This celebrated ancient city, now in Pakistan, was in all probability, associated with Jainism, even from pre-Christian times (see *Supra*, 1, p. 97). The *Vividha-tirtha-kalpa* recognises it as a Jain *tirtha* and associated this place with Bahubali (p. 85).

254. Tengali:—This place in the Gulbarga district of Karnataka, had a Jina temple in the 12th century; see for further details, Desai, op.cit., pp. 199, 331 f.

255. Terdal:—It is situated in the Sangli district of Maharashtra and it was known as Teridala in the 12th century. Inscriptions prove the existence of a Neminatha Temple of this place. An epigraph of 1123 A.D. (I.A., 14, pp. 14 ff.) of the time of the Ratta king Karttavirya II, refers to grant for this temple, which was constructed by a devout and wealthy Jain called Gonka; for further details see Desai, op. cit., pp. 119 f. It was apparently a very well-known place of this area.

256. Tharapadra:—This old Jain *tirtha* situated in the Banaskantha district of Gujarat, is at present known as Tharada. The well-known play *Moharajaparajaya* was first enacted in the Kumaravihara temple, dedicated to Lord Mahavira, of this place; see J.S.B.I., VI, p. 585. At present, this *tirtha* is sacred to Adisvara and PPS (P. 48), mentions probably this temple, when it refers to the *Tharapadriya prasada*. A Svetambara Gaccha also originated from this place. See for a modern account, *Tirtha Darshan*, II, pp. 340 f.

257. Thuvauna:—This place, sacred to Adinatha, is situated in the Guna district of M.P.; for details, see *Darshan*,

II, pp. 514 f.

258. Tilkapura:—This place is generally identified with Prabhasa Patan, well-known, for the Chandraprabha temple; see *Tirthavandanasangraha*, p. 147.

259. Tirumalai:—This well-known Jain tirtha, famous for the magnificent, standing icon of Neminatha, is situated in the North Arcot district of Tamilnadu. We have already discussed a few important Jain epigraphs of this place, which prove that it was a Jain sacred place even before 1000 A.D.; see *supra*, pp. 83 f.; and *Tirtha Darsan*, II, pp. 589 f.; see also Desai, op. cit., pp. 42 ff.

260. Toda Raisingh:—This place, in the Jaipur district of Rajasthan, was a well-known Jain centre in the medieval period. It was also known as Taksakapura, Takshakagadh and Tadagapattana. According to the Bijolia inscription of V.S. 1226, one Vaisravana, an ancestor of Lolaka built a temple at Tadagapattan (see *J.S.L.S.*, IV, No. 265). However, there is no trace of such an old Jain temple at this place now. Afterwards, temples of Adinatha and Neminatha were also built in this place. A manuscript of the *Nagakumaracarita* was copied in the Adinatha temple of Takshakapura in V.S. 1603; see *Bhattaraka Sampradaya*, No. 267. An earlier manuscript of the *Pravacanasara* was copied here in V.S. 1497; see *ibid.*, No. 245. See also for some more details, *Jain Ancient Cities* etc., pp. 258 f.

261. Tripuri:—This was the old capital of the Kalacuris and is situated near Jabalpur in M.P. A Digambara temple, of this place, called Trilokanatha, has been mentioned by Udayakirti, who flourished in all probability, in the 13th century; see *Tirthavandana-sangraha*, pp. 38, 149. Some of the beautiful Jina icons from Tewar (the present site of Tripuri) have been preserved in the Jabalpur museum.

262. Uccanagara:—It is difficult to identify this place

correctly, at the present state of our knowledge. J.C. Jain identifies it with Bulandshahar in U.P., which is merely a suggestion. It was, in all probability, in Rajasthan of Sind. An early Svetambara *sakha*, mentioned in the *Theravali*, originated from this place. It is mentioned several times in the KB and it was intimately connected with the activities of the monks of the Kharatara *Gaccha* (see pp. 19-20, 23, 34, 75, 81).

263. Ucchangi:—This was a holy place, sacred to the Jains, from quite early times. There was a shrine in this place, under the supervision of the Yapaniyas. It is situated in the Dharwar district of Karnataka; see in this connection, Desai, op. cit., p.c. 166; see also *J.S.L.S.*, IV, No. 368.

