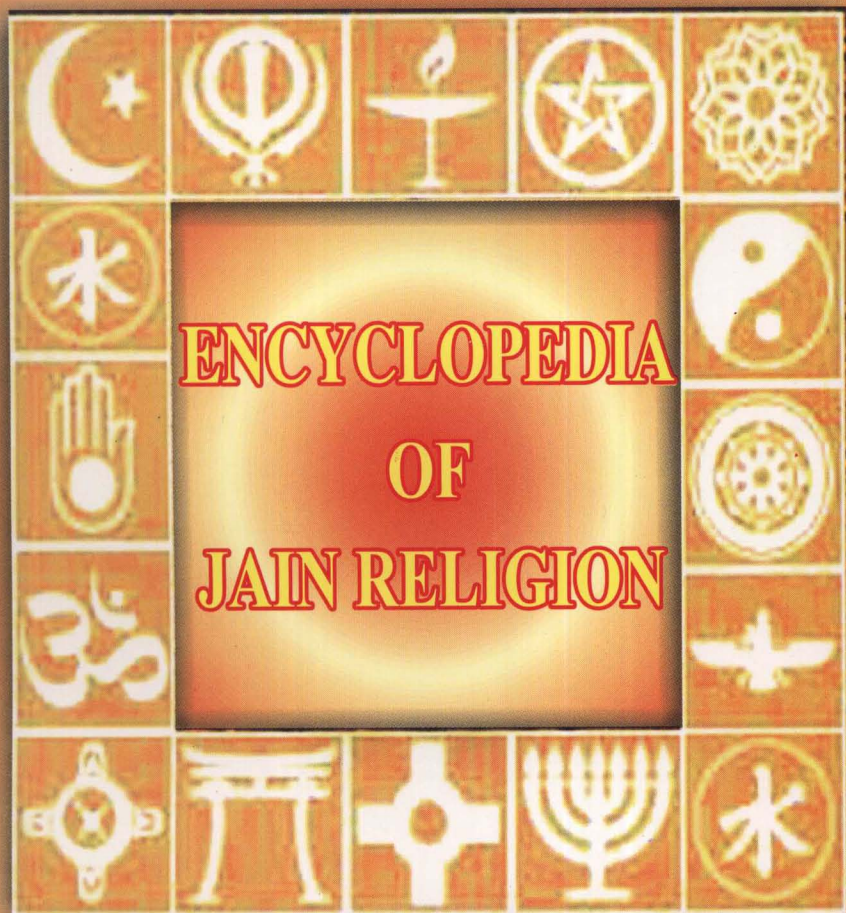




ENCYCLOPEDIA
OF
JAIN RELIGION

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 8

Editors

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1

PHILOSOPHY OF JAINA ART AND ARCHITECTURE

I

JAINA IMAGE WORSHIP

Jainism is one of the oldest religions of the world. The date of its origin is not certain. Indian and foreign scholars have considerable difference of opinion in this regard. On the basis of the nude antiquities and the ancient seals and sealings unearthed in excavations from different sites in the country, specially in Mohen-Jo-Daro and Harappan sites, one can easily imagine that Jainism is pretty older than Vedic religion and Buddhism and has liking for Art and Architecture from the very beginning. In Rig Veda references of two Tirthankaras Rishabha and Aristnemi are found. In Jaina canon Rishabha is known as a king, who believed in developmental activities and loved his subject, Non-possessiveness was his great virtue. Rishabha is called Adinatha, and in Rig Veda he has been mentioned as a monarch of great wisdom. In Rig Veda (I. 13. 177) he had quite a benevolent character. He used to distribute charity among the people. Mention of Rishabha as a holy soul and yogi is found in Vishnu and Bhagvata Purana. In Jaina canonical literature he is known as the first Tirthankara. When Mahavira was born there was little difference between Hindu and Jaina religion. He gave new dimensions to the Jaina doctrine and today Jainism is identified only after his name. He did not refuse the identity of the soul, its flight and the release, however, he disregarded the Vedas and their teachings. He preached to observe five vows of Ahimsa (non-violence),

Satya (truth), Acaurya (non-stealing), Brahmacharya (celibacy) and Aprigraha (Non-possession), vigorously which constituted the main theme of Jaina philosophy.

When image worship was introduced into the Jaina religion, the Jains started adoring the Tirthankaras as god. Like Buddhism, Jainism have no faith in the existence of God. The Jainas only worship Tirthankaras and their own religious deities.

In Jaina temples the images of Tirthankaras were installed, along with Jain deities. Prominent events of their lives were portrayed in art in several ways, to be followed by the devotees, for attaining true knowledge and reality as well as freedom from the cycle of birth and death.

In the 1st century B.C. Jainism split into two main sections : Svetambaras and Digambaras. Jainism travelled to the extreme South during the Mauryan period where it grew in due course of time. King Kharvela of Kalinga embraced Jainism in 1st century A.D. From 5th to 12th century A.D. many of the dynasties of South India popularized Jainism. Temples and stupas were built, caves were made, paintings were prepared and vast literature produced.

Mathura and Mysore were the two main centres of Jainism in Northern and Southern India, where Art and Architecture flourished for centuries.

In the 11th century A.D. it was the state religion of Gujarat and has great influence in Malwa and Rajasthan.

For nearly 1000 years or so in the troubled decades of constant Muslim invasions, Jainism lost its dynamic hold. Religious, social and cultural life of everybody was disturbed.

During 11th and 12th century A.D. Jaina temples, stupas and centres of learning were constructed and numerous images were made in Central India.

In 5th century A.D. a Jaina sanctuary at Ellora was constructed and the figures carved in the temple have a distinct rigidity in comparison to the images of the subsequent periods. Here Jaina images do have in them the essence of semi-divine, semi-transcendent and supreme human triumph.

A Jaina temple complex in the outskirts of Khajuraho constitute an unique group of 24 Jaina temples built in the 10th century to 12th century A.D. The images of Jaina Tirthankaras are very much different from the Brahmanical images in spirit.

In Jaina circles, the nudity of the Digambara Jain Tirthankara is quite holistic and pious. It has no relation with erotic sculpture of Khajuraho which is based on tantric-mithuna style.

The temples of Mount Abu belong to 11th century A.D. to 13th century A.D. The delicacy of carving and the figures of the Nayikas and Apsaras has its own charm besides the chaste erotic element and the pervading sensuousness throbbing and pulsating in the fleshy structure and creeper like movement very much in contrast with the images of the Tirthankaras which stand rigid, erect, immobile, with arms held stiffly down, knees straight and the toes directly forward.¹

The Religion of Buddha and the message of Mahavira started almost from the same place, the Northern India. Buddha died at Kusinara (Kushi Nagar). Mahavira died earlier at Pava which is hardly 7-8 miles away from Kushinara. While Buddhism spread not only in India, but also made its way to Ceylon, Burma, Tibet, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Champa, China, Japan, Siam and Central Asia, Jainism could not cross the frontiers of India. Buddhism spread rapidly as a thunder storm, but Jainism remained as a sweet breeze.

1. Zimmer, H.: *the Art of Indian Asia*, p. 133.

The phenomenal growth of Buddhism and Jainism was due to so many religious, social and political factors :

(1) The Buddha's teachings were in simple language, the Pali, which was easily understood by the people. Buddha discarded Vedic Sanskrit. Mahavira's teachings were in Prakrit a dialect also commonly understood by the people of eastern India. In later times Buddhist and Jaina canons were written in Sanskrit.

(2) Compared to Jainism the teachings of Buddha were of simple nature. Simple code of conduct attracted a large number of people. The followers of Buddha had not to bother themselves with the metaphysical questions. Buddhism was a complete revolt against Vedic traditions and ritualism. Jainism cared much in the gospel of non-violence, celibacy, non-possessiveness and practising ethical code strictly.

(3) Buddhism did not believe in caste system. Though Jainism also discarded caste barriers, but Buddhism had a mass appeal. Buddhism was embraced by low caste people in a big way.

(4) Buddhism was economical as the teachings of Buddha did not involve any expenses. Rich and poor embraced Buddhism without any priest or intermediary. Only three simple sentences— "*Buddham Sarnam Gachchami, Dharmama Sarnam Gachchami and Sangham Sarnam Gachchami*" were enough to be a Buddhist monk or follower of Buddha. The Jaina doctrine of vows (vratas) was not so easy.

(5) The Buddhist Sangha and Buddhist monasteries helped in the spread of Buddhism. Buddhist monks and nuns were dedicated to their Dhamma and coordinated their efforts for the spread of Buddhism. They led a holy life and lived on *alms*.

(6) The Buddhist monasteries or viharas became great centres of education in due course of time where seekers of knowledge and truth flocked to receive instructions of high order, from India and abroad.

(7) Buddha himself possessed charming and magnetic personality, while Mahavira was criticised being a Nirgrantha - a nude teacher, and not so much liked in general public, though he was a great master and attained perfection.

(8) Buddhism enjoyed royal patronage under Ashoka, Kanishka, Harsha and other rulers, whereas Jainism was not so much patronized by the ruling classes. Ashoka popularized Buddhism not only in India, but also outside the country. He harnessed all the resources of the state to popularize the Dharma. He sent his own son and daughter as well as Buddhist missionaries to foreign countries to spread Buddhism. Kanishka, Harsha and many other rulers also did a lot to propagate Buddhism.

The principles of his Dharma were engraved on pillars, rocks and caves artistically. The ruling classes and the wealthy persons helped in such constructions. However, Jaina Art and Architectural activities flourished in south vigorously.

(9) Buddhist monasteries helped the growth of vast literature in the popular language of the people. Besides Pali, Buddhist literature was written in Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese, Singhlese and other languages of the South East Asian countries. This was not the case with Jainism.

(10) Buddha brought revolution in the society by equating a Bauddha-Bhikshu or Sramana with a Brahman. Many Brahmin scholars were attracted towards Buddhism. Jaina monks were calm and quiet ; their ultimate goal was salvation. But followers of Jainism promoted Art and Architecture, built cave temples, stupas and a lot of literature was written on palm-leaves and even in the form of inscriptions.

Jainism: Archaeological Sources

According to historian and archaeologist, K.D. Bajpai²: the Indological studies during the last 150 years have brought to light the importance of Jaina architecture, sculpture, painting and epigraphs as a source of Indian history and culture. These studies have, in a large measure, corroborated the evidence known from the literary and other sources. The significance of the vast and variegated Jaina source material is now widely acknowledged. An in-depth probe in this material has been amply rewarding for the study of various facets of Indian history.

The stone age tools and the pre-historic rock paintings have been discovered in different regions of the country. Paintings rock shelters are largely known from the valleys of rivers Betwa, Narmada and Chambal in Madhya Pradesh. They have thrown interesting light on the early cultures of India. Some of the rock paintings represent the earliest activity in the field of pictorial art in the country. Several representations of symbols were adopted from the archaic rock paintings by the artists of the historical times. Indian art of the historical period bears several of those symbols.

It should be pointed out here that all the painted rock-shelters, found in different regions of the country, cannot be called pre-or proto-historic. Paintings and inscription in several rock shelters can be assigned to as late a period as the 14th century A.D. Nevertheless, the painted rock shelters have provided valuable source material.

The relics of the Harappan culture and various chalcolithic cultures in other parts of the country have clearly indicated that both the plastic and pictorial art developed during the proto-historic times.

2. Bajpai, K.D. "Archaeological Sources Bearing on Early Jainism, in *Encyclopedia of Jainism*, Vol. 2, p. 425.

The history of Indian art from the Maurya period onwards represents a harmonious blend of the religious and secular trends. Religion undoubtedly began to play a leading role in almost all the spheres of life and thought. The field of fine arts could not remain an exception.

From the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. the *bhakti* movement made a mark in the social-religious life of the country. It is discernible not only in the Vedic-Puranic religion, but also in Jainism and Buddhism. It was largely responsible for a brisk activity in art and literature during Sunga-Satavahana period. In the Saka-Kusana Age, more impetus was given to sculpture and architecture. Even foreign rulers, the Kusanas and the Ksatrapas were influenced by the new devotional trends in Indian society. They patronized Indian art to such an extent that a large number of temples, stupas, viharas and statues were made in several parts of the country. The relics of these found at Mathura, Kausambi, Vidisa, Ahicchatra, Bharhut, Sanchi, Amaravati and other places bear testimony to this.

During the Gupta period, the plastic, pictorial and performing arts had an all round growth both in the North and South India. Activities in these fields continued during the early medieval period.

The contribution of Jainism to Indian philosophical and material culture is considerable indeed. The inscriptional and literary evidence proves the existence of Jaina *stupas* and of Tirthankara images before the Christian era. The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela and a large number of inscriptions from Mathura and other sites have thrown light on this.

The Jaina works, like *Kalpasutra*, *Rayapaseniya*, *Angavijja*, *Nisitha* and several others, furnish valuable accounts pertaining to art of sculpture, architecture, painting, music and dramatology. When we study this literature along

with the art forms extant in several parts of the country (e.g. Mathura, Vidisa, Kausambi, Ahicchatra, Rajgriha, and other art centres) we find that several of the art forms tally very well with their descriptions in scriptures. The Jaina literature on iconography and architecture is voluminous and is extremely valuable for the study of artistic development in different parts of the country.

The Jaina inscriptions are extremely valuable for the study of Indian art. They contain a good number of technical terms which are otherwise unknown to us. In the Jaina inscriptions of the Saka-Kusana period from Mathura interesting terms like *ayagapatta*, *thupa torana*, *kumbha*, *mandavika*, *siladevi*, *gramadevi*, *pratimasarvatobhadrika* have been found. Words such as *puskarini*, *arama*, *vihara*, *punyasala*, etc. also occur in Jaina inscriptions. On the pedestal of the Jaina image of goddess Sarasvati dated in the Saka year 54 (*i. e.* 132 A.D.) the inscription states that the image was installed in a dance hall. This and other records furnish an interesting evidence of the popularity of the performing arts during the Kusana period. The presiding deity of these arts was Sarasvati. In the inscription the donor is mentioned as Gopa, a lohika-karuka (*i. e.* an artist who was by profession an iron smith).

Artists working on gold, precious and semi-precious stones are also mentioned in several early inscriptions as *manikaras* and *hiranyakaras*.

On the famous Mathura *ayagapattita* (no. Q 2), referring to the courtesan Lavanasobhika and her daughter, there is a miniature representation of a complete Jaina *stupa* of the early Saka-Kusana period. It has a decorated *toranadvāra* and *vedikas* around.³

3. Ibid., p. 426.

The Sarvatobhadra Tirthankara statues from Mathura, Kausambi and several other sites represent on a single stone slab the four main Jaina deities, viz. Adinatha, Neminatha, Parsvanatha and Mahavira. These Tirthankaras are shown either in the *padmasana* or in the *khadgasana*. The term *paratimasarvatobhadrika* for the first time occurs in the Mathura Jaina inscriptions of the Kusana period. It was a new iconographic form, which was later on adopted in the Vedic-Puranic and the Buddhist pantheons.

Examples of Jaina *stupas*, temples, monasteries and statues of various forms, are known in different parts of the country. They furnish a glaring testimony to the development of various art forms. The canonical injunctions of the Jaina literature and the local faiths and social traits were adequately adhered to by the artists, who created various art forms. From the very early times Jainism gave a fillip to the aesthetic norms in art. The compositions and decorative patterns adopted in the Jaina art of the Saka-Kusana and the Gupta period are remarkable for their simplicity and grace. The construction of *vedikas* around the Jaina *stupas* during the period 1st to 3rd centuries A.D. reached a high watermark in the history of Indian art. The human figures, popular stories and a plethora of nature carved on the railing pillars of Mathura represent a degree of excellence unsurpassed in the entire range of Indian plastic art. This art of abiding beauty had an everlasting impact in the later plastic art of India and the continuous regions of the North-West. The ivory art of Begram in Afghanistan and the art of the extensive Udyana-Gandhara regions prove this.

A blending of aesthetic excellence with the iconic norms became a feature of the Jaina concept in regard to fine arts. This continued to develop in the country up to the late medieval times. As in other fields so also in the field of fine arts, the Jaina principle of *silā* was adhered to along with the

traits of beauty and utility. It was due to certain essential restraints that the Jaina art did not suffer from the extreme sensuous characteristics which are seen in a section of early phase providing the inspiration. At Gwalior, Ahar, Banpur, Barhata, Deogarh, Bahuriband and several other places in central India huge images were carved. In Rajasthan and Gujarat, several Jaina centres were developed during this period.

Besides the Tirthankara images, a large number of statues of Sasana-devas, Nagas, Navagrahas, Kshetrapalas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, etc., are still preserved. To the number of the early goddesses (Sarasvati, Ambika, Padmavati & Cakresvari), numerous other devis were added. Depiction of the Jaina Puranic stories and of folk-life in general was also a favourite with the contemporary artists. Natural scenes are met with here and there, some of them representing regional geographical features⁴.

The Jaina business communities contributed considerably to the economic stability of the country. Their caravanas passed through plains, forests and hills. The Sarthavahas took care to study problems of the various classes of people whom they met during their travels. They tried to ameliorate the difficulties of the common people. At their halting places they built up shrines, wells, markets, etc. for public use. The relics of building found at several isolated sites represent the work of the Jaina business communities in different parts of the country. The inscriptional and numismatic evidence confirms this⁵.

Thus in a vast country like India Jaina Art and Architecture flourished for centuries, spreading the message of non-violence, peace and morality.

4. Ibid., p. 427.

5. Ibid., p. 428.

II

JAINA ARCHITECTURAL TRADITION AND CANONS

For Jaina architecture the proper word commonly used was 'Vastu-sastra', similarly 'Silpa-sastra' was also used for sculpture. Mahavira was born among Vajjis and Buddha among Sakya-Koliya clan, both having republican government. They were early tribal Kshatriyas, and a civilized race. Their administration and judicial business was conducted in public assemblies in Mote halls which were called samthagaras. Palatial buildings were constructed in those days, according to Vastu-sastra and Silpa-sastra. Trained and experienced persons known as vastu-vid and silpa-sastri were respected in society. They knew astronomy and astrology, which helped them in every new construction.

In Jaina canon, architectural tradition has been described somewhat in detail. Gopi Lal Amar in his paper on Architectural Tradition and Canons has thrown some light on this topic as follows:

While several words were anciently current to denote what is known as architecture, a common and appropriate word was *vastu-sastra*. Throughout the world *silpa-sastra* has very much the same meaning, it has a distinct leaning towards sculpture and iconography. The word *sthapatya* has a more restricted connotation, viz. a house or school, *gharana*, relating to some particular type of architecture or an architectural or sculptural worship.¹ Apart from the traditional *gharanas*, there are several other classes of

1. Sutradhara Virapala, Prasada-tilaka. ed. P.O. Sompura. Ahmedabad, 1972, pp. 6 ff., enumerates the following *gharanas* (1) Sompura *gharana* well-known in West India, specializing in traditional architecture and possessing a rich collection of architectural treatises; (2) the Mahapatra *gharana* of Orissa; (3) the Pancanana *gharana*, spread over large parts of the Deccan, at present divided into five professional classes, viz., *silpi*, *suvarna-kara* (goldsmith), *kamsya-kara* (worker in bell-metal), *kastha-kara* (carpenter) and *loha-kara* (ironsmith); (4) the Telengana Visva-Brahmanacarya *gharana* of the Dravida region, named after their *gotras* Agastya, Rajyaguru and Sanmukha-Sarasvati.

architects. The Vaisyas, the Mewads, the Gurjaras, the Pancolis, and the Pancalas, all spread over West India, include experts in wood-carving, traditional engineering, etc. The Gauda-Brahamanas of Jaipur and Alwar are famed for marble-carving. Some specialize in metalcraft and painting. The Jangadas are known for wood-carving and traditional engineering; they are known in Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Delhi.²

While the *gharanas* are hereditary bearers of the ancient architectural tradition, such tradition is also recorded in a vast number of available texts.³ These treatises generally follow one and the same canon throughout, but that differ considerably *inter se*, both objectwise, leading to the *gharanas* mentioned above, and subjectwise, by putting architecture into various types of *sailis* (styles) like Nagara, Vesara, Dravida, etc.

While some of these texts, like the *Diparnava* of Visvakarman,⁴ the *Rupa-mandana*⁵ and *Prasada-mandana*,⁶ both of Mandana, the *Vastu-manjari* of Nathaji,⁷ etc., deal *inter alia* with Jaina architecture, perhaps the only book independently written on Jaina architecture is the *Vattu-sara-payarana* in Prakrit,⁸ with three chapters devoted respectively to residential houses, iconography and temple-architecture.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

3. P.K. Acharya enlists with available details two hundred and seven names of such treatises, *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, Allahabad, 1927, appendix II, pp. 805-814.

4. Ed. P.O. Sompura, Palitana.

5. Ed. Bal Ram Shrivastava, Varanasi, 1964.

6. Ed. Bhagwan Das Jain, Ahmedabad, 1961.

7. Ed. P.O. Sompura under the name *Prasada-manjari*, Ahmedabad, 1965.

8. Ed. Bagwan Das Jain, Jaipur, 1936. Parts of the present chapter are based on this texts unless otherwise stated.

The treatise, with two hundred and seventy-three *gathas* was completed on the Vijaya-dasmi day of Vikrama-samvat 1372 (A.D. 1315) during the reign of 'Alau'Din Khilji in Kalyanapura by Pheru, son of the Jaina Sri-candra in the Dhandha-kalasa-kula. In the same year, in Delhi, he completed another treatise the *Ratna-pariksa*,⁹ which is perhaps published in the *Thakkura-Feru-Granthavali*.¹⁰

Some Directions on Buildings ¹¹

The *upakaranas* or tools and instruments basically needed for measurement, etc., according to the *Vatthu-sara-payarana*, are eight in number; *drsti-sutra* or the thread of sight, meant for judging the exact measurement only by the sight; *hasta*, literally a cubit or a measure generally equal to twenty-four *angulas* or 45 cm.; *maunja* or a cord made of *munja* grass; *karpasaka* or the string made of cotton, avalamba or the plumb-line; *kastha-kona* or the trying-angle; *sadhani*, corresponding to the present-day spirit-level; and *vilekhyā* or a pair of dividers. Besides these, there might have been in use many more instruments, references to which could be found in various sources.

The *samagri* or material, right from the brick and wood to gold and precious stones, should be of the best quality. Fresh and not second-hand material would bring prosperity. The type of material, like wood or stone, might vary according

9. Ed. Bhagwan Das Jain, *op., cit.*, says that manuscript of this book, with the first folio missing, was acquired by him through Muni Darsanavijaya from Sri-Caritavijaya of the Jaina Jnana Mandira, the founder of the Yasovijaya Jaina Gurukula.

10. Edited by Bhanwar Lal Nahata and mentioned in *Muni Sri Hazarimala Smriti-Grantha* (Hindi), Beawar, 1966, p. 105 (*Lekhaka-paricaya*).

11. Generally based on the *Vatthu-sara-payarana*.

to the rank or caste of a person or to the nature of the building or the purpose.

To test the density of the soil a pit of twenty-four *angulas* may be dug and filled up with the same clay. The more the pit remains unfilled even with all that clay, the less dense is the soil. On the other hand, the more the clay overflows the pit, the denser is the soil. Or the pit may be filled up with water and then be observed just after walking over hundred steps, to and fro. The less soaked is that water, the denser is the soil. After either type of test the quality of the soil may be judged to be of maximum, medium or minimum density. A particular colour of the soil may bring prosperity to a particular *varna* or caste.

The selection of the site is to be done with every caution. Any kind of defect in the soil or even in the site may bring various troubles like poverty, disease, etc., to the owner. A spot where the shadow of the flag of a temple near by falls during the second and third quarters of the day should never be selected. *Salya* or extraneous matter of any type, as bone, coal, etc., whether on the surface or under the ground, should be removed, even if excavation is needed, that too even down to man-height. The extraneous matter can be inferred by the help of the *sesa-naga-cakra*. The excavation may, if necessary, be done in part and with gaps of time according to the astronomical codes like the *sesa-naga-cakara* or the *vrśa-vasu-cakra*.

The line-plan should be accurate in accordance with the compass. The direction-line may well be assessed with the help of the *dik-sadhaka-sanku* or direction-peg. Likewise, the *sama-catuskona-sthiti* or quadrangular prism should also be utilized. Moreover, the level of the spot must be ascertained, specially in the case of temples and palaces. The construction as such may be started during some particular months, the

naksatra or star, the *graha* or planet etc. ; better if they all happen to be favourable. But exception can be made to this in the case of a house to be built of wood, grass and so on. This code of astronomy should also be followed in the putting of the first foundation-stone, or at the time of the first entry into the built-up house, these being the two occasions when prescribed rituals may be performed and the architect may be felicitated.

The measurement of the building and the component parts thereof must, before it is accepted, be confirmed by a set of *ayadi-sad-varga* or the six formulae. The *aya* is the area which remains after a division by 8 of the area of the house or an apartment thereof. Each of the eight kinds of *aya*, namely *dhvaja*, *dhumra*, *simha*, *svana*, *vr̥sa*, *khara*, *gaja* and *dhvanksa*, is of a different nature astronomically and situation-wise, and varies in bringing fruit to its owners of various professions, ranks, castes etc. The *naksatra* of the house, that is the serial number, can be known by the multiplication of the square area by 8 and then by the division of the numbers so obtained by 27. Coherence between the *naksatra* of the house and that of the owner is compulsory for prosperity. The *rasi* also is responsible for the prosperity of the landlord. To get serial number of the *naksatra* house may be multiplied by 4 and the number obtained be divided by 9. A coherence also between the *naksatra* and the *rasi* is required for prosperity. The *vyaya* is the number obtained as the remainder after the division by 8 of the serial number of the *naksatra* of the house. Both the *naksatra* and the *vyaya* should be in coherence for the good of the owner. The *amsa* or share is the remainder obtained after the division by 3 of the number which may be obtained by adding the number of alphabets composing the nature or type of the house and the number obtained as *vyaya* to the number of square cubits measuring the house. The share

would go to Indra, Yama and the *rajan* or king respectively in case the remainder is 1, 2 and 3. The *tara*, the star again, is the influencing factor in case of prosperity of the owner. The serial number of the *tara* is the difference between the serial number of the *naksatra* of the house and that of the *naksatra* of the owner.

The necessity of this formula seems to be due to the fact that in most instances where the measurement of any object is concerned, the work on architecture quote more dimensions than one. Out of these different and varying measurements which is to be selected would be determined by the application of this formulae. To be allowed also in sculpture in addition to architecture, this *sad-varga* formula could hardly be grasped in the abstract form. It need not be neglected even if its correct interpretation is not possible.

The *vastu-purusa-cakra* is another type of formula for the proportionate layout of the component parts of the building, *i.e.*, the base or *adhisthana*, the column or *pada* or *stambha*, the entablature or *prastara*, the ear or *karna*, the dome or *stupi* and the spire of *sikhara*. This column may not be erected where the lock of hair, the head, the heart and the navel of the *vastu-purusa* fall in the drawing; and likewise are the instructions under this formula.

Residential Buildings and Palaces

The Jaina texts give comprehensive accounts of residential houses, palaces and even towns like Campa, Rajagraha, Sravasti, etc., in mythology and Kaccha and numerous *patala-nagaris* in cosmography, but they all are mostly stereotyped and the elements of the art of construction or architecture appearing there have seldom any value. What is remarkable there is the architectural and sculptural terms which can be taken for consideration in the study of the gradual

development and application of the canons of art and architecture in various parts of the country. This very fact leads us to think that the Jaina writers of old days were interested more in depicting the day-to-day life than in painting the canvas merely in a cartographical manner.

In the basic principles of architecture, the residential building would not differ much from the temple. What, therefore, is uncommon will be mentioned here. Both the direction and situation of the main entrance or *simha-dvara* should very strictly be in accordance to the architectural and astronomical codes. *Vedha* or obstruction of seven kinds, namely *tala*, *kona*, *talū*, *kapala*, *stambha*, *tula* and *dvara*, must by all the means be avoided from the house. The narrower the front portion in proportion to the back portion of the house, the better it is; also the higher the back portion in comparison with the front one, the better it is. The front of a shop may, however, be broader and higher.

The main entrance should be in the east, the kitchen or *rasavati* or *pakasala* in the *nairrtiya* or the south-west corner, the bed-room or *sayanagara* in the south, the lavatory or *nihara-sthana* in the south-east, the dining-room or *bhojana-sala* in the west, the armoury or *ayudhagara* in the north-west; the treasury or *kosagara* in the north and the room for performing rituals or *dharma-sthana* in the north-east. In case the house does not face east, the direction, whatever it be, should be taken to be the east so as to maintain this order.

The *alinda* is the outer corridor close to the entrance. The *patta-sala* or the main hall and close to it the *kaksa-sala* or smaller room and the other parts of the house may all be treated as the parts of the main house. The *alinda* may measure 107 *angulas* in height and 85 *angulas* in length. To the width of the house may be added 70 *hastas* and then the total be divided by 14 to get the width of *sala* and to that of the *sala*

may be added 35 *hastas* and the total be divided by 14 to get the width of *alinda*, says Rajavallabha, whereas, according to the *Samarangana-sutradhara* the width of the *alinda* in all types of houses is half the size of the *sala*. An *alinda*, if situated at the back or at the extreme right or left of the house, is called *gujari*, the word probably being a local one.

The house may comprise even a single room. The *patta-sala* may be adjunctive of an *alinda* or two or even three. It may have the two walls with *jalikas* or the latticed windows, and a *mandapa* or open hall. The *jalaka* is a small door, that is a *jalika* without lattice. The *gavaksa* and *vatayana* may hardly differ from the *jalika* if they are perforated or latticed. *Sad-daru* is a *stambha* or pillar made generally of wood. *Bharavata*, also known as *pitha* or *dharana* in Sanskrit and *kadi* in Hindi, is a wooden lintel.

A window or even a small hole in the rear wall may not be made at all. The window may be built at a height so that it comes not lower and the one in the wall of the neighbouring house. In multistoreyed buildings a door having two doors above it are not advisable. The *angana* or courtyard may not be planned with three or five corners. Cattle may be kept in a separate room outside the house.

The amplitude or *vistara* of the house may accord with the status of the owner. The king, the commander-in-chief, the prime minister, the heir-apparent or *yuvaraja*, the young brother of the king, the queen, the astronomer, the physician and the priest may have their houses built respectively measuring 108 by 135, 64 by $74 \frac{2}{3}$, 60 by $67 \frac{1}{2}$, 80 by $106 \frac{2}{3}$, 40 by $53 \frac{1}{3}$, 30 by $33 \frac{3}{4}$, 40 by $46 \frac{2}{3}$, 40 by $46 \frac{2}{3}$ and 40 by $46 \frac{2}{3}$ *hastas*. This amplitude can be reduced by the prescribed number of *hastas*. A Brahmina, a Kshatriya, a Vaisya, a Sudra and an Antyaja or Candala may have their houses respectively of 32 by $35 \frac{2}{5}$, 28 by $31 \frac{1}{2}$, 24 by 28, 20

by 25 and 16 by 20 *hastas*. By adding 4 *hastas* to a sixteenth of the width can be had the height of the ground floor or *prathamatala* of the house.

The houses, because of the variety and number, etc., of the parts and apartments, may be put into sixteen thousand, three hundred, and eighty-four classes. Summarily the houses may be given only one of the sixteen attributive names: *dhurva, dhanya, jaya, nanda, khara, kanta, manorama, sumukha, durmukha, krura, supaksa, dhanada, ksayas, akranda vipula and vijaya*.

The houses, on the basis of their dimensions and situations, may again be classified under the sixty-four names, all being attributive: (1 to 8) *santana santida, vardhamana, kukkuta, svastika, hamsa, vardhana, karbura*; (9 to 16) *santa, harsana, vipula, kurala, vitta, citta or citra, dhana, kala-danda* (17-24) *bhadraka, putrada, sarvanga, kala-cakra, tri-pura, sundara, nila, kutila*; (25 to 32) *sasvata, sastrada, sila, kotara, saumya, subhaga, bhadra-mana, krura*; (33 to 40) *sri-dhara, sarva-kamada, pustida (a), kirtti-nasaka, srngara, sri-vasa, sri-sobha, kirtti-sobhanaka*; (41 to 48) *yuga-sri-dhara, bahu-labha, lakshmi-nivasa, kupita, udyota, bahu-tejas, sutejas, kalahavaha*; (49 to 56) *vilasa, bahu-nivasa, pustida (b), krodha-sannibha, mahanta, mahita; dukkha, kulaccheda* (57 to 64) *pratapa-var dhana, divya, bahu-duhkha, kanthacchedana, jangama, simha-nada, hastija and kantaka*.

The houses may, yet again, be classified under eight types: *surya, vasava, virya, kalaksa, buddhi, suvrata, prasada* and *dvivedha*. Each of these eight has sixteen varieties, and as such, the total number comes of one hundred and twenty-eight.

Apart from these, there is one more type of classification of houses specially meant for Kings. It is the king only who is allowed to have a house round on plan, if he so likes.

Concept of the Temple

The Sanskrit words *mandira* and *alaya*, both denoting something like a shelter, specify the temple particularly in Jaina reference, where, however, more ancient than these two is the word *ayatana* dating back to the time of Mahavira who often used to stay in *Yaksayatyanas* in the course of his *viharas*; later it joined the compound word *Jinayatana* and was still later replaced by the words *mandira*, *alaya*, *geha*, *grha*, etc.

The concept behind the temple in Jainism is perhaps nowhere indicated. Essentially dedicated to one of the Tirthankaras, the temple, if it is taken to be a memorial, may win some logic, but surely not if it is taken to be a funeral relic structure.¹² But more logical does it seem to interpret the temple as the symbolic representation not the Meru but of the *samavasarana* or the fascinating auditorium of the Tirthankara who, as one of those to be bowed before any one of the other Paramesthins,¹³ would deliver a sermon only inside the *samavasarana*, whose idol was the first to appear and whose iconic symbol in the form of the *mula-nayaka* or main deity must be installed in the temple. Many a temple, whether ancient or modern, has in front the *manastambha* which is one of the component parts of the *samavasarana*. The *samavasarana*, thus once symbolizes as an architectural composition, even if a miniature one, lost its chance to be symbolized otherwise. Erroneous will it be to include the *samavasarana*, which is absolutely indigenous to Jainism, amongst the funeral relic structures like *stupa* or *aiduka*, or even the *jaruka* or *jaluka* and *ziggurat*. *Caitya*, if it all be

12. It can hardly be doubted that there exists some connection between temples and tombs' A.K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian Art*, New York, 1927, p. 47.

13. *Bhagvati-aradhana*, Sholapur, 1935, p. 46.

referred to in this connection, would support this contention. Both the words *ayatana* and *caitya* have the same meaning.¹⁴ The *samavasarana* being too complicated to be represented literally according to the plan described in the texts, the temple appeared, though with a number of canonical peculiarities, and with majestic dimensions, because of which fact the holy building came to be called more as *ayatana* or *caitya* or so than as *samavasarana*. Mahavira often used to stay during his *viharas* also in the *caityas* which might have been nothing but *ayatanas* or temples, the places ethically prescribed for the ascetics to say in. The word *caitya* later on or perhaps simultaneously came to have many connotations. It also restrictedly meant an idol housed in a temple and, as such, originated words like *caitya-vihara*, *caitya-grha*, *caityalaya*, etc., all of them with the same meaning, namely the temple.

The Jaina temple then, with the very idea behind origin, went on having a parallel and simultaneous evolution, though with paces up and down, with the temples of co-traditions. Differentiating a Jaina temple from other temples, therefore, requires a thorough scrutiny, unless it is favoured by a clear evidence like epigraphical or literary or at least a traditional record or any aspect of iconography. It is because of this fact, decidedly unlike the cast of plastic art, that very few works were composed separately to deal with Jaina architecture.

Components and Types of Temples¹⁵

A *garta-vivara* or foundation-pit for the *prasada* may be excavated down to the layer where rock or water is found. In the centre of such a pit may, under proper rituals, be placed a *kurma-sila* or the slab with a tortoise and other things carved

14. *caityam ayatanaṃ tulye*, *Amarakosa*, II, 2, 7.

15. Mainly based on the *Vatthu-sara-payarana*.

on it, also in the four directions and the four sun directions eight *khura-silas* or the slabs with an object carved on each of them may, each one, be placed under proper rituals. The pit may then be filled, closely pressed and hardened.

The *pitha* or *adhithana* the plinth, is then to be erected on the *tala* or the ground so prepared. The *pitha* may be a simple one or with friezes called *tharas* or *prastara-galas*, one to five in number, on it. *Kona* or *karna*, *pratiratha*, *ratha*, *bhadra* and *mukha-bhadra* are also one types or the other moulding of the *pitha* and hence the parts of the *prasada*, whereas *nandi*, *karnika*, *pallava*, *tilaka* and *tavamga*, all of them also being mouldings of the *pitha*, are the decorative elements of the *prasada*.

Amala-sara or *amalaka* and *kalasa*, in which *karna-rekhas*, *pratikarnas* or the *uparathas* and the *uru-srngas* can also be seen. The *amalaka* comprises the *gala*, *andaka*, *candrika*, and *amala-sarika*. *Kalasa* is a term applied generally to the summit to a tower. Its component parts are the *gala*, *andaka*, *karnika* and *bijapuraka*. The *suka-nasa* or *sukanasika* is a part of the dome, looking like the parrot's break. The *dhvaja*, the banner or the flag with *danda*, the staff, should be put at the top of the *sikhara*.

The *dvara*, door, should in width be half its height which may vary from sixteen *angulas* to seven *hastas*. On the door-frame may be carved Tirthankaras, *pratihara*-couple, *madanikas*, etc., at their appropriate places. The main entrance of a temple under repair should be neither shifted nor altered.

The *jagati* is a moulding of the *pitha* or the base. Or, to define otherwise, all the area covered by the temple as such is *jagati*. It is actually the *jagati* that proportions the plan of the *prasada* of the main sanctury and all the component parts of the temple. Seen as the surface of the *pitha*, the *jagati* must be walled along with a gate in each direction.

The *mandapa* with its thirteen members place in order is shown in. The word *mandovara* seems to be a local one current in western India and a corrupt form of Sanskrit *mandapa-vara*, *mandapa-dhara*. The *mandovara* actually is the *bhitti* or the outer wall supporting the roof which covers the *mandapa* or the *mandapas* in the *prasada*. Sutrādharma Mandana describes four types of *mandovara*, namely the *nagara*, *meru*, *samānya* and *prakārantara*.

The *sikhara* is the spherical roof rising like an inverted cup over a building.¹⁶ Above the dome it comprises the *sikhara*, *sikha sikhanta* and *sikhmani*, or it can otherwise be divided as *chadya*, *sikhara*.

The *mandapa*, pavilion, is comprised of the *prasada-kamala* or *garbha-grha* or the main sanctuary, *gudha-mandapa* or the covered pavilion, *trika-mandapa* or the *mandapa* with three passages cut across, *ranga-mandapa* or the auditorium and *satorana balanaka* or the arched platform. The width of the *mandapa* may be 1, 1.5 or 1.75 times that of the main sanctuary. The *stambhas* or the columns may in height be half the diameter of the *mandapa*, but what seems to be more practicable, a column may generally be four times the base and the pedestal twice or thrice the base and the entablature equal to or double the base. The course of the *jala-pranālikas* or the drainage may be towards the left on the south.

Sri-vijaya, *maha-padma*, *nandyavarta*, *lakshmi-tilaka*, *nara-veda*, *kamalahamsa* and *kunjara* are the seven types of *prasadas* said to be the best for the Jinas. But Visvakarman speaks of innumerable types of the *prasadas*, out of which only twenty-five may here be named: *kerasin*, *sarvato-bhadra*, *sunanadana*, *nandi-sala*, *nandisa*, *mandira*, *sri-vasta*,

16. P.K. Acharya, *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, London etc., 1927, p. 588.

amrtodbhava, *hemavanta*, *himakuta*, *kailasa*, *prthvi-jaya*, *indra-nila*, *maha-nila*, *bhu-dhara*, *ratna-kuta*, *vaidurya*, *padma-raga*, *vajranga*, *mukutojjavala*, *airavata*, *raja-hamsa*, *garuda*, *vr̥sabha* and *meru*. The first of these *prasadas* has four *andakas* or cupolas around its *sikhara*, then every next *prāsada* has more four *andakas* than the earlier one, the twenty-fifth being with a hundred of *andakas*.

Visvakarman in the *Diparnava*¹⁷ describes fifty-two Jina-*prasadas*, out of which twenty-five are dedicated, one each, to the Tirthankara. Thus, (1) *kamala-bhusana*, (2) *kama-dayaka*, (3) *ratna-koti*, (5) *ksiti-bhusana*, (6) *padma-raga*, (7) *pusya-danta*, (8) *suparsva*, (10) *sitla*, (12) *rtu-rajā*, (13) *sri-sitala*, (16) *sreyamsa*, (19) *vasu-pujaya*, (21) *vimala*, (23) *ananta*, (24) *dharmada*, (27) *sri-linga*, (29) *kumuda*, (32) *kamala-kanda*, (35) *mahendra*, (38) *mana-santusti*, (40) *nami-sr̥nga*, (41) *sumati-kirtti*, (47) *parsva-vallabha*, and (50) *vira-vikrama* are each dedicated to one of the Tirthankaras serially starting with Rsabhanatha; (44) *naimendra* to Neminatha again; (4) *amrtodbhava*, (9) *sri-vallabha*, (11) *sri-candra*, (14) *kirtti-dayaka*, (15) *manohara*, (17) *sukula*, (18) *kula-nandana*, (20) *ratna-sanjaya*, (22) *mukti*, (25) *surendra*, (26) *dharmavrska*, (28) *kama-dattaka*, (31) *harsana*, (33) *sri-saila*, (34) *ari-nasana*, (36) *manavendra*, (37) *papa-nasana*, (42) *upendra*, (43) *rajendra*, (45) *yati-bhusana*, (46) *supusya*, (48) *padma-vr̥ta*, (49) *rupa-vallabha*, (51) *astapada* and (52) *tusti-pusti* to all the Tirthankaras; (30) *sakti* to Lakshmi-devi; and (39) *sri-bhava* (*gaurva*) to trideva.

Domestic and Portable Temples

Provision for a *dharmasthana* or the temple to be built within a residential house has also been made in the canons.

17. Visvakarman's *Diparnava*, tr. (in Gujarati) P.O. Sompura, Palitana, pp. 317-18 (pp. 9-10 of the reprint of *Uttara-khanda*).

Philosophy of Jaina Art and Architecture

Situated in the north-east corner of the house, the temple, though owned and maintained privately, must be kept open to all. Such temples may follow the general code of temple-architecture. They may be made of wood with a *upapitha* and a *pitha* or the two bases and other component parts. A column at each corner, a door and a balcony in each corner, a door and a balcony in each directions and at the top a *sikhara* with four smaller ones are the component parts of this type of temple, but a flag on the top is not allowed. Moreover, above all, the expenses incurred must be met out of legitimate earnings. Likewise, a temple made of wood may also be allowed only if it is a miniature, such as a portable one, to be carried along a journey after which it may be preserved in the *ratha-sala* or in the temple, for further use.

Cosmography and Architecture

Literary sources no doubt provide us with a lot of information regarding the canons and symbolism of architecture, but the cosmographical literature is much fuller of such information and various suggestions. A brief sketch of Jaina cosmography would, therefore, be helpful in this context.

Cosmogony has been altogether refuted in Jainism, whereas both cosmology and cosmography occupy a fairly large place in mythological scriptures. The cosmos, eternally existent by nature, is comprised of six types of *dravyas* or the substances categorized as *jiva* (living) and a-*jiva* (non-living). The faculty of knowing and perceiving and the sensations of pleasure and pain, which can inhere only in something and cannot be the function of pure non-entity, must be regarded as states of something which exists, and it is this something which may be called *jiva* substance. The non-living continue

comprises *dharma* or the medium of motion, *a-dharma*¹⁸ or the medium of rest, *akasa* or the space, *puḍgala*¹⁹ or the matter and energy and *kala*²⁰ or the time.²¹

The cosmos,²² materially too mathematical and geometrical in the whole as well as in parts, is shaped like a man standing akimbo with legs spread sideways. The space inside the cosmos is called *lokakasa* and outside *a-lokakasa* wherein the cosmos is supported by three zones of air or the *vata-valayas*, the inner zone being humid (*tanu*), the middle dense (*ghana*) and the outer rarefied gases (*ghanodadhi*). The *Siddha-sila* or the space of the liberated souls is the summit of the cosmos in the form of a bi-meniscus convex lens with its concavity downwards. The portion, thence to the bottom, as broad as the waist-like part of the cosmos, is only inhabited by *trasa-jivas* or the mobile beings²³ and is called

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18. *Dharma* and *adharma* have in Jaina cosmography been used in a technical sense entirely different from their ordinary meaning.
 19. For an analytical study of this substance, see G.L. Amar, 'Darsana aur Vijnana ke aloka men Puḍgala Dravya.' *Muni Sri Hazarimala Smṛiti-Grantha* (Hindi), Beawar, 1965, p. 368-8.
 20. The Svetambaras regard this substance as a modification of *jiva* and *a-jiva*, and not as an independent one.
 21. This and the following paragraphs are based on the *Tattvartha-sutra with Rajavarttikalamkara* (Sanskrit-Hindi), Kashi, 2 parts, 1953-5.
 22. The universe is denoted by the word *loka* in Jainism where the words *visva* and *brahmanda*, though virtual synonyms of *loka*, are not much common.
 23. The transmigrating souls, within which are not included the *siddhas* who are emancipated, are either mobile (*trasa*) or immobile (*sthavara*). Earth, water, fire, air and plants are immobile beings, all with the only sense of touch. The mobile beings, having a gradual increase in the senses to taste, smell, sight and hearing, may be termed as two-sensed and onwards. The five-sensed ones all the celestial human and hellish beings and partly the animals.

therefore, the *trasa-nali*, measuring 14 *rajju*²⁴ in height and 7 in depth as the *loka* which measures in general 7 *rajju*. The cosmos, which 343 *rajju* cubes in volume, has in the central 100-*yojana* portion the *manusya-loka* accommodating all but the heavenly celestial beings who inhabit the *svarga-loka* above the *manusya-loka* and the hellish beings who are distributed in the seven-earth²⁵ *naraka-loka* below the *manusya loka*.

The central part of the cosmos, i.e. the *manusya-loka*, consists of innumerable continents or *dvipas*, each encircled by an ocean²⁶ or *samudra*.²⁷ These are of double the diameter of the preceding ones and are circular in shape.

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24. Literally a rope, the *rajju* is linear astrophysical measure, being the distance which a male celestial being flies in six months at the rate of 2,857, 152 *yojanas* in one *samaya* or the shortest unit of time, though all this cannot be subjected to any mathematical computations.
 25. These earths or the *narakas* are situated one below the other, each surrounded by three kinds of air and space. The word earth is intended to indicate the particular nature of substratum which is solid like the earth. The infernal regions are not like the layers of heavens, which rest without any substratum like the earth.
 26. Jambu, the first continent, is encircled by Lavana, ocean which itself is encircled by Dhataki-khanda continent, the encircling ocean here being Kala, which is in turn encircled by the continent Puskaravara, which, i.e., the predecessor's name, has been taken by the encircling ocean, as has been done by all the oceans onwards.
 27. The fourth and onward continents are Varuni-vara, Ksira-vara, Ghrta-vara, Kundala-vara, Sankha-vara, Nandisvara, Arunabhasa Aruna-vara, Kundala-vara, Sankha-vara, Nandis-vara, Aruna-vara, Arunabhasa-vara, Kundala-vara, Sankha-vara, Rucaka-vara, Bhujaga-vara, Kusa-vara, Kraunca-vara, etc. And, to begin from the last backwards, the continents are Svayambhu-ramana, Ahindra-vara, Deva-vara, Yaksa-vara, Bhuta-vara, Naga-vara, Vaidura-vara, Vajra-vara, Suvarna-vara, Rupya-vara, Hingulika-vara, Anjanaka-vara, Syama-vara, Sindura-vara, Haritala-vara, Manah-sila, etc.

Jambu, the first *dvipa*, is the only continent which does not encircle any ocean or continent and is the only one round in shape. One hundred²⁸ thousand *maha-yojanas*²⁹ in diameter, the Jambu has Mount Sumeru at the centre like the navel in the body. This continent has seven regions named Bharata, Haimavata,³⁰ Hari, Videha,³¹ Ramyaka, Hairanyavata and Airavata³² divided by six mountains, namely Himavat, Mahahimavat, Nisadha, Nila, Rukmin and Sikharin, all running east to west. Padma, Maha-padma, Tigincha, Kesarin, Maha-purdarika and Pundarika are the lakes situated on the top of these mountains respectively. It is these lakes that accommodate lotus-shaped islands inhabited by celestial families, which respectively are headed by celestial nymphs named Sri, Hari, Dhriti, Kirtti, Buddhi and Lakshmi. Across the seven regions flow in pair, with the first flowing eastwards and the next westwards, fourteen great rivers³³ having thousands of tributaries each.

Dhataki-khanda, the second continent, is divided into East and West by two mountains running from north to south

28. A measure of distance. 24 *angulas* or finger-tips, each equal to an inch in general, make 1 *hasta* or cubit, 4 *hastas* make a *dhanus* or *capa*, literally a bow, 2,000 *dhanuses* make 1 *krosa*, which may equal 2 miles, 4 *krosas* make a *yojana* in general, whereas 2,000 *krosas* make the *maha-yojana*.
29. For details, see Jaina Canons
30. The names in cosmography may significantly correspond to those in art and architecture.
31. This region is divided into three parts called Deva-kuru, Uttara-kuru and Videha.
32. This region, just like Bharata, is divided into six horizontally by a mountain called Vijayardha and vertically by the two rivers; the division in the outer centre is Arya-khanda, whereas the other five are Mleccha-khandas.
33. They are Ganga, Sindhu, Rohita, Rohitasya, Harit, Harikanta, Sita, Sitoda, Nari, Narakanta, Suvana-kula, Rupyakula Rakta and Raktoda.

with the ends touching the high shores of the two oceans Lavana and Kala. Each of the East and the West divisions has all the arrangement as there is in Jambu, *i.e.* there are two sets of regions, mountains, Merus, etc. The mountains here run midway between the regions as the spokes in a wheel and the regions are of the shape of open space in the wheel.

Puskara-vara, the third, is the only continent divided into two halves by a circular mountain Manusottara running around the continent and called so because human beings are found only up to it. In the inner half, there are, just as in Dhataki-khanda, two Bharatas, two Himavats, two Merus, etc., whereas, in the outer half and also in the continents onwards there is no division into regions, etc. All this means that human beings reside only in the two-and-a-half continents in the centre of the middle world and also of the cosmos. This also means that there are five sets, each with seven regions, six mountains, fourteen rivers, one Meru, etc.

It is worth mentioning that the Bhartas, Videhas (excluding the Deva-kuru and Uttara-kuru parts) and Airavatas, five each, are the Regions of Labour or *karma-bhumis* where one has to adopt any of the six kinds of occupations to lead his life, whereas the Haimavatas, Haris, Deva-kurus, Uttara-kurus, Ramyakas and Hairanyavatas, five each, are the Regions of Enjoyment or *bhoga-bhumis* where the objects of enjoyment are provided by *kalpa-vrksas* or desire-fulfilling trees.

Ksira-vara, the fifth ocean, is remarkable for its waters, vesselfuls of which are accustomed to be taken by Indra for the *abhiseka* or the ceremonial bath of the baby Tirthankara, and wherein is deposited the hair of the Tirthankara after he plucks it out on the occasion of his *diksa* or renunciation. Nandisvaras, the eighth, Kundala-vara, the tenth, and Rucakavara, the thirteenth, are known for their *akrtrima*

caityalas or the natural temples. Some continents, including the second, Jambu,³⁴ have *patala-nagaris* or underground cities inhabited only by the celestial ones.

The celestial beings or Devas are of four orders, namely Bhavanavasin³⁵ or the residential, Vyantara³⁶ or the peripatetic, Jyotiska³⁷ or the steller and Vaimanika³⁸ or the heavenly ones. Of these, the Bhavana-vasins have their residence in the *manusya-loka* and partly in the *naraka-loka*. They have *Jina-caityalayas* as a component part of their mansions, which are *akrtrima* or natural and *sasvata* or eternal. The Vyantaras have their dwelling-places in the upper part of the first earth beyond the innumerable island and oceans, but the Raksasa class of them resides in the *panka-bahula* or muddy part of the same earth. The stellers are characterized by incessant motion around the Merus, whereas outside the Manusottara they are stationary. Out of these, the suns and the moons have *Jina-caityalas* in their *vimanas*.

The Vaimanikas are the only celestial beings to reside in the upper world called *svarga-loka* which comprises sixteen

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34. For the detailed study of the second Jambu, see G.L. Amar, 'Dvitiya Jambu-dvipa,' *Anekanta* (Hindi quarterly), XXII, 1, Delhi, 1969, pp. 20-24.
 35. They are of ten classes: Asura, Naga, Vidyut, Suparna, Agni. Vata, Stanita, Udadhi, Dvipa and Dik, each with the suffix *kumara*.
 36. They are of eight classes: Kinnara, Kimpurusa, Mahoraga. Gandharva. Yaksa, Raksasa, Bhuta and Pisaca.
 37. They are of five classes: suns, moons, planets, constellations and scattered stars.
 38. Those which make the beings residing in them feel as possessing merit are called *vimanas*, and those who live in the *vimanas* are called Vaimanikas: the word *vimana* does not mean here a chariot or a car moving in the air or in the sky; it is an absolutely fixed abode, shaped like a *vimana* as anciently conceived.

kalpa-vimanas,³⁹ nine *graiveyaka-vimanas*,⁴⁰ nine *amudisa-vimanas*,⁴¹ and five *anuttara-vimanas*,⁴² altogether thirty nine. Most of those residing in the *kalpa-vimanas* and the *graiveyaka-vimanas* and all the rest are, by nature, Jitendra-*bhaktas* or devoted to the Jina.

The one hundred Indras or the chiefs⁴³ comprise only the celestial kings, except the two, *i.e.* one of the human beings and one of the animals, namely the lion. The Yaksas, Yaksis, Sasana-devas, Sasana-devis, Dik-palas, Ksetra-palas, Bhairvas, Vidya-devis, Sarasvati, Lakshmi, Ganga, Yamuna, *apsaras*, *dundubhi-vadakas*, *camara-dharins*, *camara-dharinis*, etc., all being the celestial ones, and the human figures like Vidyadharas, Bhaktas, etc., can be seen depicted as attendants of the Tirthankaras or in various parts of the temple.

Symbolic Temples

The temple in itself is a symbol, though in a general sence. In particular the temple can be seen in various architectural formations like those of Nandisvara-dvipa, Asttapada, etc., but some of the formations are only described in the canons and are nowhere physically represented.

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39. Saudharma, Aisana, Sanat-kumara, Mahendra, Brahman, Brahmottara, Lantava, Kapistha, Sukra, Maha-sukra, Satara, Sahasrara, Anata, Pranatha, Arana and Acyuta.
 40. Sudarsana, Amogha, Subuddha, Payodhara, Subhadra, Suvisala, Sumanas, Saumanasa and Priyankara.
 41. Laksmi, Laksmi-malika, Vairevaka, Rocanaka, Soma, Somarupya Anka, Palyanka and Aditya.
 42. Vijaya, Vaijayanta, Jayanta, Aparajita and Sarvartha-siddhi.
 43. The one hundred Indras are enumerated as: *Bhavanalaya-calisa Vyantara-devana homti battisa/Kappamara-caubisa Camdo Suro naro tiriyo.*

Some of the formations like *stupa*, *caitya-vasa*, *nasidhika*, etc., may or may not be taken directly into the category of temples as such, but after all, being the places of worship they could be dealt with under the present heading.

Caturvimsati-Jinalaya

The *caturvimsati-jinalaya* is a set of twenty-four *deva-kulikas* or *deva-kosthas*, literally the small sanctuaries, each with a Tirthankara serially installed in it, starting from the southern jamb of the eastern gate and ending with the same jamb of the western gate, so as to form three rows of eight each, the central one facing the main sanctuary in the temple. The Tirthankara, whoever he is in the main sanctuary, would not be repeated but be replaced by Sarasvati, the goddess of learning.

This type of temples has been very popular right from the medieval period to this day, though the arrangement of the small sanctuaries can be seen varying on plan. The *caturvimsati-pata* or a panel depicting the twenty-four Tirthankaras may be taken to a miniature *caturvimsati-jinalaya*, which can be seen also in the rock-cut form.

The Merus

There are five Merus, named Sudarsana, situated in the centre of the Jambu continent, Vijaya in the east and Acala in the west of Dhataki-khanda and Mandara in the east and Vidyun-malin in the west of the inner half of the Puskara-vara. All the five are situated one each in the Videha-ksetras and have one and the same characteristics, except slight differences in height, the one in the Jambu being the highest and as such called Sumeru instead of Meru.

The Sudarsana, being 1,000 *yojanas* under the 95,000 *yojanas* above the ground level, touches the upper level of

the lower world and lower level of the upper world. Its diameter decreases from 10,090 *yojanas* and the eleventh of *yojana* at the lowermost level to 10,000 *yojanas* at the ground level where it is encircled here by the Bhadra-sala forest. There form at the height of 500 *yojanas* to make the Sumeru encircled here by the Nandana forest. Then at the height of 60,500 *yojanas* the decrease again is the same and the encircling forest here is Saumanasa. Thence at the height of 36,000 the decrease of 494 *yojanas*, where the encircling forest is Panduka, and, wherefrom rises the 40-*yojana culika* or crest with the diameter of 4 *yojanas* at the top. Full of jewells called *haritala*, *vaidurya*, *sarva-ratna*, *vajra*, *padma* and *padma-raga*, the circumference of the Meru changes successively at the height of every 16,500 *yojanas*. At the bottom the Meru has four Vaksara-giris in the subdirections. Shaped like *gajadanta* or the tusk of an elephant, these mountains touch the larger ones called Maha-saila, Niladri, Nishada-parvata and Nandana-saila.

Each of the four forests has four *caityalayas*, each one in the four directions; a Meru, thus, has sixteen, and the five Merus eighty *caityalayas* all being *akrtrima* or natural as well as *sasvata* or eternal, as are the Merus themselves. The Bhadra-sala forest has five divisions called Bhadra-sala. Manusottara, Deva-ramana, Naga-ramana and Bhuta-ramana, whereas the Nandana, the Saumanasa and the Panduka have two each.

The Panduka forest is encircled by an edge-railing embellished with flags and flanked by multistoreyed mansions. Having jewelled *gopura* structures, the railing is 2 *krosas* in height and 500 *dhanuses* in width. The forests of Panduka are full of various trees, animals and excursionist couples of Vidyadharas and celestial ones. They have in the four directions crescentic slabs, each one 100 *yojanas* in length, 50 *yojanas* in width and 8 *yojanas* in height. The one

in the north, called Panduka-sila, placed north-south in length and made of gold, is otherwise said by Saggayani to be 4 *yoganas* in height, 500 *yoganas* in length and half the length in width. At the centre of this slab is placed a resplendant *simhasana* flanked by a *bhadrasana* on either side, all the three *asanas* or seats being furnished with the auspicious equipments like white parasol, flywhisk, etc. It is this Panduka-sila where on the *simhasana* the baby Tirthankara from the Bharata region is given *abhisheka* or the lustral bath by the Indras—Saudharma and Aisana seated on the *bhadranas* respectively in the south and north. Placed in the *agneya* subdirection with east-west length and made of silver, the Pandu-kambala-sila is occupied by the baby Tirthankara from the Apra-Videha Region. Made of gold, the Rakta-kambala-sila is placed in the *vayavya* with east-west length, both having the baby Tirthankaras respectively from the regions called Airavata and Purva-videha. In the east of the Panduka forest near the *culika* there is a 30-*krosa* circular *prasada* facing the east. Lohita, this *prasada*, is well-furnished and has in its central part a pleasure-mountain or *krida-saila*. The Lohita is occupied by Soma, the Loka-pala guarding the eastern horizon. Likewise are the *prasada* named Anjana in the south, Haridra in the west and Panduka in the north, respectively inhabited by Yama, Varuna and Kubera, the Loka-palas guarding the respective horizons each. The Panduka forest also has in each direction four *Jinendra-prasadas*, each 100 *krosas* long and 75 *krosas* high.

The Saumanasa forest, 36,000 *yoganas* downwards from the Panduka forest, is the third from the bottom. This forest, 500 *yoganas* in width, is provided with the great railing, etc. Here are four *prasada* named Vajra, Vajra-prabha, Suvarna and Suvarna-prabha, which are of the demensions double that of the *prasadas* in the Panduka forest and are occupied by the

same Loka-palas respectively. In this forest in the subdirections there are sixteen *puskarinis* or lotus-pools, each accommodating in the centre a *vihara-prasada*, 125 *krosas* in height and half that in width, has in the centre a grand *simhasana* for Saudharma Indra or the lord of the heavenly celestial ones which is flanked by other *simhasanas*, four for the Loka-palas, one for the Pratindra, eight for *agra-mahisis* or the chief consorts of Indra, thirty-two thousand for the *pravaras* or the elder ones, eighty-four hundred thousand for the *samanikas* or those equal in status but not in authority, twelve hundred thousand for the *parisadas* or courtiers, fourteen hundred thousand for the *madhyamaparisadas* or courtiers of the second rank, sixteen hundred thousand for the *bahya-parisadas* or courtiers from outside, thirty-three for the *trayastrimsas* or ministers, six for the *mahattaras* or chamberlains, one for the *mahattari* or lady chamberlain and eighty-four thousand for the *anga-raksakas* or body-guards. The sixteen lotus-ponds are named as Utpala-gulma, Nalina, Utpala and Utpalaotpala in the *agneya*, Bhrnga, Bhrnga-nibha, Kajjala and Kajjala-prabha in the *nairrtya*, Sri-bhadra, Sri-kanta, Sri-mahita and Sri-nilaya in the *vayavya* and Nalina. Nalina-gulma, Kumuda and Kumuda-prabha in the *aisana*. This forest also has four *Jinendra-prasadas* like those in the Panduka forest. Here each direction and subdirection have a *kutta* or peak, one 100 *yojanas* high and the same in width at the bottom. On these *kutas* reside respectively the eight Kanyakumaris named Meghankara, Meghavati, Sumegha, Meghamalini, Toyandhara, Vicitra, Puspamala and Adinatha.

The Nandana forest is again of the same characteristics in general, except that dimensions are double those in the Saumanasa forest. The Bhadrāsala forest also resembles those situated upwards. The dimensions here are four times those in the Panduka forest.

Depiction of Meru was perhaps nowhere done in architecture, but occurs in plastic art⁴⁴ and painting. It is actually the *caityalayas* and the Panduka forest with the four *silas* which make the Meru significant.

The word Meru may mean here a mountain, but in most of the canons of architecture it is described as a type of *prasada*, mostly multistoreyed.⁴⁵ according to the *Brhat-samhita* (LVI, 20)⁴⁶ a type of hexagonal buildings has twelve storeys, variegated windows and four entrances and is 52 cubits wide and of forty-five kinds. There are some Jaina records, both epigraphical and literary, which mention temples having been made and called after the Meru,⁴⁷ but no traces of this particular type of building have as yet been seen. Again, Buhler suggests that the suffix *mer* seen in the nomenclature of quite a few cities in Rajasthan, e.g. Ajmer, Jaisalmer, Barmer, etc., represents the *meru*-type of *prasada*, i.e., the Jaina temple which might have been built by someone whose name prefixed to *meru* gave the name to the concerned city. The suggestion is plausible, but the suffix may have come from *maru*, 'desert'.

Nandisvara-Dvipa

Nandisvara-dvipa, the eighth⁴⁸ continent in the middle world, is the most significant out of the innumerable continents

44. *Tiloya-pannatti*, IV, 18.21.

45. U.P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, Banaras, 1955, pp. 117-18. He incorrectly names one Meru as *panca-meru*.

46. Acharya, *op. cit.*, pp. 512-15.

47. *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, VI, p. 318.

48. G. Buhler in *Indian Antiquary*, XXIV, p. 164. In addition to many examples given by Buhler may be mentioned *Jaya-meru-Sri-Karana-mangalam*, E. Hultzsch, 'Inscriptions of Rajagraha I', no. 50, *South Indian Inscriptions*, III, p. 103.

except the two-and-a half ones. Just in the middle of the two rims of the circular continent are mountains,⁴⁹ black in colour, therefore called Anjanas, named Devaramana in the east, Nityodyota in the south, Svayamprabha in the west and Ramaniya in the north. Each of the Anjanas has again in each direction a square lake which accommodates a mountain called dadhi-mukha. White as curd and circular in shape, it has on its top *tala-vedis* or edge-railings and parks.

In each of the two outer corners of the four lakes is a golden circular mountain called Ratikara. That is, there are four Anjanas, sixteen Dadhi-mukhas and thirty-two Ratikaras, together numbering fifty-two. Each lake has its name: Nanda, Nandavati, Nandottara and Nandi-ghosa in the east; Araja, Viraja, Asoka and Jayanti and Aparajita in the west; and Ramya, Ramanuja, Suprabha and Sarvatobhadra in the north.

Each of the lakes in each direction has a forest respectively of *asoka* or *Jonesia Asoka Roxb*, *Saptacchada* (*saptaparna*) or *Alstonia Scholaris*, *Campaka* or *Michelia Campaka* and *Amara (cuta)* or *Manglifera indica*. The forests make a total of sixty-four. Peripatetic or the Vyantara-Devas with their families reside in the sixty four *prasadas* or abodes which are situated one each in the central part of the forest. The *prasadas* are square on plan and twice the length in height.

On the top of the fifty-two mountains are, one each, the *dvapancasat akrtrima-caityalayas*.⁵⁰ Each of these natural temples is 100 *yojanas* in length, half as wide and 70 *yojanas* high and has a door in each direction. Within the temples are *mani-pithakas* or jewelled platforms, 16 *yojanas* in length

49. Not the last, as U.P. Shah says, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

50. The *Nandisvara-kalpa* in the *Vividha-tirtha-kalpa* of Jinaprabha-Suri, Santiniketan, 1934, pp. 48-49, slightly differs in naming the mountains, etc.

and width and 8 *yojanas* in height. On the platforms are *devacchandakas* or the diases of jewel with their length and width exceeding those of the platforms. On the diases are placed one hundred and eight eternal images of the Tirthankaras seated in *paryanka*-posture. Made of Jewels, the images are flanked each by two Nagas, two Yaksas, two Bhutas, two pitcher-carriers and an umbrella-bearer. On the diases are also incense-burners, wreaths, bells, the eight *mangala-dravyas* or auspicious symbols, banners, festoons, baskets, boxes and seats as well as sixteen ornaments as full pitchers, etc. There are *mukha-mandapas* or entrance-porches, *preksa-mandapas* or theatre-pavilions, *aksa-vatakas* or arenas, *mani-pithakas*, *stupas*, statues, *caitya*-trees, *Indra-dhvajas* and lotus-lakes in succession.

In the fifty-two *caityalayas* assemble numerous Devas to celebrate the eight-day function or *astahnika-parvan* thrice a year; the custom even today prevails amongst the Jains. This function falls on the last eight days of bright fortnight of the months Asadha, Karttika and Phalguna. The *Nandisvara-pankti-vrata*, referred to in the *Brhat-Jaina-sabdarnava*,⁵¹ seems to be the same as the eight-day function falling thrice a year. A similar *Nandisvara-tapas* practised by the Svetambaras along with *puja* of the *Nandisvara-pata* is referred to in the *Pravacana-saroddhara*.⁵²

Thakkura Feru does make a provision for the *dvapancasat Jinalaya* type of temple which is a set of fifty-

51. The number is fifty-two only and not more, as Shah suspects. His 'Central mountain', which also has 'Sasvata-Jinalayas on it', is nothing but the Anjana without the inclusion of which the total cannot come to fifty-two. the early texts referred to by him in this context also do not support his suspicion. See Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

52. *Brhat-Jaina-Sabdarnava*, II, Surat, 1134, p. 512.

two small sanctuaries including of course the main one which would find its place in the centre, with seventeen each on its both the sides and eight on the front and nine in the back sides. This number, fifty-two, resembles that of the *Jinalayas* in the Nandisvara which has, unlike this one, its own design according to cosmography and likewise to that architectural tradition, but there is no other go but to conclude that this type of temple is a simplified form of the Nandisvara-dvipa type of temple.

Nandi-sala and Nandisa, along the twenty-five types, suggest an architectural representation of this type of temple, though, with no description available, it hardly serves any purpose. Also are listed fifty-two Jina-*prasadas* which may be taken to be the ones in the Nandisvara dvipa; then only could be known the names with a few details of these *caityalayas*.

Nandisvara-dvipa has various representations in art by way of models in stone⁵³ or bronze, mosaic work and painting, but in architecture as such it seems to have taken shape only in the last Century when two temples of this type were built on the Satrunjaya hill in Gujarat.⁵⁴ These are interesting as they have, in addition to the fifty-two, one more sanctum in the centre to represent the Satrunjaya hill. Recently has been built up by the Digambaras a large Nandisvara-dvipa *Jinalaya* at Madhuban near Parasnath hill in Bihar. So far as the miniature representations are concerned, the Digambaras put

53. Special reference to the commentary by Siddhsena-gani, Bombay, 1952, *Gatha* 1915.
54. T.N. Ramachandran refers to a miniature Nandisvara-dvipa in stone, which is shaped like a *vimana* superimposed on a square base, and has for each side an arched niche. The finial surmounts the whole giving it the dignified appearance of a Jina-prasada. See *Tiruparuttikunram and its Temple*, Madras, 1934, p. 181, plate XXI, fig. 4.

fifty-two small figures of the Tirthankaras on a four-tiered *vedi* or platform or in a miniature shrine, both the types being four-faced, whereas the Svetambaras represent miniature shrines in four group of thirteen each, carved in relief on a stone on a stone plaque or in metal and arranged in different artistic ways.

The Samavasarana

The Tirthankara⁵⁵ would lay a sermon only inside the *samavasarana* or an auditorium fascinatingly planned by Kubera under the orders of the Indra of Saudharma Heaven. The *samavasarana* must vanish with the Tirthankara shifting to another place, where a fresh *samavasarana* would be built up. The structure, better called a vast park-cum-auditorium, is circular like the solar disc and spreads over 12 *yojanas*.⁵⁶

Its lofty plinth is reached by circular flights of two thousand steps 1 cubit high. On reaching the top one would find wide avenues with railings on both the sides. All the four avenues start with each point, cross the ground of blue gems and lead towards the centre. The railings are made of crystal and provided with doorways, above which arches and flags and festoons produce a pleasing effect.

Then comes the compound-wall called *dhuli-sala*, with four gates, Vijaya, Vaijayanta, Jayanta and Aparajita, one each in the four directions; they are three storeyed structures, adorned with the auspicious symbols, the nine jewels and large effigies carrying incense-burners. The gates have the *makara-torana* at the exterior and *ratna-torana* at the interior; at the

55. J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (revised edition), Delhi, 1967, II. pp. 29-30, fig. 279. A full description of the temples is given there.

56. The Tirthankaras must be born only in the *karma-bhumis* and not in the *boga-bhumis*.

middle of each side is a theatre-hall; the Devas or celestial ones holding rods or jewel guard the gates.

Enclosed by the *dhuli-sala* compound is the region called *caitya-prasada-bhumi*, 1 *krosa* by five-sixths of a *krosa* in dimensions. This is the wide band that lies between the first circle and the railing on the inner side. The *caitya-prasada-bhumi*, attributive of its name, consists of places with a *Jinalaya* placed between every fifth of them. The four avenues continue here too and are flanked by the theatres and dancing halls. At each of the four places where the avenues reach this region, there is a huge column called *mana-stambha*, literally the pride-pillar, which rises up on a platform comprised of three terraces. They are reached by a flight of sixteen steps, eight for the lower terrace and four cardinal points and opening on to four beautiful lakes filled with crystal-clear water. A railing provided with gates, steps made of jewels and two appended pools are the prominent features of each lake. The height of a *mana-stambha* is twelve times the height of the body of the Tirthankara concerned and is divided into three segments, the basal segment with *vajra-dvaras* or the doors too hard, as a thunderbolt, to be perforated, the circular second one made of *sphatika* or crystal and top one of *Vaidurya* or cat's eye. All round there are flywhisks, bells, rattles, string of gems, banners, etc. On the top of the *mana-stambha* there is a Tirthankara image in each direction brought by Indra for this casual installation specially from some *akrtrima caityalaya* all of them with eight *pratiharyas* or attending symbols, namely the *asoka*-tree, *simhasana*, triple parasol, halo, *divya-dhavani*, heavenly shower of flowers, sixty-four *camara-dhari* Yaksas and drum-bearers. The railing bounding this region on its inner side provided with four gates, one for each cardinal point. Within this railing there is a region of water known as *khatika-bhumi*. Full of crystal-clear water and water-lilies and water-beings, the *khatika-bhumi* is provided with steps made of precious stones.

Bounding the region of water on its inner side, there is again a railing which encloses a forest called *valli-bhumi*. This, the third region, with dimensions twice those of the first region, is full of pleasant scenery and wooded bowers and raised seats in the midst of clear spaces. The forest is bordered by a compound-wall, second in the structure, which is provided by tower-like gateways, one facing each cardinal point and decorated with paintings of animals and female figures and guarded by Yaksas.

Enclosed by the second compound-wall is a garden or *upavana-bhumi*. With wooded avenues of *asoka*, *campaka*, *cuta* and *saptaparna*, this region, fourth in the structure, has the dimensions twice those of the first region. Here too are theatres where dances and music are a permanent feature. The *Caitya-vrksas* or tea-shaped structures also are the very prominent features here. The third *vedika* or compound wall borders this region inside. With a row of flags along its four gates like those of earlier one, this wall gives the region encircled by it the name of *Dhvaja Bhumi* or the region of flags, the dimensions of which again are twice those of the first one. Numbering in millions the flags bear specific marks of lion, elephant, bull, *garuda*, peacock, moon or a piece of cloth, sun or a garland, swan, lotus and *cakra*. The compound-wall bordering the interior here resembles the *dhuli-sala* for the provision of gates and music-halls but is double in dimensions.

Then the spectator's gaze falls on the illuminating wish-trees scattered about in the wood in elegant confusion, all along the *kalpa-vrksa-bhumi*, the sixth region in the structure. The ten kinds of these trees or the *kalpa-vrskas* are significantly called *pananga*, *turyanga*, *bhusananga*, *vastranga*, *bhojananga*, *alayanga*, *dipanga*, *bhajananga*, *malayanga* and *jyotiranga*. Recessed by theatres and music-

halls the wish-trees shelter golden platforms on which are installed the images of the Tirthankaras. This region, of dimensions twice those of the first region, is bordered inside by the fourth *vedika*, the four gates of which are guarded by Naga-kumaras.

Now one would get into the region of mansions called *bhavana-bhumi*, the seventh and last of this type which has the same dimensions as those of the first one. Consisting of innumerable mansions and other habitations built of precious stones and metals, this region has in each of four cardinal avenues a line of nine *stupas*, named *loka*, *madhyama-loka*, *mandara*, *graiveyaka*, *sarvartha-siddhi*, *bhavya*, *moha* and *bodhi* respectively. In the *stupas* are enshrined images of the Tirthankaras and the Siddhas; they have a hundred *makara-toranas* between every two of them. The compound-wall at the interior here is called *akasa-sphatika-sala* because it is made of white crystals. It resembles in all the ways the *dhulisala*, but here the four gates are guarded by Kalpa-vasins or the heavenly ones.

Further up, one would step into the clean open place of *lyojana*, where in the middle is situated the circular auditorium called *sri-mandapa* or *laksmisvara-mandapa*. The heart of the *samavasarana*, this auditorium is divided into the twelve *kosthas* or compartments of equal dimensions, following a clock-wise order and falling three each in between the four cardinal avenues, the dividing walls, therefore, being sixteen in number. Made of crystal, the walls are supported by golden pilasters. The audience is supposed to have seats compartment-wise, *i.e.*, respectively, all the saints including the *ganadharas* or main disciples of the Tirthankara; female Kalpavasins; women including the *aryikas* or nuns; damsels of the steller celestials; female peripatetics; female Bhavana-vasins; male Bhavana-vasins; male peripatetics; steller

celestials, male Kalpa-vasins; men including the kings, chieftains, etc.; and animals.

Right in the centre of the *samavasarana* is the cottage of fragrance known as *gandha-kuti*, separated from the circular *sri-mandapa* by a railing which is the fifth and last and similar to the fourth compound-wall in the structure. Supposed to be a lofty platform for the preaching Tirthankara, the *gandha-kuti*, itself being square, stands on three circular *pithas* or podia placed one above the other. Resembling those of the *mana-stambhas* referred to above, these podia are made of gems and decorated with various motifs and auspicious symbols and have in all in the four directions Yaksendras standing with *dharma cakras* on their heads. The basal podium has sixteen flights of sixteen steps each. Four of the flights start from the cardinal avenues, whereas the rest begin from the twelve compartments wherefrom the listeners like *ganadharas* get on this podium and after circumambulating on it and offering worship to the Tirthankara return to their respective compartments. The intermediate podium is embellished with gemmy staffs having at the top the banners with emblems of lions, lotuses, *cakras*, garlands, *garudas* and elephants. Artistically placed here are the incense vases, nine *nidhis* or treasures, objects for worship and the auspicious symbols. This podium, like the top one, has an eight-step flight facing each cardinal point. It is the third podium over which is centrally placed the *gandha-kuti* itself, which, attributive of its name, is ever fragrant with many kinds of incense, e.g. *gosirsa*, *malaya-candana*, *kalaguru*, etc. Flywhisks, rattles, strings of gems, banners and lamps are some of the decorative members of the *gandha-kuti*. On a grand *simhasana* placed right in the centre of the *gandha-kuti* and embedded with all the precious stones and gems of the world and the heavens put together, sits the Tirthankara on a blossomed thousand-

petalled lotus flowers, without however touching it, but suspended in the air about four fingers above it. Shown near him is the *ashoka*-tree and above him three white parasols. Sixty-four-Yaksas attend on him with flywhisks in hand. Behind him shines the resplendent halo. In the sky rises the sound of celestial drums. He now fully deserves the epithet *Tirthankara* to appear to be looking in all the four directions, though he only sits facing the east. When he speaks, he speaks in Sarvartha-magadhi language which resembles the roar of surging oceans. His speech is distinctly heard by every one present because it is produced independently of the movements of the glotis and is for that reason termed *anaksari* or without letters. The *ganadharas*, who interpret the speech to all assembled, arrange all his teachings under twelve main heads called *dvadasanga* or *dvadasara*, the last of which, named *purva*, has fourteen sections. After the speech is over Saudharmendra summons his retinue of dancers to express his feelings. And, then the Tirthankara proceeds on his divine mission, and the *samavasarana* is dispersed, to be planned afresh wherever his next halt is to take place.

The mythological symbols like *samavasarana*, *manastambha*, *gandha-kuti*, Astapada, etc., the cosmographical ones like the Meru, Nandisvara-dvipa and so on, as well as those of iconographic nature, do meagrely correspond to the canons, even to the classical texts which actually serve as canons particularly in the case of symbolism for some reason or the other. As a matter of fact, symbolizing even in a large structural form the vast and complex area like the *samavasarana* or Nandisvara-dvipa is more or less impossible for an architect or a sculpture to achieve."⁵⁷

57. The spread goes on reducing gradually in the case of every succeeding Tirthankara, except in the Videhas. (Gopi Lal Amar: Architectural Traditions and Canons, in Encyclopedia of Jainism. Vol. I, pp. 429-447).

III

Jaina and Brahmanical Art

In the opinion of Maruti Nandan Prasad Tiwari¹ definitely, the Brahmanical Art has greatly influenced the Jaina Art. He has compared the historical evolution of the Jaina and Brahmanical art in the following words:

“The core of the Jaina pantheon and so also the visual manifestations representing the concretization of thoughts and myths into figurative and pictorial art, was the 24 Jinas or the Tirthankaras who were venerated as the *Devadhideva*, the invincible supreme deities. The Jainas further developed their pantheon by assimilating and transforming different Brahmanical legendary characters and deities in Jaina pantheon. It is to be remembered that while embracing Brahmanical deities, the Jainas have never compromised with their basic tenets of meditation and bodily abandonment represented best by the *vyaragi* Jinas who were free from passions and desires and who could neither favour nor frown at any body. It is for this reason that the Jinas were never shown as safety-bestowing or boon-conferring deities as was the case with Buddha, Siva, Visnu, Ganesha and others. But at the same time religion can thrive only with the active support of the masses and this fact was very much in the minds of the Jaina *acaryas*. The majority of the worshippers aspire for worldly and material possessions from the deities they worship which, however, could not be obtained from the worship of the *vyaragi* Jinas and hence several other deities were conceived and incorporated in Jaina pantheon to cater to the need of the common worshippers. It was done through the

1. Tiwari, Maruti Nandan Prasad: Jaina and Brahmanical Art, in Encyclopedia of Jainism. Vol. II, p. 3080.

induction of the *sasanadevatas* or the *yaksas* and *yaksis*, joining the Jinas on two flanks as guardian deities. They bestow upon the worshippers the desired boons. This social-religious requirement paved the way for assimilation and mutual understanding between the Brahmanical and Jaina sects. The present paper endeavors to make a succinct study of such assimilations on the basis of literature and art examples.

If we look at the ancient map of India we come across several such sites which have yielded temples and gamut of sculptures related to both the Brahmanical and Jaina sects, the most important of them being—Mathura (U.P.), Osian (Rajasthan), Ellora (Maharashtra), Khajuraho (M.P.) Aihole Halebin and Badami (Karnataka). Besides, Deogarh (U.P.), the Vimalvasahi and Lunavasahi (Rajasthan), Taranga (Ajitanatha temple) and Kumbharia (Gujarat) and Sravana-Belgola (Karnataka) were the Jaina sites of great consequence which had yielded profuse amount of Jaina icons. The data at these sites bear testimony to the multidimensional mutual influences. The Parsvanatha Jaina temple at Khajuraho (c. 950-70A.D.), containing all around its facade the figures of Brahmanical deities like Siva, Visnu, Brahma, Rama, Balrama. Kama, Agni and Kubera along with their respective Saktis in *alingana*-pose, is a remarkable example of coherence and mutuality between the two sects. Such figures in *alingana* pose are indeed the violation of accepted norms of the Jaina tradition and were actually carved under the influence of Brahmanical sculpture at Khajuraho. On the north and south *sikhara* and also on the garbhagrha facade of the Parsvanatha temple, there are three sculptures showing amorous couples.²

2. Consult Tripathi, L.K., "The Erotic Sculptures of Khajuraho and their Probable explanation", *Bharati*, B.H.U., No. 3, 1959-60, pp. 82-104; Tiwari, Maruti Nandan, *Khajuraho ka Jain Puratattva*, Khajuraho, 1987.