264. Udri:—This place in the Simoga district of Karnataka, has yielded a very good number of Jain epigraphs of the medieval period. There was a Shantinatha temple in this place, which was built in the closing years of the 12th century, by a Jain general called Mahadeva Dandanatha in Saka 1119, during the rule of the Hoysala Ballala II (see *E.I.*, VIII, Sorab, 140).

265. Ujjayini:—This great city of ancient India, was also connected with Jainism from even the early Christian period. The *Vividhatirthakalpa* (pp. 88-89) has a good account of Kundugesvara shabhadeva temple of this place, which was built by the great Svetambara acharya Siddhasena Divakara, a contemporary of Vikramaditya of the Indian tradition. The Digambaras also know the story of Siddhasena's visit to Ujjayini; see *Tirthavandanasangraha*, p. 121.

266. Ukhalada:—This place in the Parbhani district of Maharashtra, has yielded a number of inscribed Jina images which show that the temple here was in existence from 1215 A.D. It was a Digambara shrine under the monks of the Mulasangha, Sarasvati *Gaccha*; see *J.S.L.S.*, V, Nos. 135-37, 197 etc.

267. Una:—This place in the west Narmada district of M.P.,

was a well-known Digambara *tirtha* from the medieval period. There are a few dilapidated temples here, which have yielded epigraphs of the medieval period. An epigraph mentions the Paramara Udayaditya, which proves that this place was a Jain *tirtha*, even in the 11th century; see *J.S.L.S.*, IV, No. 174; and *Tirthavandanasangraha*, pp. 121-22.

268. Una:—This place in the Junagarh district of Gujarat is dedicated to Adinatha. It was known as Unnatapura. It is mentioned in the 14th century work of Vinayavijaya, called *Tirthamala*; see also *Tirtha Darshan*, II, pp. 416.

269. Unhela:—This place in the Ujjain district of M.P., is connected with Parsvanatha and is a Svetambara *tirtha*. It was known formerly as Torana; some old Jain antiquity have also been discovered from this place; see *Tirtha Darshan*, II, p. 502.

270. Upariyala:—This place, sacred to Adisvara, is mentioned in the 15th century work of Jayasagara, called *Chaitya-Paripati*. It is situated in the Surendranagar district of Gujarat, see for further details, *Tirtha Darshan*, II, p. 442.

271. Uppina-Betgiri:—This place in the Raichur district of Karnataka, came into prominence in the 10th century, and it had a Jina temple called Jayadhira Jinalaya, which was built by a Rashtrakuta governor called Sankaraganda, in the 10th century; see above, p. 95; see also Desai, *op. cit.*, pp. 208-09, 213, 221, 367.

272. Urjayanta:—This great *tirtha* in the Junagadh district of Gujarat, is also known as Raivataka and it is connected in the Jain literature with activities of Neminatha, the 22nd Tirthankara; see *Supra*, I, p. 159. It is mentioned in the 6th Anga text, the *Nayadammakahao* (see *Supra*, I, p. 242). There is little doubt that the Jains considered it as a *tirtha* even in the pre-Christian period. The *Vividhatirthakalpa* gives us the vital information that as early as the 10th century, a merchant

called Ratna from Kashmir had built an icon of Neminatha on this mountain; see also *Prabandhakosa*, pp. 93 ff.; and *Vividhatirthakalpa*, pp. 7, 9. The two towns of Khangaradurga and Tejalapura, dedicated respectively to Rishabha and Parsva (*Vividhatirthakalpa*, p. 7) were near this mountain. We have already taken note of the fact that several Jains, from the 11th century, were connected with the temple-building activities on this mountain.

273. Vadali:—This *tirtha*, sacred to Parsvanatha, is situated in the Sabarkantha district of Gujarat. It was known in ancient times as Vatapalli. The *KB* (p. 20) also mentions the Parsva temple of this place in connection with the wanderings of the Kharatara *acharya* Jinachandra II in V.S. 1222. This proves that the Parsva temple of this town existed in the middle of the 12th century; see for further details, *Tirtha Darshan*, II, p. 262. The Digambara writers also have mentioned this place; see *Tirthavandanasangraha*, p. 173.