The instances of erotic figures in Jaina context datable between 10th and 12th Century A.D., are also known from Deogarh (door-way, temple 18), Santinatha temple at Narlai (Pali, Rajasthan)³ Ajitanatha temple at Taranga and Neminatha temple at Kumbharia. The presence of erotic figures at Jaina sites is the gross violation of the Jaina tradition which does not even conceive of any Jaina god alongwith his sakti in *alingana*-pose. The rendering of erotic figures at Jaina temples was due to the Tantric influence in Jainism during the early mediaeval times (7th to 10th century A.D.). However, the Jaina *Harivamsa Purana* (783 A.D.) makes the point more clear by referring to the construction of a Jina temple by a sresthi Kamadatta, who, for the general attraction of the people, also caused the installation of the figures of Kamadeva and Rati in the temple.⁴ It also alludes to the worship of Rati and Kamadeva alongwith the Jina images.⁵ It may also be noted here that the Tantric influence was accepted in Jainism but with certain restraints. Overt eroticism was never so pronounced in Jaina literature and sculptural manifestations as was the case with Brahmanical and Buddhist religions, which is evident from the sculptural examples carved on the temples at Modhera, Khajuraho, Konark, Bhubanesvara and many other places. The erotic figures from Jaina temples as compared to Brahmanical ones are neither so profuse in number nor so obscene in details.

The Jinas also find representation in some of the Brahmanical temples at Khajuraho (Kandariya Mahadeva and

3. There are about 50 erotic couples showing in some cases shaven-headed Jaina *munis* with elongated ears who are engaged in different sexual activities.
4. Atraiya Kamadevasya Ratesca Pratimamvyadhat / Jinagare Samastayah Prahjayah Kautukaya Sah !!
Harivamsa Purana 29.9
5. *Harivamsa Purana* 29.1—10.

Visvanatha temples—11th century A.D.). Osian (Surya and Harihara temples—8th-9th centuries A.D.) and Bhubanesvara (Muktesvara temple—10th century A.D.).

The Jains in their list of 63 *salakapurusas* (great men), finalized during the Kushana-Gupta period, include a number of Brahmanical deities and legendary characters, the most important of which are Bharata Cakravartin, Rama and Balarama as Baladevas (Or Balbhadras), Laksmana or Narayana and Krishna and Vasudevas, and Asvagriva, Taraka, Nisumbha, Madhu, Kaitabha, Bali, Prahalada, Ravana and Jarasandha as Prativasudevas (Or Pratinarayanans). It may be noted that independent texts were also composed on Rama and Krsna, they are the *Paumacariya* of Vimalasuri (A.D. 473). *Padma Purana* of Ravisena (A.D. 678), *Uttarapurana* of Gunabhadra (9th-10th century A.D.). *Harivamsa Purana* of Jinasena (A.D. 783) and *Trisastisalakapurusacaritra* and Hemacandra (mid-12th century A.D.). Of all the deities borrowed from Brahmanical tradition, Rama and Krsna, the two great epical characters, undoubtedly occupy the most exalted position in Jaina worship and religious art. They were incorporated in about first-second century A.D. The rendering of Krsna alongwith Balarama begins as early as in Kushana period. Balarama and Krsna were associated with the 22nd Jina Aristanemi or Neminatha as his cousin brothers and as a consequence they find representation in the images of Neminatha from Mathura, belonging to the Kushana period. In one instance (State Museum, Lucknow, J 47), the seated figure of Neminatha is flanked by the figures of four-armed Balarama and Krsna-Vasudeva, Balarama holds *musala*, *hala*, while Krsna bears mace. Another image of late Kushana period shows Krsna with mace and *cakra*. This association distinctly explains the process of adoption and transformation of Brahmanical deities in Jaina worship. The subsequent examples of such images are known from Batesvara (Agra,

U.P.) and Deogarh (Temple No. 2, Lalitpur, U.P.). Owing to the explained kinship of the two Balarama and Krsna were also carved in different narrative panels at Kumbharia and Vimalavasahi (11th-12th century A.D.) showing the life of Neminatha. These scenes include the watersport and trial of strength between Neminatha and Krsna (ceiling of cell No. 10). According to the Jaina also in visual expression Neminatha is portrayed as victory in a trial of strength with Krsna which was intended to establish the superiority of Jainism. The relief in the Vimalavasahi shows in the second circular band the demonstration of strength of Neminatha in the *ayudhasala* (armoury) of Krsna. In the scene Krsna sits on a throne when Neminatha enters. The hands of both are folded in greeting each other. Ahead is the scene of trial of strength wherein the outstretched hand of Krsna is bent by Neminatha to suggest his victory over Krsna.⁶

Vimalavasahi and Lunavasahi (c. 1150-1250 A.D.) exhibit some very interesting renderings of Krsnalila and other Vaisnava themes which include Kaliyadamana (Vimalavasahi cell 33), Krsna playing holi with Kanakasrnagakosa (as found in *Harsacarita*) with *gopas* and *gopikas*, the episode of Bali and Vamana, *samudramanthana* and vivid carvings pertaining to Krsna *janama* and his *balalilas*.⁷ The scene of Holi is carved in the *bhramika* (corridor) ceiling of the *devakulika* 41 of the Vimalavasahi (c. A.D. 1150). This is a singular instance of the rendering of Holi (play of sprinkling of colorful water on each other) in plastic art. It becomes all the more important in view of its Jaina context on the one hand and its total absence in plastic art at Brahmanical sites on the other. It is somewhat

6. The earliest list of 63 *salakapurusas* is found in the *Paumacariya* and some *Agamic* texts while the detailed anecdotes of these great men are enunciated in the *Maha Purana* and *Trisastisalakapurusakaritra*.
7. Consult, Maruti Nandan Prasad Tiwari & Kamal Giri, *Vaisnava Themes in Dilwara Jain Temples*, Prof. K.D. Bajpai—Felicitation Volume (Ed. A.M. Shastri etc.) New Delhi, 1987, pp. 195-202.

surprising to note that the Jaina works such as *Harivamsa Purana* (of Jinasena of Punnata-gana — A.D. 783), the *Mahapurana of Gunabhadra* A.D. 897) and the *Trisastisalakapuru-sacaritra* of Hemacandra Suri—later half of the 12th century A.D.) dealing at length with Krsna carita, however, do not refer to the *holi* of Krsna. The present instance of the rendering of *holi* thus appears to have been inspired by Brahmanical works wherein this festival is variously known as *suvasantaka* and *vasantotsava* and *kamadevanuvarti*. The ceiling accommodated nine figures of gopas and gopikas including Krsna. Krsna in the centre with small *Kirttimukuta* and long fluttering *uttariya* (पीताम्बर) is playing the sport of *holi* in gayful mood. Krsna with two *kanakasrngakosas* (cowhorn-shaped golden sprinklers) in his hands is sprinkling the coloured water on gopas and gopikas smartly and pleasingly. All other figures lean towards Krsna in rhythmic postures. The Lunavasahi (1250 A.D.) contains the elaborate renderings of the birth of Krsna under close vigil alongwith his childhood episodes (बाल-लीला) including the killing of demons by Krsna.

The second ceiling no 49 of Vimalavasahi exhibits a remarkable figure of 16-armed sthauna Narasimha (man-lion incarnation of vishnu) killing the demon Hiranyakasipu. The entire representation is so forceful and dynamic that it makes the figure undoubtedly one of the best representation of Narshimha in Indian Art.

As compared to Krsna, the rendering of Rama was not so popular in Jaina art and the sculptural examples are found only on the Parsvanatha temple (954 A.D.) at Khajuraho where at the figures of Rama-Sita-Hanumana and Sita sitting in *asoka-vatika* and receiving the message and the ring of Rama from Hanumana are carved.⁸

8. Maruti Nandan Prasad Tiwari, *Elements of Jaina Iconography*, Varanasi, 1983 pp. 115-16.

Apart from the above epical characters, several other deities were assimilated directly in Jaina worship with identical iconographic features. The concept and names of such deities are found in the early Jaina works datable between the third and the seventh century A.D. but their detailed iconographic features are enunciated mainly in the works assignable between the 8th and the 14th century A.D. The list of such deities comprises Ganesa (Jaina *devakulikas* at Osian and Neminatha temple at Kumbharia 11th-12th century A.D. Ksetrapala (Deogarh and Khajuraho), Lakshmi, Sarasvati (Mathura Dogarh, Khajuraho, Pallu, Vimlavasahi, Kumbharia. Humcha-Kushana to 12th century A.D.), Astadikapalas (sometimes their number being ten including Nagaraja Dharanendra and Brahma), Navagrahas, Astavasus (carved in the Jaina temples of Khajuraho), 64 yoginis (enunciated in the *Acaradinakara* of 1412 A.D.), Indra and several other deities. In concurrence with the Brahmanical tradition, the *astadikpalas* and the *navagrahas* were carved respectively on the cardinal point and door-lintels of almost all the Jaina temples.

Ganesa, as the remover of the obstacle and bestower of success, was incorporated into Jaina *pantheon* during the early medieval times. According to the *Acaradinkara* of Vardhamanasuri 1412 A.D. Ganesa is adored even by the gods in order to obtain desirable worldly things. On the basis of the available instances showing Ganesa with rat mount and as carrying lotus goad, tusk, axe, spear and *modaka* or *modakapatra*, the bearing of Brahmanical iconography is distinct. Jaina Sarasvati also has distinct bearing of Brahmanic Sarasvati. Their proximity could be ascertained on account of their identical *vahana* (Swan or peacock) and attributes namely, manuscript, *vina*, rosary, water-vessel, goad and

noose.⁹ In one of the images carved in the ceiling of Vimlavasahi A.D. 1150), Sarasvati is joined by the figures of *sutradhara* Loyana and Kela, the chief architect and sculptor of the temple. She is thus visualized here as the goddess of fine arts as well.

There are few such Jaina deities who were borrowed but with some changes either in respect of their names or the iconographic features or even both to suit the requirement of Jaina creed. The Brahmasanti and Kaparddi *Yaksas* are the foremost among such deities who occupied important position in visual representations at Svetambara Jaina temples in western India, namely Dilvada and Kumbharia. They distinctly reveal the bearing respectively of Brhama and Siva. Likewise, several *yaksa* and *yaksis* associated with the Jinas show such features which suggest that they are the transformations of Vishnu, Siva, Brhama, Karttikeya, Kali, Gauri and Vaisnavi. In some cases only the names like *Garuda* and Kumara *yaksas* and Kali, Mahakali, *yaksis* have been borrowed. The *sasandevatas* of Rsbhanatha, the first Jina, are Gomukha (bull face and *parsu* in hand) and Cakresvari (riding a *garuda* and carrying disc, mace, couch) apparently represent Siva and Vaisnavi.¹⁰ In one of the ceiling of Santinatha temple at Kumbharia, the figure of Cakresvari is labelled as Vaisnavi.

The figures of Saptamatrkas finding no mention in Jaina works were also carved in some of the examples known from Mathura, Gyrapur, Vimalavasahi and Khandagiri. These figures are carved usually in the *parikara* of Ambika images (Mathura Museum) while at Khandagiri (Navamuni

9. Maruti Nandan Prasad Tiwari & Kamal Giri, 'Images of Ganesa in Jainism, *Ganesh-Studies of An Asian God* (Ed. Robert L. Brown), New York, 1991, pp. 101-174, 'Sarasvati in Jaina Tantric Worship,' *Archaeology & Art-Krishnadeva Felicitation Volume* (Ed. C.R.P. Sinha), Pt. II, Delhi, 1990, pp. 3110-25.

10. U.P. Shah, *Jaina Rupamandan*, Delhi-8, 1987; Maruti Nandan Prasad Tiwari, *Jaina Pratimavijanana*, Varanasi, 1981.

Gumpha—11th century A.D.), they are carved with the Jainas as *yaksi*, albeit with features of Indrani, Kumari and other Matrakas. We also encounter the figures of several such deities mainly the female ones, at the prolific Jaina sites like Vimlavasahi, Lunavasahi and Kumbharia which could not be identified on the testimony of the available Jaina texts. Most of the deities in such cases show the influence of Brahmanical goddesses. Vimlavasahi alone has 16 such goddesses, some of which with bull as mount and holding either *trisula* or *sarpa* in both the hands have distinct Saivite stamp.

The conception of *dvitirthi* and *tritirthi* Jina images, depicting two or three Jinas together was perhaps inspired by the syncretic icons of Brahmanical tradition. The Hariharapitamaha images from Ellora. Abaneri, Khajuraho and elsewhere show the figures of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva either standing or sitting on single pedestal. The Pala Jina images from (Bihar) in some examples show the five or seven-hooded snake canopy (representing Suparsvanatha and Parsvanatha) but the cognizance on the pedestal are either conch (of Neminatha) or bull (of Rsabhanatha) or elephant (of Ajitanatha) which suggest that inspired by the Brahmanical syncretic icons the Jainas also attempted at such innovatory forms which have never been referred to in any of the Jaina works. The above examples thus represent the syncretic images of respectively Suparsvanatha-Neminatha, Parsvanatha-Ajitanatha and Parsvanatha-Mahavira.

Besides the rich repository of Jaina images from the ambience of various sites we have numerous literary references as well which can note Brahmanical influence. The two Jaina epical works namely *Maha Purana* and *Trisastisalaka-purusacaritra*, are of enduring importance from this standpoint. These works have several references to the worship of Siva and other Brahmanical deities, besides the episodes of Nala-Damayanti. Ahilya, Bhagiratha and descent of Ganga. Rsabhanatha, bearing close semblance with Siva,

has been eulogized in the *Adipurana* of Jinasena (C. 9th century A.D.) with 1008 appellations which distinctly illustrate how liberally different Brahmanical deities have been imbibed. These names include Svayambhu, Sambhu, Sankara, Sadyojata, Trinetra, Jitamanmatha, Tripurari, Trilocana, Siva, Isana, Bhutanatha, Mrtyunjaya, Mahesvara, Mahadeva, Kumari, Jagannatha, Lakshmipati, Dhata, Brahma, Hiranyagarbha, Visvamurti, Vidhata, Pitamaha, Caturanana, Indra, Mahendra, Surya, Aditya, Kubera, Vamanadeva, Rama, and Krsna.¹¹

11. *Adipurana* 25. 100-217. (Tiwari, Maruti Nandan Prasad : Jaina and Brahmanical Art, in Encyclopedia of Jainism., Vol. II. pp. 3080-3086).

2

JAINA ICONOGRAPHY

I

ICONOGRAPHY AND CANONICAL LITERATURE

Jaina Iconography has a pretty long history. Famous art historian and curator, U.P. Shah has studied this subject and traced the basic sources of Jaina Iconography as depicted in the Jaina canonical literature, which inspired and encouraged the sculptors to carve the images of Tirthankaras and other deities. The images and shrines of arhats etc., have an important place in the history of Jaina Art and Architecture. As U.P. Shah writes:

“Literary sources for a study of Jaina Iconography date from the earliest known Jaina texts, namely the Jaina canonical literature of the Angas and Upangas (but excluding later commentaries there on). But no definite canon about the iconometry or iconography of Jaina images is found. Of course we have references to Jaina images and shrines in the stock descriptions of the *Siddhayatanas*. These descriptions include other items of Jaina worship such as the *stupas*, the *manastambhas*, etc. It is difficult to say whether the very few references to images and shrines of Arhtas, obtained in the *Bhagwati*, the *Uvasaga-dasao* and the *Nayadhamma-kahao* are as old as the age of Mahavira or his immediate successors.¹

1. The following references may be noted: (a) *nanattha Arihamte va Arihamta-ceiyani va bhaviyappano sisae uddham uppayati*

Nowhere is it mentioned that Mahavira and his *ganadharas* visited any Jaina shrine. It is therefore not possible to expect any reference to Tirthankara images and shrines in the older strata of the Jaina canons which were re-edited in early fourth century A.D. at Mathura as well as Valabhi (Vallabhi) in two separate councils and again in a council at Valabhi in about A.D. 470. However, the torso and legs of a Tirthankara sculpture, with Mauryan polish on it,² obtained from Lohanipur, an extension of the site of Pataliputra, shows that at least in the age of Samprati, the grandson of Ashoka, worship of Tirthankara images had already come into vogue. Jaina traditions speak of Samprati being converted to Jainism by Arya Suhasti. Samprati is spoken of as a great patron of Jainism, in the *Bhasya* and *Curni* works and in the *Vasudeva-hindi*. This conversion took place at the time of *ratha-yatra* festival of the Jivantasvamin image, either at Vidisa or at Ujjain, very probably at Vidisa. The Jivantasvamin image representing Mahavira meditating in *kayotsarga*-posture (standing) and with *dhoti*, crown and other *alankaras* on his person—is so called because it was fashioned as a wooden

java sohammo kappo.... (*Bhagavati-sutra*, 3, 2, sutra 145, p. 175).
 (b) *ta enaim Anande Gahavat... evam vayasi no khalu me bhante kappai ajjappabhiyim anna-utthie va anna-utthiya-devayani va anna-utthiya-pariggahiyani Arihamata-ceiyaim va vandittae va namam sittae va* (*Uvasagadasao*, Bhavnagar ed., p. 14).
 Abhayadeva-Suri, commenting, says: *anya-yuthika-daivatani va Hari-Haradini. anya-yuthika parigrhitani va Arhac-caityani. Arhat-pratima-laksanani*, *Ibid.*, p. 15. It will be seen that this passage of the *Uvasaga-dasao* refers to a later stage in Jaina history when Jaina shrines came to be appropriated by other sects.
 (c) The *Naya-dhamma-kahao* refers to the worship of Jina images by Draupadi in her house-shrine (*grha-caitya*). But in its existing form, the text seems to post-date the division into Svetambara and Digambara texts.

2. See description of Lohanipur: Image of Tirthankara.

portrait-sculpture when Mahavira used to meditate in his palace some time prior to his renunciation.³ Thus at least a contemporary portrait-sculpture seems to have been fashioned in the life-time of Mahavira and worshiped by not only some people but by the whole *sangha* by the age of Samprati, the grandson of Mauryan emperor Ashoka. This image could have served as a prototype or model for other later images of Mahavira. But the Jina image, as a cult-object, is the same in form for worship of all the Tirthankaras (except Parsva and Suparsva who have snake-hoods overhead). Canons for the cult-image could have come into existence at least by about the beginning of the Christian era; this is suggested by the large number of Jina images (in sitting as well as standing postures) found from Kankali-tila, Mathura, and the hoard of Jaina bronzes from Chausa, near Buxur in Bihar.⁴

The earliest datable evidence laying down standards for a Tirthankara image, so far known, is supplied in the *Brhat-samhita* (58, 45) of Varahamihira: "The god of the followers of the Arhats is to be represented as young and beautiful, having a peaceful countenance and the *srivatsa*-mark on his chest. With arms reaching his knees (*i.e.*, when standing in meditation) his body is covered by only the quarters of directions (*i.e.*, he is to be shown naked, with no garment on his person)."⁵

Obviously this formula refers to Digambara Jaina images. Either the worship of images with a *dhوتي* had not been started by the age of Varahamihira, or at least it had not been very well-known (*i.e.* perhaps of a relatively recent origin) in that

3. For all references to Samprati and the Jivantasvamin conception and images, see U.P. Shah, 'A Unique Image of Jivantasvami, *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, I, 1951-52, pp. 72-79.

4. See Images from Mathura and Buxur.

5. A Digambara naked image.

age. It is well-known that none of the Tirthankara images of the Kushan age from Mathura and Chausa shows any garment on their persons.⁶

The *Manasara* (LV, 71-95), a text on architecture, assigned to *circa* sixth century A.D., supplies some more information about Jaina iconography. It says about the Jaina image that it should have 'two-arms, two eyes, and the head should be clean-shaven and there should be a top-knot.' And again: "There should be no ornaments and no clothes on any part of the body of the Jina figure which should be attractive (beautiful). The *srivatsa*-mark should be set in gold over the chest.'

The *Manasara* further says that the Jina figure should be in a straight, erect or sitting posture. The legs should be uniformly straight, and the two long hands should be in the same posture. In the sitting posture, the two feet are placed on the lotus-seat, the whole image being in a stiff attitude and bearing a meditative look on the supreme soul. The right and the left hands should be placed with palm upwards. The image should be placed upon a throne in an erect or sitting posture. At its top (back?) should be a pinnacle and a crocodile-arch. Above that should be the *kalpa*-tree together with the royal elephant and such other images.

According to the same text, the image should further be accompanied by Narada and other sages as well as the assembly of gods and goddesses in praying attitude. The Yaksas and Vidyadharas and other demi-gods and kings except Chakravartins should also be carved in the same attitude. It should also be shown as being worshipped by Nagendra and the lords of the quarters together with the Yaksas. The Yaksha

6. For a detailed discussion on this problem, see U.P. Shah, "The Age of Differentiation of Svetambara and Digambara Images", *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay*, 1, 1950-51, pp. 30 ff.

and Yaksasvara are placed on the side serving with raised *cauris*.

The limbs of the Jaina deities should be measured in the largest types of *dasa*(ten)-*tala* system. So also are the images of the Tirthankaras, according to the *Manasara* (LV, 71-95).

The *Manasara* refers to the Digambara image, but except the nakedness other characteristics are common to both the Svetambara and the Digambara images. All the attendant gods, Narada especially, are not represented in the *parikara* of any Jina image known hitherto, but *cauri*-bearing Yaksas, Nagas, elephant-riders, drum-beaters, Gandharvas or Vidyadhara-pair, etc., are well-known in the advanced stage of the Jina image with a full *parikara*. The chief characteristics of a Jina image are the same, namely, long arms, a beautiful young figure, eyes centered on nose-tip in meditation and the *srivatsa*-mark on the chest.⁷

The Digambara text *Pratistha-saroddhara* (1, 61-62) of Asadhara (1228) enjoins that the eyes of the Jaina image should be centered on the tip of the nose and that the image should be free from faults like a terrific countenance. It should also be accompanied by the eight *pratiharyas* and the Yaksas.

Vasunandi Saiddhantika, whom Asadhara has referred to and who may be assigned to *circa* twelfth century (or earlier?), gives the iconometry of a Jina image in his *Pratistha-sara-samgraha*. He refers to the measurement of the *usnisa* on the Jina's head. He also says that the Jina image is void of hair on the body or the beard and has the *srivatsa*-mark on his chest. The arms are long, reaching the knees. The soles of the

7. Haribhadra-Suri, the famous Svetambara author of the seventh century, praises the Jina form in the following well-known verse:
prasama-rasa-nimagnam drsti-yugmama prasanam vadana-
kamalam ankaḥ kamini-sanga-sunyah/ kara-yugam api yat te
sastra-sambandha-vandhyam tad asi jagati devo vita-ragas tvam
eva.

feet show marks of the conch, the disc, the goad, the lotus, the *yava* (oat), the *chatra*, etc. Images of Tirthankaras are either in the standing (*kayotsarga*) or in the sitting (*paryankasana* or *padmasana*) postures. The images of Jinas are further said to be accompanied by eight *pratiharyas*.⁸

All Tirthankara images, so far known, are either in the standing or in the sitting postures. Most of the south-Indian images of Jinas in the sitting posture, represent them sitting in the *ardha-padmasana*, while similar images from north India show full *padmasana*, with both legs crossed. But no distinction is found in the selection of postures of different Tirthankaras: all the Jinas are found represented in both the postures. However, Jaina texts have noted postures of various Jinas at the time of their *nirvana*. Twenty-one Tirthankaras are said to have obtained *nirvana* while engaged in meditation in the *kayotsarga*-posture (also Bharata and Bahubali according to the Digambara view), while three Tirthankaras—Rsbaha, Nemi and Mahavira—obtained *nirvana* while sitting in the *dhyana-mudra*.⁹ The suggestion that these should be the respective postures of Tirthankaras in images is not adhered to in actual practice, even-though an early text like the *Avasyaka-Niryukti* (*gatha* 969) also suggests that the Jinas are represented in this world in the postures in which they left it.

Both the sects note the complexions of the Tirthankaras of this *avasarpini* in the Bharata-ksetra. According to the

8. *Pratistha-sara-samgraha* (in MS.), chapter IV, verses 1, 2, 4, 64, 69. Also see Vasubindu (Jayasena), *Pratistha-patha*, 70.

9. *Ciyavandana-mahabhasa*, 80-81, p. 15. The *Tiloya-pannatt*, 4, 1210, p. 302, and the *Varanga-carita* of Jatasimhanandi (circa sixth century), 2, 7, 90, p. 272, say that Rsabha, Vasupujya and Nemi obtained *siddha-hood* in sitting postures, while the rest were standing when they obtained *nirvana*.

Digambara view,¹⁰ sixteen Tirthankaras, except the following, were golden in complexion: Candraprabha and Puspadanta were white, Suparsva and Parsva were greenish (*harita*), Munisuvrata and Neminatha were dark-blue and Padmaprabha and Vasupujya were red like coral or lotus. The same view is expressed by the Svetambara *Avasyaka-Niryukti*,¹¹ and it may be safely presumed before the age of final separation between the two texts regarding image-worship.

The different Tirthankaras are identified with the help of *lanchanas* carved or below their seats. Both the sects give lists of these recognizing symbols. However, they are not available in any early texts. None of the Agamas, nor even the *Kalpa-sutra* which gives the lives of the Jinas, the *Niryuktis* and the *Curnis* give a list of these cognizances. The *Vasudeva-hindi* (circa A.D. 500 or a little earlier), which gives accounts of several Tirthankaras, makes no mention of these cognizances. Amongst the Digambaras, earlier works like the *Adi-Purana* of Jinasena (circa 750-830), the *Uttara-Purana* of Gunabhadra (840), the *Padmacarita* of Ravisena (676) etc., do not give these lists. The *Tiloya-pannatti* does give a list, but the text, as it is available today, seems to have been tampered with by later authors.¹²

10. *Tiloya-pannatti*, 4, 588, p. 217; *Pratistha-saroddhara*, 1, 80-81 : *Padma-Purana*, *Parvan* 20, verses 63-66.

11. *Avasyaka-Niryukti*, *Gathas* 376-377, *Abhidhana-cinatanani*, 1, 49. The apparent difference in the complexions of Munisuvrata and Neminatha who are dark according to the Svetambara view and of Suparsva and Parsva who are dark-blue according to the same sect, is to my mind, a negligible one since in different paintings the shades selected differed, and the dark-blue of the *Av-Nir* could be *harita* in the Digambara sect, or dark could be dark-blue. As I have shown in my paper 'Vrsakapi in the Rgveda'. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, VII, 1958-59, *harita* was used for various shades and the terminology for various finer shades was not known.

12. The occurrence of the name of Balacandra Saiddhantika at one place is one of the reasons for holding this view.

A comparison of list of *lanchanas* of both sects shows that the points of difference are with regard to the cognizances of (1) the fourteenth Jina Ananta, who has the falcon-symbol according to Hemachandra but the bear according to Digambaras, (2) of the tenth Jina Sitala, who has the *srivatsa* (Hemachandra) but the *svastika* (*Tiloya-pannatti*) or the *sri-druma* (*Pratistha-saroddhara*) according to the Digambaras, and (3) of Aranatha, the eighteenth Jina, who has the fish-symbol¹³ according to the Svetambaras. Amongst the Digambara writers themselves there are a few differences - the *Tiloya-pannatti* gives the *nandyavarta* for the seventh Jina, while the *Pratistha-saroddhara* gives the *svastika* (agreeing with Hemachandra's Svetambara tradition). The cognizance of the tenth Jina is the *svastika* according to the *Tiloya-pannatti*, but *sri-druma* according to the *Pratistha-saroddhara*.

The earliest literary source for *lanchanas* in either of the two sects is later than the Digambara-Svetambara separation. We must, therefore, take the help of archaeological evidence for the origin and development of the various *lanchanas*. Without going into much detail, it will be enough to state that no Jina image of the Kushan period shows any *lanchana*. The first datable and the earliest-known sculpture with a *lanchana* is the partly-mutilated sculpture of Neminatha from Rajgir, with a Gupta-period inscription referring to Chandragupta.¹⁴ In the centre of the pedestal is the beautiful figure of a standing

13. *Tagara-kusuma* according to the *Tiloya-pannatti*, 4, 605, *tagara* according to the *Pratistha-saroddhara*. The editors of the former text have taken *tagara-kusuma* to mean 'fish' which is supported by the table of symbols based on the Kannada Digambara sources published by T.N. Ramacandran, *Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples*, Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, New Series, General Section, 1, 3, Madras 1934, pp. 192-94.

14. First published by Ramaprasad Chanda in *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual report*, 1925-26, Calcutta, 1928, plate LVI b; U.P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, Banaras, 1955, fig 18.

chakra-purusa with the wheel on his back, and on either side of the wheel is a conch, the cognizance of Neminatha.

The position of the *lanchana*, according to Asadhara¹⁵ (and all Jaina writers), is to be in the centre below the *pada-pitha*, while the attendant Yaksa and Yaksi are to be on the right and left sides respectively (of the pedestal).

A noteworthy feature in Jaina iconography is the complete agreement in both the sects about the names of all the twenty-four Tirthankaras. Lists of the Tirthankaras are found in Agamas, e.g. the *Kalpa-sutra*, the *Logassa-sutta* of the *Avayaka-sutra* and the *Bhagvati-sutra* (16,5). The *Acaranga-sutra* (Sutra 126) and the *Niryukti* thereon refer to the Tirthankaras of the past, present and future ages. The *Sthananga-sutra* (2, 4, 108) gives the complexions of the Jinas. The Digambara sect regards the nineteenth Jina Mallinatha as a male, while the Svetambaras believe that Malli was a female. The difference is due to the fact that the Digambaras believe that females cannot obtain *moksa*. This belief seems to have grown because they cannot move about naked and practise the highest type of penance—the *Jina-kalpa*. Thus, the question of the sex of the nineteenth Jina is based upon the main point of Svetambara-Digambara difference, namely, the *acelakatva*.¹⁶

15. *Pratistha-saroddhara*, 1, 77 : *sthiretaracayoh pada-pithasyadho yathayatham / lanchanam daksine parsve Yaksine Yaksam ca vamake*.

16. As shown elsewhere by the author, the real and final crisis on this point arose in the late fifth century A.D., when the canonical texts also were re-edited and adjusted to suit the requirements of each sect. The history of the Jaina church, with lists of heads of Aryikas (nuns) of various Tirthankaras, carefully maintained by both the sects, and figures of monks and nuns on the pedestal of Tirthankara, figures of the Kushan period from Kankali-tila, Mathura, suggest that at the beginning there was possibly no such bar against women, the discarding of garments being optional even for the monks.

Images of Tirthankaras were made of costly gems, metals, stones, wood or clay. The *Acara-dinakara* lays down certain injunctions on the selection of any of these materials. According to this text, one can prepare images of gold, silver or copper but never of bronze, *kamsya*, lead or tin. Sometime brass (*reti*) is used in casting images, though as a general rule mixtures of metals are prohibited. When the material is wood, wood of *Śri-parni*, *candana*, *bilva*, *kadamba*, *rakta-candana*, *piyala*, *udumbara* and occasionally *simsima* is allowed but never of any other tree. When the image is made of stone, the material should be free from various defects and it may be of white, greenish, red, black or green colour. In preparing a terracotta image, cow-dung should be collected without letting it fall on the ground and is to be mixed with clay obtained from pure soil. In the preparation of *lepya* (stucco) images various colours are utilized. It is further enjoined that images of iron, stone, wood, clay, ivory or cow-dung or paintings should not be worshipped in private homes by persons desirous of welfare.¹⁷

Vasunandi in his *Sravakacara* says that images of Jinas and others (Siddhas, Acaryas etc.) should be made according to iconographic formulae (*padima-lakkhana-vihi*),¹⁸ the materials used being gems, gold, jewels, silver, brass, pearls, stones, etc.¹⁹

Vasubindu in his *Pratistha-patha* adds crystals and says that the wise praise such images as are accompanied by (a representation, below the Jina, of) a big lotus-seat.

17. *Acara-Dinakara*, part, 2, p. 143, verse 4-11.

18. Does he here refer to a lost text called *Pratima-laksana-vidhi*?

19. *Vasunandi-Sravakacara*, verse 390; cf. *Vasubindu-pratistha-patha*, verse 69, p. 167 : *Jina-Yajna-kalpa*, quoted in *Jaina-sidhanta-bhaskara*, II, p.12: *sauvarnam rajatam capi paittalam kamsyajam tatha / pravalyam mauktikam caiva vaiduryadi suratnajam, // citrajam kvacic candanajam...*

Defective images, images which are broken and repaired or those which have been highly worn out are not to be installed. One should worship in the house an image more than a *vitasti* in height.²⁰ The *Acara-Dinakara* prohibits the worship of images of less than twelve *angulas* in height in public shrines and adds that images higher than twelve *angulas* should not be worshiped at home if one desires happiness.²¹ Images cast in metal or stucco images deserve to be repaired and continued in worship, but those of wood or stone, once mutilated, should not be repaired for worship. But if they are more than a hundred years old or if they are consecrated by the best of men they deserve worship, even though mutilated. But they should be placed in public shrines and not in *grha-caityas*.²²

Though references to temples of the Tirthankaras in the Jaina *Agamas* are extremely rare and their genuineness is often questioned, and even though no image of a Tirthankara on this earth is described in the *Agama* texts, we are able to obtain a fairly early conception of the Jina image from the stock descriptions of *sasvata-Jina-pratimas*. Jina traditions of both sects refer to *Siddhayatanas* (shrines of Siddhas, also called *sasvata-caityas* or eternal shrines) containing images of

20. Pratistha-saroddhara, I, 83, p. 9. Pandit Manoharlal, the editor of this text, adds a foot-note "athatah sampravaksyami grha-bimbasya laksanam / ekangulam bhaved chrestham dvyangulam dhana-nasanam // tryangule jayate vrddhih pida syac caturangule pancangule tu vrddhih syad udvegas tu sadangule // saptangule gavam vrddhir hanir astangule mata / navangule putra-vrddhir dhana-nasodasangule // ekadasangulam bimbam sarva-kamartha-sadhakam / etat pramanam akhyatam ata urdhavam na karayet // iti granthantare 'py uktam.

21. *Acara-Dinakara*, II, p. 142.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 142, verses 4-7, also verses 13-17, for various mishaps attendant on defective images.

Tirthankaras known as *sasvata-Jinas*. These images are of four Tirthankaras, namely, Candranana, Varisena, Rsabha and Vardhamana.²³ They are called *sasvata-Jinas* because in every *utsarpinti* or *avasarpini* ara the names of these four Tirthankaras are always repeated.²⁴ Belief in *Siddha-yatanas*, or in *sasvata-Jina-pratimas* in various heavens and on mountain-peaks is found in several *Agamas*.²⁵ It is said that in the center of the extremely beautiful *Siddhayatana* a *devacchandaka* is erected on a big *mani-pithaka*. This sanctum of the gods has one hundred and eight images of the Jinas installed therein. A poetic and exaggerated description of various parts of the body of the Jinas follows. Then it is said that at the back of these idols of the Jinas are figures of umbrella bearers, gracefully holding white umbrellas, wreaths and garlands of *koranta*-flowers, extremely white and lustrous, like silver, the moon, etc. On each side of the image of the Jina are two figures of the flywhisk-bearers; in front of the Jina is a pair (one on each side) of Naga figures, of Yaksas, Bhutas, and of the *kunda-dharas* (holding water-jars or vessels) bowing and falling at the feet of Lord. In front of the images of the Lord are placed bells, *candana-kalastas* (same as *mangala-kalastas* or pots of sandal-wood paste?), *bhrngaras* (jars), mirrors, dishes, vesseles, seats, boxes of jewels of variegated hues, necks of horses, elephants, men, Kinnaras, Kimpurusas Mahoragas, Gandharvas, bulls, caskets (*cangeri*)

23. *Sthananga-sutra*, 4, *sutra* 307; *Pravacana-saroddhara*, 491, p. 117. For a very early list, see *Jivajivabhigama-sutra*, *sutra* 137, p. 235. For *Siddhayatanas* at various places according to the Digambara tradition, see *Harivamasa-Purana* of Jinasena, *parvans* 5-6, pp. 70-140.

24. In any of the fifteen *karma-bhumis*.

25. The Nandisvara-dvipa of Jaina cosmographical accounts has fifty-two such *sasvata-Jinalayas*. For the stock description of *Siddhayatanas*, see *Jivajivabhigama-sutra*, *sutra* 139, pp. 232-33.

of flowers, garlands, powders, unguents, etc., mops of peacock-feathers, baskets (*patalaka*) of flowers, one hundred and eight each of lion-thrones, umbrellas, flywhisks, oil-pots, pots of *kostha*, *coyaka*, *tagara*, *haritala*, *hingula*, *manahsila*, *collyrium*, and one hundred and eight banners.²⁶

The above is possibly on account of standing images, as the description of Jina's limbs, etc. suggests. Though the set of *asta-mala-pratiharyas* prescribed for images of Tirthankaras by both Svetambara and Digambara *pratistha*-texts of the medieval period and by *silpa*-works is not given above, some of the elements of the eight *pratiharyas*, constituting the *parikara* of a Jina image, do figure in the above account. The account is a poetic and exaggerated mixture of description of Jina figures plus accessories of Jaina worship seen by the author or authors of such accounts. On the whole, on a comparison with available archaeological material, this account does not appear to reflect an age earlier than the early centuries of the Christian era. On the Jina figures of this period obtained from Mathura we do find on each side of a Jina an attendant *camra-dhara*, or a Naga figure with folded hands, and occasionally a *mala-dhara* (garland-bearer) on each side at the top of the sculpture, an umbrella above the head of the Jina. *Kunda-dharas*, according to commentators, are minor gods who carry out orders (of Indra?), but if *kunda* is understood as a type of water-vessel, then we have a parallel in Mathura where the attendant figures sometimes carry a water-pot.

The above account makes no mention of the *lanchanas* of Jinas, nor of figures of Sasana-devatas (attendant Yaksa

26. This Svetambara conception may be compared with a concise description in the Digambara *Hari-vamsa*, *Parvan* 5, verses 3665, giving the *parivara* of the *Siddha-akrtrima* or *sasvata* images in the *Siddhayatana*.

and Yaksi protecting the *sasana* or church of a Jina). These motifs are also absent in Mathura during the Kushan period. Especially noteworthy is the *srivatsa*-mark mentioned by the canons and almost invariably obtained on Tirthankara images of the Kushan age, but not on the polished (Mauryan) torso from Lohanipur or the standing early Parsvanatha bronze in the Prince of Wales Museum. Which I have assigned to a period before Christ.

It seems that marks on soles of feet and palms of hands and the *srivatsa*-mark on the chest, etc., taken from traditions of *maha-purusa-laksanas*, came to be regarded as chief characteristics of a Tirthankara image. The texts describing the *sasvata*-Jinas do not refer to garments on the figure of the Jina. No early Jaina texts refer to the lists of *maha-purusa-laksanas* so common in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit texts and other Buddhist works. However, the *Aupapatika-Sutra*, an Upanga Agama text, giving the stock description (*varnaka*) of Mahavira's body, which is to be regarded as common to all Agamas, gives a very interesting description of Mahavira's body, which agrees, often in similar phraseology with the *maha-purusa-laksanas* of early Buddhist texts.²⁷

According to the *Aupapatika* description of Mahavira's body,²⁸ Mahavira's height was seven cubits, and the frame of his body as strong as *vajra*, his breath fragrant like the lotus and he was handsome to look at. The body was free from

27. A paper giving analysis of the Jaina and Buddhist descriptions was read by the author before the International Congress of Orientalists which met in New Delhi in 1964, and was sent for publication in the Vogel Commemoration Volume, which has unfortunately not yet been published. A free translation of the *Aupapatika* account is therefore added above because of its obvious importance.

28. *Aupapatika-sutra* 10, and commentary of Abhayadeva, pp. 26-42.

sweating and such other defects. The front of his head (*agra-siras*) was strong and high like the peak (*kutakara*),²⁹ the hair on the head being dark and of thick growth, lying in schematic curls (*pradaksinavartta*). The scalp of the Lord, resembling a bunch of pomegranate-flowers, was pure and smooth like gold; his head was shaped like an umbrella (*chattrakara*); his unsullied forehead (*lalata*) possessed the lustre of the new moon, being clear and even; the face was perfect and shining like the moon, ears lovely, proportionate and good, the cheeks healthy and full. His eye-lashes, thin, dark and smooth, looked beautiful like a bent bow, the wide eyes resembled the full-blown white lotus, each eye-lash having a white hair; his nose was long, straight and uplifted like that of an eagle; his lower lip looked lovely and red like the coral, the cherry or the *bimba*-fruit; the rows of tooth, lustrous like the white moon, cunch, milk, etc., were complete, unbroken, indistinct and smooth; his palate and tongue shone like red-hot gold; his beard and moustache were well-dressed and grown in proportion to his age. His chin was well-set and well-developed like that of a lion; his neck, four *angulas* in length, looked like the conch (*kambu-griva*). His shoulder was broad and rounded (*pratipurna*) like that of the buffalo, the bull, the lion, the boar and the elephant; his round, well developed muscular arms, with steady joints, were long like the latch of a city-gate; his hands, big and strong, looked like a cobra with expanded hood; his palms were soft and muscular, red and endowed with auspicious marks and had webbed fingers with no intervening space in between (*acchidra-jala-pani*), a typical trait found on Buddha images of the Gupta period, not yet available on any image of the Kushan age; the fingers again were both thick and soft with nails red and shining like copper. His palms showed marks of the moon, the sun, the conch, the

29. Does this include the conception of *Usnisa* ?

cakra and the *svastika*, etc. He had a broad chest well-developed and even, shining like a bar of gold, and having the mark of the *srivatsa*; his back was strong with bones invisible under the muscles. He had a beautiful healthy body shining like gold.

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

All the Tirthankara or the Buddha images are based on the fundamental concept of *maha-purusa-laksanas*. The Jaina description seems to suggest, indirectly, the *usnisa* but not the *urna*. Hardly half-a dozen Tirthankara images so far known or published would show the *urna*. The *usnisa* is almost invariably seen, but images without it are also known from

Mathura and other sites. A circular *tilaka*-mark on the forehead is rarely seen; one such specimen is from Mathura.

The Jaina description wonderfully agrees with the conception of the Buddha figure in the *Ratna-gotra-vibhaga* of Sthiramati.³⁰ An ideal abridged description of the Jina body is also obtained in the *Vasudeva-hindi*, which is also a work of the Gupta age.

According to Jaina traditions, the Tirthankaras have certain extra-ordinary qualities (*atisayas*)³¹ But the group of eight *maha-pratiharyas*, well-known as the *parikara* of the Jina image, is not separated in the list of the *atisayas* given in early texts like the *Samavayanga-sutra*. The emphasis on only eight *atisayas* treated as *maha-pratiharyas* came with the emergence of the full-fledged *paikara* on images of both the sects. The process was gradual as can be seen by comparison of Tirthankara sculptures of the Kushan and Gupta periods with those of the post-Gupta and medieval periods.

The Jaina pantheon, so far as iconography and available remains are concerned, grew considerably after the Gupta period. Tantric influences developed in Buddhism and Hinduism from the early medieval period. Jainism could not escape this trend and we have texts like the *Jvalamalini-kalpa* of Indranandin, the *Bhairava-Padmavati-kalpa* of Mallisena and the *Ambika-kalpa* of Subhacandra. The Jaina rituals are elaborated with strong influence of Hindu rites as is evident

30. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XXXVI, pp. 1-119, and chapter III, verses 17-25; V.S. Agrawala, "Thirty-two marks of the Buddha-body", *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, I, no. 1, pp. 20-22.

31. See C.R. Jain, *Outlines of Jainism*, pp. 129-30; *Maha-Purana* of Puspadanata, I, 18, 7-10; *Samavayanga-sutra*, *sutra* 34, pp. 569-60; *Abhidhana-cintamani* of Hemacandra, I, 57-64; *Tiloya-pannatti*, IV, pp. 896-915.

from the *Pratistha-saroddhara* of Asadhara (Digambara), the *Nirvana-kalika* of Padalipta and the *Acara-Dinakara* of Vardhamana-suri (Svetambara). The height of Tantric trends, with non-Jaina influences, was reached in the work called *Vidyanusasana* of Matisagara (*circa* sixteenth century), still in manuscript form. These works and a number of *pratistha*-works of both the sects contain a mine of information on later Jaina iconography.

The Jaina Puranas, in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramsa, Kannada, Tamil, etc., are another rich source for a study of Jaina iconography. Again, *stotra*-works, and incidentally some story-books, also supply further information. *Silpa*-works like the *aparajita-precha*, the *Devata-murti-prakarana*, the *Rupa-mandana* and the *Vastu-sara* of Thakkura Feru, besides earlier works like the *Manasara*, are other very important sources for the study of Jaina iconography.

Symbols

There is no Creator-god in Jaina philosophy and strictly speaking image-worship is not absolutely necessary for the attainment of emancipation. It is the *bhava*-worship (mental attitude) and not *dravya*-worship (physical worship, idol-worship) that really matters as shown by Kundakundacarya. Jaina worship is, therefore, regarded as a worship not of a god-head or a deity but of a human being who has reached perfection of the soul freed from all bondage. And again it is not hero-worship in its usual sense but is the aggregate of qualities of the Perfect Man, of the Liberated Soul that is remembered, adored and developed in one's own self by the worshipper by worshipping the idol of the Jina. The idol therefore serves more the purpose of a symbol of the aggregate of certain qualities than of a portrait of a Tirthankara or a *maha-purusa*. Emancipated souls or Siddhas or Tirthankaras

(those Siddhas who establish the Jaina Tirtha constituted of *sravaka*, *sravika*, *sadhu* and *sadhvi*) are souls freed from attachment (*raga*) or jealousy (*dvesa*) and therefore neither favour nor frown upon the worshipper of their idols. In worshipping the idol the devotee remembers the qualities or virtues of the Jina and tries to imbibe them in one's own life and being.

It is therefore obvious that idol-worship was introduced and sanctioned in Jainism only because the common man or the lay-worshipper could not do without it and was possibly already accustomed to some sort of image-worship. Worship of some Yaksas, Nagas, Bhutas, Mukunda, Indra, Skanda, Vasudeva, trees, rivers, etc., is often referred to in the Jaina canons. These deities were invoked with various desires for reward, for obtaining children and so on. Naturally, therefore, Jainism imbibed elements of this type of worship while it began worshipping Tirthankaras, Siddhas and monks in various stages of spiritual progress and sect-hierarchy. It is also possibly an attempt to replace and eliminate or undermine worship of elements of non-Jaina character and association. It was but natural that in the beginning was introduced and enjoined worship of image of the Arhats (Tirthankaras), Siddhas, Acaryas (heads of a particular group of monks, nuns and their devotees—a *gana* or a *gaccha* or a *kula*), Upadhyayas (monks who read out and explain the scriptures to others and sadhus, ordinary monks). These are called the Five Supreme Ones—the Panca-Paramesthins.

The Jaina *navakara-mantra* or the *namaskara-mantra*, the highest and the most revered invocation and incantation, is constituted of formulas making obeisance to Arhats, Siddhas, Acaryas, Upadhyayas and Sadhus who are the Five Dignitaries.

In a lotus-symbol, four dignitaries would be conceived or represented on four petals of the lotus (one in each direction) with the Arhat or Tirthankara in the centre. Though no such early representation has been discovered it seems that from very early times these five were the supreme objects of Jaina worship.

At some later stage, four more objects were introduced on the lotus-petals intervening the lotus-petals of the four concerns of the eastern, southern, western, and northern direction. These are, according to the Svetambara sect, the conceptions of *jnana* (Right Conduct) and *tapas* (Right Penance), and according to the Digambara sect, the *caitya* (the Jina image), the *caityalaya* (temple enshrining the Jina image), the *sruta* (scripture) and the *dharmacakra* (or the Wheel of Law). These were represented as a diagram on stone or in metal or were painted on canvas or paper. The Svetambara diagram is called the Siddha-cakra plate 307, on stone, from Badol; plate 309A, in bronze, in the Baroda Museum), while the Digambara one (plate 309B, in bronze, from Tirupparuttikkunram³² is called the Nava-devata. In paintings of this diagram each of these five Paramesthins has a particular complexion. Thus the Arhat, the Siddha, the Acarya, the Upadhyaya and the Sadhu are respectively white, red, yellow, blue and black in complexion.³³ The colour of the remaining four members of the Svetambara Nava-Pada is to be visualized in meditation as white according to *Nava-Pada-Adradhana-vidhi*.³⁴ The Digambara diagram of Panca-Paramesthins is illustrated in a south-Indian bronze in the collection of the Samanta Bhadra Vidyalaya, Delhi (plate 308). Digambara *tantra* has two more diagrams, the Laghu-Siddha-

32. Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, plate XXXVI, 2.

33. For further details, see Shah, *op. cit.*, 1955, pp. 97-103.

34. Also *Siri-Sirivala-kaha*, verses 1185-91.

cakra and the Brhat-Siddha-cakra,³⁵ which are widely different from the Digambara Nava-devata or the Svetambara Siddha-cakra.

Hemachandra refers to the Siddha-cakra as a diagram brought to light by Vajrasvamin from the last *Vidyamupravada-purva* in the early centuries of the Christian era.³⁶ In the commentry *Brhannyasa* on his own *Sabdanusasana*, Hemachandra refers to the Siddha-cakra as a *samaya-prasiddha* (famous traditionally) diagram. No earlier reference to the worship of the Siddha-cakra diagram is found, but in the *Nitya-sandhya-kriya-vidhi* of the *Jina-samhita*³⁷ ascribed to Indranandi (*circa* tenth century) the Nava-devatas are invoked. It seems that from an early stage the Panca-Paramesthins were worshipped and invoked.

Archaeological evidence of the Kushan period, obtained from the excavations at Kankali-tila, has not revealed any Siddha-cakra or Nava-devata diagram or the Panca-Paramesthins in one group, even though individually some of the Five Dignitaries like the Tirthankara, the Acarya, the Upadhyaya and the Sadhu are found represented. As regards the Siddha, it is difficult to say whether some of the unidentified statues of Tirthankaras were regarded as representing Siddhas. The Siddha is *asaririn*, free from the bondage of even the human body, and as such his image was possibly not worshipped in the earlier stage. It is only in the very late bronzes in the Digambara shrines that we see the worship of the Siddha, whose figure is stencil-cut on a metal-

35. *Pratistha-saroddhara*, chapter 6, *Siddha-pratistha-vidhi*, verses 10-14; *Jaina-samhita* of Ekasandhi (MS), chapter 9, verses 88 ff.; *Pratistha-kalpa-tippanam* (MS) of Vadi-Kumudacandra, *Yantra-mantra-vidhi* section.

36. *Yoga-sastra*, 8, 74-75.

37. Incomplete MSS. of this work are available in Digambara Jaina Bhandaras.

plate, and we also find Siddha figure in the medieval sculptures and paintings of the Siddha-cakra and Nava-devata diagrams.

But the Mathura finds of the Kushan period do show that in the earliest stages the *caitya-stupa*, the *caitya*-tree and the *ayaga-patas* were worshipped. Tree worship is very ancient not only in India but also in other countries. The Christmas Tree is one such example. Existence of tree-worship in Indus civilization is evidenced by representations on several seals and sealings. One of seals from Chanhudaro depicts the *pippala*-tree.³⁸ Some sealings from Harappa show trees enclosed by a wall or railings. 'It cannot at present be stated definitely whether tree worship pertained to trees in their natural state or to their indwelling spirits.'³⁹ The *Taittiriya-Brahmana* (1.1.3) speaks of seven holy trees. In the Rgvedic *Apri-Suktas*, *vanaspatis* are invoked.⁴⁰ *Osadhis* are called 'mothers' and 'goddesses' and are invoked chiefly with waters and mountains.⁴¹ *Caitya-vrksas* are mentioned in the *Atharvaveda-Parisista*, LXXI, where large trees are addressed as deities; they are connected with human fertility and nymphs inhabiting them are asked to be propitious to passing wedding-processions.⁴² Souls or spirits were supposed to dwell in trees and to haunt them and were looked upon as gods.⁴³ Offerings

38. John Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilizations*, London, 1931, I, p. 312; N.G. Majumdar, *Exploration in Sind*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 41, Delhi, 1934, plate XVII.

39. *The Vedic Age*, ed. R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalker, London, 1951, p. 188.

40. A.A. Macdonell. *Vedic Mythology*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 154.

41. *Ibid.* Rgveda-Samhita X, 97, 4 which is the same as Yajurveda-Samhita XII, 78, and Taittiriya-Samhita, IV, 2, 6, 1.

42. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London, 1927, p. 41.

43. *Chandogya-Upanisad*, VI, 11; *Jataka*, IV, p. 154.

are made to these tree-spirits, who are pleased when garlands are hung upon the branches and lamps lighted on all sides, and *bali*-offerings made at the foot of the trees.⁴⁴ Both Manu and Yajnavalkya ask a *snataka* to circumbulate sacred trees (*asvattha*. etc.) on his way.

The *Mahabharata* forbids even the felling of trees that are known as *caityas*. Kane interprets *caitya* as 'trees like the *asvattha* that have a platform (*caitya*)⁴⁵ built for them.'⁴⁶ The stone dias, throne or platform was regarded as Yaksa's haunt (*bhavana*) as pointed out by Coomaraswamy, who also says: "Most of the Yaksa cetiya referred to in Buddhist and Jaina literature may have been sacred trees."⁴⁷ The *Vasudeva-hindi* of Samgha-dasa-gani (*circa* fifth century A.D.) shows that there was an *udyana* (park) called Manorama in Saliggama in Magadha Janapada. Therein was the Jakkha Sumana, whose stone plaque or platform (*sila=sila*) was placed under an *asoka*-tree, the *sila* being known as Sumana. There the people worshiped the Yaksa.⁴⁸ A certain person called Satya spent a night in meditation in this area of *Sumana-sila* standing in the *Kayotsarga-pose*, in order to propitiate the yaksa. It seems that *sila* is here used in the sense of a plaque or relief deposited under the *asoka*-tree (revered as *caitya*-tree) on a platform (*sila-paesa*) where Satya could stand in meditation.

Thus, by the time of Buddha and Mahavira, possibly somewhat before their age, some of the *caitya*-trees that were

44. *Jataka*, V, pp. 472, 474, 488; IV, 210, p. 353; III, p. 23; IV, 153. Also *Manu-smṛti*, III, 88; *Bṛhad-Gautama*, Jivananda Vidyasagara's collection, part 2, p. 625.

45. For the origin and evolution of the meaning of *citya* and *caitya* and for three kinds of *caityas* mentioned in Jaina canonical literature. see Shah. *op. cit.*, 1955, pp. 43-45.

46. P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmasastra*, II, 2 p. 895.

47. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 7, n. 4. and 47.

48. *Vasudeva-hindi*, pp. 85 and 88.

formerly only enclosed in a small railing (as in the Indus seals and in the Mathura *ayaga patas*),⁴⁹ now had *silapatas* installed under them, besides a stone (or brick) platform around their trunks. Not all the trees had these *silapatas* but only those that were worshipped as haunts of spirits. Some *caitya*-trees possibly had platforms but not *silapatas* and some reliefs of Bharhut we see that stone plaques placed on stools or *asanas* and installed near the trunks of *caitya*-trees are worshipped by devotees.⁵⁰

It is possible to infer a stage in which the object of worship was carved in relief on the surface of the *silapata* itself and offerings placed on it. We see on some of *ayagapatas* of Mathura the figure of a Tirthankara carved in the centre. Also the name *ayaga-pata* itself suggests that offerings were placed on or near them.

The stock-description (*varnaka*) of a *caitya* (*Jakkhayayana*= *Yaksa-caitya* according to commentators) in the Jaina canons is the description of the Purnabhadra-caitya obtained in the *Aupapatika-sutra*, *sutras* 2-5. According to it, the Purnabhadra-caitya in the Amrasala-vana situated to the north-east of the city of Campa was very old in age (*ciratita*), recognized by people of old age as ancient (*porana*) and famous. On all sides of it was a big forest-grove having a central big *asoka*-tree with a *prthivi-sila-patta* under it, slightly reclining against the stem and placed on as *simhasana*. It was black like collyrium, dark-blue like *nilotpala*, shining (reflecting) like the surface of a mirror (*ayamsayatalovame*),

49. V.A. Smith, *The Jaina Stupa and other Antiquities of Mathura*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, XX, Allahabad, 1901, plate IX, p. 16. The inscription on this tablet is highly defaced, *Epigraphia Indica*, II, plate Ib, pp. 311-13.

50. B.M. Barua, *Bharhut*, Calcutta, 1937, book III, figs. 26, 28, 30, 31, 32; Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, figs. 41, 46, 51.

soft to the touch like butter, cotton, etc. Incidentally, as I have shown before, this is the description of a highly-polished (Northern Black Polished Ware) terracotta plaque (*prthivi-sila-patta*) existing in the sixth century B.C.⁵¹

It is this *prthivi-sila-patta* which is the precursor and prototype of the *ayaga-patas* from Kankali-tila. This is further supported by the inscription on the *ayaga-pata* set up by Vasu, daughter of Lonasobhika, where the tablet is actually called *sila-pato*.⁵² It is expressly stated in the last line that this tablet was meant for worship of (offering to) Arhats (*Arahata-pujaye*).

Hemacandra refers to *bali-pattas*,⁵³ with figures of *asta-mangalas* in Jaina shrines. These are certainly the *ayaga-patas* since each of the *ayaga-patas* discovered hitherto at Kankali-tila (except the tablets of ascetic Kanha and Aryavati, above, plate 19) has, as its central prominent motif, one of the *asta-mangala* symbols. Thus, we have *ayaga-pata* with *svastika*,

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51. Foundation of the Ghositarama monastery have yielded the Northern Black Polished ware of different colours. The medieval commentators were unable to understand the significance and quietly omitted to explain the word *prthivi* attached to *sila-patta*. It was not a tablet of mother-goddess, Prthivi, as some scholars tried to explain. This was the shrine of Purnabhadra and not of the mother-goddess Prithivi. The plaque (*patta*) was of a *prithivi-sila* (terracotta).
 52. V.S. Agrawala, 'Catalogue of the Mathura Museum', *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, XXII. parts 102, pp. 69 ff. For a further description of the passage from the *Aupapatika-sutra*, see Shah, *op. cit.*, 1955, p. 67 ff.
 53. See the remarks of U.P. Shah in 'Varddhamana-Vidya-Pata', *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, IX, 941. Hemacandra, in his *Trisasti*, I, 3, 422 ff, describing a *samavasarana* says: "The arches were adorned with flags and white umbrellas and eight auspicious symbols below looked like those on offering slabs (*bali-pattas*).

tri-ratna, *stupa*, *dharma-cakra*, *sthapanacarya* (or *Indra-yasti* as identified by V.S. Agarwala), etc. Some of the tablets have figures of all the eight auspicious symbols on them, for example, the *ayaga-pata* which is the gift of Sihanadika, the *ayaga-pata* of the wife of Bhadranandi and the *ayaga-pata* of an unknown donor from Mathura.⁵⁴ The list of eight auspicious symbols of the age was somewhat different from the lists now current with the Svetambara and the Digambara sects.

The practice of installing objects of worship on platform under *caitya*-trees continues to this day in India, and we find loose broken or intact images and stones placed on such platforms under trees in villages and towns. An interesting evidence of about first century B.C. is obtained in a relief-panel from Mathura which has the representation of a *Sivalinga* under a tree, both enclosed in a railing.⁵⁵

In the *Aupapatika-sutra* description of the *caitya* of Purnabhadra (a well-known ancient Yaksha), there is no mention of a structural shrine, and here possibly the tree itself with *sila-patta* is the Yaksha-*ayatana* as in the case of *Suciloma-Jataka* (Samyutta-Nikaya, 11, 5) where a *tankite manco* is stated to be the Yakkha's haunt (*bhavana*). It seems that the carving of a figure (of the Yaksha or any deity) on the *sila-patta* of installing a sculpture of a deity under a *caitya-tree* was a later stage,⁵⁶ but it must be remembered that even this stage might have been reached in the age of Mahavira if the shrine of Maggarapani Yaksha of Rajagrha, referred to in Jaina

54. Smith, *op. cit.*, plates IX, VII; above, plate 3. For a fuller description of and discussion on *ayaga-patas*, see Shah, *op. cit.*, 1955, pp. 77-84, figs. 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 14A, 14B, etc.

55. Shah, *op. cit.*, 1955, fig. 67.

56. Cf. Odette Viennot, *Le Culte de l'Arbre dans l'Inde ancienne*, Plate VIID, from the Amaravati *stupa*.

canonical literature, can be regarded as dating from Mahavira's times.

Both Buddha and Mahavira⁵⁷ and many other thinkers and sages of old used to meditate under such trees, on these platforms. This practise of meditating under trees is what Buddha seems to have resorted to, as suggested by Rhys Davids when at the end of some earnest dialogue Buddha used to close is with an appeal: 'Here are the trees: think this matter out'.⁵⁸

Another stage in the worship of the *caitya* tree can be easily imagined in the erection of a *pitha* with *sila-pittha* on each of the four sides of a tree. This served as the fundamental conception of the early *caitya*, open on four sides, the *caturmukha* shrine, also in the conception of *pratima sarvatobhadrika* from *Kankali-tila*, in which a Tirthankara is standing or sitting on each of the four sides. This inference is confirmed by the elaborate account of *caitya-vrksas* in the *samvasarana* of Adinatha, described by Jinasena in his *Adi-Purana*. They are called *caitya-vrksas* because at their roots are placed, on four sides, four images (*caityas*) of the Jinas.⁵⁹ The *caitya*-trees of the Bhavanavasi class of gods are described in a similar way by the *Tiloyopannatti*.⁶⁰

The original conception of a *caturmukha-pratima* (image facing four directions, fourfold image), so far as the *samvasarana* is concerned, is based upon the belief that in the circular auditorium in which the Jina delivers his sermon sitting on a dais in the centre, with the audience sitting on all

57. Cf. *Bhagvati-sutra*, 3, 2, *sutra* 144, which describes Mahavira as meditating under a tree on a *prthivi-sila-patta*.

58. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 230-31.

59. *Adi-Purana*, 22, 184-204, I, pp. 524-27.

60. *Tiloya-pannatti*, 3, 33, 39, I, p. 115.

sides, three images of the exact likeness of the Jina were installed by Indra for facing the three directions except the one which the Tirthankara himself was facing, so that all beings sitting in the different directions would be able to face the Jina. Thus, in this conception it is the figure of one and the same Jina that is to be seen facing each of the four different directions. Thus, in a fourfold image of Mahavira one should find four of images of Mahavira facing the four directions. But almost all the fourfold images found at Kankali-tila disclose figures of four quarters. At least two of them can be identified—one, Rsabhanatha with hair-locks falling on his shoulders, and the second, Parsvanatha with snake-hoods over his head. The third must have been Mahavira, being the last Tirthankara, while the fourth might have represented Neminatha. This is inferred because in the *Kalpa-sutra* lives of the remaining twenty Jinas are treated in an identical stereotyped fashion.

It is, therefore, possible that the fourfold images from Mathura, known as *pratima sarvatobhadrika* from inscriptions on their pedestals, are not based on the conception of the *gandha-kuti* (sitting in which the Tirthankara delivers his sermon) of a *samvasarana* but perhaps has its origin in the concept of *Yaksa-caitya* under trees.⁶¹ In the stock-descriptions (*varnaka*) of the *Siddhayatanas* in the Jaina Agamas, we find that such a shrine had three entrances. In front of each entrance was a portico (*mukha-mandapa*) adorned with *asta-mangala* motifs. In front of these were the *preksa-grha-mandapas* or assembly-halls. Facing them was a *caitya-stupa* on a *mani-pithika*. On four sides of each stupa were *mani-pithikas*, each platform surmounted by Jina figures

61. For the evolution of the *caitya*, see Shah, *op. cit.*, 1955, pp. 43 ff. esp. pp. 56-57, 94-95.

facing the *stupa*.⁶² This shows the conception of Jina figures facing four sides.

The *Adi-Purana* of Jinasena⁶³ describes a type of pillars known as the *mana-stambha* in the first rampart of the *samavasarana*. At the base of these pillars on four sides were placed four golden images of Jinas. Such pillars are also described in the *Tiloya-pannatti*⁶⁴ which says that the Jina images were placed on the top of a pillar. The Kahaun pillar with an inscription of the Gupta age⁶⁵ shows four Jinas on four sides at the top and one at its base. Such figures are usually enshrined in a square pavilion, on top, open on four sides. This practice remains popular even today amongst the Digambaras. At Deogarh are certain pillars which show variations in this older tradition of subordinate deities, Yaksis, Ksetrapalas, etc., were shown at the base, while on the top sometimes a *ganadhara* or an Acarya replaced one of the four Tirthankara images. An elaboration of the same conception is the famous Jaina *stambha* at Chittor in Rajasthan.⁶⁶

Mention may be made here of the conception of *caturmukha* (*caumukha*) Jaina shrines where the sanctums have doors facing four sides, and the chief image in worship is a fourfold Jina image with a Tirthankara (not necessarily

62. *Jivajivabhigama-sutra* 3, 2, 137 ff. Also see *Bhagwati-sutra*, 20. 9. *sutras* 684-794

63. *Adi-purana* of Jinasena, 22, 92-102, pp. 515-16.

64. *Tiloya-pannatti*, 4, 779 ff. It would be worthwhile checking up if any of the fourfold images from Kankali-tila was a part of either the base or of the top of a pillar.

65. J.F. Fleet, *Inscriptions of the early Gupta Kings*, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, III, Calcutta, 1888, pp. 66-68.

66. See Shah, *op. cit.*, 19555, fig. 56, for a pillar in the compound of temple 12 of Deogarh, and 82, for the *stambha* of Chitor (also above, plate 219).

the same) facing each direction. A very early famous shrine of this type is the famous Paharpur temple in Bengal which has disclosed Hindu reliefs. It is difficult to say whether it was originally a Jaina shrine or not, but the find of a copper-plate dated in the year 159 (A.D. 478), referring to the Jaina Panca-stupa-*nikaya*, obtained from Paharpur is noteworthy. However, there are several famous Jaina *caumukha* shrines in India, a unique example being the Trailokya-dipaka *caturmukha-prasada* at Ranakpur, Rajasthan; another famous example is the Kharatara-vasahi temple (*circa* fifteenth century) in the Dilwada group of shrines on Mount Abu.⁶⁷

We have referred to the practice of installing fourfold images at Mathura. The Sonbhandar cave at Rajgir has a post-Gupta *caumukha* in stone having on each of the four faces a different Jina—Rsabha, Ajita, Sambhava and Abhinandana. An earlier sculpture from Sarnath in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi, is a fourfold stone image. Quite a large number of four-fold images in stone and metal installed in different periods of history are still being worshipped in several Jaina temples all over India. For a further elaboration of this concept in the medieval age, see plate 310A, from the Archaeological Museum, Gwalior.

Perhaps some time in the medieval period, worship of groups of twenty-four Tirthankaras or of seventy-two Tirthankaras—twenty-four each of the past, present and future *aras* or aeons (plate 310B— from a Digambara Jaina temple, Surat) or of one hundred and seventy Tirthankaras of different region and of one thousand Tirthankaras (plate 311A) of one thousand peaks of Jaina cosmographical accounts (having Jaina shrines) became popular. These groups, excepting the last one, were often represented on relief-slabs. The last one, for convenience, was preferably represented as a fourfold

67. Paharpur, Ranakpur, Rajasthan Shrines.

image with miniature images on all sides. Even the groups of one hundred and seventy or seventy-two were more conveniently represented as fourfold (*caturmukha*) images. But *caumukha* images with a total of twenty-four Jinas distributed over four sides are not rare. Again, in such representations artistic variations are found such as by distributing the twenty-four figures in three tiers (plate 311B), or in cases of larger groups the whole sculpture is shown as a miniature shrine with a top.

To revert to the *caitya*-trees. Tree-worship, popular from very ancient times, noticed on Indus seals and the Vedic and Smṛti literatures, formed an important aspect of the religious cults of the masses with whom Buddha and Mahavira were mainly concerned in their opposition to Vedic priestly class and its rituals. Mahavira stayed in such shrines both before and after *kevala-jnana*. The belief that Buddha and Mahavira obtained enlightenment under such *caitya-vrksas* might have been based on facts, and when lists of other Buddha and Tirthankaras grew their *caitya*-trees were recorded by both the sects.

But since in early Buddhist art Buddha was not represented in human form the *bodhi*-tree attained greater importance, while the Jainas were satisfied with recording of the list of *caitya*-trees of different Jinas and by giving them secondary importance in worship and art. But the *caitya*-tree had to be introduced on relief-sculpture of Tirthankara, by showing its foliage spread over his head, because of the great popular appeal the tree had in ancient India. Both Jainism and Buddhism gave a new meaning to this tree-worship. The *caitya*-trees were worshipped and represented in art, not because they were haunted by spirits and godlings, but because they were associated with the enlightenment of Buddha and the Tirthankara. Originally perhaps the Jina image was placed

under a *caitya*-tree. The bronze figure of a *caitya* tree obtained in the Chausa hoard of Jaina bronzes, now in Patna Museum, was perhaps worshipped in such a way, with a separate small Jina placed near its trunk. With the growth of shrines, the practice almost dies out gradually, but still we can see a tree (*rayana*-tree in Gujarati) associated with Rsabhanatha being held sacred and worshipped on Mount Saturnjaya. That the *caitya*-tree was given special importance due to the tree-cult of the masses is best illustrated by a type of Tirthankara images where the Jina is shown sitting under a big prominent tree, almost all other *pratiharyas* (elements of *parikara* of a Jina image) being either eliminated or subdued.⁶⁸

The earliest reference to the *caitya*-tree of Mahavira is perhaps in the account of Mahavira's life in the *Acaranga*, book II, which is regarded latter in age than book I. The *Kalpasastra*, which speaks of the lives of the twenty-four Tirthankaras but gives details of the lives of only four, Rsabha, Nemi, Parsva and Mahavira, does not mention the *caitya*-trees of the remaining twenty Jinās. The *Samavayanga-sutra*, which, though incorporating much earlier material, is obviously a later compilation, gives a list of the Past, Present and Future Tirthankaras, as also of Tirthankaras of the Airavata-ksetra and further records a list of *caitya-vrksas* of all the twenty-four Tirthankaras of the present age (*ara*) in the Bharata-ksetra.⁶⁹ This last list, being common to both the Digambara

68. Cf. Shah, *op. cit.*, 1955, fig.72, from Kalugumalai, Tinnevely District; fig. 73, from Pancasara temple, Patan; fig. 75, from a Digambara Jaina shrine, Surat.

69. *Samavayanga-sutra*, 159, *samavaya*, p. 152. Also see *Jivajivadhigama-sutra*, *sutra* 127, p. 125, and *sutra* 142, p. 251, for *caitya*-trees.

and the Svetambara sects,⁷⁰ was evolved before the Digambara-Svetambara differences were aggravated in the fifth century.

The Jains have assigned the spirits connected with the tree-worship to the class of Vyantara gods. The Vyantaras are subdivided into eight groups, Pisacas, Bhutas, Yaksas, Raksasas, Kinnaras, Kimpurusas, Mahoragas (Nagas) and Gandharvas. Each group has on its crest the symbol (of a tree) in the following order—the *kadamba*, *sulasa*, *vata*, *khatvanga*, *asoka*, *campaka*, *naga*, and tumburu according to the Svetambara tradition. The Digambara list⁷¹ substitutes the *badari*-tree for the *khatvanga*. *Khatvanga* alone does not seem to be a tree in the Svetambara list.

The *Sthananga-sutra*⁷² gives a list of *caitya*-trees worshipped by the ten classes of Bhavanavasi gods; a different list is supplied by the *Tiloya-pannatti*.⁷³ This signifies the association of *caitya*-tree or the tree-cult with the area of Jaina shrines.

Along with the conception of *caitya*-trees may be noted the conceptions of the Tree of Life and the Wish-fulfilling Tree (*kalpa-druma*) in Brahmanical and Buddhist texts.⁷⁴ Jaina texts also speak of ten *kalpa-drumas*. These are described in

70. Ramachandran. *op. cit.*, 192 ff., gives a list of *caitya*-trees of all the Jinas of this age which seems to be incorrect. For Digambara lists, see *Pratistha-saroddhara*, 4, 106, p. 101; *Tiloya-pannatti*, 4, 916-23, I, p. 264.

71. For lists of both the traditions with sources see Kierfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder* pp. 273 ff.

72. *Sthananga-sutra*, 10, 3, *sutra* 766, II, p. 487. The commentator says that these trees were worshipped near the *siddhayatanas*.

73. *Tiloya-pannatti*, 3, 136, I, p. 128.

74. Especially see A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, Cambridge, Mass, 1935.

detail in the *Jambudvipa-prajñapti*.⁷⁵ Hemachandra describes ten kinds of *kalpa*-trees in the Uttarakurus as follows: The ten kinds of wishing trees, *madyangas*, etc., always give to people whatever they desire without effort on their part. Among these, the *madyangas* give wine, the *bhrngas* dishes, the *turyangas* choice musical instruments. The *dipa-sikhas* and *vyotiskas* give wonderful light, the *citrangas* furnish ornaments, the *citrarasas*, in turn, food. The *manyangas* furnish ornaments, the *gehakaras* houses and the *anangas* various kinds of divine apparel.⁷⁶

Belief in auspicious dreams is very ancient in India as evidenced from a reference to the effect of such a dream found in the *Chandogya-Upanisad*, V. 2, 7, 8. When a would-be Tirthankara descends from heaven into his mother's womb, the mother sees certain dreams which are regarded as auspicious. According to the Svetambara belief the mother sees fourteen different objects in the dream, while according to the Digambara sect the dreams are sixteen in number. The fourteen dreams seen by the mother of Mahavira are described in detail in *Kalpa-sutra*: (1) a white elephant, large and beautiful, with four tusks, (2) a white bull surrounded by diffusion of light, with a charming hump and horns greased at tips, (3) a sportive lion, white and beautiful with a flapping tail and protruding tongue, (4) the goddess Sri, four-armed, adorned with ornaments, carrying the lotuses and lustrated by elephants, (5) a garland of various flowers, (6) the full moon, (7) the red sun, (8) a wondrous beautiful banner fastened to a golden staff, with a lion on top, (9) a full vase, filled with water and lotuses, the abode of fortune, (10) a large lake full of lotuses and aquatic animals, (11) the Ocean of Milk, with

75. *Jambudvipa-prajñapti*, 20, pp. 99 ff; also see *Pravacana-saroddhara*, 1067-70, p. 314; *Hari-vamsa* of Jinasena, I, pp. 146-47.

76. *Trisati-salaka-purusa-carita*, I (Gaekwad Oriental Series), tr. Helen Johnson, pp. 29-30.

agitated waters, full of aquatic animals, (12) the celestial palace (*deva-vimana*) of numerous columns, with hanging garlands, decorated with pictures or sculptures, (13) the jewel-heap (*ratna-rasi*) with all sorts of jewels, and (14) smokeless fire with flame in constant motion.⁷⁷

Kalpa-sutra miniatures show representations of these dreams either in a group, as in Brown's.⁷⁸ The most common type of *Kalpa-sutra* miniatures (cf. Brown's) represents the mother of Jina sleeping on a cot in the lowest panels above are shown, in different rows, smaller figures of the fourteen dreams. Dreams are also represented in stone reliefs of the lives of different Jinās. Plate 313 illustrates such a group from the life of Mahāvira on a ceiling in one of the temples at Kumbharia.

Belief in auspicious dreams, though very old in ancient India and common among all sects, entered into descriptions of lives of Jinās at some later stage. The *Kalpa-sutra* description, which perhaps is the earliest available, contains a reference to *dinara-mala*.⁷⁹ This shows that this portion of

77. For an interesting discussion on and interpretation of some of these prognostic dreams, see A.K. Coomaraswamy, "The Conqueror's Life in Jaina Paintings", *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, III, no. 2. December 1935, pp. 125-44.

78. W. Norman Brown, *Miniature Paintings of the Kalpasutra*. For other illustrations, see *Jaina Citra-kalpa-druma*, I, fig. 73; Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Boston Museum*, IV, figs. 13, 34; Brown, *op. cit.*, fig. 152 p. 64; Muni Punyavijaya, *Pavitra Kalpa-sutra*, figs. 17, 22.

79. Muni Sri Punyavijaya, in his introduction to his (critical) edition of the *Pavitra-Kalpa-sutra*, p. 10, says that the detailed description of the fourteen dreams of the *Kalpa-sutra* is not referred to in Agastya-simha-Suri's *Curni* on this work and that it is difficult to say whether this part is genuine. According to him, both the *Niryukti* and *Curni on the Dasasruta-skandha* (of which the *Kalpa-sutra* is the eighth *adhyayana*) date from circa A.D. 350 or earlier.

the text post-dates the introduction and popularity of the *denarius* coins in India. No earlier representations of the dreams are available. Lists of dreams seen by mothers of Cakravartins, Vasudevas and Baladevas may be still later.

According to the Digambara tradition, the sixteen dreams of the Jina's mother are: (1) Airavata, the elephant of Indra, (2) the best of the bulls, (3) lion, white in colour with red manes, (4) the goddess Padma (Sri) seated on golden lotus and lustrated by elephants, (5) pair of garlands of best flowers, (6) the moon, (7) the sun rising from the Udayacala mountain, (8) pair of full vases with lotuses placed on their mouths, (9) pair of fish, (10) celestial lake, (11) agitated ocean, (12) a lofty golden lion-throne, (13) a celestial car (*vimana*), (14) a palace of the king of snakes (*nagendra-bahvana*), (15) heap of jewels, and (16) smokeless fire.⁸⁰

Representations of the sixteen dreams are popular amongst the Digambara Jains and are often carved on door-lintels of shrines, an early specimen of these being available on the door-frame of the Santinatha temple at Khajuraho. There are some more representations of the dreams on the door-frames of different Jaina shrines at Khajuraho.

Jaina traditions speak of a fewer number of dreams seen by the mother of other Salaka-purusas like the Vasudevas, the Baladevas and Cakravartins.⁸¹ They are not known to have found a place amongst the paintings or reliefs discovered hitherto.

The *asta-managalas*, fimilar to both the sects, are known to Jaina worship from ancient times. There a few variations

80. *Adi-Purana* of Jinasena, *sarga* 12, verses 101-19; *Hari-vamasa* of Jinasena, *sarga* 8, verses 58-74.

81. Such beliefs are common to both sects but the differences in their lists show that they have grown after the final crisis between the Svetambara and the Digambaras in the Gupta age.

in the Svetambara canonical text *aupapatika-sutra*, they are: *svastika*, *srivatsa*, *nandyavarta*, *vardhamanaka* (powder-flask), the full vase, *darpana* (mirror) and *matsya* (or *matsya-yugma*, a pair of fish). These are often referred to in Jaina texts, including canonical works, as decorating tops of architraves or ramparts, or placed on *caitya*-trees and platforms, or painted on walls and so on.⁸² Hemacandra also notes that the eight auspicious symbols were represented on *bali-pattas* or offering slabs.⁸³ In modern Jaina temples we have offering-stands with low legs made of wood or metal to hold offering in temple-worship. They have eight auspicious symbols or the fourteen or sixteen dreams carved or embossed on the sides. Often Jaina ladies prepare in the hall of worship such eight symbols on platters with uncooked husked rice. Small metal platters with the *asta-mangalas* cast or engraved are also seen in the sanctums along with other metal images. Most of these small platters are hardly older than a century or two.

But the reference by Hemacandra to *bali-pattas* with *asta-mangala* symbols is interesting since this is supported by the evidence of *asta-mangalas* on ayaga-patas of the Kushan age, obtained from Mathura. The tablet set up by Acala, wife of Bhadranandi (of Smith, *op. cit.*), shows four symbols in the upper panel and eight more in the lower one.⁸⁴ In the lower panel, the partly-mutilated first symbol from the right end was possibly the *srivatsa*. The second is the *svastika*, the third a half-open lotus-bud, the fourth a pair of fish, the fifth a water-jar, the sixth either an offering of sweets or a

82. *Trisasti*, I, pp. 112, 190; *Adi-Purana*, parva 22, verses 143, 185, 210, etc.; *Rayapasenaiyam*, ed. Pandit Becharadas, p. 80; also *Jambudvipa-pranjapti*, I, p. 43.

83. *Trisati*, I, p. 190 and note 238.

84. Shah, *op. cit.*, 1955, p. 82, fig. 10; J. 252 of the Lucknow Museum.

heap of jewels (*ratna-rasi*). The seventh seems to be a cross-stand with a scripture on it, perhaps the *sthapana*, but it could have been the *bhadrasana*. The eighth symbol seems to be a defaced *tri-ratna*. The uppermost central rectangular panel shows the *srivatsa*, another type of *svastika* with bent ends and two unidentified symbols. The first of which may be an *asna*(*bhadrasana*?). A better-preserved set of eight symbols is obtained on the *ayaga-pata* set up by Sihanadika (J. 249 of the Lucknow Museum).⁸⁵ This, as well as the tablet of Acala, show in the central square four composite *tri-ratnas*. In the uppermost central rectangular panel, the tablet of Sihanadika shows a pair of fish, a heavenly car, a *srivatsa*-mark and a powder-box. In the corresponding part of the lowermost panel are shown a *tri-ratna* symbol, a full-blown lotus, a symbol which Agarwala recognized as Indra-*yasti* or *vaijayanti* and a *mangala-kalasa*.⁸⁶

The *ayaga-pata* set up by an inhabitant of Mathura (J. 248 of the Lucknow Museum) has in the centre a sixteen-spoked wheel, the *dharmacakra*.⁸⁷ The tablet set up by the wife of Sivaghosaka (J. 253 of the Lucknow Museum) has four composite *tri-ratnas* (with a Jina in the centre).⁸⁸ The tablet set up by an unknown donor (J. 250 of the Lucknow Museum)⁸⁹ has in the central bigger circle an ornamental *svastika*, enclosing in its four arms the *svastika*, the *srivatsa*, a *mina-yugla* and the Indra-*Yasti* (*vaijayanti*?, *sthapana*?)