274. Vadavala:—This place in South Kanara district of Karnataka had a Shantinatha temple in the 17th century, according to the Digambara Visvabhusana see *Tirthavandanasangraha*, p. 173.

275. Vaishali:—This ancient city of eastern India was intimately connected with the childhood of Lord Mahavira. There is also reason to believe that even before the birth of Lord Mahavira, the teachings of Parsvanatha were accepted by a number of people of this town, including Mahavira's parents; see *Supra*, I, pp. 13, 20-21. Afterwards, the Jains practically forgot this place and this explains why we do not get any genuine ancient Jain icon from this area. Vaishali is now a separate district-town of Bihar.

276. Vallabhi:—This great city of ancient India, is now represented by ruins, scattered over a large area, in the present Bhavnagar district of Gujarat. Before its destruction in the last

quarter of the 8th century, by the Muslims (*Vividhatirtakalpa*, p. 29), it was a great centre of Jainism and the Jain canon was first edited here in the 5th century A.D. There is little doubt that by the 5th century, Valabhi became a great centre of Svetambara Jainism. The association of the Svetambaras with this city has also been mentioned in the *Bihatkathakosa* (137, 69), which was written in 931 A.D. The discovery of 6th century Jina icons from the ruins of this place, also proves that it was a Jain centre in the Gupta period; see also *Supra*, I, p. 109. The *Viseshavbhasyakabasya* was composed here in Saka 531; see *Supra*, I, p. 109. The temples of Chandrapraba and Lord Mahavira existed here before the 8th century A.D.; see *Vividhatirthakalpa*, p. 29; see also for some more details, *Tirtha Darshan*, II, pp.; 434 f.

277. Valama:—This place in the Mahesana district of Gujarat, is sacred to Neminatha; for further details, see *Tirtha Darshan*, II, pp. 368 f.

278. Vamaja:—This place, sacred to Adisvara is mentioned as a tirtha in the Aloyana Vinati composed in V.S. 1562. It is now situated near Kalol in Gujarat; see *Tirtha Darshan*, II, p. 445.

279. Varakana:—This place in the Pali district of Rajasthan, is associated with the worship of Parsvanatha. It was known as Varakanakapura and it is also mentioned in the *Sakala-tirtha-stotra*; see for further details, *Tirtha Darshan*, I, p. 218.

280. Varanasi:—This great city of ancient India, is associated in the Jain tradition with the two Tirthankaras, namely Suparsva and Parsvanatha. Lord Parsva, as we have already shown, was a historical figure. A Brahmana of Varanasi called Vijayaghosha, according to the *Uttaradhyayana* (see *Supra*, I, p. 253) accepted the Jain religion under the influence of a Nirgranth Brahmanha, called Jayaghosa. Jinaprabha (p. 74) mentions the Parsva temple complex of Varanasi. The Digambara

Janansagara (16th century) has mentioned the two temples of Parsva and Suparsva of this city; see *Tirthavandanasangraha*, p. 66. The epigraphic evidence proves that, as early as Gupta period, the Digambaras were connected with this city; see, *Supra* I, pp. 105 f.

281. Varangana:—This place South Kanara district of Karnataka, is now known as Varanga. It had several temples in the late medieval period. A 15th century epigraph, of the Neminatha temple of this town; see *Supra*, p. 194. Silavijaya, the Svetambara monk of the 17th century, has mentioned this temple; see Premi op, cit., p. 462; see also *Tirtha Darshan*, II, p. 569.

282. Vatera:—This *tirtha*, situated in the Sirohi district of Rajasthan, is considered sacred to Shantinatha. Formerly, it was associated with Mahavira. Its antiquity goes back to the 12th century A.D.; for further details, see *Tirtha Darshan*, II, pp. 274 f.

283. Vava:—This *tirtha*, sacred to Ajitanatha, is situated in the Banas-kantha district of Gujarat. Its antiquity goes back to the 13th century. The well-known Tharapadra was only a few miles from this place; see for further details, *Tirtha Darshan*, II, p. 344.

284. Velara:—This place, now in the Pali district of Rajasthan, was known as Vadhilada, as we learn from an epigraph of V.S. 1265; see Jinavijaya, *Prachin Jaina-Lekha-Sangraha*, II, No. 403. It was surely in existence before that date. The presiding god was Adisvara and the epigraph mentions Santisuri of Nanakiya *Gaccha*; see also *Tirtha Darshan*, I., p. 232.

285. Vijapura:—This place in the Pali district of Rajasthan, was closely associated with Jainism, atleast from the 10th century; see *Supra*; I, p. 154. It is mentioned several times in the *KB* (pp. 49, 51, 53, 55, 57, 59, 62-63, 70-71). the temple of Vasupujya of this place was built by Jinesvara II of the Karatara *Gaccha*

in V.S. 1284 (see *KB.*, p. 49). This particular temple was closely connected with the activities of the monks of the Karatara *Gaccha*.

286. Vijayamangalam:—This place, sacred to Candraprabha, was a well-known Jain centre in the present Erode district (Periyar) of Tamilnadu. It was known as Kurumbunadu. Its antiquity goes back to the 6th century A.D. see *Tirtha Darshan*, II, p. 582.

287. Vikramapura:—This ancient place, now known as Bikampur, is some 30 miles from Jaisalmer in Rajasthan. The temple of Lord Mahavira, of this place, was closely connected with the activities of the monks of the Karatara *Gaccha*; see *KB*, pp. 13, 18-20, 23-24, 33-34, 44, 52 and 58. This particular temple was built by Jinadattta of that *Gaccha*, in the first half of the 12th century (see *KB*, p. 19). The great Karara 'acharya Jinapati was born at this place, in V.S. 1210. An image inscription of V.S. 1524 mentions it as a *mahanagara* (see for further details, Jain, *Ancient Cities*, etc., pp. 312 f.)

288. Virapura:—This place is mentioned as a *tirtha*, in an epigraph of the 12th century, found from Sedam, in the Gulbarga district of Karnataka; see Desai, *op. cit.*, pp. 260, 262. Its exact identification is still unknown.

289. Yalbargi:—This place, in the Raichur district of Karnataka, has yielded a number of Jain antiquities of the early mediaeval period . It was surely a Jain *tirtha* and its earlier name was Erambarageya; see Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 382. There existed here a temple of Parsva. which was under the supervision of the monks of the Desigana and Mulasangha see Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

290. Yoginipura:—It was one of the earlier name of Delhi. Even in the pre-Muslim period, this town was known to the Jains. The *KB.* (p. 22) gives the very important information that the king Madanapala of Delhi (Yoginipura) gave a cordial reception to the Karatara saint Jinachandra II in V.S. 1222. In

this connection that work mentions the Parsvanatha temple of that town, which surely existed here in the 12th century. The Jains played an important part in the religious affairs of Delhi. As we have already noted, the *Prabandhakosa* of *Rajashekhara* was written at this town in 1347 A.D.; see *Supra*, p. 238. The wellknown Pheru, belonged to Delhi and he accepted the teaching, propounded by the monks of the Karatara sect ; see above, pp. 244 f. A temple of Lord Mahavira was built in Delhi around 1328 A.D., under the patronage of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq. see above, pp. 157 f. It was known as Bhattaraka Sarai, which was open to the monks of both the Svetambara and Digambara sects. Afterwards, also the manuscripts of Jain works were written at Yoginipura or Delhi; see *Sri-prasasi-sangraha*, Nos. 318, 537.

(Compiled by S. Prasad from *Jain sources*, 5549.)

8

THE JAIN DECLARATION ON NATURE

The teachings of Tirthankaras have now spread throughout the world. In several foreign universities the student community have been studying the Jain religion alongwith Hinduism and Buddhism and scholars carrying out advanced research work. During the last 200 years scholars from, Europe and America have shown keen interest in the study of Jain religion.

Jains who have gone abroad in search of better opportunities and fortunes, and settled down in foreign countries have also taken their religion with them which is a part of their way of life. In this context mention can be made when more than a decade ago 'the Jain Declaration on Nature' presented in London proved the worldwide presence of Jaina community. This declaration undoubtedly is a historic document in promoting global peace and universalism.