85. *Ibid.*, fig 13, p. 79.

86. V.S. Agrawala, *A Guide to Lucknow Museum*, p. 2, fig. 5, and his *Harsa-carita: eka Samskritika Adhyayana* (Hindi), p. 120; Smith, *op. cit.*, plate VII, p. 14

87. Shah, *op. cit.*, 1955, p. fig, 114, p. 77; Smith, *op. cit.*, plate VIII, p. 15; Buhler in *Epigraphica Indica*, II, pp. 200, 313.

88. Shah, *op. cit.*, 1955, fig. 12, pp. 76-77; Smith, *op. cit.*, plate X, p. 17.

89. Shah, *op. cit.*, 1955, fig. 11, p. 81; Smith, *op. cit.*, plate IX, p. 16.

symbols. The central smaller circle has composite *tri-ratnas* with an inset Jina figure. The lowermost panel of the tablet has some defaced symbols where a water-jar, a half-open lotus, a *tri-ratna* and a *svastika* can be easily recognized. The *ayaga-pata* set up by Sivamitra,⁹⁰ recovered in a fragmentary form, shows in the centre the leg of a big cross-legged stand which, in the tablets noted above, has been referred to as a *sthapana* (?) or an *Indra-yasti* (?) etc. This analysis suggests that besides having small representations of a few or all the eight *asta-mangalas*, each of the *ayaga-patas* mentioned above has at least one bigger or major representation of one of the *asta-manglas*. Possibly there existed *ayaga-patas* with such representations of the remaining symbols of the *asta-mangalas* acknowledged by the Jainas of Mathura in Kushan period. This shows that Hemacandra had with him the knowledge of a genuine old tradition regarding *bali-pattas* with representations of *asta-mangalas*.⁹¹

Asta-mangalas are represented in miniature paintings⁹² of Jaina manuscripts or in paintings on canvas of different *patas*, and in scroll-paintings of the *vijnapti-patras*.⁹³ Small metal platters of these *asta-mangalas* are also dedicated in Jaina temples and worshipped along with other Jaina metal images in the sanctums (cf. Shah, *po. cit.*, 1955, fig. 60).

90. Shah, *op. cit.*, 1955, p. 80; Smith, *op. cit.*, plate XIII, p. 20.

91. It must however be remembered that the worship of these *ayaga-patas* was not limited to that of the eight symbols. It was extended to the worship of the *stupa*, the *caitya*-tree, the *dharmacakra*, the Jina, Aryavati (perhaps mother of Mahavira), learned great Acaryas like the ascetic Kanha and, so on, as we have *ayaga-patas* with such chief representations. All the *ayaga-patas* taken together seem to provide us with all the chief elements of the Jaina worship in the Kushan age at Mathura.

92. *Jaina Citra-kalpa-druma*, I, figs. 82, 59.

93. Johnson's translation of *Trisasti*, I, plate IV.

The *asta-mangalas* are worshipped in Jaina rites. The *Acara-dinakara*, a Svetambara text of the fourteenth century, attempts to explain the conception behind each of these symbols.⁹⁴ According to it, the *kalasa* is worshipped because the Jina is verily like a *Kalasa* in his family. The mirror is for seeing one's true self. The *bhadrasana* is worshipped as it is sanctified by the feet of the blessed Lord; the *vardhamanaka* is suggestive of increase of wealth, fame, merit, etc. It is said that the highest knowledge has manifested itself from the heart of the Jina in the form of the *srivatsa*-mark on his chest. *Svastika*, according to this text, signifies *svasti*, *santi* or peace. The *nandyavarta* diagram with its nine points stands for the nine *nidhis* (treasures). The pair of fish, the symbol of Cupid's banner, is said to come to worship the Jina who has defeated the god of love. Obviously the above explanations are to be regarded as the Jaina conceptions behind the various symbols which seem to be of ancient Indian stock common to all sects.⁹⁵

The Digambara tradition gives the following set of *asta-mangalas*: (1) *bhrngara*, a type of vessel, (2) *kalasa*, the full vase, (3) *darpana* the mirror, (4) *camra*, the flywhisk, (5) *dhvja*, the banner, (6) *vyajana*, the fan, (7) *chatra*, the parasol, and (8) *supratistha*, the auspicious seats.⁹⁶

94. *Acara-Dinakara*, pp. 197-98.

95. It may be noted that on a red sandstone umbrella of *circa* second century A.D. from Mathura are carved the following eight auspicious symbols: (1) *nandipada* (same as *triratna*), (2) *matsya-yugma*, (3) *svastika*, (4) *puspa-dama*, (5) *purna-ghata*, (6) *ratna-patra*, (7) *srivatsa*, and (8) *sankha-nidhi*. V.S. Agrawala, 'A New Stone Umbrella from Mathura', *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, XX, 1947, pp. 65-67. For the Jaina evidence and description of umbrellas from the *Prasna-vyakarana-sutra*, see U.P. Shah, 'A further note on stone umbrellas from Mathura'. *Ibid.*, XXIV.

96. *Tiloya-pannatti*, 4, 738, I, p. 236.

The full vase⁹⁷ or the *purana-kalasa* of Vedic literature is the Indian symbol of fullness of life of plenty, of immortality. *Svastika*, common to different ancient civilizations of the world, is a symbol whose origin and conception are not easy to comprehend. Recently P.K. Agrawal has discussed the symbolism of *srivatsa* which appears as a mark on the chest of Visnu, just as it appears as a mark on the chest of the Jina. The original shape of the *srivatsa*-symbol, obtained on the Jina figures of the Kushan period, was forgotten, at least in the early medieval period, and was replaced by a symbol looking like a rhizome, though it is called a *srivatsa*.

Belief in auspicious objects is very old, common to all the three main sects—Jainism, Buddhism and Brhmanism. V.S. Agrawal has already referred to the *mangala-mala* of Sanchi reliefs.⁹⁸ The *Mahabharata*, *Drona-parva*, 82, 20-22, mentions numerous objects which Arjuna looked at or touched as auspicious when starting for battle, amongst which maidens are also mentioned.⁹⁹ The *Vamana-Purana*, 14, 35-36, mentions several objects which are auspicious. The *Brahmavaivarta-purana* also gives lists of animate and

97. For the full vase see A.K. Coomaraswamy, *The Yaksas*, part II (first ed.), ppl. 61-64; V.S. Agrawala in *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, XVII, pp. 1-6. The *Vardhamanaka* and *Srivatsa*-Symbols are treated by Coomaraswamy in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 1927-28, pp. 181-82, and E.H. Johnson in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1931, pp. 558 ff., 1932, pp. 393 ff. For the *svastika*, see W.N. Brown, *The Svastika*.

98. V.S. Agrawala, *Harsa-carita etc.*, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

99. Also see Kane, *op. cit.*, II, p. 511. he cites the following verse from a manuscript of the *Sakuna-karika*, which speaks of eight auspicious objects: *darpanah purna-kalasaḥ kanya sumanaso'asktaḥ / dipa-mala dhvaja lajaḥ samproktaḥ castamangalam*.

inanimate objects regarded as auspicious.¹⁰⁰ Belief in *mangalas* and *mangala-dravyas* is also known to the *Ramayana*.¹⁰¹

Several *yantras* or tantric diagrams on metal are found worshipped in Jaina shrines. Also, several *patas* or paintings on canvas or on paper of the diagrams of the *suri-mantra*, the *hrimkara-yantra*, the *Vardhmana-vidya-pata*, the *siddha-cakra*, the *rsimandala-yantra*, the *rsimandala-yantra*, etc., are worshipped by Jaina monks and the laity. Of these, the *srutaskandha-yantra*, very popular with the Digambaras, is especially noteworthy. Rarely it has also a figure of Sruta-devata, the goddess of learning, also carved on it. The diagram lists the twelve Agamas the *grantha-pramana* of each of them according to Digambara traditions. A specimen of such a *yantra* from Mudbidri, Karnataka is illustrated on plate 314.

II

ICONOGRAPHY AND SYMBOLISM

On the evolution of Jaina Iconography and Symbolism, U.P. Shah further says: "The origin of a number of symbols and especially the original conception behind them is often shrouded in mystery. The real age of the original conception behind the *Svastika* or the *Nandyavarta* or the pair of fish

100. Quoted in *Sabda-kalpa-druma*, III, p. 564. The same lexicon, I, 148, quotes from the *Brhannandikesvara-purana*: *mrga-rajo vrso nagah kalaso vyajanam tatha/ vaijayanti tatha bheri dipa ity astamangalam* // Again from the *Suddhi-tattva*: *loke'smin mangalany astau brahmano gaur hutasanah / hiranyam sarpir aditya apo raja tathastamah/*

101. *Ramayana*, II, 23, 29. Also see V.S. Agrawala, 'Asta-Mangala-mala', *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, New Series, II, pp. 1 ff.

(*mina-yugala*) etc. is often unknown. Even the shape of the original *Nandyavarta* symbol is not certain. Again in course of time, the shapes or forms of the symbols like *Srivatsa* on the chest of a Jina image have also changed. Borrowing or adoptions and assimilations of symbols of rival sects and foreigners, as well as of symbols from the old common stock of ancient India result in finer differences of conceptions behind the symbolisms. Still, however, literary evidences of all such sects and peoples explaining symbolism have to be looked into before properly assessing the meaning of any symbol in any sect of India.

Here only a few aspects of such symbolism in Jaina art can be taken up as a pointer to the desirability of doing independent research study on individual symbols or on groups of symbols.

The correct name for the honeysuckle like symbol on the top of the gateway in the tablet of homage donated by Sivayasa¹ is to be identified as yet from Jaina sources. The *Ayagapata* of Sihanadika (J. 249)² shows *astamangalas*; of the four in the upper panel, the name of the second symbol from right and in the lowermost panel the name of the third from right are known Jaina sources.

1. Smith, V., *Jain Stupa and other Antiquities from Mathura* (Allahabad, 1901). pl. XII. PP. 3 and 19; Buhler in *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. IV, p. 196; Shah, U.P. *Studies in Jaina Art* (Banaras, 1955), p.79 and fig. 7.

According to Smith, the characters of inscription on this *ayagapata*, "are little more archaic than those of Dhanabhuti's inscriptions on the gateways of the Bharhut stupa, and Buhler also, admitting that they are "archaic", adds that they belong to the period before Kaniska."

2. Smith, *Jain Stupa*, pl. 14; Shah U.P., *Studies in Jaina Art*, p. 79, fig. 13. Another *ayagapata* showing the *astamangalas* is the one set up by the wife of Bhadrnandi, Shah, U.P. *op. cit.*, p. 82, fig 10.

A passage in the Rayapasenaiya sutra speaks of *Tilakaratna* symbol. What is it? Is it the *Triratna*?

The basic philosophy underlying Jaina religious practice leaves no scope for any worship of a Creator God since according to Jaina philosophy no God has created this world. Still, however, the human mind, in this world full of countless miseries, frustrations and what not, craves for something to fall back upon, some resort, some support, to sustain and to strive again and again. The non-attached passionless *Arhat* or the *siddha* in a formless final state of beatitude cannot directly help and do anything for and on behalf of a worshipper. He neither favours nor frowns upon. The *Tirthankara* who is also an *Arhat* and a *Kevalin*, is *Vitaraga*. All his Karma-bondage is over. How can he do any more Karma?

Still the Jainas worship him and have throughout the course of about 2500 years, installed innumerable images and erected, at fabulous costs, excellent shrines in honour of the Tirthankaras. They have verily enriched Indian Art and patronised Indian craftsmen and artists to an extent which is so great and varied that we have not yet been able to do proper justice to this Jaina contribution by our study and research.

With the above philosophy it must have taken sometime to introduce worship of the Jina icon as representing the Supreme God head, the *Devadhideva* as Hemacandra calls him. Mahavira, whose parents were followers of Parsvanatha, is never reported to have visited any Jaina temple. There is no mention, in any older strata of the Jaina Canon, of any shrine dedicated to even Parsvanatha whom Mahavira's parents followed.

But the Agamas refer to *siddhayatanas*, i.e. shrines dedicated to Siddhas, temples which are *Sasvata-Caityas*, eternal shrines, worshipped by Indras and other gods and goddesses. Obviously these are later references for they are shrines in heavens and not on this earth, nor of the age of

Mahavira. Mahavira stayed in *Caityas* like the *Purnabhadra Caitya* which commentators unanimously explain as *yaksa-ayatanas*, shrines dedicated to Yakshas.

The plan and description of the *Caityas* visited by Mahavira have been analyzed by U.P. Shah in his *Studies in Jaina Art*, while discussing *Caitya-worship* and the worship of the *Caitya-trees*. This need not be repeated here. The *Yaksa-ayatana*, with a *silapata* placed on *simhasna* and worshipped under a tree (*Asoka-vrksa* or any tree) was a simple affair, at best this had a stone (or wooden) umbrella above supported by four pillars and or a rod in the centre; under this, at some stage, the figure of a *Yaksa* might have been installed on the *simahasana*, in place of the *Silapata*. Or, as we find in the reliefs of Bharhut, this *Silapata* under a tree was enclosed in a walled structure with a roof. This stage could have coexisted with that of worship of *Yaksa*-statues, but very likely the shrine with *Yaksa* image was evolved later than the simpler *silapata-worship* since in the description of the *Purnabhadra Caitya* visited by Mahavira, the *Caitya* is called *Porana* (i.e., ancient, even in the age of Mahavira) and is described as one which was visited by many people, and because in this description there is no mention of any *Yaksa* statue nor of any walled structure.³

So the worship of the Jina-image as a cult object came a little later after Mahavira, though the attempts to paint on canvass, or fashion in wood, portraits of Mahavira, need not be ruled out and discarded. In fact, the tradition about worship of the *Jivanta-svami-pratima*, as evidenced by the *Avasyakacurni* is not wholly unreliable and is very likely true. Both Uddayana of Roruka (in Sauvira) and Pradyot of Ujjain (both contemporaries of Mahavira) worshipped wooden portraits of Mahavira. If Hemacandra, did not tell a lie, the copper plate grant given (by Uddayana) to the first copy of the original

3. For detailed discussion see *Studies In Jaina Art*, pp. 53 ff., 70 ff.

portrait sculpture of Mahavira (deposited by Pradyota at Roruka while carrying off the original from Roruka) came out along with the original statue when Kumarapala's special officers dug it out from the site of the buried city of Roruka (in Sauvira). The fact that an early text like the *Vasudevahindi* refers to the *Rathayatra* festival of the Jivantasvami image at Ujjain shows that the tradition of worship of this type of Mahavira's images (standing in meditation with ornaments etc. on his person) had already gained currency in the age of Arya Suhasti and the Mauryan ruler Samprati and at least was popular in the age when *Vasudevahindi* was composed.⁴

But there is indeed no other evidence, literary or archaeological, to prove that during the life of Mahavira and his immediate disciples the worship of images of Parsvanatha and Mahavira in Jaina temples, had already been started.

However it is fairly certain that by the time of Samprati, the grandson of Asoka, the Jina image, as a cult object, and not as a portrait, had already been introduced in Jaina worship. The highly polished torso and part of legs of a nude male figure in Kayotsarga posture obtained from Lohanipur, an extension of the site of Pataliputra, conclusively proves this. It was found from the foundations of a structure alongwith another later post-Gupta torso and legs of a Jina and a Jina head.⁵ So there is no doubt that both these torsoes are of Tirthankara sculptures in Kayotsarga posture and that the

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4. For detailed discussion and references see, Shah, U.P., *A Unique Image of Jivantasvami*, *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 72 ff., and *Side lights on the Life-Time Sandalwood Image of Mahavira*, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 358 ff. In Avasyaka curni the capital city of Uddayana is called Vitabhayapattana. In Buddhist accounts Uddayana is king of Roruka.
 5. Jayaswal, K.P., *Jaina Image of the Mauryan Period*, *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XXIII, No. 1. pp. 130-132, pl. i-iv, Also, A. Banerji-Shastri, *Mauryan Sculptures from Lohanipur*, Patna, JBORS, Vol. XXVI. 2. pp. 120ff. and plates.

structure is the earliest available plan of a Jaina shrine. The foundations of this structure measure 8.10"×8.18".

Now we come to another rather neglected aspect in the study of evolution of Jaina iconography. The Jaina traditions speak of about 34 *atisayas* (or supernatural qualities) of every Jina. These include some which are separately described as *asta-maha-pratiharyas*, i.e., eight chief accompanying attendants, including the *Asoka*-tree, the *Deva-dundubhi*, the heavens scattering flowers (symbolized in art by flying garland-bearers), the triple-umbrella, the flywhisks, the (lion-) seat, the *divya-dhvani* and the *bha-mandala* radiating lustre behind the head. The earliest known text describing the *atisayas* of a Jina is the *Samavayanga sutra* (sutra 34). Abhayadeva commenting on it notes variations at two places. The *Vasudevahindi* (pp. 343), the *Tiloyapannatti* (4. 915-927), *Abhidhana Cintamani* (I. 57-64) and several other Jaina works have variations in the Digambara and Svetambara lists, which are of minor importance. What is especially noteworthy is the fact that the group of eight *Pratiharyas* so familiar in the evolved iconography of Tirthankara images of both the sects is not separated in the *Samavayanga* list. The *Samavayanga* does not group the 34 *atisayas* under different heads as in other later texts and the *asta-mahapratiharyas* are neither separated into one group nor are they called *maha-pratiharyas*. The emphasis on eight *atisayas* as *maha-pratiharyas* came with the emergence of the full-fledged *parikara* of Tirthankara images of both the sects. Those *atisayas* which came to be utilized in representations were grouped together as *maha-pratiharyas*. But the evolution was gradual as is evident from the sculptures obtained from Mathura, Benaras, Rajgir etc. Sculptures of the Kusana and early Gupta periods do not show all the eight *mahapratiharyas*.

No. J. 60, Lucknow Museum, shows, on each side of the Jina, an attendant with folded hands and not a flywhisk bearer (*camaradhara*), *dharmacakra* on the pedestal, and no lions indicative of a *simhasana*. The image, now in the Mathura Museum (No. 268), and originally from the Katra Mound, Mathura, is inscribed in characters which are later (Gupta period). The image represents Rsabhanatha⁶ standing, but is later retouched. He has an ornamental nimbus (*halo-bhamandala*) behind his head and a creeper on both sides, perhaps suggestive of the *Caitya tree*. Above are two flying figures (garland-bearers?) and near the legs the *camaradharas*, but the other *pratiharyas* are missing. Representing an image of Mahavira from Varanasi in the Bharata Kala Bhavan Museum (No. 161), is a beautiful Jaina sculpture of the Gupta period, of c. 6th century A.D., which again does not show the triple umbrella, or the heavenly music, the *devadundubhi* etc. The presence of two Jinas on the pedestal, on two sides of the Wheel and the lions in this figure from Lucknow Museum (No. J. 121) is interesting. Perhaps represents standing Neminatha on account of the presence of standing Balarama on the right and Krsna on the left of the Jina. The absence of *camaradharas*, triple-umbrella etc. may be noted in Late Kusana period from Mathura now in Lucknow Museum (No. J 117) again omits the *camaradharas* but has a standing *naga* with folded hands on the right and a male worshipper on the left. They are not Balarama and Krsna since their symbols are not shown. Similar from Mathura Museum (No. B. 63) shows a standing male worshipper with folded hands on each side of the Jina. The sculpture certainly dates from late Kusana period. No. J. 60 in Lucknow Museum, originally from

6. Agrawala, V.S., *Catalogue of the Mathura Museum, Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, Vol. XXIII (1950), p. 56. In *Mathura Museum Catalogue*, part III (Varanasi, 1953), p. 23, Agrawala assigned it to early fourth century A.D.

Kankali tila, Mathura, and dating from the Kusana period, also shows worshippers instead of *camaradharas*. Of special interest is the standing Jina, of Kusana age from Mathura, now in Lucknow Museum (No. J. 7), the front with inscription, shows a Jaina monk standing near the right leg of the Jina, while the female on the corresponding left represents a Jaina nun. The back shows a female lay worshipper carrying in her right hand a money-bag, on the top end of which is a lotus-like ornament. Of one side shows again a female worshipper with a child while the right of the trunk of the tree is a standing Jaina layman (*sravaka*). Of another side shows on the left bottom of the pillar a female and a child with folded hands while the corresponding right side of the pillar is broken. On the back of the Jina figure, is a big tree. Perhaps in the sixth century A.D., the *parikara* with *astamahapratiharyas* is evolved as is suggested by a beautiful sculpture of Parsvanatha from Gyarspur in Madhya Pradesh, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The sculpture dates from c. late sixth or early seventh century A.D.

Several experiments were made in the evolution of the *parikara* from about the late Gupta period; and in the post-Gupta age, especially in the Eastern India (Bengal, Bihar and Orissa), when belief in astrology and planetary influence might have been very popular, an attempt was made to represent the eight planets on two sides of the Tirthankara, as we find at Rajgir (see fig. 14), even though planets have no place amongst *astamahapratiharyas* or in the lists of *atisayas*. This sculpture (fig. 14) from Rajgir is further interesting as it shows elephants on the sides of the *dharmacakra*. Since the Jina above is Parsvanatha, and because the elephant is the cognizance of Ajita-natha this image is an exceptionally remarkable piece. Since the elephant is here facing the Wheel (defaced it was meant to represent the cognizance of the Jina).

The *Samavayanga sutra*, referred to above, does not include *Devadundubhi* (celestial drum-beating) amongst the *atisayas*, but this constitutes a member of the later *astamaha-pratiharyas*. All the remaining seven *maha-pratiharyas* are included in the *Samavayanga* list of the 34 *atisayas*.

The *Avasyaka Nirukti* says⁷ that, in the *Samavasarana* of a Jina, the Vanamantara gods create the (1) *caitya*-tree, (2) the *simhasana* with *pitha* (pedestal), (3) the triple-umbrella, (4) the flywhisk-bearers, (5) and other necessary things. The last item, as explained by Haribhadra suri's *Vrtti*, is the *dharmacakra* resting on a lotus. It should be remembered that while the *Av. Nir* gives only five, later traditions describe all the eight *pratiharyas* as originating in a *Samavasarana*.

Paumacariyam, describing the various *astisayas* created by gods when Mahavira obtained *Kevalajnana*, says⁸ that lotuses were placed before the Jina to place his footsteps on, Mahavira used the *ardhamagadhi* speech, a *simhasana* was created for him, heavenly drums were beaten, and celestial flowers scattered over him, a beautiful sound arose (*Divya-dhavanī*) for a *yojana* on all sides. The text further says that Mahavira was attended upon by the eight *pratiharyas*. While describing the *Samavasarana* of Rsabha, the same text specifies, among other *atisayas*, the triple-umbrella, the nimbus, the *kalapa* (*asoka*)-tree, the heavenly drum, the shower of flowers.

The *Avasyaka curni* of Jinadasa (676A.D.)⁹ describing the *Samavasarana* of Mahavira refers to the following only: (1) *Asoka*-tree, (2) triple-umbrella, (3) *camaradharas*, (4)

7. *Avasyaka Nirukti*, v. 553 in Haribhadra's *vrtti*, p. 232.

8. *Paumacariyam*, 2. 31 ff.

9. *Avasyaka Curni*, p. 325.

simhasana with pitha, (5) *dharmacakra* placed on the lotus. Mahavira faces east while on the sides gods install his likenesses. This fact is referred to by the *Au...Nir.* as well.

The *Harivamsa-Purana* of Jinasena (783 A.D.) refers to the 8 *pratiharyas* and the 34 *atisayas*.¹⁰ According to this Digambara text, the eight celestial accompaniments (*pratiharyas*—*lit.* gate-keepers, here attendants) of Neminatha are: , (1) *Sura-puspa-vrsti*, (2) *Divya dundubhi*, (3) *Asoka-tree*, (4) *Chatra-traya*, (5) *Camaranam samuhah*, (6) *Bhamandala*, (7) *Simhasana*, (8) *Bhasa* of the Jina¹¹ (understood by all creatures).

The *Adi-Purana* refers to these eight *pratiharyas* in the *Samavasarana* of Rsabha, the last one is called *Divya-dhavani*.¹² It will be noticed that both the *Harivamsa* and the *Adi-Purana* differ from the *Tiloyapannatti* list in only one point, that is the last one -*Divya-dhavni*. The *Tiloyapannatti* says that *Ganas*, *ganadharas* or the different followers of *ganadharas* attend upon the Jina with folded hands, and omits the *Divya-dhvani*.¹³

It will be seen that these early Digambara traditions omit the *Dharmacakra* in the list of the eight *pratiharyas*, though of course it is not omitted in the description of the congregation (*samavasarana*) of Jina, or is the separate list of 34 *atisayas* as shown above.

10. *Harivamsa*, 9.212.1

11. *Ibid.*, 56, 115-118.

12. *Adipurana*, parva, 23, 25-73, pp. 542-49. The *Kalyanamandira stotra* ascribed to Siddhasena Divakara, follows this list. See *Mahaprabhavika Navasmarana*, pp. 460-48. For the later Digambara lists following the same tradition, see *Pratisthasaroddhara*, 205-213, pp. 114-115.

13. *Tiloyapannatti*, p. 919-927, p. 267. Also see *Padmapurana* of Ravisena, 2. 149-154, p. 21 and v. 101, p. 17.

The *Vasudevahindi*, referred to above, while describing the *Samavasarana* of Santinatha¹⁴ includes all these elements, and adds that a *dharmacakra* was placed near the feet of the Jina. The *Bhamandala* is however not mentioned, while the *Divyadhvani* seems to have been understood when the author says that the Ganadharas began singing and the Bhutas issued a cry of victory resembling *sihanada* (lion's roar). These have not been specified as the *astapratiharyas*.

It is quite certain that the conception or list eight *mahapratiharyas* took its final form at the end of the Gupta period, probably in the post-Gupta age. Though earliest lists of *atisayas* included almost all these elements, they were not classified as such upto c. fifth century A.D. According to the Samavaya list, the *cakra* moved in the sky in front of a Jina. This early tradition is followed by Hemacandra, in his list of *atisayas*. But in representations, the Wheel of Law was always placed in the centre of the *simhasana* or of the pedestal in the stock list of *asta-mahapratiharyas*.¹⁵

The *Acara-Dinakara* describes the *parikara* (lit. paraphernalia. attendant elements) of a Jina image as follows:¹⁶

Below the figure of a Jina is a *simhasana* with figures of elephants and lions, on two sides of the Jina (in the centre, sitting in *padmasana* or standing in the *kayotsarga* posture) are two chowrie-bearers and two attendants with folded hands (*anjalikara*). Over the head of the Jina are, in order: the triple-umbrella having on two sides, two elephants carrying golden pitchers in trunks and surmounted by beaters of Zarjara (a

14. *Vasudevahindi*, p. 341.

15. Asoka tree, shower of celestial flowers, divine music (*divyadhvani*), fly-whisks, lion-throne, nimbus, celestial drum-beating and triple umbrella.

16. *Acara-Dinakara*, II, p. 205.

kind of cymbals—evidently representing the *suras* (represented by the *suras* - bearers, (*suras-puspa-vrsti*), over them the conch-blowers (representing *divya-dhvani*?) and on top of the whole sculpture, the *kalasa* (water-pot) -finial.

The *bhamandala*, though not mentioned here in the *parikara* of a Jina, was presumed by the author since the practice of representing a halo behind the head of a deity is both ancient and common to all sects in India, and since it is found also behind Tirthankaras from ancient times. The two attendants with folded hands (*anjalikaras*) remind one of the *Tiloyapannatti* tradition of *astaprati-haryas* which includes *ganas* with folded hands. Tirthankara images from Mathura, dating from the Kusana age, often show Naga figures standing with folded hands on two sides of Jina.¹⁷

The *Acara-Dinakara* further adds that the *dharma-cakra*, flanked by two deer, and the planets on its two sides, was to be carved in the centre of the *simhasana*. This would also suggest that the *dharma-cakra* etc. are either carved on the top of the *simhasana*, or at base (*i.e.* on the *pitha* on which the lion-throne is placed).

No early text refers to the deer on each side of the wheel. It may, therefore, be safely concluded that the motif of the two deer flanking the sides of the *dharma-cakra* (on pedestal of Tirthankara images) is a later innovation in Jaina iconography. Archaeological evidence from all over India has shown that this deer-motif has started somewhere near the beginning of the mediaeval period, probably towards the end of the post-Gupta age in Indian art history. This motif is in limitation of the Buddhist one symbolizing Buddha's first

17. The Ayagapata of Sivaghosaka, Smith, *Js.* pl. X shows in the centre, Parsva attended by a ganadhara on each side. No. J. 9 in Lucknow Museum installed in year 9 obtained from Kankali tila, shows a monk and a nun attending upon two sides of the standing Jina.

sermon in the Deer-park. Its presence in Jaina Iconography cannot be explained. However these remarks do not apply to the *dharma-cakra* as such which is included amongst the *atisayas* of a Tirthankara from very clearly times and whose presence (without the two deer) is marked on the pedestals of Mathura images of the Kusana age.

Even in the post-Gupta age, as for example on the pedestals of the Caumukha sculpture in the Son Bhandara cave, Rajgir, it is the *lanchana* or recognizing symbol of a particular Jina that figures on the two sides of the *dharma-cakra* and not the two deer. Thus we find two elephants on the pedestal of the figure of Ajitanatha, two horses on that of Sambhavanatha and so on (Studies In Jaina Art, Fig. 28, p. 17).

When the Buddhist motif was adopted, the *lanchana* came to be carved immediately below the figure of the Jina, in the centre of the lion-throne and the *dharma-cakra* with the two deer was assigned to a lower position, this time on the big *pitha* below the lion-seat. Occasionally, the new motif was given a higher position, but never with the *lanchana*.

That the *dharma-cakra* itself is an ancient motif or symbol worshipped by the Jainas is supported by the *Av. Nir.*¹⁸ tradition that Bahubali established, at Taksasila, the *dharma-cakra*, or the spot where Rsabhanatha had stayed for one night.

The *parikara* of a Jina image is chiefly made up of the *asta-maha-pratiharyas* discussed above. The introduction of the *lanchanas* and the various attendant Yaksas and the Yaksinis was a later phase as will be made clear later on.

Figures of Tirthankaras are obtained in only two principal varieties, namely, standing or sitting.¹⁹ Both these varieties

18. *Avasyaka Nirukti*, 322, 335, *Haribhadra's, Vrtti*, pp. 144-148.

19. Sanskrit chaya of original Prakrit *Santisuri's Ceyyavandana mahabhasa*, p. 15.

show the Jina either with the *parikara* or without any *parikara* whatsoever. The *Ceiyavandana-mahabhasa* tried to account for the *parikara*. The Jinās were liberated souls, where was the propriety for a *parivara* accompanying them? According to some this form of the image, showing the *parivara*, represented the form of a Jina giving his sermon (sitting on the *simhasana* in the *dhyana mudra*) in a *samavasarana*. According to the author of the *Ceiyavandana-mahabhasa* this was the popular explanation (*vyavahara*) but the real (*paramartha*) significance was that the three stages (*avastha-trika*) in a Jina's life, namely *Chadmastha*, *Kevali* and *siddha avasthas* were suggested by such a representation.²⁰ The explanation is not fully convincing, but an explanation become necessary firstly because a liberated soul, a *siddha* or *mukta*, needed no attendants and secondly because the *parikara* was based on the conception of the *atisayas* rather than on anything else.

The *Vastusara* of Thakkura Feru, composed in V.S. 1372. (1316 A.D.) describes the *parivara* of a Jina image. According to it, *Simhasana* has a yaksa and a yaksini on its two extreme ends, while between the two are two lions, two elephants and two chowrie-bearers,²¹ one on each side, and in the centre of the seat is the Goddess Cakresvari, riding on the eagle. Below her figure is the *dharmacakra*, with a deer on each side. The *lanohana* of the Jina is carved in the centre of the *gadi* (Gujarati, -cushion) placed upon the *simhasana*. The back-slab in front of which the figure of the Jina is placed, shows (in high relief) chowrie-bearers and other standing Jina

20. Ibid., p.15 also see, *Pravacanas*, V.70, p. 12 and Comm. p. 4 describing the three *avasthas*, namely *Chadmastha*, *Kevali* and *Siddha*. These correspond to the *Pindastha*, *Padastha* and the *Rupatita dhyanas* of the Jaina system of Yoga.

21. *Vastusara*, pp. 93 ff.

figures²² on both the sides. Over the standing Jinas are two (smaller figures of) Jinas in the sitting posture, above which is a *torana* motif. The Jina in the centre (the chief deity in such a sculpture) has a triple-umbrella overhead, an aureole behind, and on two sides of the *chatra* are two garland-bearers, two conch-bearers, two elephants surmounted by Harinegamesin and the drum-beaters. The *parikara* described by Thakkura Feru is of a Panca-Tirthika image, *i.e.* a sculpture which represents five Tirthankaras all. If the two sitting Tirthankaras are omitted it would be a Tri-Tirthika sculpture while showing 24 Jinas in all is a *Caturvimsati-patta* (or a *covisi* in modern usage). The sculpture would be a Panca-tirthika, Tri-tirthika or covisi of Rsabhanatha if the central Jina is Rsabhanatha. In all such groupings only the *lanchna* of the main Jina would be carved on the pedestal.

A noteworthy feature of Thakkura Feru's description is the presence of Goddess Cakresvari in the centre of the *asana*.²³ This is a late feature in Jaina Iconography. In earlier sculptures this place is reserved for the *dharmacakra*. Again, in actual finds known hitherto, another goddess, four-armed and riding on the elephant (showing the lotus in two upper hands, the rosary or *varada mudra* in the right lower and the water-pot in the left lower) is available on the *simhasana* of

22. This is an uncommon feature of Jaina images hardly obtained in sculptures discovered hitherto. Possibly it was a local tradition of the age of Thakkura Feru and soon died out as there were already two bigger *camaradharas* in a *parikara*.

Feru seems to have mixed up the motif of lion on elephant on each end of the back seat and regarded it as a part of the *parikara*.

The other Jinas are not an invariable feature of a *parikara*.

23. See the drawing of Pandit Bhagawandas, the editor, in *Vastusara*, opp. page 96.

Svetambara sculptures from c. 12th century onwards. She may be identified as Santi-devi.²⁴

But the practice of adding some such figure started about a couple of centuries earlier, though its position was in the centre of the lowermost edge of the pedestal. Besides, the figure was not the four-armed goddess described above but a two-armed figure,²⁵ either a pot-bellied male figure with a beard (bronzes showing this figure are usually worn out, being old and in worship for centuries past, and hence the identification as a bearded male figure is tentative, though highly probable), or a two-armed (this is the second stage), In the last stage the above-mentioned Santidevata was introduced.

The *Nirvanakalika* (c. 11th century A.D.) refers to the eight *pratiharyas*, the yaksa, the Sasanadevi (yaksi), the motif of *dharma-cakra* with two-deer and the *ratna-dhvaja* (jewelled banner—possibly signifying *Indradhvaja*).²⁶ It omits any reference to the *devi* noted above and the introduction of this goddess cannot be assigned to a period much earlier than the *Nirvanakalika*.

Vasunandi, (c. 12th century A.D.) the author of the Digambara text *Pratistha-sara-samgraha*, describing the *parikara* refers to the *pratiharyas*, the yaksa on the right of the seat and the yaksi on the corresponding left. The *lanchna* is to be placed below the *pada-pitha* (foot-stool?).²⁷ Pandit

24. See the discussion on *Santi-devi* in U.P. Shah's *Elements of Jaina Iconography*.

25. Obtained on Svetambara Jaina bronzes from c. 9th-10th century A.D.

26. *Nirvanakalika*, pp. 23-24.

The *ratna-dhvaja* and the *prakara-traya* are obviously meant for a representation of the *samavasarana*.

27. पादपीठ, Cushion here rather than a foot-stool?

Pratisthasarasamgraha, chap. V. vv. 74-76 (in MSS.)

Asadhara (V.S. 1285-1228 A.D.) follows the above tradition in the *Pratisthasaroddhara*.²⁸

Jaina Bhandaras at Patan and Baroda contain copies of relevant Jaina portions of the *Aparajitaprccha*, which is now already printed. But the printed text is perhaps incomplete. The editors of the *Kumarapalacarita* of Jayasimhasuri, printed as appendix 3, some portion from this work which is not available in the printed text. V. 12 refers to the goddess in the centre of the *asana*, lotus in hand, described as the *Adi-sakti* of the Jina Rsabhanatha, who is said to be *sahaja* and *kulaja*, possibly because she is the *Gotra-devata* or the tutelary mother-goddess of the family of Rsabhanatha. The description shows that the elephant and the lions (on the *Simhasana*? or the “*gajasimha*” motif of the backseat?) stand for the eight quarter-elephants. The *dharma-cakra*, the nine planets, the Indra and Upendra holding the flywhisks, the garland-bearers, the Bharatendras carrying picthers, the lute and pipe players, the drum beaters, the triple umbrella, the *Bhamandala*, the yaksa, and the yaksini are also described. It is said that of the two deer flanking the *dharma-cakra*, one, a male represents *sattava*, and the other a female, stands for *Karuna*.²⁹

The *camaradharas* amongst the *Pratiharyas* of a Jina, referred to above are two yaksas carrying white flywhisks, according to Hemacandra³⁰ and all other Svetambara writers.

28. *Pratistha-saroddhara*, adhyaya 1, vv. 76-77, p. 9.

29. It is not possible to regard this as originally from *Aparajita-prccha* for various reasons. First because the printed text as a whole seems to date from c. 10th century A.D., while this description of the *parikara* of a Jina image is for images later than the 11th century A.D. The *parikara* was never so elaborate before the 10th century A.D. nor was the *adya-sakti* introduced so early. See, *Kumarapalabhupalacaritam*, Pub, Godiji Jaina Upasraya, Bombay, 1926, App. 3, p. 221a.

30. *Trisasti*, I (GOS), p. 192 description of the samavasarana of Rsabhanatha.

According to the Digambara tradition, represented by *Adi-Purana*³¹ and other texts, sixty-four yaksas attend upon a Jina with flywhisks in hands, in very *samavasarana*. In representations, of course, both the traditions represent only two male flywhisk bearers, who must be regarded as yaksas, the view of Sri B.C. Bhattacharya,³² that these represent attendant Ganadharas holding flywhisks is not supported by any text known to us nor has he quoted any text in support of his view. He has further given the names of one chowrie-bearer at least for every Tirthankara which again is left unsupported by any reference to texts.³³ Then, going against his own theory, he says that the chowrie-bearer of Ajitanatha is Sagara-cakravarti (and thus not the *ganadhara* of Ajitanatha), nor are the names of chowrie-bearers given by him known to have been the names of the various *ganadharas* of these Jinas.³⁴ The whole theory is misleading and unsupported by any Svetambara or Digambara tradition so far published and known to us.

The earliest known tradition regarding the iconography of a Tirthankara image is however obtained from Jaina cononical texts. True it is that references to images and temples of Tirthankaras on this earth are extremely rare and their genuineness is sometimes suspected but this will be discussed at a later stage in some other paper. For our purpose, even though images of not even one of the twenty-four Tirthankaras, have been described in the Jaina Agamas, we are able to obtain

31. *AdiPurana*, 23, 50-59, pp. 547-48.

32. Bhattacharya, Brindavan C., *The Jaina Iconography*, (first ed.), p. 41.

33. See his discusssion on the Iconography of the various Tirthankaras, *Ibid.*, pp. 48-90.

34. According to him, the Magadhan King Srenika or better known as Bimbisara acts as the chowrie-bearer of Mahavira, *Ibid.*, p. 85.

a very early conception of the Jina-image from the stock descriptions of *Sasvata-Jina-Pratimas*.

Jaina traditions of both the sects refer to *siddhayatanas* (shrines of Siddhas, also called *Sasvata-Caityas* or Eternal shrines), containing images of Tirthankaras known as *Sasvata-Jinas*. These images are of four Tirthankaras, namely, Candranana, Varisena, Rsabha and Vardhamana.³⁵ They are called *Sasvata-Jinas* because in every Utsarpini or Avasarpini era names of these four Tirthankaras are always repeated and they flourish in any of the fifteen *karmabhumis*. Belief in *Sasvata-Jinas* and *Siddhayatanas* is certainly very old as a long description of these is available in the Upanga text called the *Jivajivabhigama Sutra*.³⁶ These *Siddhayatanas* are found in various heavens and on several mountain peaks. The Nandisvaradvipa, for example, is reported to have fifty-two such *Siddhayatanas* in all.³⁷

The description of the *Siddhayatana* in the N.E. of the Sudharma Sabha of Saudharma Indra, as given by the *Jivajivabhigama sutra* is as follows:

Like the Sudharma Sabha, it has in all these gates in the east, south and the north. Situated in front of these gates are

35. *Sthanangasutra*, 4, su, 307., *Pravacanasaroddhara*, 491, p. 117. Also for a very early list see, *Jivajivabhigama Sutra*, sutra 137, p. 225. For *Siddhayatanas* at various places acc. to Digambaras, see *Harivamsa*, Parvans, 5-6, pp. 70-140.