As V. Sangave writes: "The Jain Declaration on Nature,"§ presented to His Royal Highness, The Duke of Edingburgh (i.e. Prince Philip), in the Buckingham Palace, London on the 23rd October, 1990 by the Jain Delegation of International Jain Community, is a document of great historical importance and far-reaching social significance. The Declaration was drafted by eminent jurist and renowned Jainologist Dr. L.M. Singhvi of New Delhi and was presented by the leaders and scholars representing the most ancient Jain community of India and the

§ V. Sangave : *Jain Declaration on Nature*—A Historical Document., drafted by Dr. L. M. Singhvi, who was India's High Compmmissioner, in U.K., at that time, in EOJ also, vol. II, pp. 2925-2929.

Jains settled in West Europe, North America, East Africa and Far East Asia. The Declaration was also unanimous in the sense that it was presented on behalf of all the four sects of Jainism. This is the first occasion in the very long social history of Jains residing in different parts of the world to present such a Declaration in the name of the traditional and distinctive religion of Jainism to an established and effective International Organisation like the WWF—(World Wide Fund for Nature) founded in 1961 by His Royal Highness Prince Philip.

Conservation and Religion

The World Wide Fund for Nature, under the personal guidance of its founder president HRH Prince Philip, has been, since its inception, continuously striving hard in implementing various projects all over the world started for achieving the avowed purpose of conservation of nature and protection of wild life. But in course of time it was realised that mere government efforts and administrative measures of various sorts will not bring in the desired results and that serious attempts are necessary for getting the maximum involvement of common masses in the several activities and projects sponsored by the World Wide Fund for Nature in different areas of the world. Hence for securing the required co-operation of the people in adequate measures it was thought advisable to involve the important world religions concerned actively with the objective of preservation of nature and maintenance of ecological balance. Accordingly on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the WWF in 1986 a new worldwide organisation termed as International Network on Conservation and Religion (INCR) was established and in the Inter-Faith Ceremony held at Assisi in Italy on the 29th September, 1986, as a part of Silver Jubilee celebration of WWF, five religions joined the Network with their Declarations on Religion and Nature. These five Declarations of Assisi, addressed by religious leaders to their own followers in the Buddhist, Christian, Hindu, Jewish and Muslim worlds, are of

tremendous significance for the future of conservation. To this International Network lateron, Bahai faith and Sikhism were added and on the 23rd October, 1990 Jainism became the eighth religion to join the International Network on Conservation and Religion by presenting its Declaration of Nature like the Declaration of the seven religions. Thus for the first time in history eight major religions of the world have categorically stated that their beliefs lead them to conservation. It is obvious that with this clear call from the representatives of eight major religions of the world, it will now be possible to plan joint activities, both educational and practical, with the world's believers."

Religious Literature

"Further, with a view to extending extensive academic support to the activities of the International Network on Conservation and Religion, a new worldwide literary organisation known a International Sacred Literature Trust (ISLT) was launched by Prince Philip at the United Nations in May, 1989. It has been decided that in collaboration with Harper Row Publishers, the ISLT will publish growing series of religious texts from around the world, selected and translated into English by scholars and writers appointed by their own religious communities. Thus by joining on 23rd October, 1990 the International Network on Conservation and Religion, the Jain community has automatically become a member of the International Sacred Literature Trust. As a result the Jain community has now to undertake and to carry on the environmental activities for the network and the translation programmes of the Trust. Accordingly the Jain community has decided to undertake the translation into English of the most sacred and authoritative text entitled *Tattvartha-Sutra* by Acharya Umasvati and to publish it under the auspices of the Trust. In this way the presentation of the Jain Declaration on Nature

has actively involved the international Jain community in the programmes of International Network on Conservation and Religion and International Literature Trust.

Jaina Declaration

This Jain Declaration on Nature aptly begins by highlighting the gist of Jainism, viz. *Parasparopagraho Jivanam*, i.e. "All Life is bound together by mutual support and interdependence." It is a 'Sutra', i.e., an aphorism, from Tattavartha-Sutra, the standard sacred text of Jainism. This Sutra has, in recent times, been made very popular by Acharya Vidyananada Maharaja and has been accepted as the motto of Jainism. In fact it stresses the philosophy of ecological harmony and non-violence on which the doctrines and ethics of Jainism are based. The entire Jain tradition, founded on this philosophy, formed a vital part of the mainstream of Indian life from ancient times to the present day and contributed greatly to philosophical, literary, artistic, economic and political heritage of India.

The Jaina Declaration on Nature is broadly divided into three main parts, viz., (i) The Jain teachings, (ii) The Jain cosmology, and (iii) The Jain code of conduct and each part vividly brings out the most salient aspects of Jain religion concerned with it.

Jain Teachings

Among the Jain Teachings

(i) The most prominent place has been given to the principle of *Ahimsa*, i.e., non-violence, as is clear from the famous maxim of Jain religion, viz. *Ahimsa Parmo Dharmah* (i.e., Non-violence is the supreme religion) and hence the Declaration emphatically stated that the Jain ecological philosophy is virtually synonymous with the principle of *Ahimsa* (non-violence) which runs through the Jain tradition like a golden thread. In this tradition *Ahimsa* is directed not only towards human beings but towards all nature

and is applied not only to avoidance of visible physical act of violence but also avoidance of violence in the hearts and minds of human beings because without violent thought there can be no violent actions.

(ii) The second major teaching of Jainism is based on the fundamental natural phenomenon of symbiosis or mutual dependence and is categorically stated in the ancient Jain scriptural aphorism *Parasparopagraho Jivanam* i.e. all life is bound together by mutual support and interdependence. It defines the scope of modern ecology as it stresses the fundamental principle that all aspects of nature belong together and are bound in a physical as well as a metaphysical relationship.

(iii) *Anekantavada*, i.e. the doctrine of manifold aspects, emphasises the concept of universal interdependence and specifically recommends that one should take into account the viewpoints of other species, other communities and nations and other human beings.

(iv) The fourth major teaching of Jainism, viz., *Samyaktva* i.e. equanimity, founded on the first three teachings, stresses the observance of equanimity towards both *Jiva* (i.e. animate beings) and *Ajiva* (i.e. inanimate substances and objects). The practice of *Samyaktva* encourages an attitude of give and take and of live and let live. It also offers a pragmatic peace plan based not on the domination of nature but on an equanimity of mind devoted to the preservation of the balance of the universe.

(v) *Jivadaya* i.e. compassion towards all living beings, is the positive aspect of the principle of *Ahimsa* and it means caring for all living beings, tending, protecting and serving them. It entails *Maitri*, (i.e. universal friendliness), *Ksama* (i.e. universal forgiveness), and *abhaya*, (i.e. universal fearlessness). Obviously, the observance of *Jiva-dsaya* leads to actions which have great relevance to contemporary environmental concerns."

Jain Cosmology

“According to Jain cosmology the universe has no beginning or end and has no creator. The universe consists of *jiva* and *ajiva* things, the two everlasting, uncreated, independent and co-existing categories. ‘Jiva’ is consciousness and that which has no consciousness is ‘Ajiva’. Further, it is affirmed that all souls are in *karmic* bondage to the universe. They go through a continuous cycle of death and rebirth in a personal evolution that can lead at last to *Moksa*, i.e. eternal release. In this cycle there are countless souls at different stages of their personal evolution: earth bodies, water bodies, fire bodies, air bodies, vegetable bodies, and mobile bodies ranging from bacteria, insects, worms, birds, and larger animals to human beings, infernal beings and celestial beings. Furthermore, it is maintained that above the single-sense *jivas* are micro-organisms and small animals with two three or four senses. Higher in the order are the *jivas* with five senses. The highest grade of animals and human beings also possess rationality and manas, i.e. intuition. As a highly evolved form of life, human beings have a great moral responsibility in their mutual dealings and in their relationship with the rest of the universe. Hence, this conception of life, in which human beings have an inescapable ethical responsibility, has made the Jain tradition a cradle for the creed of environmental protection and harmony.”

Jain Code of Conduct

“The practical code of conduct laid down for the Jain householders consists in the observance of :

- (i) ‘The five *vratas* (i.e. vows),
- (ii) Kindness to animals,
- (iii) Vegetarianism,
- (iv) Self-restraint and the avoidance of waste, and
- (v) Charity.