36. *Jivajivabhigama Sutra*, sutras 139, pp. 232-33.

37. Old images of these Jinas are not traced hitherto, possibly for want of recognizing symbols, they could not be identified. But late mediaeval images and shrines dedicated to them are not unknown. These images do not show any iconographic difference from those of other Tirthankaras. A few later inscribed images of these Jinas are noted in the *Jaina-Lekha-Samgraha*, Pt. I, By Sri Buddhisagara Suri, and in the *Tritharaja Abu*, Vol. I (Gujarati), by Muni Jayatavijaya.

the *mukhamandapas* while the *preksamandapas* are erected in front of the latter. In these *preksamandapas* are the *caitya-stupas* with images (*pratima*), then are situated the *caitya-vrksas*, then the *Mahendra-dhvajas* (*Indra-dhvajas* or shafts in honour of Indra, with banners), then the *nanda-puskarinis* (tanks with flights of steps, extensive reservoirs) and so on.

In the centre of the extremely beautiful *Siddhayatana* is very big *manipithika* (jewelled-platform) two *yojanas* in length and breadth and one *yojana* in height. A *devacchandakas* (dias) of jewels, $2\frac{1}{2}$ *yojanas* and 2 *yojanas* in area, is erected on the *manipithika*. This sanctum of the gods has 108 images of the Jinas installed in it. The images are of the life-size of these Jinas, i.e. 500 dhanu-s in height.

The traditional description of these images is the same in all Agama texts. These *sasvata-pratimas* are described as follows:

The palms of the hands and the soles of the feet are made of gold. The nails are made of Anka jewels, while the delicate portion under them is of the Lohitaksa jewel. The shanks, the knees, the thighs, the limbs of the body, the navels, the nipples, and the Srivatsa mark on the chest are all wrought out of gold. The line of hair on the body, the retina of the eyes, the eyelashes and eyebrows are made of the *rista*-jewel, while the lips are coral and the teeth of crystals. The inner part of the nose is the *lohitaksa* jewel while the tongue, the plate, the nostrils, the cheeks, the ears and the forehead and the *Srivatsa* marks are all of gold. The bones of the forehead are adamantine.

At the back of these idols of the Jinas are figures of *umbrella-holders*, gracefully holding white umbrellas, wreaths and garlands of *kornata* flowers, extremely white and lustrous like the snow, silver, jasmine and the moon. On each side of the image of the Jina are two figures of the Camaradharas,

holding in their hands, chowries with handles of costly and pure gold and studded with various types of jewels. In front of the Jina is a pair (one on each side) of *naga-figures*, of *yaksas*, *bhutas* and of the *kundadharas* bowing and falling at the feet of the Lord. These are all made of jewels. In front of the images of the Lord are placed bells, *candana-kalasa*s (same as *mangala-kalasa* auspicious pots made of sandal-wood?) *bhrngaras* (jars), mirrors, dishes, vessels, seats, empty jars, boxes of jewels with variegated colors, necks of horses, elephants, men, *kinaras*, *kimpurusas*, *mahoragas*, *gandharvas*, bulls, caskets of flowers, garlands, powders, unguents etc. or mops of peacock-feathers, baskets (*patalaka*) of flowers, garlands, powders (*curna*) etc., 108 each of the lion-thrones, umbrellas, flywhisks, oil-pots (*samudgaka*) and pots of *kostha*, *coyaka*, *tagara*, *haritala*, *hingula*, *manansila*, collirium, and 108 banners.³⁸

On tops of Siddhayatana were placed numerous figures of the auspicious eight symbols (*asta-mangala*).³⁹

The above is possibly a description of standing Tirthankara figures with some accessories placed in front. Though the set of *astamahapratiharyas* is not given (the term *astamahapratiharyas* is not known to Agamas). Some of them do figure in this description. The conception of *astamangalas* is however an ancient one since they are referred to in the Jaina canons.

But the above account obtains interesting comparison with Tirthankara images of the Kusana age obtained from

38. The Svetambara conception can be compared with a similar but very concise description in the Digambara *Harivamsa*, parva 5 vv. 361-365 giving the parivara of the *siddha-akrtrima* or *Sasvata* images in the *Siddhayatanas*.

39. They are: *svastika*, *srivatsa* mark, *nandyavarta*, *vardhamana* (powder-flask) *bhadrasana* (throne), *Kalasa* (pitcher), *darpana* (mirror), *matsya-yugma* (two-fish)—*Aupapatika sutra*, su 31.

Mathura. Here we find on each side of a Jina, a chowrie-bearer or a *naga*-standing with folded hands, and occasionally a *maladhara* on each side at the top of the sculpture; *kundadharas*, according to commentators are minor gods who are issued orders (*ajndharins*), but if *kunda* was understood as a type of water-vessel in earlier times, then we have a parallel in Mathura where sometimes an attendant figure on one side carries a water-pot as in the well-known inscribed headless image of Sarasvati from Kankali tila, Mathura. The triple-umbrella is also the Caitya-tree, and in rare cases, an umbrella-holder or the Caitya-tree on the back of the Jina images.

The above description makes no mention of the *lanchanas* or the attendant yaksas and yaksinis. These motifs are also absent in the Mathura sculptures of the first and second centuries A.D. Especially noteworthy is the *Sri-vatsa* mark mentioned by the canons and almost invariably obtained on Tirthankara images of the Kusana age. It seems that marks on soles of feet and palms of hands, and the *Sri-vatsa* mark on chest—which are amongst the *laksanas* of a *mahapurusa*—were regarded amongst the chief characteristics of a Tirthankara image. The text does not refer to any garment on the *Sasvata-Jina-pratima*, which is also the case with all the Jaina images in India, of the Kusana or earlier periods.

But nowhere in the above references from Svetambara as well as Digambara texts do we come across a reference to those figures on the *simhasana* of a Jina which we find in a number of sculptures of the Kusana period from the Kankali tila, Mathura.

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

Secondly, to the right of the Wheel of Law we have, a monk with a *rajoharana* in his right hand and a broad piece of cloth on the wrist of the left hand held in such way that the privies are shielded from view. All the Jaina monks on the pedestals and even in the Tablet of Ascetic Kanha hold this piece of cloth in this fashion and are found in order, figures of one or more monks and / or figures of lay Jaina male devotees in full attire.

To the left of the Wheel of Law, the first figure is usually a Jaina nun with a long coat-like garment an under-garment, and carrying a *rajoharana* in one of her hands.⁴⁰ Next to her are either one or more nuns and/or standing female lay worshippers carrying long objects which are either garlands

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40. The dress of the Jaina nuns is prescribed in Jaina canonical texts. "In all four clothes were used for the nuns, according to Acaranga, I, 5, 1.1, (also, Thananga, p. 1866). One of them was two cubits broad (*duhatthavittaram*), two of them were three cubits broad, and the fourth was four cubits in breadth," Deo, S.B. *History of Jaina Monarchism*, p. 479.

Numerous other details are available in the *Niryuktis* and the *Brhatkalpabhāṣya*. The *Oghaniryukti* (671-678) gives a complete list of as many as eleven to be worn by the nun and *Brhatkalpabhāṣya* (Vol. IV, vv. 4080ff) also confirms the same number. Out of these eleven clothes six were worn on the lower part of the body. Of the latter, *Calani* or *calanika* was upto the knees (*janupramana*) and was worn after the manner of bamboo-top dancers and was unsewn.

The *Ogha-Niryukti-Bhāṣya*, 317 and the *Brhat-Kalpa-Bha.* IV, 4088-91 refer to the *Kancuka* amongst clothes worn on the upper part of the body of a Jaina nun. It was probably unsewn. The standard size consisted of two and a half hands in length and one hand in breadth, and varied according to the body of the persons wearing. The *Okacchiya* was more or less similar to the *Kancuka*, but was tied on the left shoulder. It covered the back and the breasts. The *Vegacchi* covering the *Kancuka* and the *Okacchiya* was tied on the right shoulder. S.S. Deo : *Ibid.*, pp. 480-481.

or purses. Sometimes some dwarfish figures accompany them which may be children or attendant servants.

Obviously, the earliest known tradition in the *parikara* (or *parikara*!) of a Jina showed the fourfold Jaina *samgha* (including the *sadhu*, the *sadhvi*, the *sravaka* and the *sravika*) on two sides of the *dharma-cakra*.

In the case of the standing figure of Aristanemi (Fig. 19, No. J 18 Lucknow Museum) from Mathura, published by J.E. Van Lo-houizen de Leewe, there is a *sravaka* standing near the right leg, a *sravika* near the left leg, and on the pedestal, a *gandharva* to the right of the Wheel and a monk (? or nun?) to the left. No. J. 20 in the Lucknow Museum is the pedestal of the image of *arhato Munisuvrata* (Arhat Munisuvrata) as correctly read by K.D. Bajpai and not of Arhat Nandyavarta as read formerly. The pedestal shows the Wheel on a Triratna symbol to the left of which all the standing females seem to be *sravikas*. Incidentally, the last line of the inscription, reads "*pratimavo due thubhe Devanirmite*" (i.e. two images in the Devanirmita stupa) and not "Pratima Vodge Thubhe" etc. as formerly interpreted. There are two different sentences in the inscription. The first on the upper rim shows that this image is of arhat Munisuvrata. In the second on the lower rim, it is conveyed that the donor had dedicated in all two images in the Devanirmita stupa.

A detailed study of all these figures on the pedestals is necessary in as much as these pedestals definitely show the important position of the nuns in the undivided Jaina Samgha, and dress which the nuns used to wear.

The pedestals also prove that all the traditions of the *parikara* of the Jina image were crystalised after the Kusana and the Gupta periods. Perhaps the tradition of *asta-maha-pratiharyas* was also formed later and its application to the image was certainly not finally settled till the end of the Gupta

period as suggested by the images in the Mathura museum, at Sira Pahari near Nachna in Madhya Pradesh, and by the famous sculpture of Neminatha, at Rajgir, with an inscription mentioning Chandragupta.

So far as Vedic Samhita period is concerned, it is generally agreed that originally Brahmanical worship did not include Idol-worship. The Sun, for example, was represented by a disc. Ancient symbols like the lotus or the *svastika* conveyed some ideal, some meaning, to the worshipper. Even when a Supreme Being (Brahman) or a Creator god (Isvara, or Visnu, Siva or Brahma) was conceived, his representation could not function purely biologically as the likeness of the god, not even when Rama or Krsna were worshipped as incarnations of Visnu. In this way, the idol of a Jina or the Buddha remained as a symbol of a Mahapurusa (a great man, an extraordinary human being) and not as a portrait of any human being like Mahavira or Parsvanatha or the Gautama Buddha; it is highly probable, however, that in the earlier stage were worshipped some ancient portrait sculptures and paintings of Mahavira and the Buddha during their life-time.

There is no Creator-god in Jaina philosophy and strictly speaking image-worship is not absolutely necessary for attainment of emancipation. It is the *bhava*-worship (mental attitude) and not *dravya*-worship (physical worship) that really matters as shown by Kundakundacarya. Even though Jaina worship is regarded not as worship of a god-head or a deity, but of a human being who has reached perfection, of a soul freed from all bondage, it is hero-worship in its usual sense, but it is the aggregate of qualities of the Perfect Man, of the Liberated Soul that is remembered, adored and thereby developed in one's own self by the worshipper by worshipping the idol of the Jina. The idol, therefore, serves more the purpose of a symbol of aggregate of certain qualities than of

a portrait of a Tirthankara or a Mahapurusa. Emancipated souls or Siddhas or Tirthankaras (those liberated souls) who establish the Jaina *Tirtha* or *Samagha* (constituted of *Sravaka*, *Sravika*, *Sadhu* and *Sadhvi*) are soul freed from attachment (*raga*) jealousy (*dvesa*, enmity) and therefore neither favour nor frown upon the worshipper of their idols. In worshipping the idol, the devotee remembers the qualities or virtues of the Jina and tries to imbibe them in one's own life and being.

It is, therefore, obvious that idol worship was introduced and sanctioned in Jainism, because the common man or the lay worshipper could not but do without it and because he or she was possibly already accustomed to some sort of image-worship, e.g., Yaksa worship. Worship of yakshas, nagas, bhutas, Mukunda, Indra, Skanda, Vasudeva, trees, rivers etc. is often referred to in the Jaina canons. These deities were invoked with various desires for reward, for obtaining children and so on. Naturally, therefore, Jainism imbibed elements of the above worship while it began worshipping Tirthankaras, Siddhas, and monks in various stages of spiritual progress and sect-hierarchy. It was also possibly an attempt to replace and eliminate or undermine worship of elements of non-Jaina character and association. It was but natural that in the beginning was introduced and enjoined worship of Caitya-trees, Caitya-stupas,⁴¹ Sila-patas, Caitya-stambhas and perhaps a little later of images of the Arhats (Tirthankaras),

41. The *Acaranga Sutra*, a Jaina canonical text refers to *Rukkham va ceiyakadam*, *thubham va ceiyakdam*. Again, there are references to *Caitya-vrksas*, *Caitya stupas* and *Caitya-stambhas* in another canon called *Jambudvipaprajnapati* (1.2/ su. 33 & com. on it). It seems that by these references are here meant trees, stupas and pillars intended for worship as cult-objects. Commenting on *Aca. sutra* 12.1.3.3 p. 352, Silanka has explained this.

Evidently the tree or stupa is here said to be *Caityadhisthita* or *caityapalaksita*.

Siddha, Acaryas (heads of a particular group of monks, nuns and their devotees, *i.e.*, heads of a *gana* or a *gaccha* or a *kula*), Upadhyayas (monks who read out and explain the scriptures to others), and Sadhus (or ordinary monks). These five are Supreme Ones—the *Panca-Paramesthins*. But at least upto the end of the fifth century worship of all the *Panca-Paramesthins* *in a group* does not seem to have been started, though we find worship of Tirthankaras, and separately of acaryas like Kanha-Sramana.

The Jaina *Navakara-mantra* or the Namaskara-Mantra, the highest and the most revered invocation and incantation, is constituted of formulas making obeisance of Arhats (or Arihants), Siddhas, Acaryas, Upadhyayas and Sadhus who are the Five Dignitaries.

In a lotus symbol, four dignitaries would be conceived or represented on four petals of the lotus (one in each direction) with the Arhat Or Tirthankara in the centre. Though no such very early representation of these five in one group is discovered, it seems that from fairly early times these five came to be presented in a group as the supreme objects of Jaina worship, shows a stone relief of a diagram of the *Panca-Paramesthins* from Nadol (Rajasthan) according to Svetambaras; represents a similar diagram in bronze, from Vengunram (North Arcot district. Tamil Nadu), in Digambara worship.

At some much later stage, four more objects were introduced in the lotus-petals of the four corners intervening petals of the eastern, southern, western and northern directions. These are, according to the Svetambara Jaina sect, the conceptions of *Jnana* (Right-Knowledge), *Darsana* (Right Faith), *Caritra* (Right Conduct) and *Tapa* (Right Penance); and according to the Digambara Jaina sect, the *Caitya* (the Jina-image), *Caityalaya* (the shrine enshrining the Jina-

image), the *Sruta* (Jaina Scripture) and the *Dharma-Cakra* or the Wheel of Law). These were represented as a diagram, on stone or metal or painted on canvass or paper. The Svetambara diagram is called the *Siddha-Cakra* (in bronze) while the Digambara one is called the *Nava-Devata*. In paintings of this diagram, at least in the Svetambara tradition, each of these five Paramesthins has a particular complexion. Thus the Arhat, the Siddha, the Acarya, the Upadhyaya and the Sadhu are respectively white, red, yellow, blue and black in complexion.⁴² I have not yet come across a Digambara painting of the same."

42. For further information, see Shah, U.P., *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 97-103.

3

EVOLUTION OF JAINA ART

Jose Pereira in his 'Monolithic Jinas' has studied the 'Evolution of Jaina Art and Iconographical Forms' in a lucid and scientific manner since Mauryan-Kusana era, based on earlier researches.

He says: The course of Jain art appears to fall into two clear divisions; the first from the beginnings to around the eleventh century, the second from that century to modern times. The first period saw the evolution of the basic iconographical ideas, which are only weakly distinctive when confronted with those of Buddhism and Hinduism. The second period witnessed both the codification of the iconography and striking innovations in architectural and sculptural forms.¹

It is more convenient, according to Pereira, to divide these two periods into the following four phases:

- a The Growth of the Icon
- b Rock-cut Friezes
- c Monolithic Ensembles
- d Elaboration and Innovation

The first three constitute our first period and the fourth our second.

a. *The Growth of the Icon*

The simple iconography analyzed above into a core and four layers did not fully begin to evolve before the Kusana

1. See U.P. Shah, "Seven Bronzes from Lilva-deva (Panch Mahals)", *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery*, IX-1, 2 (1952-53), p. 46.

period, though some scholars claim to find traces of it even in the Mauryan age.² The large Lohanipur torso,³ for example, is put forth as an instance of an image of a Jain ascetic. This claim can be examined on three points (i) its total nudity, (ii) its "Maurya" polish, and (iii) its stylistic characteristics. In the absence of any other symbol or convention, total nudity cannot conclusively prove a torso to be a Jina's; one must be able to see, for instance, if the arms are long and reach down to the knees (a concept fixed by post-Mauryan iconography). The fact that the forearms and knees are broken make it impossible for us to judge. The finding of a smaller figure with long arms (probably of later date) alongside the above-mentioned torso strengthens the claim made for it, and also the fact that we know few (if any) erect nude figures of cult as being anything but those of Jain ascetics.

The "Maurya" polish argument is less conclusive, because post-Maurya figures are known to have it, such as the Didarganj *yaksi*, whose forelock is decidedly a Kusana convention. The Lohanipur torso shows Greeco-Roman mannerisms in the modelling of the belly. If the torso is thus that of a Tirthankara at all, it is probably not earlier than the Kusana period.⁴

2. *Ibid.*, *Studies in Jaina Art*, Benares : Jaina Cultural Research Society 1955, ch. I, p. 5.
3. For the Lohanipur torso K.P. Jayaswal, "Jaina Image of Maurya Period", *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XXIII (March 1937), pp. 130-132, and A. Banerji-Sastri, "Mauryan Sculptures from Lohanipur, Patna", same journal, XXVI (1940), pp. 120-124. See also Anonymous, "Oldest Jain images Discovered. Old theories on Jain Iconography upset. Dr. K.P. Jayaswal Interviewed". *Jaina Antiquary*, III-1 (June 1937), pp. 17-18.
4. Compare the Lohanipur torso and the Mohen-jo-Daro statuette of a nude man. John Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, London: Arthur Probsthain, 1931, Vol I, pl. X, and pp. 45-47.

The next major pre-Kusana work is the frieze in the Manchapuri cave at Orissa.⁵ If T.N. Ramachandran's interpretation is correct, it has the earliest Jain ascetic figure known. However, it is precisely this figure that is damaged almost beyond recognition, but enough is left to indicate that it was a seated cross-legged figure. As the cave was Jain, the reverent attitude of the accompanying figures thus goes to indicate that the scene probably represents either homage to a Jain image or a *samavasarana*.

In the Kusana and Gupta ages the basic forms of the Jain icon are developed in loose reliefs and images. The Kusana corpus is represented mainly in the Kankali tila figures in the Lucknow Museum,⁶ Kusana sculptures of the Mathura Museum,⁷ and the Chausa bronzes in the Patna Museum (believed to belong to the transition to the Gupta age).⁸ The Gupta corpus consists, among others, of the sculptures of that age in the Lucknow and Sarnath Museum, of the carvings on

5. T.N. Ramachandran, "The Manchapuri Cave", *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 26-2 (June 1951), pp. 103-108.
 6. See Vincent A. Smith, *The Jain Stupa and other Antiquities of Mathura* 1901. Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol. XX. North West Provinces and Oudh. Vol. V, Muttra Antiquities.
 7. See J.P. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum of Mathura*, Allahabad : Govt. Press. 1910; and V.S. Agrawala, *Handbook of the Sculptures in the Curzon Museum, of Archaeology, Muttra*, Allahabad, 1939; and *ibid.*, *Mathura Museum Catalogue*, part III, Varanasi: Prithivi Prakashan, 1963, pp. 2-17. See also N.P. Joshi, *Mathura Sculptures : Mathura: Archaeological Museum*, 1966, p. 22.
 8. U.P. Shah, "Age of Differentiation of Digambara and Svetambara Images and the Earliest known Svetambara Bronzes", *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India*, no. 1 (1950-1951), Fig. 14 and p. 34. *Ibid.*, *Studies in Jaina Art*, ch. I, p. 13.
- (All quoted by Jose Pereira)

the Vaibhara hill, Rajgir,⁹ and some of the Akota hoard.¹⁰

b. Rock cut-friezes

Pereira further writes: The second stage began before the first one was over. The partially crystallized forms of the iconography were transferred to rock on hills, and spread out in a haphazard fashion, with no thought of a coordination of forms or ideas. Examples are the sculptures on the above-mentioned Vaibhara hill, those on the Udayagiri hill near Sanchi,¹¹

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9. *Ibid.*, p. 14. See Ramprasad Chanda, "Jaina remains at Rajgir", *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports 1925-1926*, pp. 125-127.
 10. U.P. Shah, *Akota Bronzes* (State Board for Historical Records and Ancient Monuments, Archaeological Series, No. 1), Bombay: Department of Archaeology, Govt. of Bombay, 1959. Shah dates the bronze Parsvanatha of the Prince of Wales Museum to 100 B.C. Khandalawala comments: "With regard to the Parsvanatha; it is stated that it cannot be later than 100 B.C., and may be earlier by a century or two. It seems to us it could never be earlier than 200 A.D., having regard to the face and hair. Even that may be too early a date, for it has yet to be decided whether the figure is an early image or is merely archaistic". Review of Shah's *Studies in Jaina Art in Lalit Kala*, 3-4 (April 1956-March 1957), p. 126.
 11. There are five sculptures in Jaina cave on Udayagiri hill on a wall face which is broken by a deep passage. To the left of the passage are (1) seated Parsvanatha, (2) seated Parsvanatha; to the right are (3) seated Tirthankara (4) seated Parsvanatha and (5) seated Parsvanatha.

The figures are in *padmasana*, and all have round haloes. In nos. (1), (2) and (4) Parsvanatha sits on the coils of his snake—which is to my knowledge unusual in Jaina sculpture. Wherever the hoods of the snake can be counted, they are seven. All thrones have a centre [no. (2) has only a wheel], most have a wheel and lions, and one [no. (4) has only a wheel], has a wheel, lions and

Some of the caves at Udayagiri in Orissa¹² and the friezes of Dhank.¹³ This fashion of scattering sculptures over rocks persisted into the next phase, and indeed for long after it was over. Examples in the south are the friezes in the innumerable Jain hills of pilgrimage, such as Kalugumalai¹⁴ and Vallimalai¹⁵; and in the north, in the massive agglomeration of the rock sculptures of Gwalior hill.¹⁶

kneeling devotees. There is a lotus with two rows of petals above the throne in the latter sculpture, so is there in ro. (3). The umbrella, found in (1), (2), (3) and (4) has only one tier. Tree or leaf like forms appear on each side of the umbrella in (3) and (4).

Parsvanatha has two attendants, Dharanendra and Padmavati. Where the hoods have not been destroyed, each has only one.

12. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, ch. I, p. 6, gives the following references for information of the Udayagiri Hill, Orissa—Rajendralal Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa and Kuraishi, List of Ancient Monuments Protected under Act VII of 1904 in the Bihar and Orissa Provinces* (1938), pp. 33ff. See also K.N. Tandon, "Rock-cut Cave Architecture of the Jains in Orissa", *Jaina Antiquary*, XIX-2 (Dec. 1953), pp. 18-21.
13. H.D. Sankalia, "The Earliest Sculpture in Kathiawar" *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, July 1938, pp. 456-430.
14. If there is any work at all on the Jain Sculptures of Kalugumalai, it has escaped my attention. P.B. Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 31, footnote 1, knows only of photographs of the sculptures in the Government Epigraphist's Office. There is a photograph of the Parsvanatha panel in Stella Kramrisch, *The Art of India*, London 1965, pl. 95. Some other loose Jain sculptures in the hills of Tamilnadu are in Tiruppanakunram, Alagarmalai, Muttupatt, Kialalavu, Settipodavu and Poygaimalai.
15. T.N. Ramachandran, *Jain Monuments and Places of First Class Importance*, Calcutta : Vira Sasana Sangha, 1944, Pl. V-XII.
16. J. Fergusson and J. Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*, London, 1880, book IV, c. IV, pp. 509-510. J. Fergusson, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London 1910, revised by J. Burgess and R.P. Spiers, Vol. II, book V, ch. III, p. 48.

c. *Monolithic Ensembles*

Here the themes have some ordering according to a plan. Iconography is becoming fixed, though by no means to the extent set out in the later texts. The best ensembles are the cave temples of Badami¹⁷ and Ellora,¹⁸ the basic pattern being the Jain triad—the Tirthankara in the shrine (accompanied by Ambika and Sarvanubhuti), and Parsvanatha and Bahubali (juxtaposed). Not so well-planned is the arrangement of the Sittanavasal cave temple panels.¹⁹ The ensemble idea does not seem to have caught on, as the custom of haphazard grouping is followed in several later cave temples, such as the Chandor cave near Nasik.²⁰

d. *Elaboration and Innovation*

In due course, the Tirthankara with his accessories, his identifying emblems, his yaksa attendants, the whole pantheon of the gods and the favourite episodes of Jain mythology were all rigorously fixed and elaborated. But even more interesting is the extraordinary rise of new forms in sculptures and architecture. It was the southern Digambaras who apparently first conceived the *betta*—monolithic statues of Gommata in compounds on hill tops,²¹ of which the first and the greatest example is that at Sravana Belgola (1116-1117), followed

17. Fergusson and Burgess, *op. cit.*, bk IV, ch. II, p. 491.

18. *Ibid.*, bk IV, ch. III, pp. 495-505.

19. T.N. Ramachandran, "Cave Temples and Paintings of Sittanavasal", *Lalit Kala*, no. 9 (April, 1961), pp. 30-54 and figs. 23 (Parsvanatha) and 24 (*acarya* of Madura).

20. Henry Cousens, *Mediaeval Temples of the Dakkan*. Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. XLVIII, Imperial Series, Calcutta, 1931, pp. 49-50, and pl. LXIV and LXV. The Tringalavadi cave (c. 14th century) is described on pp. 48-49 and illustrated on pl. LXIV.

21. Fergusson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, book V, ch. V, pp. 71-72.

afterwards by the colossi of Karkal (1432) and Yenur (1604). Jainism, falling back before the attacks of Vaisnavism and Virasaivism, retreated into the wild fastnesses of the Tulu country²² (where Karkal and Yenur are) and into the Konkan.²³ It must have been the inclement climate of these regions that led them to build the barn-like *bastis* like the Hosabasti of Mudabidire (Mudbidri). Later, the Portuguese were forced by Konkani monsoons to give huddled and compact forms to the plans they had brought from expansive Baroque Europe.

The interior of the Hosabasti is rich and elegant, for elegance has for long been a preoccupation with the Jains, particularly in architecture. In the same century in which the Shravana Belgola colossus was carved, the Jains of the north raised some of their finest temples, the Parsvanatha (c. 1002) and Adinatha (after 1050) of Khajuraho. Further west, the architectural fashions were more than sensitive to the demands of elegance. The love of supple and graceful brackets, slender arches and light domed interiors of the Rajasthani and Gujarati architects possessed the Jain hearts of those territories more than it did the Hindu, and impelled them to chisel out of marble those configurations of white tracery which are the temples of Abu. The first of these, the Vimala Vasahi, was erected not much more than a century after the Indra and Jagannatha Sabhas at Ellora. In all these structures of details are finished with a silversmith's dedication, but in the Abu buildings all sense of the colossal has vanished.

And truly, Jainism does not crave after the colossal, as do Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam and Christianity. One reason for this is its comparative lack of power and drama, for its absolute is not concentrated in one God or in one Supreme Reality, but is dispersed over innumerable autonomous selves.

22. Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*, p. 323.

23. *Ibid.*, *Ancient Karnataka*, I, pp. 404-405. (Quoted by Jose Pereira)

Its saints are colourlessly moral, its sinners and malicious beings are not charged with an evil of any excessive potency, and its stories are too uniform to be exiting. Another factor was the lack of continuous patronage by large-landed and religiously committed monarchs and emperors, and the consequent increased dependence for funds on private merchants and businessmen, who lacked the money for scale and thus went in for finish as a substitute.

Yet the Jains could not avoid being affected by the architectural ensemble-mindedness of some of their literary texts, particularly by the hall of discourse for the Tirthankara's first sermon. The Chaumukh temple was the result of this preoccupation. It is a square-formed building with doors on each side, revealing the image within it from four directions. The image is also four-fold (or *caturbimba*)—"auspicious in all directions (*saravatobhadra*)"—representing as it does the Tirthankara delivering his first discourse, along with 3 images of him for the hearers not in front of him. The finest expression of this type is for the Ranakpur or Ranpur temple (1440) built in the same Solanki style as Abu, and perhaps Jainism's vastest and most complex sacred edifice.²⁴ Colonnaded courts are also a feature of most Svetambara temples (and also of some *betas*), where they surround the central temple (or Gommata colossus). Here the ritual requirements of Jainism paradoxically led it to create a type which, with some modifications, subserves the liturgy of an utterly dissimilar faith, Islam. All one has to do is remove the principal shrine and its porch from the centre of the court, wall up the entrances of the cells which surround it—and one is virtually left with a mosque.²⁵ In this process of adopting pre-existing building,

24. Fergusson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, bk V, ch. III, p. 46.

25. *Ibid.*, ch. IV, p. 69.

(Quoted by Jose Pereira)

Islam—whose sense of a *trionfante universalita*²⁶ often infuses a colossality into its buildings—capitulated in Jain territory to the sense of the small, delicate and elegant more that it had ever done elsewhere.

The *samavasarana* of the texts is a complex aggregate of buildings, which made the Jains think not only of four-sided temples, but also of the “temple cities” so distinctive of Jainism. Girnar and Palitana (Saturnjaya) have the best examples of such “cities”; the largest temple in the former dates from the thirteenth century, and the buildings of the latter are chiefly after the fifteenth. Remarkable too are the tall edifices, like the Rsabha or Sri Allata tower of Chitor (twelfth century), which later inspired the tower of victory of Rajasthani chieftains (so much more expressive of triumph than Trajan’s columns). In the south, these pillar-like edifices are paralleled by the temple pillars (*brahma* and *mana stambhas*) of the Digambara *bastis*, among the most elegant of which is at Guruvayankeri.

From the above stages, we can abstract the precisely iconographical evolution as follows. In the phase of the *Growth of the Icon*, we see the development of standing and sitting Tirthankara figures. The sitting figure was always the most important for Jainism, and in the sculptures of “the Kankali tila we can almost see it grow iconographically into its final shape. The earliest sculptures have the squatting figure on a relatively plain seat, with a one-tiered umbrella over his head; slightly later ones have the accompanying devotees (afterwards to become fly-whisk holding *yaksas*), then the lions under the throne, the lotus seat on the throne, the tree behind the ascetic, the flying figures with the garlands, and

26. “Solo Bramante, Michelangelo e Bernini seppero esprimere la trionfante universalita della chiesa Romana.” Antonio Munoz, *S. Pietro in Vaticano*, Rome : Liberia Mantegozza, n.d. [1924?], p. 24. (Quoted by Jose Pereira)

so on. The standing figure is much less elaborate, and in both standing and sitting figures we see the characteristics of Rsabha and Parsva already established. In the latter part of this period too, we find the idea of the servants of the Tirthankara brought in, not corresponding, alas, to the neatly specified prescriptions of the iconographers. Several Tirthankaras have the same assistant couple, Sarvanubhuti and Ambika.

Some of the sculptures of this period show groups of the twenty-four Tirthankaras often with one of them prominent in the centre (*mulanayaka*), but the epoch of *Rock Cut Sculptures* gave better opportunities for this collective appearance of the Jinas—so popular in later sculpture, because of the more extensive surfaces of living rock. The patterned juxtaposition of standing and sitting Tirthankaras was also experimented with. The three-tiered umbrella seems to have become a distinguishing sign of the Tirthankara in this phase.

More than any other, the period of *monolithic ensembles*, was responsible for the episode, chiefly the temptation of Parsvanatha and the homage to Bahubali—who himself appears to make his *debut* into iconography at this time. The pantheon grows larger and gods and *yaksas* turn up in larger and larger numbers.

The age of *Elaboration and Innovation* fixed and rigidified iconography. More than ever before, the interminably mushrooming Tirthankaras became items of architectural detail. But the main achievements of this age are non-iconographical : the *betta* and barn-like basti of the South, and the traceried temple, the columnar tower the *chaumukh* temple and the temple cities of the North.”²⁷

“Parsvanatha, the twenty third *Tirthankara* was a historical figure and has been described by Rhys Davids as

27. Pereira, Jose, p. 17.

the founder of Jainism. He laid down certain principles to be followed by people at large, which included (i) not to cause pain to anyone, (ii) to speak the truth, (iii) not to steal, and (iv) not to get attracted towards the worldly pleasures. Mahavira, the twenty fourth *Tirthankara* added self-discipline and purity of thought in the above list. Mahavira was contemporary of the king Bimbisara and his son Ajatasatru, and Jainism got a boost during the times of these kings. According to the Jaina texts, Udayana, the son of Ajatasatru too was the follower of Jainism and is credited with the construction of a Jaina temple at Pataliputra. The Nandas of Magadha too believed in Jainism, The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela stands testimony of the fact that a Kalinga king had carried the image of Jina as a memento to Magadha from Kalinga. The Jaina traditions testify that during the times of the Maurya king Candragupta, there had been a severe drought for twelve years and the king in disgust went to Mysore, with his teacher named Bhadrabahu where he, performing severe austerities, died.

Some scholars believe that before converting himself to Buddhism, the Mauryan king Asoka too believed in Jainism. In his seventh edict he has mentioned Nirgranthas together with Brahmanas and the Ajivikas. These Nirgranthas are believed to be the Jaina ascetics.

Samprati, the grandson of Asoka was the great patron of the Jainas and according to the Jaina Acarya Hemacandra, he had built several Jaina temples in the country. There is a nude male figure in damaged condition in the Patna Museum, which was recovered from Lohanipur. The image retains the Mauryan polish and belongs to the third century B.C. Another image of the similar type was also recovered from the same site but it has no polish on it. This image is considered to be of the second century B.C.²⁸

28. Nagar, Shanti Lal: *Jaina Sculpture in India and World Museums*, preface, p. iii.

The Kharvela king of Kalinga has been described as king of the Jaina ascetics in the Hathi-Gumpha epigraph. This king in the twelfth year of his reign defeated the Kalinga king and carried the Jina image to Magadha. He excavated a number of Jaina caves dedicated to the Jaina Tirthankara at Udayagiri near Bhubneswar in Orissa.

The Jaina religion developed in the northern India during the Kusana time. This fact is testified with the discovery of a large number of Jaina artefacts from the Kankali tila, Mathura, many of which belong to the Kusana period, and are currently preserved in the Mathura and Lucknow Museums. Some contemporary bronzes of the Jinas have also been discovered from Chausa in Bihar which are currently preserved in the Patna Museum. A number of *Ayagapattas* were recovered from the archaeological excavations at Mathura and Kausambi. On many of such *Ayagapattas* the names of the donors were inscribed also is quite important which belong to the first century B.C. or even a century earlier. The Junagadh inscription also is quite important which belongs to the period of Jayadaman who flourished in the second century A.D.

Jainism continued to flourish during the Gupta period as well, and this fact is testified in a number of epigraphs of the Gupta period. The Udayagiri epigraph of Kumargupta-I testifies about the erection of an image of Parsvanath. During the time of Skandgupta an epigraph was engraved over a pillar at Kahom, which testifies to the making of a donation for the propagation of Jainism and creation of the images of the Tirthankaras over the pillar. Several of the Jaina sculptures of the Gupta period are preserved in the Mathura, Lucknow and Vidisha Museums.

By the seventh century, Jainism had reached in several parts of the country. Banabhatta has mentioned in *Harsacarita*, names like Arhata or Jainas, besides the Vrsni Bhagavata,

Pancaratrikas, Lokayatas, Pauranikas and others. Hiuen Tsang too has mentioned about the followers of Jaina Svetambara and Digambara sects, whom he met in the west of Taksasila.

An important sculpture of Parsvanatha, which was initially enshrined in a temple at Gyaraspur, is currently preserved in the British Museum, London. In the said image, the Meghakumara is shown attacking the Tirthankaras and the Naga has spread its hoods over the head of Parsvanatha for his protection. Padmavati, the serpent goddess, is standing holding the staff of the umbrella. This image belongs to the seventh century A.D.

Right from the beginning of the eighth century A.D., Jainism²⁹ was infested with many of the ills and the control over the disciples and the monks started showing signs of deterioration. The monks who were expected to perform severe austerities in their life style, were attracted towards materialism and several of the Jaina acaryas were enticed towards the worldly pleasures. Voice was therefore raised against these ills. Haribhadra was the first to raise his voice against the questionable conduct of the monks. Thereafter many of the Acaryas like Siddharsi Suri, Udayana Suri and the like joined the task of removing these ills from the clergy with their followers. This agitation gradually turned into a *Gaccha* and in the subsequent period this *Gaccha* community came to be known as Kharataras. After Haribhadra Suri, the crusade against the monastic corruption was continued by the people known as Kharataras who arranged discussions with their opponents from place to place. They made discourses. They carried on their crusade in writing as well. Thus their contribution for the purification of the clergy and to free it from the several ills continued in writings as well as in discussions. During this period Jina Vallabha carried out

29. Ibid., p. iv.

repairs to several of the Jaina temples and shrines in Marwar, Chittorgarh, Maroth, Nagar, and several other places. His desciple Jinadatta created several pieces of literature in order to rid Jainism of the then prevailing ills. Jinapati, a Jaina acarya, was contemporary of Chauhan king Prthviraja-III and carried the message of his teacher to the people of Rajasthan as a result of which Jainism got a boost increasing its popularity in the region.

In Gujarat, the Calukya king Kumarapala patronised Jainism under the influence of his teacher Hemacandra. During the early medieval period the Bhattaraka community massively contributed towards the development of Jainism in the area, which is testified by the texts Bharata, the son of Rsabha, constructed the first Jaina temple over the Kailasa mountain in order to protect the image of Tirthankara there."³⁰

The followers of Jainism encouraged construction of stupas, temples, assembly halls and places of charities in order to spread the message of the Tirthankaras, in all the ages. During wars, political upheavals, famines and other natural calamities such construction activities were either stopped temporarily or completely abandoned.

Many unbuilt and unfinished constructions were found during excavations.

Magadha saw a terrible famine for 12 years in the time of Chandragupta Maurya, when monsoon failed. Under the leadership of Bhadrabahu half of the Jain community moved to south and settled in Sravana-Belgola. It is said Chandragupta Maurya committed suicide by self-starvation who accompanied Jaina sage Bhadrabahu.

In the words of Jose Pereira,³¹ "The main currents of Jainism moved south and west. Bhadrabahu's journey to south

30. Ibid., p.v.

31. Pereira, Jose, p.6.

was probably motivated by the fact that there was an appreciable Jain community there already. Both sects shifted west, but the more west they went, the more Svetambara their doctrine seemed to become: for while the Mathura and Gupta sculptural corpora are all Digambara, those of Vasantgarh and Akota are Svetambara. This latter sect was sufficiently numerous in the west by the second half of the fifth century to hold a council of its own at Valabhi, under the leadership of Devarddhi. The secondary treatise of the Jain canon was compiled, and the scriptures definitively fixed for the Svetambaras.

Established in Gujarat and Rajasthan, Svetambara Jainism lived through trials and spells of fortune until the tenth century, when the Kalacuris enthusiastically championed its cause. But its moment of triumph was the reign of Kumarapala (king between 1200 and 1229), patron of Hemacandra—Jainism's most prolific genius, one of the few on whom Sanskrit learning has conferred the title *sarvatantrasvatantra*, "self-sufficient in all fields". The two centuries on either side of this king's reign were some of Jainism's most fortunate ones; during this time some of its loveliest shrines were erected."

He further says: "Quite early in its history, Jainism took root in the peninsula—where it excelled Buddhism in popularity—and helped fashion the region's culture into a shape that it afterwards never quite lost. Some of the great classics in Tamil and Kannada are the work of its votaries. for a time the Jains were vigorous in Orissa, supported partly by royal patronage, which they also received from some Andhra princes,³² and also in parts of present day Maharashtra,

32. P.B. Desai, *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs* [Jivaraja Jaina Granthamala, No. 6], Sholapur : Jaina Sanskrit Samraksaka Sangha, 1957, ch. II, pp. 3-24.

from the Satavahanas.³³ Some of the monarchs who favoured them were from the Pallava, Calukya, Rastrakuta, Ganga and Hoyasala families. While the Jains owe the Rastrakutas the monolithic temples of Ellora,³⁴ it is the Gangas—those most dedicated of Jain dynasties—who gave them the granite colossus of Shravana Belgola.