- (i) The five vratas (i.e. vows) in the Jain code of conduct are (a) Ahimsa, i.e. non-violence in thought, word and deed, (b) Satya, i.e., to seek and speak the truth, (c) Acharya, i.e., to behave honestly and never to take anything by force or theft, (d) Brahmacharya, i.e., to practice restraint and chastity in thought, word and deed, and (e) Aparigraha, i.e., to practise non-acquisitiveness. Among these vows, the vow of Ahimsa is the first and pivotal vow and the other vows are viewed as aspects of Ahimsa.
- (ii) The kindness to animals involves avoidance of all forms of cruelty to animals and human beings. The Jains condemn as evil the practice of animals sacrifice to the gods. It is also generally forbidden to keep animals in captivity, to whip, mutilate or overload them or to deprive them of adequate food and drink.
- (iii) The Jains are strict vegetarians and they do not consume either meat, fish or eggs. They confine themselves only to vegetable and milk products and never take any life for sport.
- (iv) It is enjoined upon Jains to lead a life of restraint and to practise a measure of abstinence and austerity. They are encouraged to observe regular periods of fasting for self-purification and to avoid waste in any form. In fact, using any resource beyond one's needs and misuse of any part of nature is considered a form of theft. Indeed the Jain faith unequivocally declares that waste and creating pollution are acts of violence.
- (v) It is noteworthy that giving charitable donations and one's time for community projects generally is a part of a Jain householder's obligations. It is this sense of social obligation born out of religious teachings that has led the Jains to found and maintain a large number of welfare institutions for the benefit of men, animals and birds. In fact, wealthy individuals are advised to recognise that

beyond a certain point their wealth is superfluous to their needs and that they should manage the surplus as trustees for social benefit.

Thus it is quite clear that this fivefold Jain code of conduct is profoundly ecological in its practical consequences and in the long run it aims to achieve holistic environmental protection, peace and harmony in the universe.

Jain Responsibility

“In this way by presenting Sangave summarizing the Declaration points out the Jain responsibility in the following words : The Jain Declaration on Nature’, the Jain community has become a part of the International Network on Conservation and Religion and has willingly accepted social responsibility of working for the protection and development of natural environment and the maintenance of ecological balance. It is hoped that the Jains will soon faithfully discharge this responsibility by launching various practical projects in different parts of the world for the conservation of nature and protection of all forms of life. Certainly in this endeavour the Jains can achieve progress to a large extent because their ancient and practical religion is not only very intimately connected with various aspects of nature but is also definitely committed to strive for the protection of life in all its forms in the universe. In fact the observance in practice of the cardinal principle of Ahimsa (i.e. non-violence) in all its implications as preached by Jain religion from ancient times and will go a long way in solving the present-day vexed world problems connected with pollution, depredation, deterioration and destruction of nature.

Undoubtedly, in the new millennium the humanity had high hopes from Jain religious in establishing a new world order.

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- * Manusmriti
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and control of industry and trade was primarily in the hands of the mercantile class and they occupied a prominent position in the society. Volume seven traces how Jaina society developed through the ages as a dynamic and value based social order. Mahavira never differentiated between Aryans and the non-Aryans, the rich and the poor while addressing his sermons. Thus Jaina society never believed in caste gradation. Volume eight and nine are devoted to the study of Jaina Art and Architecture having a long and continuing rich tradition which flourished in various parts of India under royal patronage during different periods of history and remained fully dedicated to the service of the religion of the Tirthankaras. Volume ten is a comparative study of Jaina religion and philosophy and includes selected writings of Western scholars like O. Walther Shubring, Dr. J.G. Buhler, Hermann Jacobi, Dr. H. Zimmer, Max Weber, Miss Elizabeth Frazer, M. Guerinot, Dr. O Pertold etc. The last Volume number eleven traces the historical evolution of the Jaina faith and the long chain of its twenty four Tirthankaras beginning with Rishabha Deva. In this volume considerable emphasis has been given on the first Tirthankara and the twenty fourth and the last Tirthankara Mahavira.

It is hoped this Encyclopedia containing valuable and thoughtful material on various subject-themes of *Jain* religion and philosophy will be helpful in understanding ideals and practices of this ancient religion of India and welcomed by Indian and foreign scholars as well as general readers.

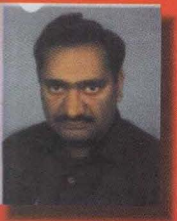
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