The Hoyasalas, in the beginning, were also devout Jains, but one of their members was converted to the cult of Visnu by Ramanuja. Beside Vaisnavism, first Agamic Saivism, and then Virasaivism³⁵ struck the gentler and less exciting religion blows under which it finally succumbed. The Pallavas became Saivas, the Rastrakutas were mostly Saivism prone and the Calukyas often behaved in an unfriendly manner to Jains. The Pandyas were openly hostile; the Muslims brutal; and though there was a revival under the empire of Vijayanagar, one could see that by the twelfth century the high noon of South Indian Jainism had passed.”

According to Periera: “Art is more closely linked with the cardinal ideas and significant moments of Jainism than it is with those of some other art-loving religions, such as Christianity and Islam. For instance, after the enlightenment of the Tirthankara, the gods erect a pavilion (*samavasarana*) of sumptuous materials and imposing proportions for his first sermon—a strong contrast to the simple low hill which Christ chose for his Sermon on the Mount. Similarly the mansions of the gods are conceived in architectural terms elaborate enough to make the “many mansions” of Christ Father’s house appear a very weak metaphor when placed alongside, and to

33. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

34. For a loose Rastrakuta Jain sculpture see the Jain Memorial Pillar from Danavulapadu, Cuddhappeh Dist. (10th century A.D.). F.H. Gravely and C. Sivaramamurti, *Illustrations of Indian Sculpture, Mostly Southern*, Madras: Madras Government Museum, 1939, pl. XXIV.

make the *houri*-stocked paradise of Mohammed look very rural and primitive indeed.

Still, post-scriptural Islam and Christianity became more deeply committed to art and monumentality than did Jainism : Mahavira's religion produced no counter part to Santa Sophia of Constantinople or the Masjed-c-Shah fo Isfahan. Yet it is fair to say that the paucity of Jain monuments is in no small measure due to the vandalism of the Muslims, one of the activities in which the latter are always been efficeint. The resulting litter of fragments is a source of exasperation for a historian desirous of seeing the growth of Jain art steadily and of seeing it whole."³⁶

"There is perhaps no other tradition of image making, and certainly not in India, which draws so heavily on the idea of the sage in contemplation—and which also perceives so few of this idea's possible nuances.

The hard core of Jain iconography³⁷ consists of the sage (a) standing, with his arms hanging loose at his sides or (b) sitting cross-legged. Both these must not have the line of the robe (of the Buddhist) or of the sacred thread (of the Brahmin). The negative character of this central concept brings out the poverty of Jain iconographical thinking, and I can think of no positive note that can give a specific Jain colouring to the generic idea of a contemplating sage."

"Four layers surround this core; they indicate the value of subsidiary concepts to the main one of the sage's individual

35. B.A. Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism with Special Reference to the Vijayanagara Empire*, Bombay, 1938, ch. 7, pp. 279-282.

36. Pereira, p. 8.

37. See V.S. Agrawala's interesting article "Some Iconographic Terms from Jaina Inscriptions", *Jain Antiquary*, V-2 (Sept. 1939), pp. 43-47. (Pereira, pp. 8-9)

personality or identity. These are of two kinds: those closely linked with his person, like the long hair on the shoulders of Rsabha, Parsvanatha's hooded serpent, and Bahubali's creepers. The second kind consists of objects drawn or carved near the sage (say on the pedestal or throne) like a deer in the case Santinatha and a bull in that of Rsabha. This latter kind is a later development, fixed only after the eleventh century, and not found in the main body of our sculptures.

The contemplating sage with these symbols is common to all Jainism: it is the problem of his clothes that is crucial. While it is true to say that the nude ascetic without robe and ritual paraphernalia is found only in Jain art, he is now not distinctive of Jainism as a whole (as he was once) but only of its nudist sect. This brings us to the second layer of this iconographic organism, the concept of a sage's superhuman servants (*sasandevatas*) the *yaksa* and *yaksi*, whose presence defines the identity of the Tirthankara even where the symbols are lacking. From a relatively early period we find a *yaksa* and *yaksi* accompanying several Tirthankaras; the male is Sarvanubhuti and the female, Ambika. But later each Tirthankara could have only fixed pair, and the traditional one was assigned to Neminatha alone.

The other superhuman beings, less popular among the Jains than the attendant *yaksas*, are a miscellaneous assortment of gods borrowed or adopted from Hinduism. These constitute our third layer. In our fourth and last layer—that of the episode—nearly all these elements converge in the Tirthankara's first Sermon (*samavasarana*), and in the two most popular episodes of the Ellora Jains: the temptation of Parsvanatha and the homage to Bahubali. the Jains did not exercise the wider choice in episodes that their mythology provided them with, as a persual of Hemacandra's long *kavya* on the lives of Jain great men will show."

4

FINE ARTS IN JAINA CANON

In his learned paper, M. Sen has thrown light on the Fine Arts as described by the author of the Nisitha Curni. Sen writes: Apart from being a great Jaina preceptor the author displays his intricate knowledge about the various fine arts of his time. His observations are not only methodical but critical too and his field covers architecture, sculpture, painting, music, dance and drama.

Architecture

Architecture from the dawn of civilization is correlated to human existence and can be attributed to human existence and can be attributed directly towards the progressive growth of the material culture of the people. The author of the N.C. has elucidated many an architectural term in clear and simple definition. This information may be classified in two main sections— (i) Religious Architecture and (ii) Secular Architecture.

Religious Architecture—Any architectural structure constructed in connection with religion or religious sentiments can be termed as religious architecture. It included various structures like *ceitya* (*caitya*), *thubha* (stupa), *lena*, *thamba* (stambha), *devakula*, *devayatana*, *pratimagrha* etc.

Ceitya or *caitya* was a distinctive feature of the Buddhist¹

1. Giving the Buddhist version regarding the origin of the *caityas* I-Tsing informs us that “when the Great Teacher, the world honoured entered into Nirvana, and men and gods assembled together to burn his remains in the fire, people brought there all kinds of perfumes until they made a great pile which was called ‘kiti’ (*citi*) meaning ‘piling’. Derived from this we have afterwards the name *Kaitya* (*caitya*)”.—Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

and Jaina architecture.² In the NC, we frequently find the monks as well as laymen going to visit the *caityas* and worshipping the deity there (*caitya-vamadana*).³ Two types of *caityas* are mentioned—*caityas* belonging to very ancient period (*ciraya-tana*) and the *caityas* recently constructed (*abhinavakaya*).⁴ While various ancient *caityas* were existing during this time, the tradition of making new ones also continued. Mention has been made of the devotees used to visit from far and wide.⁵

Thubha or *stupa* was the earliest form of Jaina architecture and it has been defined as “a structure constructed with the heap of bricks.”⁶ I-Tsing has also stated that “the *stupas* or the *caityas* were made by piling up of the bricks or earth.”⁷ Mention has been made of Devanirmita-stupa⁸ (God-made) of Mathura as one of the most sacred places of worship during this time. Various contemporary Jaina authors like Haribhadra Suri (c. 7th century A.D.), Jinaprabha Suri and Harisena (932 A.D.) have also referred to the Devanirmita-stupa of Mathura with different versions regarding its origin.⁹ Somadeva also refers to one Devanirmita-stupa at Mathura and states that “the shrine is still known by the name of Devanirmita, *i.e.* built by the gods.”¹⁰ This Devanirmita-stupa appears to have been same as Vodava-stupa unearthed at Kankali tila bearing

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2. See-Jain, J.P., *Jain Sources of the History of Ancient India*, pp. 234, also p. 237.
 3. NC. 2. p. 113.
 4. चेतिया चिरायतणा अपुव्वा य अहवा अभिणवकया —NC. 2, p. 134; *Brh. Vr.* 3, p. 776.
 5. NC. 3, p. 366.
 6. इटठगादिचिया विच्चा धूमो भण्णति —NC. 2, p. 255.
 7. Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 121.
 8. मधुराए देवणिम्मिय धूमो —NC. 3, p. 79; *Brh. Vr.* 5, p. 1536.
 9. Shah, U.P., *Studies in Jaina Art*, p. 4.
 10. अतएवाथापि तत्तीथै देवनिर्मिताख्या प्रथते — *Yasastilaka*, p. 315; Handiqui, K.K., *Yasastilaka and Indian Culture*, p. 43.

an inscription 'Devanirmita' which has been assigned the date A.D. 156.¹¹ According to Fuhrer, "the *stupa* was so ancient at the time when inscription was incised that its origin had been forgotten".¹²

Lena was a temple (*devakula*) built upon the relics of the saints.¹³ *Stambhas* (*thambhas*) were also built to commemorate some sacred event and were constructed out of stone (*sila*) or wood (*kattha*).¹⁴ The free-standing *stambhas* or pillars near Jaina Vasati or dwelling is supposed to be a peculiar feature of Jaina architecture¹⁵ and the various *stambhas* belonging to the contemporary centuries also corroborate the same fact.

Deva-temples¹⁶ (*devakula* or *devakulikas*) were built at the centre or outside the villages or a town where people assembled for daily prayer. Temples belonging to different sects like the *Rudragrhas*¹⁷ or *Matragrhas*¹⁸ have also been mentioned. The sacred place of worship where the image of a deity was installed was known as *caitya* or *pratimagrha*.¹⁹ *Devayatanas* were same as *devakulas*.²⁰

11. Jain, J.P., *op. cit.*, p. 238.

12. *Ibid.*, see also —Smith, V.A., *Jaina Stupa and other Antiquities of Mathura*, p. 3. According to Shah, Devanirmita-stupa of Mathura is one of the earliest known *stupas* in India and should be assigned to eighth century B.C., especially because the title given to it is in accordance with the *Satapatha Brahmana*. —Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

13. मडयस्स उवरिं जं देवकुलं तं लेणं भण्णति—NC. 2, p. 225.

14. NC. 3, p. 149.

15. Jain, J. P., *op. cit.*, p. 232.

16. NC. 3, p. 334.

17. NC. 1, pp. 146-47.

18. NC. 1, p. 147.

19. पडिमा गिहं चेतियं—NC. 3, p. 344.

20. *Ibid.*

Secular Architecture—Secular architecture includes all the architectural structures apart from those mentioned above. The references to a large variety of palaces and houses, innumerable types of residential and occupational buildings, proper arrangement for ventilation and drainage, regular system of house construction and town-planning along with the various public places like the gardens and parks (*ujjanma, arama*), rest houses (*agamtagara*), wells and lakes (*kuva, vavi*) meant for comfort and enjoyment of the public, give us a fair idea of the secular architecture of the time. Architectural structures were divided into three categories: (i) *khata* or under-ground construction like the *bhumigrhas* (underground cells), (ii) *usita* construction above the ground as *prasadas* or palaces and (iii) *khata-usita* or combined construction having underground and overground constructions like the palaces with cellars underground.²¹

Prasada or Palace—Palaces were usually known as *prasadas* (*pasaya*) and were of different types like *dubhumiga* or *bibhuma* and *humma* (*harmaya*) etc. *Bibhumas* or *dubhumigas* were the palaces having tow stories (*bhumi*),²² while the word *hamma* was used for the uppermost story (*tala*) of the palaces.²³

A particular area was reserved for the palace in the city. The city including the royal palace was surrounded by ditches

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21. कथं तिविहं - खातं, उसितं खातं-उसितं । खातं भूमिगिहं, उसितं पासादादि, खाओसितं हेटठा भूमिगिहं उवरिं पासाओ कओ —NC. 1, p. 114; *Brh. Vr.* 2 pp. 263-64.
 22. गिहोवरि मालो दुभूमिगदी —NC. 3, p. 379; Nc. 4, p. 191. This type of buildings or palaces have been known as *dvi-tala* also. —Acharya, P. K., *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, p. 282.
 23. सव्वोवरि तलं हम्मतलं भूमितलं तरं वा हम्मतलं —NC. 3, p. 379. The *Samarangana Sutradhava* (XIII.10) also defines *harmya* as “the uppermost storey of a house” which according to Bhattacharya is not clear at all. —*A Study on Vastu-Vidya*, p. 266.

(*parika*, *khatiya*) and ramparts (*pagara*)²⁴ which had only one main entrance. At this entrance were built two large columns which were known as *balanga*²⁵ and inside it was the *gopura*²⁶ or the gate-house which gave entrance to the royal palace. There were also many arched-gateways or the *toranas*.²⁷ The gates were fastened with strong iron-bolts called *aggala*²⁸ for safeguarding the palace. On one side of the *pagara* (*prakara*) near the entrance was situated the royal palace²⁹ and a passage of the eight hands between the *prakara* and the *prasada* or the *pala* was left open for the chariots (*rahamagga*) which was known as *cariya*.³⁰ The palace was decorated with turrents (*nijjuha*) and latticed windows (*gava-kkha*);³¹ Its floors were sometimes studded with precious stones and jewels.³² Besides the palace of the king, there were palaces of the ministers known as *amacca-pasaya*.³³

Wooden palaces as well as palaces made of bricks and stones were quite common. A story narrates that king Seniya of Rayagiha ordered his architects to make an *ega-khmbhapasaya* (palace based on one pillar) for him. A large tree having auspicious signs (*salakkhana*) was selected by the architect for the purpose of building the palace but a Vanamamatara residing on the tree requested him not to cut the same and himself made

24. NC. 2, p. 433; NC. 3, p. 344.

25. बलाणगं दारं, तो बलाणगा पागारपडिबद्धा —NC. 2, p. 433.

26. ताण अंतरं गोपुरं — *Ibid.* *Gopura* was a colossal building built over or near the gate giving entrance to a city. — Acharya, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

27. रन्नोदुवारादिसु तोरणा — NC. 3, p. 344. For construction of the Torana see - Acharya, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

28. पागरदुवारादिसु अगला, NC. 3, p. 344.

29. तस्सेव पासगो रहसंठितो पासातो — *Ibid.*

30. पागारस्स अहो अडढहत्थो रहमग्गो चरिया —NC. 2, p. 433.

31. णिज्जुहगवक्खोवसोभितो पासादो —NC. 3, p. 379.

32. जति वि मणिकोट्टिम भूमी —NC. 2, p. 154.

33. NC. 3, p. 81.

a beautiful *ega-khmbha-pasaya* for the king which was decorated with gardens and surrounded with ditches and ramparts from all the sides.³⁴ Describing glory of Rama's palace Vimala Suri informs us that the whole palace was one-pillared (*egatthamba*) and seemed like the *Kalapataru*.³⁵ Palaces made on one pillar-base were specifically known as *Khamdha*.³⁶ Mention has also been made of an ivory palace (*sacca-damta-maya-pasaya*) which was asked to be made by king Damtavakka of Damtapura to fulfil the pregnancy-longing of the queen.³⁷

Mention of the *siyaghara* (*sitagrha*) or the cool-house of an emperor built by an efficient architect (*vaddhakirayana*) to suit all the seasons has been made. It was cool in summer and warm in winter and was affected by the rainy seasons.³⁸ Such houses were sometimes built by the wealthy citizens also.³⁹ This *sitagrha* of the NC, may be compared to the *samudragrha* or cool-summer-house mentioned by Vatsyayana, "which were surrounded by water, washed as it were by the sea and also room in the walls of which there were secret passages for water to circulate and take away the heat."⁴⁰

Houses and buildings and their Layout— Various types of houses and other buildings have been mentioned in the text. Each of these was styled according to its architectural style or nature of its use. The houses were usually called *grha*, *ghara*⁴¹

34. NC. 1, p. 9.

35. *Paumacariya*, 80. 2-14; Chandra, K.R., *A Critical Study of Paumacariya* (unpublished thesis), p. 539.

36. See-Motichandra, "Architectural Data in Jaina Canonical Literature," *JRAS. (Bombay Branch)*. Vol. 26, pp. 168-82.

37. NC. 4, p. 361.

38. वड्डकीरयण-णिम्मियं चक्किणो सीयघरं भवति, वासासु णियाय-पवातं, सीयकाले सोमं, णिम्हे सीयलं — NC. 3, p. 44.

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Kamasutra* (Su. 17), pp. 283-84; Chakaldar, *Social Life in Ancient India*, p. 154.

41. NC. 2, p. 89; NC. 2, pp. 131. 224.

or *agara*, since they were made out of trees(*agama*).⁴² It shows that perhaps formerly only wooden houses were built, but frequent references to the baked-bricks and strong walls⁴³ indicate that other materials were also used. The *Caussala* (*catussala*) houses are frequently mentioned.⁴⁴ Which signifies the usual plan of the house-construction. The style of having apartments or rooms on four sides around the inner courtyard (*mandapa-sthana* or *angana*) was a very ancient one⁴⁵ and even Bhasa designates the *antahpura* of the ladies as "the inner court with apartments on four sides (*abhyantara-catuhkala*)."⁴⁶ According to Chakaldar, this palace combined the advantages of seclusion and privacy together with provisions for light and air.⁴⁷ *Tesala* (*trisala*)⁴⁸ houses have also been mentioned which had apartments on three sides only.

The houses were built in a line (*sahi*) along the road-side.⁴⁹ The word *giha* not only meant the inner-apartment (*gihabham-tara*) but could also mean the entire house.⁵⁰ The inner courtyard around which rooms were built was called

42. "अगमा" रुक्खा, तेहिं कतं "अगारं" घरं — NC.2, p. 131; also NC. 4, p. 388.

43. NC. 2, p. 439.

44. चाउस्साले घरे वसेज्जा — NC. 2, pp. 266, 333, 422; NC. 1, p. 89; *Brh.* Vr. 2, p. 403 and 3, p. 742.

45. See—Acharya, *op. cit.*, p. 193; also Rangachari, K., "Town-planning and House-building in Ancient India, according to Silpa Sastras," *IHQ.*, Vol. 4, pp. 102-9.

46. Bhasa, *Carudatta* (ed. by T. Ganapati Sastri), Act. I; see also—*Catukala* in Bhasa's *Avimaraka* (Trivendram Sanskrit Series) pp. 23, 42, 86.

47. Chakaladar, *op. cit.* p. 145.

48. NC. 2, p. 333; *Brh.* Vr. 2, p. 493 and 3, p. 742.

49. घरपंती साही भण्णति — NC. 2, p. 209.

50. घरस्स अंतो गिहब्भंतरं गिहं भण्णति । गिह-गहणेण वा सव्वं चेव घरं घेप्पति — NC. 2, p. 224.

*mandapattana*⁵¹ or *angana*⁵² and the passage for entrance in the front was called *gihaduvara*.⁵³ The houses were built with baked bricks, and strong walls were covered with windows and doors opened towards the front.⁵⁴ The situation of the various architectural features like *gihamuha*, *angana*, *alinda*, *kottaga*⁵⁵ and *giaduvara* etc. clearly shows that a regular pattern was followed for the construction of the houses.

Bhavanas and *Mahagrhas* (large houses) also known as *nivesanas*⁵⁶ were also constructed. The *bhavanas* are explained as stupendous houses surrounded with greenery and vegetation on all the sides.⁵⁷ The *mahagrhas* usually belonged to the rich Setthis and could accommodate a large number of people. In one such house five hundred monks are said to have taken resort during their rain-retreat.⁵⁸ *Ujjanagihas* were the pleasure-houses constructed amidst beautiful surroundings of gardens. *Nijjanagihas* were the houses made outside the city and were used as rest-houses for the kings while travelling.⁵⁹ *Sunnagihas* were the dilapidated houses which were used as rest-houses by the travellers and monks.

51. *Ibid.*

52. गिहस्स अगगतो अम्भावगासं मंडवथाणं अंगणं भण्णति — *Ibid.*

53. अगगदारं पवेसितं तं गिहदुवारं भण्णति — *Ibid.*

54. पक्किट्टगादि घणकुड्डा सकवाडा महंत पुरोहडाय — NC. 2, p. 439.

55. *Kotthaga* is explained as *alinda* which was situated at the frontal entrance.—NC. 2, p. 224; *Brh.* Vr. 3, p. 742 and 4, p. 975. The word *alinda* is taken to denote the lattice covered path beyond the wall of a hall and facing for (or in front of) the courtyard.—Acharya, op. cit., p. 54.

56. NC. 2, p. 209, also p. 433.

57. NC. 3, p. 344.

58. NC. 2, p. 138; *Brh.* Vr. 4, p. 988.

59. णगरणिगमे जं ठियं तं णिज्जाणं एतेसु चेव गिहा कया उज्जाण - णिज्जाणगिहा — NC. 2, p.433.

Rukkhagihās were the houses made of tree or on the tree.⁶⁰ There were also *bhūmi-gihās* or the underground cells⁶¹ used for various purposes. Apart from these the little huts (*tinakudiya*), thatched with bamboo and reeds, were used by the poor people.⁶²

Sala—While the *gihās* had walls, the *salas* were devoid of walls.⁶³ It shows that the *sala* was a hall-like structure without any compartments inside. Various *salas*, viz. *janasala*, *gosala*, *tanasala*, *tusasala*, *kammamtasala*, *kumbhakarasala* etc. have been mentioned.⁶⁴

Agara—*Agara* denoted a house but it has also been used as a name ending with the various types of buildings. The *aramagara* and *agamagara* were the rest-houses, the former being particularly situated inside a garden.⁶⁵ *Bhinnagaras* and *sunagaras* were the same as *sunagihās*,⁶⁶ *Kuagaras* were the houses with a conical shape.⁶⁷ *Dhannagaras* and *kotthagaras*, as mentioned earlier, were the granaries meant for storing the food-grains.⁶⁸ Besides these buildings, there

60. NC. 3, p. 344.

61. गूम गिहं भूमिवरं — *Ibid.*, also NC. 1, p. 114.

62. NC. 1, p. 9.

63. सकुड्डं गिहं, अकुड्डा साला — NC. 3, p. 344; NC. 2, p. 433.

64. *Ibid.*

65. NC. 2, p. 199.

66. NC. 2, p. 433..

67. अपो विसातं उवहरिं संवडिद्धसं कुडागारं — NC. 2, p. 433. पन्वयसठितं उवहरि-भूमियाहिं वट्टमाणं कुडागारं — NC. 3, p. 344. *Kudagara* or 'gabled mansions' is explained as self-contained separately roofed pavilion on any story of palace. According to Coomaraswamy, *Kutagara* was a chamber with walls analogous to *uttamagara* of a *dvarakosthaka* and having a ridged, barrel-vaulted or domed roof.— *Early Indian Architecture*, p. 143; Motichandra, *op. cit.*, pp. 177-78.

68. NC. 2, p. 433; NC. 3, p. 344.

were *sabha* and *ayatana* which were the assembly halls (*samavattana*) for nobles or for public gathering.⁶⁹

Essential Features of House-Construction—Elucidating the various rules for the proper *vasati* (dwellings) required by the Jaina monks during their rain-retreat, the author elaborates the various features of house-construction which had great importance from the architectural point of view. These features have been divided into two groups—principal (*mulaguna*) and subsidiary (*uttaraguna*).⁷⁰ The principal features numbering seven in all were indispensable for an architectural structure. These were four *mulavelis* or cross-beams, two *dharanas* or wooden columns or pillars and one *patthivamsa* or the beam which was the base of the whole inner-structure.⁷¹ On the basis of their importance the subsidiary features have been subdivided into two groups. Features having more importance were—(i) *vamsaga*, (ii) *kadana*, (iii) *okampana*, (iv) *chavana*, (v) *levana*, (vi) *duvara* and (vii) *bhumikamma*.⁷²

An analysis of these features reveals that after the inner-structure of the house was built the open space was filled up with bamboo reeds (*vamsaga*), the walls were built up (*kadana*), the bamboo reeds were painted (perhaps with a layer of mud) (*okampana*), the roof was thached with *darbha* or such other coarse grasses (*chavana*), the walls were painted probably with chunam (*levana*), doors large or small were made according to the size of the house (*duvara*), and the earth or floor was made even and clean (*bhumikamma*).⁷³ This made the construction of a house complete, still some more process was required to make it fit for residence. The

69. सद्धम्यः स्थानं सभा — लोगसतवायठायं आयतणं — NC. 3, p. 344.

70. NC. 2, p. 65.

71. *Ibid.*

72. *Ibid.*; *Brh. Vr. I.*, p. 169.

73. NC. 2, p. 377, also p. 333.

forthcoming features were included amongst the less important ones, i.e., after the construction was over the house was dusted and cleaned (*pamajjana*), washed with water, plastered with cow dung (*uvalevana*), strewn with flowers (*pupplovayarapadana*) and illuminated with lamps kept burning (*divagapajjalana*).⁷⁴ Proper care was taken to make the house free from dampness, as it was believed that “dampness of the house leads to indigestion.”⁷⁵

From the above account it may be seen that most of the portion of the house was built of wood, bamboo and reeds, although bricks and mud must have been used for the walls.⁷⁶ In case of the *skandha* or *prakara* which was the surrounding wall of a city, it has been specifically stated that it was constructed with bricks, mud and wood.⁷⁷ It is interesting to find a similar account of Indian architecture given by Yuan Chwang when he says: “As to the construction of houses and enclosing walls of houses and enclosures are of wattled bamboo or wood. Their halls and terraced belvederes have wooden flat roofed rooms, and are coated with chunam, and covered with tiles burnt or unburnt ...the (house) thatched with boards; their walls are ornamented with chunam; the floor is purified with cowdung and strewn with flowers of the season.”⁷⁸

Staircases, Drains and Bridges—Staircases known as *sovana* or *padamagga* were an integral part of the buildings. They were of two types—staircases made by digging the earth,⁷⁹ as required in case of the underground cells, and

74. NC. 2, p. 334.

75. सीतलवसहीए भत्तणं जीरति, ततो गेलण्णं जायति — NC. 2, p. 37.

76. Nc. 2, p. 439.

77. मृदष्टिकदारुसंघातो स्कन्ध इत्यर्थः — NC. 2, p. 37.

78. Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 147; Beal, *op. cit.*, 1, pp. 73-74.

79. पुढविं चेव खणिऊण कत्ता — NC. 2, p. 34.

staircases built over the ground with bricks and stones⁸⁰ which afforded a way for ascending the upper stories. On the basis of situation these could be again divided into two groups—staircases attached to the inner apartments of a house (*vasahisambaddha*) and staircases away from it (*vasahisambaddha*), as in case of the staircases of the courtyard (*amgana*) or near the frontal entrance (*aggadara*).⁸¹

Proper system of drainage was a necessary must specially because of the damp climate. Drains (*dagaviniya*) were made to take away the rain-water.⁸² The drains connected to a house could be built at three particular spots—(i) drains outside the houses, (ii) drains inside the houses and (iii) drains upon the roof or terrace. Drains outside the house were underground (*nicca-pariggala*),⁸³ drains inside the house were constructed by digging the floor,⁸⁴ and drains upon the roof or terrace were made to extract the rain-water from accumulating. Water could come out through passages made inside the walls or through holes made for drains (*panala-chidda*).⁸⁵

Bridges (*sankama*) were required either for spanning the marshy ground (*visama-koddama*) or for crossing the rivers. There were two varieties of bridges—bridges built upon earth, and bridges whose spans were based on pillars (*khambha*) or beams (*veli*).⁸⁶ These could be made either by a single piece of wood or by joining various pieces together.⁸⁷ Wooden

80. अतज्जाया इट्टगपासाणादीहिं कत्ता — *Ibid.*

81. संबद्धा बसहीए लग्गा ठित्ता, असंबद्धा अगणए अगगपवेसदारे वा — NC. 2, p. 34.

82. वासासु दगवीण्या कज्जति — NC. 2, p. 36.

83. ना सा वसहीसंबद्धा बहिया सा निच्चपरिगलो — *Ibid.*

84. जा सा अंतो संबद्धा ता भूमी उम्मज्जति — *Ibid.*

85. *Ibid.*

86. NC. 2, p. 34; *Brh Vr* 5, v. 1492.

87. *Ibid.*

bridges seem to have been a familiar feature in Gujarat. The contemporary Valabhi inscriptions mention that the moat around the wall, which surrounded the city of Valabhi, was pierced by a number of gates, and at each of these gates there was a wooden bridge to cross the moat.⁸⁸ Bridges were both movable or permanent fixtures according to their construction.⁸⁹

Wells, Ponds and Miscellaneous Architectural Structures—A number of wells, pools, artificial lakes and ponds have been mentioned, which were a source of recreation for the people and also solved their water problem. While *Kupa*, *tadaga* and *daha*⁹⁰ were ordinary wells and ponds, *vapi* is mentioned as a rectangular construction (*samavrta*)⁹¹ and *pukkarani* as quadrangular in shape (*caturassa*).⁹² *Dihiya* was another variety of water-reservoirs and sometimes many such ponds or lakes were built together in a circular form (*mandali-samthiya*).⁹³ The *Paumacariya* of Vimala Suri informs us that reservoirs of water which were square in shape were known as *vavi*, the long and narrow ones as *dihiya* and circular as *pukkkharani*.⁹⁴ Vatsyayana also informs us that the proper house of a Nagaraka must have wells (*kupa*) and tanks or lakes (*vapi* or *dirghika*) attached to it.⁹⁵ *Gunjaliya* was same as *pukkkharani* but it was circular in shape.⁹⁶ There were also

88. Information as given by Prof. Nadvi of Ahmedabad to K.J. Virji, *Ancient History of Saurashtra*, p. 220.

89. पुनरप्येकैको चलस्थिरविकल्पेन नेयः— NC. 2, p. 34.

90. NC. 3, p. 346.

91. समवृत्ता वापी — *Ibid*.

92. चातुरस्सा पुक्खरणी — NC. 3, p. 346.

93. *Ibid*.

94. Chandra, K.R., *op. cit.*, p. 541.

95. मध्ये कूपं वापीं दार्विकां वा खानयेत् — *Kamasutra*, p. 225; Chakaldar, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

96. NC. 3, p. 346.

small and large pools (*maha-pramana-sara*) and sometimes many ponds were dug together in a line which was styled as *sarapamti*.⁹⁷ Water-places were known as *prapa* where water was distributed to the travellers during the summer season. It is evident that architects of this time were aware of constructing all these architectural structures and a regular system of architecture was evolved according to which the constructions were duly made.

Sculpture

Images of gods and human beings carved in wood, ivory and stones and cast in clay and plaster reveal the art of sculpture as a well developed one.⁹⁸ A proper standard was expected from the sculpture. Images were classified according to the expression imparted to them by the sculptor or according to the material used in making the same. In the NC, images have been classified in three groups: (i) images of birds and beasts (*tiriyapadima*), (ii) images of human beings (*manuyapadima*) and (iii) images of gods and goddesses (*devipadima*).⁹⁹ Small clay models of elephants, buffaloes, cows etc.¹⁰⁰ have been mentioned in the NC. Bana also mentions the group of sculptors making such trivial things as models of fish, tortoise, crocodiles, coconut, plantain and areca-nut trees on the occasion of Rajyasri's marriage.¹⁰¹

According to the popular custom, life-size statues of the enemy was modelled in clay inscribed with his name (*vaullaga, purusaputtalaga minmayapratima*). It was then

97. NC. 3, p. 346.

98. For sculpture in ancient India see—Gangoly, D.C., "Indian Sculpture", *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. III, pp. 536-54.

99. NC. 2, p. 30.

100. NC. 1, p. 61.

101. *Harsacarita*, p. 143.

shot down at the centre by an arrow. This act was supposed to bring his down-fall.¹⁰² A life-size statues of Amatya Varattaga, who later embraced monastic life, was built by his devoted son. It was adorned with all the paraphernalia of a Jaina monk, i.e., with broom (*rajoharana*) and mouth-covering (*muhapottiya*), and was then installed in the deva-temple.¹⁰³

Although the word *pratima* has been used for all types of images, this word had a sacred connotation. According to the author, *pratimas* were the images which were to be worshipped by human beings.¹⁰⁴ Sukracarya (circa 500 A.D.) believes that even a mishappen image of a god is to be preferred to an image of a human being irrespective of the physical charm it may display.¹⁰⁵ A large number of festivals were held in honor of the various gods and deities.¹⁰⁶ Their images must have been made by their respective followers. A mention has been made of the gold image of Rsabha¹⁰⁷ kept in the cave of Vaitadhya mountain where the disciples went on pilgrimage. Kosala was famous for its *Jiyanta-pratima* (image of the living god) which was an object of worship for people from far and wide.¹⁰⁸

Mention has been made of a sandalwood image of Vardhamana Svami which was in possession of the king Udayana. This was later taken away by king Pajjoya of Ujjayini by replacing a similar plaster cast image in its place.¹⁰⁹ Similar

102. NC. 1, p. 65, also pp. 61, 63.

103. NC. 4, p. 158; *Brh. Vr.* 4. p. 1110.

104. अचचयति तामिति अच्चा प्रतिमा — NC. 2, p. 30.

105. Coomaraswamy, A.K., *Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon*, p. 16.

106. See Chapter VIII.

107. NC. 3, p. 144.

108. कोसलाए व जियंतपडिमा — NC. 3, p. 79.

109. NC. 3, pp. 141-45.

stories of Jivantasvami image have been narrated in the various Jaina texts like *Avasyaka Curni*, *Vasudevahindi* and *Kumarapalacarita*.¹¹⁰ The existence of this tradition known only from literature can be supported by the find of bronze image of Jivantasvami from Akota, with an inscription on its pedestal in characters of circa 550 A.D. expressly calling it an image of Jivantasvami. Another bronze image of the same iconographic type, more beautiful and older, but with its pedestal lost, has also been found in the same hoard.¹¹¹

The images of Brahma, Visnu, Rudra and all other gods or the *ganas* of gods (*devagana*) were made and worshipped by their respective devotees.¹¹² Reference has also been made of an image of Narayana which was installed in the temple.¹¹³ A beautiful image adorned with flower-garlands was worshipped in Anandapura.¹¹⁴ People physically unclean were not allowed to touch or worship these sacred images.¹¹⁵ During the *Leppagamaha* which was a festival observed in ancient times during the early spring season (*balavasanta*), the images of gods were taken in a procession accompanied by artisans playing the musical instruments in order to be installed in the temple.¹¹⁶

On the basis of material used, the images of gods were classified in three categories:¹¹⁷ (i) images of gods and goddesses carved in wood (*kattha-kamma*) or cast in clay (*pottha*) or plaster (*leppaga*) or paintings (*citta-kamma*). They

110. Shah, U.P., *Studies in Jaina Art*, p. 4.

111. *Ibid.*, p. 5, also see figs. 20 and 22.

112. NC. 3, p. 142.

113. एतेहिं पडिणीयताए णारायणादिपडिमा ज्ञामिता — NC. 4, p. 59.

114. NC. 3, p. 349.

115. बाहिरमललित्तो तं पडिमं छिवति, अचचणं वा से कुणइ तो ण खमइ — NC. 4, p. 151.

116. NC. 3, p. 145.

117. NC. 4, p. 6; *Brh. Vr.* 3, p. 708.

belonged to the lowest grade as they were susceptible to getting spoiled even by touch.¹¹⁸ (ii) Images carved out of ivory (*hatthidamta*) were of the medium grade. These also were delicate in nature and appearance and could be easily spoiled.¹¹⁹ (iii) Images carved out of stones like *manisila* (red-stone) were the best. These were soothing to touch and were not spoiled easily.¹²⁰ Evidently different materials were used for making images. This corroborates Smith's observation that "small" portable images of the saints are made of crystal, alabaster, soap stone and various other materials, while the larger ones are carved from whatever kind of stone is locally available"¹²¹ and that "the Jainas delighted in making their images of all materials and sizes".¹²² I-Tsing also mentions that various types of materials like gold, silver, copper, iron, clay and stones were used for making images.¹²³

Painting

Like sculpture the art of painting was also practised for religious as well as secular purposes. Paintings having sacred objects as well as erotic scenes have been mentioned in the text. The art of painting was known as *citta-kamma*.¹²⁴ Like the images of gods, the paintings of gods and goddesses were also a favourite theme of the painters (*citrakaras*).¹²⁵

118. जा दिव्वपडिया कट्टे पोत्थे लेप्पगे चित्तकम्मे वा जा कीरइ एयं जहण्णय — NC. 4. p. 6.

119. जा पुण हत्थिदत्ते कीरति सा मज्झिमा, जे ण सुभतरफरिसा, अत्रापि हीरसंभवः — *Ibid.*

120. मणिसोलादिसु जा कीरइ सा उवकोसा, सुकुमालफरिसत्तणतो अहीरत्तणतो य— *Ibid.*

121. Smith, V.A., *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, pp. 276-68.

122. Wallhouse, quoted by Jain, J.P., *Jaina Sources of the History of Ancient India*. p. 230.

123. Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

124. NC. 4, p. 6.

125. NC. 2, p. 327.

The walls of the houses were sometimes painted with erotic scenes (*sacittamkamma vasahi*) depicting the various objects relating to marriage like *vasagrha*.¹²⁶ This practice of having “painted walls” in the houses is attested by the contemporary literature. A contemporary Jaina story called “Domuha’s tale” describes a guild of craftsmen painting a hall in the royal palace with beautiful paintings.¹²⁷ They were rewarded with gifts of raiments and other presents after the completion of their work.¹²⁸ Kalidasa frequently refers to the palaces decorated with paintings (*sacitra prasadah, sadmasu citravastu*).¹²⁹ Bana also shows a group of painters painting auspicious scenes on the walls of palace on the occasion of Rajyasri’s marriage.¹³⁰ Mention has also been made of the female figures painted in such paintings.¹³¹ It perhaps indicates towards the practice of carving ‘*citra-putrikas*’ in the royal palaces.¹³²

Paintings were also made on wood, clay, plaster, books and clothes.¹³³ Single-coloured paintings as well as multi-coloured paintings having five colours were known.¹³⁴ Bana also displays his knowledge of the five elementary colours,¹³⁵ and mentions a specific term *varnasamkara* for mixing the various colours.¹³⁶ It is evident that the art of painting was

126. तासु सचित्तकम्मासु वसहीसु अण्णारिसो भावो समुप्यज्जति — NC. 2, p. 461.

127. Meyer, J.H., *Hindu Tales*, p. 174.

128. *Ibid.*, p. 139.

129. *Malavikagnimitra*, l. 17; *Raghuvamsa*, XIV, 15, 25; see also—Upadhyaya, B.S., *India in Kalidasa*, p. 231.

130. *Harsacarita*, p. 124.

131. अम्हं चित्तकम्मे वि लिहिया इत्थी वज्जणिज्जा — NC. 2, p. 17.

132. *Harsacarita*, p. 165.

133. कट्ठकम्मं कोटिटमादि, पुत्तकेषु च वस्त्रेषु पोत्थं, चित्तलेपा प्रसिद्धा — NC. 3, p. 349.

134. चित्तविचित्तो पंचवण्णेहि — NC. 2, p. 327.

135. *Kadambari*, p. 143.

136. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

well-known to the people, although no further details can be judged from the text.

Music

Music was also popular amongst all the sections of society according to NC. It formed an intergral part of the social and religious functions. Music in ancient India was associated with semi-gods like the *gandharvas*, *kinnaras* and *jakkhas*¹³⁷ who practised it in assembly of gods in heaven (*devasabha*) to please the higher gods. A proper classification of music along with description of the various musical instruments given in the NC, displays the wide knowledge of the author on this subject. Music was divided into two groups—vocal and instrumental—although the former was also invariably accompanied with some type of musical instrument.

Vocal Music—Vocal music known as *gamdharva*, *gita* or *geya*¹³⁸ was divided into four categories; (i) *tamtisama*, (ii) *talasama*, (iii) *gahasama* and (iv) *layasama*.¹³⁹ *Tamtisama* was the music in accordance with rythem or rhythmic beating of the drums (*tala*).¹⁴⁰ *Gahasama* is expalained as music in unison with ‘voices’ or ‘notes’ (*svara*)¹⁴¹ and *layasama* was music adopted to different ‘speeds’ or *layas* (a kind of measure in music).¹⁴² According to the *Ramayana*, the essential

137. NC. 2, p. 12; NC. 3, p. 141; NC. 4, p. 2.

138. सरकरणं सरसंचारो वा गेयं — NC. 4, p. 199; NC. 2, p. 12.

139. गीयं चउत्त्विवहं-ततिसमं तालसमं गहसमं लयसमं च — NC. 4, p. 2; *Brh.* Vr. 3, p. 697.

140. *Tala* is a technical term in music used for rhythmic beating.

141. *Gaha* is explained as instrumental music by J.C. Jain (L.A.I., p. 183). According to the NC., however, it was music in accordance with the *svaras* (NC. 4, p. 2). For seven *svaras* or notes or voices in music see—*Amarakosa*, 1. 611.

142. According to the *Amarakosa* *laya* is the prefect harmonious combination of *nrtya-gana* and *vadya*.

qualities of music were : (i) it should be in accordance to a recognised scale, (ii) it should be composed of seven notes or *svaras* and (iii) it should be accompanied by one of the stringed instruments like *vina* or *vivanci*. It should also be adapted to three speeds—(i) *druta*, (ii) *madhya* and (iii) *vilambita*, i.e. fast, slow and medium.¹⁴³

Music was equally practised by both the sexes.¹⁴⁴ Women were supposed to be having sweet voice¹⁴⁵ and men versed in music were given the compliment of *gamdharva* or *kinnara*.¹⁴⁶ *Gandharva-natta-sala* was the place where music was regularly practised.¹⁴⁷

Instrumental Music—Instrumental music was played independently or along with vocal music. Musical instruments were known as *aojja*¹⁴⁸ or *turiya*.¹⁴⁹ *Aujjasala* was the place where the various musical instruments were kept.¹⁵⁰ These have been divided into four classes: (i) *tala*, (ii) *vitla*, (iii) *ghana* and (iv) *jhusira*.¹⁵¹ *Tala* is explained as stringed instruments (*tamti*) like *vina*, flute etc.¹⁵² *Vitla* refers to percussion instruments. *Vitlala* includes *anaddha* or

143. See—Dharma, P.C., "Musical Culture in the Ramayana," *Indian Culture*, Vol. IV (1937-38), p. 447.

144. NC. 2, p. 12.

145. मित-मधुर-गीतादिभासासदे . . . स्त्रीवत् — NC. 2, p. 20.

146. NC. 3, p. 12.

147. NC. 3, p. 297.

148. NC. 4, p. 24.

149. बहु आउज्जसमुदातो वा तुरं भण्णति — NC. 3, p. 101.

150. NC. 3, p. 297.

151. आउज्जं चउव्विहं-ततं वितं घणं झुसिरं — NC. 4, p. 2; *Brh. Vr.* 3, p. 697; *Amarakosa*, 1. 1.16.; *Yasastilaka*, p. 384.; *Bhagavati Sutra* (Tri. Abhaya), 5.4.148.

152. आलविणीयमादि ततं . . . अहवा - तंतीहिं ततं — NC. 4, p. 2; *Brh. Vr.* 3, p. 697; *Harsacarita*, Tr. p. 19.

avanaddha (stretched or leather-bound) instruments liked the various kinds of drums tabors etc.¹⁵³ *Ghana* was the concussion instrument like the instruments played upon by sticks.¹⁵⁴ *Jhusiras* were the hollow or wind instruments like *vamsa*¹⁵⁵ etc. The *Nisitha Sutra* refers to the following list of 35 musical instruments which have been classified into the four above-mentioned categories.¹⁵⁶

1. *Vitala or Percussion Instrument*:—(i) *bheri*, (ii) *padaha*, (iii) *murava*, (iv) *muimga*, (v) *namdi*, (vi) *jhallari*, (vii) *vallari*, (viii) *damaruga*, (ix) *maddaya*, (x) *saduva*, (xi) *paesa*, (xii) *golui* etc., are included in the *vitala* class of instruments.
2. *Tala or Stringed Instruments*:—(i) *vina*, (ii) *vivamci*, (iii) *tuna*, (iv) *bavvisaga*, (v) *vinaiya*, (vi) *tumbavina*, (vii) *jhodaya*, (viii) *dhamkuna* etc. are included in the *tala* or stringed class of instruments.
3. *Ghana or Concussion Instruments*:—(i) *tala*, (ii) *kamsatala*, (iii) *littiya*, (iv) *gohiya*, (v) *makariya*, (vi) *kacchabhi*, (vii) *mahai*, (viii) *sanaliya*, (ix) *valya* etc. belong to the *ghana* class of instruments.
4. *Jhusira or Hollow or Wind Instruments*:—(i) *sankha*, (ii) *vamsa*, (iii) *venu*, (iv) *kharamuhi*, (v) *parilasa*, (vi) *veva* etc. are mentioned as *jhusira* instruments.

The NC, enlightens us about some of the instruments mentioned above and also gives information about few more

153. बहुतंतीहि विततं मुहमउदादि विततं — NC. 4, p. 201.

154. घणं उज्जललकुढा — *Ibid*.

155. झुसिरं वंसादिया — *Ibid*. See also — Dharma, P.C., *op. cit.*, p. 450. for proper explanation of the four types of musical instruments see — Kapadia, H.R., "The Jaina Data about Musical Instruments"—*JOIB.*, Vol. II, No., 3, pp. 263-67, also Vol. II. No.4, pp. 377-87.

156. NS. XVII. 135-38 (NC. 4, pp. 200-201).

additional instruments which came into vogue by this time. *Sankha* was from an aquatic animal,¹⁵⁷ *srnga* was made of the horn of buffalo,¹⁵⁸ *Samkhiya* a similar instrument but it was longer in length and smaller in width.¹⁵⁹ *Kharamuhi* was same as *kahala*; its frontal portion made of wood was shaped like the mouth of an ass.¹⁶⁰ *Piripirtti* was an instrument made by joining together two pieces of hollow sticks and its mouth-piece had only one opening. It was blown like a *sankha* (conch-shell) and produced three different sound simultaneously.¹⁶¹ *Gumja-panava* and *bhambha* were the musical instruments used by the *menthas* (elephant-drivers) and the *matangas*.¹⁶² *Dundubhi* was similar to *bheri* but was constricted towards the mouth-piece. *Muraja* was larger than *bheri* in size.¹⁶³ *Nalika* was an instrument made from the jointless portion of the bamboo reed (*apavva-vamsa*); it was known as *murali* (flute) also.¹⁶⁴ Other musical instruments like *kamsiga*, *kamsalaga*, *bhala*, *talajala* and *vadiya*¹⁶⁵ have also been mentioned which are not included in any of the traditional four groups. The large number of instruments mentioned in

157. "संखो" जलचरप्राणिविशेष : — NC. 1, p. 84; NC. 4, p. 201.

158. सिंगं महसीसिंगं — *Ibid*.

159. दीर्घाकृति स्वल्पा च संखिया — NC. 4, p. 201.

160. खरमुखी काहला, तस्स मुहत्थाणे खरमुहाकारं कट्ठमयं मुहं कज्जति — *Ibid.*; *Harsacarita* p. 204; for the construction of the *Kahala* see — Agrawala, *Kadambari* ; *Eka Samskritika Adhyayana*, p. 77.

161. मुहमूले एगमुहा सा संखागारेण वाइज्जमाणी जुगवं तिणिण सहे पिरिपिरिती करेति — NC. 4, p. 201.

162. गुंजापणवो मंठाण भवति । भंभा मायंगाण भवति — *Ibid*. The term *Gunja* occurring in the *Ayara Nijjutti* (v. 166) has been explained by Silanka Suri as under — गुज्जा भंभा तद्वत् गुज्जन् यो वाति सो गुज्जावातः — See, Kapadia, *JOIB.*, Vol. II.

163. NC.4, p. 381.

164. णालिय ति अप्पवा भवति, सा पुण लोए "मुरली" भण्णति — NC. 1, p. 84.

165. कंसिग-कंसालग-भल-तालजल-वादिया — NC. 4, p. 201.

the NC. indicates the popularity of the musical instruments in the society during this time.

There were also organised bands of singers and musicians who were proficient in playing the various instruments. The head or master of such bands was known as *turyapati* and the other artists working under him were known as *kusila*¹⁶⁶ or *talacara*.¹⁶⁷ These musicians were usually employed by the king for various purposes, and we find that it was their proud privilege to receive the old garments of the king apart from the wages as a reward of their services to the king.¹⁶⁸

These musical instruments were played upon on various social and religious occasions.¹⁶⁹ Army always marched in accompaniment to the sound of various musical instruments¹⁷⁰ like *sankha*, *srnga*, *bheri*, *dumdubhi* and *pataha* etc. Bana writing about the army before its march depicts the scene in a graphic way: "Straight away the drums rattled, the *nandis* rang out joyously, the trumpets breyed, the *kahalas* hummed, the horns blared, the noise of the camp gradually increased,"¹⁷¹. Various instruments like *namdimuha maumda*, *samkha* and *padaha* when seen or heard in a dream were considered auspicious of acquiring material prosperity.¹⁷²

Dance and Drama

Related to music were the arts of dance (*nrtya*, *natta*) and drama (*nadaga*, *abhinaya*) and these have been mentioned

166. NC. 3, p. 577; *Brh. Vr.* 1, p. 190.

167. तालाद्यादिभिः विद्याविशेषैः चरति तालाचरा — NC. 3, p. 577.

168. *Ibid.*

169. See—Music.

170. NC. 1, p. 8.

171. *Harsacarita*, Tr. p. 199, also p. 113.

172. गंदीमुखस्स मउंदादीतूरस्स . . . संखत्तस्स पडहस्स य सद्दस्सवणं पसत्थं — NC. 3, p. 101.

as components of music. The *nadas* or *nattas*¹⁷³ have been mentioned along with the *talacaras* and *kusilas*. The term *gamdhavva-nattasala*¹⁷⁴ also indicates that music and dancing were practised together. Three different terms, i.e. *natta*, *nadaga* and *nrtya* have been mentioned in the NC. *Natta* was without music, while *nadaga* was accompanied by music.¹⁷⁵ *Nrtya* is explained as assuming various postures or forms by the different parts of the body, i.e. feet, thigh, knee, waist, arms, fingers, face, eyes and eyebrows along with their proper expression (*vikarakarana*).¹⁷⁶ Expression thus played a great part in dancing and dramatic performances.

A proper training under a competent master was required for *natta* which must have been given in the *nattasala*. *Natta* was divided into four classes : (i) *amciya*, (ii) *ribhiya*, (iii) *arabhada* and (iv) *hasola*.¹⁷⁷ These have been mentioned in the *Natyasastra* of Bharata along with the various types of dances, but in place of *hasola*, *bharamara* dance is mentioned there.¹⁷⁸ Bana refers to "the actors in the wild miracle play (*arabhati*) with its passionate circular dances."¹⁷⁹ It seems to represent one of the dances mentioned in the NC., viz. *arabhada* dance.

Drama or the art of acting (*nidaga*) was always accompanied with music.¹⁸⁰ It was also known as *abinaya*

173. NC., p. 468.

174. NC. 3, p. 297.

175. गीतेण विरहितं णट्टं, गीतेण जुत्तं णाडगं — NC. 4, p. 2; *Brh. Vr.* 3, p. 697.

176. NC. 4, p. 199; see also — *Paumacariya*, 37. 50. and 39. 22.

177. नट्टं चउज्विहं - अचियं रिभियं आरभडं भसोलं ति — NC. 4, p. 2; *Br. Vr.* 3, p. 697.

178. नृत्तमपि चतुर्विधम्, तद्यथा - अञ्जितं रिभितं आरभडं भसोलं, एते चत्वारोऽपि भेदा नाट्यशास्त्रप्रसिद्धाः *Brh. Vr.* 3, p. 696; *Bhagavati* (Bechardas ed.), p. 43; see also — LAI., p. 185.

179. *Harsacarita*, p. 28, text. p. 51.

180. NC. 4, p. 2; *Brh. Vr.* 3, p. 697.

the art of which was to be learnt under a component teacher.¹⁸¹ The *nadas* have been frequently mentioned to be performing in front of the public at different places.¹⁸² *Pekkhanagas*¹⁸³ or dramatic performances were enjoyed by the kings along with their queens. Further information on dance and drama is not available from the NC. However, music, dance and drama may be taken as different component parts of a major art. According to Kautilya also, music in wider sense includes all the four subjects—singing, playing on instruments dancing, and dramatic performance.”¹⁸⁴

No doubt, there have been a rich Jaina tradition of art and architecture, including performing arts, as narrated by the author of the NC.

181. अहिणजसे परस्स सिक्खावणा — NV. 4, p. 199; *Brh. Vr.* 3 p. 696.

182. णाडगादि णडयंता णडा — NC. 2, p. 468.

183. NC. 1, p. 15.

184. *Arthasastra*, 2. 27. (Encyclopedia of Jainism, Vol. 8, pp. 2204-2214).

5

JAINA ART AND ARCHITECTURE : MATHURA

Mathura is an ancient historical city and many religions and cultures have flourished on this land. Mathura is also famous for Buddhist and Jaina Art and Architecture since ancient days. There is mention in Vishak Sutra¹ and Naya-Dhamma-Kahao² regarding the visits of Parsvanatha and Lord Mahavira. There is an interesting story in Paumchariya³ that seven sages Surmitra, Srimantra, Sritilam, Sarva Sundar, Anil, Lalit and Jai Mitra for the first time established the Svetambara sect at Mathura. They encouraged construction of chaityas (caityas) and thupas (stupas). According to Avasayaka curni⁴ Acarya Arya-Rakshit came to Mathura and stayed in a well maintained chaitya called 'Bhoot-Guha'.

There is much about Lord Buddha's visit to Mathura in Buddhist texts. In ancient days there was a chain of Jaina chaityas and stupas at Mathura. One of the stupas was built of gold. It is supposed to be constructed by Gods. In Brihatkalpa-Bhasya⁵ there is description of such a stupa adorned with gems and jewels which according to Jain belief was built by 'Kubera', a goddess (or a richest lady) in the memory of seventh Tirthankara Suparsvanatha.⁶

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1. Vishak Sutra, p. 26.
 2. Naya-Dhamma-Kahao, p.156.
 3. Paumchariya, 2, 2, 89.
 4. Avasayaka-curni, Pt. 1, p.411.
 5. Brihat-kalpa-Bhasya, 5, 1536.
 6. Vyavahara Bhasya, 5, 27, 28.

People of Mathura believed in Jainism and Buddhism equally and used to celebrate Jaina festival of 'thupa-madda' and 'chaitya-madda'.⁷ Till today professional and skilled artisans well versed in temple construction reside in Mathura-Vrindavan and celebrate 'Viswakarma day', or the 'great day of Artisans'.

For centuries Jaina religion was popular in Mathura and whenever new construction started an image of 'arhat' (Jaina Tirthankara) was established in a centrally located covered window. Such mangal-chaityas in Mathura and adjoining 96 villages in four way crossings were built⁸ by the Jinas.

During the excavations of Kankali tila two ancient Jain stupas and a large number of images were found, and one of the stupa was supposed to be built in 3rd century B.C. (*Epigraphica Indica*). Some ancient Inscriptions⁹ have also been found during excavations which are of historical importance. For the first time Strachy found an image of red stone in 1936, which was transferred to Asiatic Society of Bengal. It is now safe in Calcutta Museum. Cunningham in 1853 found a large number of images and inscriptions at Katra Kesav Deo. Again in 1862 he found some images of Buddha of Gupta period. In 1860 when District courts building was constructed near 'Jamalpur tila' many images of historical importance were found, which have been kept in Calcutta, Lucknow and Mathura museums. There are certainly Buddha and Jaina art pieces of great significance. Again in 1871 Cunningham excavated Kankali tila and Chaubara sites and found Jaina stupa belonging to first century or perhaps of earlier times.

7. Agrawal, V.S. : *Ancient Festivals of India*, p. 91.

8. *Brihat-kalpa-Bhasya*, 1/1774.

9. *Epigraphica Indica*, pt. 2, p. 199.

F.C. Growse the popular District Magistrate of Mathura who was interested in Mathura art and culture found a large number of images of ancient period and founded Mathura Museum in 1874. Fuhrer took much interest in Mathura art and excavations at 'Kankali tila' were carried out under his guidance since 1888 to 1891, where he found a large number of Jaina image of second century B.C. He again carried out excavations work in 1896 at 'Katara tila' and found remains of a temple, seems to be of Buddha period.

Kushan rulers have contributed a lot in promoting art and architecture at Mathura.¹⁰

A large number of images, it is feared, have been stolen or taken away by individual and vested interests. Silver and gold coins as well as jewels are still found in private excavations when houses are built.

Shah¹¹ has observed: "From the excavation of the Kankali tila, Mathura, a large number of inscribed Jaina sculptures have been obtained. Buhler, Luders and others have published these inscriptions and discussed them long ago. V.A. Smith published this monumental work on the antiquities of the Jaina Stupa at Kankali tila, Mathura. But all this was done long ago. V.S. Agrawal rendered very valuable service by publishing a Catalogue of Jaina Antiquities in the Mathura Museum. He also gave readings of the inscriptions on the Jaina sculptures in the Mathura Museum. Prof. Lohouizen-de Leewe in her monumental work on the Scythian period discussed some Jaina sculptures from Mathura along with the problem of calculation of the dates given in these inscriptions. Her theory was that in some of these inscriptions,

10. Ashok Kumar Singh : *Uttar Pradesh Ke Prachintam Nagar*, pp. 140-153.

11. Shah, U.P. : *Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura*, in *Encyclopedia of Jainism*. Vol 12, p.3150.

while giving the year, the number for hundred was omitted. This theory has not met with universal approval. For example G.S. Gai, Epigraphist to the Government of India, argued against it in a recent paper published in the 'Aspects' of Jaina Art and Architecture. Again, the age assigned to some of the undated inscriptions on the Ayagapatas from Mathura, given by Smith and Buhler, is not acceptable to some scholars.

But it is still more important to note that readings of some inscriptions, published earlier, are open to correction as well as new interpretation. For example, an inscription which was supposed to read Nandyavarta (Arhat) and was interpreted to refer to the image of the Jaina whose cognizance is Nandyavarta, has been read again by K. D. Bajpai, who read the word as "Muni Suvrata," thus referring to the image of the Arhat Muni Suvrata. I have read this inscription and found that K.D. Bajpai's reading "*pratimavo dve thube*" and the Stupa was called "Vodva Stupa" by almost all later writers. The late Prof. Alsdorf wrote to me that his teacher Dr. Luders had corrected the interpretation and split the words properly as "*paratimavo dve thubhe i.e.* two images in the (Devanirmita) stupa. These notes of Prof. Luders are still unpublished."

Many of these inscriptions refer to the names of Jaina monks—acaryas and others—alongwith their gana, kula, sakha. We have not tried to identify them with the help of Jaina literary traditions, especially of the Pattavalis. What is required now is, first, to prepare tentative charts giving age of monks as well as for their sakhas etc., with the help of both Digambara and Svetambara Pattavalis. Then we must try to give a date to those monks of the Pattavalis whose names are found in the Mathura Inscriptions. Again, we can work out tentative dates of different ganas, sakha and kulas. A correlation of literary and inscriptional evidence would then

help us in finding out the approximate but reasonable age of the different inscribed sculptures from the Stupa at Mathura.

For this, the Jaina Community must come out with necessary funds and should plan to publish each and every Jaina sculpture from Mathura, alongwith fresh estampages and photographs of the inscriptions, read and edited by a small committee of well-known Indian epigraphists. They may differ amongst themselves regarding the age of the script of different (especially undated) inscriptions but we can publish views of each of these scholars editing them.

For placing the history of the Jaina Samgha and the Jaina art on a sound footing, this is very essential. Such a study is now long overdue. The committee of experts will also compare the scripts of different inscriptions with those of Buddhist and Hindu inscriptions of the Kushana period from Mathura and may also prepare charts of evolution of the different letters.

All this is an expensive job but must be undertaken and completed with the help of our old aging but highly experienced epigraphists before it is too late.

This scheme will also bring to light in beautiful plates in one volume, all the Jaina sculptures from Mathura now mainly preserved in the Museums at Lucknow and Mathura. Smith's old book mainly publishes line-drawings of only a few important sculptures.

At the time of celebrating of 2500 years of Shri Mahavira's Nirvana I had made this appeal before our leading Jains as well as some scholars. I now hereby request the whole Jaina Community to consider this and plan such a project with proper funds with the help and cooperation of the Director-General of Archaeology in India and Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs and Deptt. of Culture of the U.P. State Government. According to Shah : this would be

our fitting tribute to the cause of Jainism and to Revered Acaryaratna Sri Desabhusanji Maharaja.¹²

Jain Sculptures In Mathura Museum

Learned Jaina Scholar Shanti Lal Nagar describes the masterpieces of art preserved in Mathura Museum which are as following:

(i) Dated Images of the Kusana Period.¹³

(1) B71. Stele carved with a nude Jina figure standing on each one of its four sides. Three of these figures have haloes and the fourth one has a broken Naga-hood. All four figures have a symbol in the centre of the chest. On the four corners of the pedestal are figurines of human devotees, facing both ways. Their hands are missing. There is a square mortice in the top of the stone. On the lower rim of the base along the four sides runs an inscription in one line.

“...(In the year) 5, the 4th month of winter, the 20th day, on that (date specified as) above... out of the (Kotuya) *gana*, the Uchenagara *sakha*, the Brahmadasika *kula*... Mihila-his disciple, the reverend...”

1565 - Fragment consisting of the pedestal of a seated Jina image, inscribed on the upper rim. On the front of the face *dharmachakra*, six worshippers and defaced lions.

“....In the year 33, on the 10th day of the third month of the summer season, at this time, disciple of the preacher Arya.”

The year would fall in the reign of Huviska. The sculpture was obtained from the Ranipura Mohalla near Dig Darwaza, Mathura City.

12. Ibid., p. 3151.

13. Nagar, Shanti Lal : Jaina Sculptures in Indian and Foreign Museums, p. 81.

(2) B70.—Stele carved with a nude Jina figure standing on each one of the four sides. Three of these have halo and the fourth one has a seven-headed Naga-hood. All four figures have symbol in the centre of the breast. On the four corners of the pedestal are figurines of devotees facing both ways. There is a round mortice the top of the stone. The base is broken. along the three sides runs an inscription in two lines. The lettering on side *b* is partly, and that on *c* is wholly, lost.

Inscription runs as follows:—

a 1. *Siddham (sam) 35 he i di 12 asya purvvayam.*

Koti (yalo).

2. *ganato Brahmdasikato Uchenakarito.*

“....Success (In the year)35, the first month of winter, the 12th day on this (date specified as) above, (at the request of out of the Kottiya (*gana*), Brahmdasika (*kula*), the Uchehnagari (*sakha*) the Srigriha (*sambhoga*)..... for the welfare and happiness of all creatures.”

(3) B. 29 Fragment consisting of the legs and upper part of the pedestal of a Jina (?) seated crossed-legged in meditation. The relief on the front face of the pedestal evidently represented a wheel with four worshipping figures who are holding bunches of flowers as offerings. Only the heads are partly preserved. On the raised rim over the front relief runs an inscription in two lines 1'4" in length; the last portion of the first line and almost the entire second line are destroyed. It reads:— (1) *Maharajasya Devapatrasya Huvishkasya r) a) jya-sa (m) 50 he. 3 di.* (2)....., (2) *vaha....botha sa gha ne.* “In the reign of the king, his Majesty Huviska, in the year 50, in the third month of winter, on the second day.....” This inscription shows the image to belong to the Kusana period.

(4) 490. Fragment¹⁴ of a Tirthankara image consisting only of the legs in *padmasana* and hands in *dhyanamudra*. On the pedestal is a *dharmacakra* placed on a dwarf pilaster being worshipped by eight figures who appear to be donors. The image represented the Tirthankara Vardhaman and was set up on the advice of a teacher of the Kottiya *gana*. The pedestal bears an inscription of three lines in Kusana Brahmi, reads as under:—

- a. *Om Siddha* (m) 80 4va 3 di 20 5 *etasmipurvvaya* (m) Damitrasaya *dhit* (u) Okha,
- b. *rikaye kutubiniye Dataye danam Vardhamana-pratima pratithapita.*
- c. *ganato Kottiyato* (ba).....s(ya) *Satyasenas* (ya)..... *dharavridhisya ni* (rvartana).

“Om Success! On the 25th day of the 3rd (month) of the rainy season, in the year 84, on this occasion as specified, (this) image of Vardhaman, a gift of Oharika, the daughter of Damitra, and Data (Sanskrit Datta), the wife of a householder, was set up under the advice of Satyasena and*dharavridhi*, of the Kottiya-*gana*.”

The pedestal was obtained from a *sadhu* living in a *baghichi* near Kankali tila, which must have been its original find-place.

(5) B2. Image of a Jina seated cross-legged in meditation (Skt. *dhyanamudra*). Head and left arm missing. *Srivatsa* symbol in centre of chest and symbol in the palms of the hands and on the soles of the feet. Relief on front of pedestal defaced. Inscription in two lines on rim over front relief reads as under:—

1. *Siddam Maharajasya Vasudevasya sam* 83 gri. 2 di. 16 *etsata purvvaye Senasya.*

14. Ibid., p. 82.

2. (*dhi*) *tu Dattasya vadhuye Vya.....cha.....ya gandhikasya Kutumbiniye Jinadasiya pratima.*

“Success ! In the year 83 of Maharaja Vasudeva. in the second (month of) summer, on the 16th day, on that (date specified as) above, an image, the pious gift of Jinadasi, the daughter of Sena, the daughter-in -law of Datta, the wife of the perfumer Vya...cha...”

(6) Image of a Jina seated crosslegged in meditation. Head and left arm missing. *Srivatsa* symbol in centre of chest and symbols on the palms of the hands and soles of the feet. Relief on front of pedestal defaced. Fragmentary inscription in one line on rim over front relief which reads :— *Siddhaim Sam 83. gri, 2. di, 25 (dtaye purvvaye).....* “In the year 83, in the second (month of)summer, on the 25th day...” The date proves that the image was made in the reign of the Kusana King Vasudeva.

(7) Image of the Jina Adinatha or Rshabhanatha seated cross-legged in meditation. Head and arms missing. Halo with scalloped border partly preserved. *Srivatsa* symbol in centre of chest, and wheel symbols on the palms of the hands and soles of the feet. The relief on the front face of the pedestal represents a wheel of the law (*dharmacakra*) placed on a pillar. It is being worshipped by ten human devotees both male and female, of whom two are kneeling at the foot of the pillar, whilst the others are standing, some carrying. Flowers, as offerings and others folding their hands in the attitude of adoration. The two ends of the relief are occupied by standing lions.

The sculpture was carved in the reign of the Kusana King Vasudeva, as appears from the inscription of three lines, two above and one beneath the front relief.

“Success¹⁵! In the reign of the king, the king of the kings, His majesty (*Sahi*) Vasudeva, in the year 84, the 2nd month of summer, the 5th day, on that (date specified) above, Kotabhava, the wife of Ainnara, the daughter-in-law of Bhatadatta Ugabhinaka has erected an image of the Lord the Arhat Rsabha at the request of Kumaradatta...”

(8) B 5. Image of a Jina seated cross-legged in meditation (*dhyanamudra*). Head and arms broken; sculpture otherwise damaged. Symbol of wheel on the palms of the hands and soles of the feet. On front of the pedestal is a relief representing a wheel placed on a trident which is being worshipped by six lay devotees of whom the two near it are outward. On the pedestal there is an inscription, considerably mutilated, which consists of two lines (2'2" in length), one over and the other under the relief. Some more letters are traceable beneath the second line.

Undated Kusana Images, Both Inscribed and Uninscribed

Nagar further mentions some undated Kusana images both inscribed and uninscribed as follows:-

(1) B. 8 Image of Jina (?) seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation (*dhyanamudra*). Find-place unknown.

(2) *Torso* of a Jina (?) image seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation (*dhyanamudra*). Find-place unknown.

(3) Image of a Jina seated cross-legged in meditation (*dhyanamudra*). Head missing. On front of the pedestal a devotional scene, a wheel placed on a pillar, worshipped by three men, four women and a child. On both ends a lion to front. Find place unknown.

15. Ibid., p. 83.

(4) Image of a Jina seated cross-legged in meditation. Head missing. Arms broken. On front of pedestal a relief much defaced, representing a wheel being worshipped by male and female devotees. On each end a lion to front, that to the proper left broken. Over relief are the traces of an inscription. The image probably belongs to the Kusana period. Find-place unknown.

(5) Fragment of a statuette of a Jina seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation on a throne supported by two lions. On the front of the pedestal is a wheel with three male worshippers on right side and three females on the left. On the upper rim is an inscription which is continued on the proper left side of the pedestal.

On palaeographical grounds the sculpture is to be assigned to the later Kusana period.

(6) Statuette of a Tirthankara seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation on a throne supported by a pair of lions. Between these lions are four figures, mostly defaced, worshipping a wheel. The main figure has a circular halo with scalloped border round the head, and the *Srivatsa* symbol in the centre of the chest. The soles of the feet also are marked with symbols. On each side stands an attendant figure, with an elaborate head dress.

(7) Statuette of a Jina cross-legged on a throne supported by two lions. There is a wheel and four worshippers on the front side. On the rim over this relief is an inscription continued on the proper left facet.

(8) Image of a Jina seated in *Jina* seated in *dhyanamudra* on a throne supported by two lions, between which are two male and two female figurines worshipping a wheel placed on a pillar. On the rim is an inscription which is continued on the proper left side of the image.

“....Out of the Kottiya *gana*, and of the Vachchhalika-kula, (gift of) an image of Vardhaman, by Choda, the daughter’s son together with Rsidasa.”

The Vachchhalijja-kula is referred to another Jaina inscription from Kankali tila, Mathura, now in the Lucknow Museum.

(9) B. 27 Fragment consisting of the lower portion of Jina (?) image seated cross-legged in meditation, as expressed by the position of the hands which rest in the lap, with the palms turned upward. In each palm is sign of the wheel. On the sole of the feet is the same emblem besides the symbol of the three jewels (*triratna*). The sculpture is said to originate from the Kankali tila.

(10) B. 30 Fragment of a Jina figure seated cross-legged on a throne much defaced. Find-place unknown.

(11) B. 32 Image of a standing Jina. Head and feet lost; hands injured. Male attendant with fly-whisk standing on each side. Lower portion of back is square. Vertically¹⁶ above the back projects three sides of an octagonal shaft. The image is said to come from the Kankali tila.

(12) Torso of a standing Jina. Find-place unknown.

(13) Torso of a standing Jina. Symbol in centre of chest. It was brought to the Museum from the bungalow No.14.

(14) Torso of a Jina figure, standing against a slightly projecting pillar. Remnants of a circular halo visible on the back of the stone. Long straight locks falling on shoulders which prove him to be Adinatha. Find-place unknown.

(15) Torso and head of the figure of a Jina. Arms missing, nose broken, lips slightly injured. No halo. Hair arranged in conventional short curls, ear-lobes elongated. *Srivatsa* symbol in centre of chest. Find-place unknown.¹⁷

16. Ibid., p. 85.

17. Ibid., p. 85.

(16) Torso of a Jina (?) figure. *Srivatsa* symbol in centre of chest. Find-place Kankali tila (?).

(17) Torso of a Jina (?) figure. *Srivatsa* symbol in centre of chest. Find-place unknown.

(18) Torso of a Jina figure. *Srivatsa* symbol in centre of chest. Find-place unknown.

(19) Torso (ht. 8.5") of a Jina (?) figure. *Srivatsa* symbol in centre of chest. Attendant holding fly-whisk to proper right. Find-place unknown.

(20) Torso of a Jina figure. *Srivatsa* symbol in centre of chest. Find-place unknown.

(21) Fragment consisting of thighs of standing Jina figure. Find place unknown.

(22) Head of a Jina figure. Nose, chin and right cheek broken. Hair plain. Find-place Kankali tila.

(23) B. 47. Head of a Jina figurine. Nose, chin and right cheek broken. Hair plain. Find-place Kankali tila.

(24) Head of Jina figure. Much defaced; nose broken. Hair arranged in short schematic curls. Face round and full; eyes large. Find-place Kankali tila?

(25) Head with portion of a Naga-hood, presumably belonging to a figure of the Jina Parsvanatha. The hood must have consisted of seven snake-heads, one on the proper right side missing. Over each snake-hood is a sacred symbol, viz., *svastika*, *ratnapatra*, *triratna*, *puṇaṭghata* and *mina-mithuna*. The head of the Jina, of which the nose and chin are missing, has short schematic curls and elongated ears. The eye-brows are drawn in one line. The cheeks are full; the lips thick and protruding. Find-place unknown. Kusana period.¹⁸

18. Ibid., p. 86.

(26) Image of a Jina seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation between two attending figures, standing with folded hands. The central figure has a symbol in the middle of his chest, and remnants of a circular halo with scalloped border on both sides of his head. On the pedestal is a relief, flanked by two lions, which represents four human figures worshipping a wheel. The carving is partly defaced and the workmanship poor. Late Kusana period.

(27) Fragment consisting of two hands of a Buddha or Jina figure seated in the attitude of meditation. Find place unknown.

(28) Stele including tenon with a nude Jina standing on each side. One is distinguished by a seven-headed Naga hood; another by straight hair falling on both shoulders. Each figure has a *Srivatsa* symbol in the centre of the chest. On each side of the pedestal is a bas-relief representing a devotional scene. In the top of the stone is a square mortice for the reception of a tenon; there is square tenon in the bottom. Find-place unknown.

(29) B. 68. Stele with a nude Jina figure standing on each of the four sides. The four figures are all defaced and otherwise injured. Three have ornamental haloes and one a seven-hooded Naga-hood. One of the three haloed figures has straight locks falling on the shoulders. Each figure has the *Srivatsa* symbol in the centre of the chest. There is a square mortice in the top of the stone. The pedestal is broken, on one side are traces of an inscription, which reads...*ka bhaginiye Gho.....*"(of) *Gho.....*the sister of" The character is that of the Kusana period.

The sculpture is said to have been found in the Kankali tila.

(30) Stele with a nude Jina figure standing on each of the four sides. Three of these figures have haloes and one a

seven-fold Naga-hood. One of the haloed figures has long straight hair falling down on both shoulders. All four figures have a symbol in the centre of the chest. On the four corners of the pedestal are human worshippers, facing both sides and a round mortice in the top of the stone.

The sculpture is said to originate from the Kankali tila.

(31) Stele carved with a nude Jina figure standing on each of the four sides. Each one of the figures has Srivatsa symbol in the centre of the chest. One is distinguished by a snake-hood and the other three by haloes with scalloped border. The sculpture was found fixed into the wall of a small *linga* shrine and was being worshipped as Virabhadra, a *gana* of Siva. Possibly the image came originally from the Kankali tila.

(32) B. 73. Stele carved with a nude Jina figurine standing on each of the four sides.

(33) Head of a Jina figure.¹⁹ Hair only indicated by a line above the forehead. Nose broken, ears slightly damaged. From a *baghicha* near the Bhuteswar mound.

(34) Fragment of a Tirthankara image consisting of a lion throne with crossed legs above it. There is an inscription in four lines on the upper and lower rims, half of which is broken and the other half also much obliterated. The script is Brahmi of the Kusana period. Line I being *siddha*.

(35) Pedestal of a four-fold Jina image, of which only the front side and a portion of the proper right and left facets are preserved. Above are to be seen traces of three feet, two of the front Jina and the left foot of the proper right figure. On the front face is a relief consisting of a wheel worshipped by two men, two women and two boys holding lotus garlands. On right side also are preserved the figures of a female worshipper and a young boy, and on the left side that of a male with a boy.

19. Ibid., p. 87.

“.... This is the gift of Bhattidama, a resident of the town of Abhisara, at the behest of the preacher, the venerable Rsidasa.

The name Bhattidama corresponds to Sanskrit Bharttidaman.

Abisara, the Abisares of the Greeks, has been identified with Hazara, the north-western district of the Peshawar Division. The donor belonged to a flourishing town in the North-west, and it appears that he accepted Jainism on his arrival at Mathura. The sculpture which belongs to the Kusana period was obtained from the Bhuteswar locality near Kankali tila.

(36) Headless image of a Jaina Tirthankara seated cross-legged between two worshippers standing in adoration. On pedestal are conventional lions and a *dharmachakra* and four miniature worshippers. On the lower rim is an inscription very much defaced. From its style the image belongs to the Kusana period.

(37) Fragment consisting of the right portion of the crossed legs of a Jina figure. From Kankali tila well.

(38) Fragment of the pedestal of a Jina (?) image found in the Kankali tila well. Figurines of worshippers on the four sides and also on the proper right side, over which there is one line of inscription reading :— *jasya rajatirajasya Kanishkasya*, which shows that the image was dedicated in the reign of Kaniska.²⁰ There are also some faint letters on the lower rim reading *sandhisya ni.....* The image belongs to the Kusana period.

(39) 397. Fragment of a Tirthankara image showing on the front face of the pedestal a female goddess seated in *bhadrāsana* having a child in her left arm and holding a cup

20. Ibid., p. 88.

(?) in her right hand. On either side is a worshipper. Above the relief are the crossed legs of the Jina and traces of attendants feet, and on the lower rim is a defaced inscription.

(40) Fragment of the right hands of a colossal Jina (?) figure. An idea of its enormous dimensions can be had from the auspicious disc symbol carved in palm of the hand. The back side of the fragment is also carved with flowers and leaves of the Kusana period.

(41) Upper portion of a four-fold Jaina image (ht. 6") in which the usual four Tirthankara heads, one with serpent-hood, are preserved. Kusana period.

(42) Bust of a Jaina image having a scalloped border hold, and the torso of a worshipper on right side. Chest symbol partly visible.

(43) Fragmentary bust of a Jina with *srivatsa* symbol. Kusana period. From Kankali tila.

(44) Upper part of a Jina image found at Kankali tila. Kusana period.

(45) Head of a Jina (?). Hair plain. A break in the skull at the place of *usnisa* which must have been absent in Jina figure. *Urna* indicated. Kusana period.

(46) Bust of a Jaina Tirthankara, with both arms broken and chest symbol slightly visible. Kusana period.

(47) Fragment of the pedestal of a Jina (?) statuette consisting of the left lion, two miniature worshipper and a wheel on a dwarf pilaster. The letters on the upper rim read *vachaka* and on the lower *dana*. Kusana period.

(48) 794. Fragment bas-relief carved with a Jina figure seated cross-legged in a raised lotus-seat (*utthitha padmasana*) similar to that in the other Jina image in the Museum. A female worshipper on left. Kusana period.

(49) 972. Fragmentary image of a standing Jina figure bearing three lines of inscription in Kusana Brahmi on the front side of the pedestal. It reads :—

Line I. *Siddha Naganandi (?) sya Ridhilasya Nirvarta....*

Line II. *Sabhasya dhitu Bhavanaksya kutumbiniye danam A*

Line III. *Ryya Datilasya....*

“Success ! at the behest of Riddhila, pupil of Naganandi, this is the gift of the daughter-in-law of Sabha, wife of Bhavanaka. Of the Venerable Datila....”

The image belongs to the Kusana period.

(50) Image of seated Tirthankara waterworn. Kusana.

(51) Head of a Jaina Tirthankara. Hair treated in curls. Kusana period.

(52) Left side fragment of the pedestal of a Jina image carved with a lion and two female devotees. Two lines of inscription on the upper and lower rims in Brahmi characters²¹ of Kusana period stating that the image was established by a *Kutumbini* for worshipping a temple of the Arhats.

(53) 1263. Fragment of an image of a Jina seated cross-legged on *simhasana*. There is an inscription on the upper rim and also on the two rims of the proper left side. The lower rim on the front side is broken.

The image was evidently the gift of the wife of Jayadasa whose name was Sisurika.

On palaeographical grounds the image belongs to the later Kusana period, about third century A.D.

(54) Head of a Jaina Tirthankara with curly hair, Buff Stone, Kusana Period.

21. Ibid., p. 89.

(55) Head covered with hair arranged in schematic waves, probably of a Tirthankara image, Kusana period.

(56) Head of a small Jina figure carved in the round with hair arranged in parallel crescents. From Kankali tila. Kusana period.

(57) Detached head of a colossal image, probably Jaina. Hair indicated by a line. *Urna* dot between the eye-brows. Broken at the top of the crown.

(58) Image showing a headless figure seated in *dhyanamudra*. Traces of two attendants. On pedestal is placed a *dharmachakra* on dwarf pilaster between two worshippers flanked by two lions. Probably a Jaina Tirthankara, through the chest symbol is defaced. Kusana period.

(59) Pedestal of a Jaina image seated cross-legged in raised *padmasana*, similar to B. 1. Buff coloured stone. Kusana Period.

(60) Fragment of the pedestal of a seated Vardhaman image. A fragmentary inscription in four lines of Kusan Brahmi :—

Siddha Vadhamana pra...

thavayati Datasa....

Dhamadevasya vadhu

Bhavadevaya da....

“Success ! This Vardhaman image is dedicated by (the wife) of Data, daughter-in -law of Dharmadeva, being the gift to Bhavadeva.”

(61) Fragment (ht.6”) of a pedestal showing two standing nude Jaina Tirthankara with parasols above them. Kusana period.²²

22. Ibid., p. 90.

(62) Jaina Tirthankara seated in *dhyanamudra* with a scalloped halo. The interest of the image is derived from the attendant figure on proper right side, who is a hooded Naga with folded hands. In the images of Neminatha we find hooded Balarama in this position. Kusana period.

(63) Upper part of an image showing three figure under a canopy. The central figure is the bust of the Jaina Tirthankara Neminatha. On proper right side is a four-armed figure of a Nagaraja with seven hoods which must be identified with Balarama on account of the *hala* symbol in his upper left hand. the lower right hand is akimbo as in Balarama images of this period. The objects in the rest of the two hands are lost. The left figure is that of four-armed Visnu, having a long *gada* in upper right hand and a *cakra* in upper left one. The objects in the other two hands are lost. On the right and the left corner of the protecting canopy are two celestial figures. The upper projection is carved on the lower and upper surface with *vetasa* leaves, which is the Bodhi tree of Neminatha (Buhler; Indian Sect of the Jainas, p. 67). The image is interesting and throws light on the iconography of Tirthankaras. Late Kusana period.

(64) Head of a Jaina Tirthankara with plain hair and *urna* dot between the eye-brows. Kusana period.

(65) Pedestal of a small statuette of a Jina showing on the front face a *dharmachakra* worshipped by two squatting figures. One line of Brahmi inscription on the upper rim partly preserved reads *Dasaya kutumbi(ni)ye asaye*.

Tirthankara images of the Gupta period

Nagar further writes:—

(1) Image of a Jina of colossal size seated cross-legged (*utthitas padmasana*) in the attitude of meditation

(*dhyanamudra*) with both hands resting in the lap. The lower portion of both arms is broken as is also upper portion of the elaborate halo, decorated with concentric bands of various designs. The nose is broken; the lips and elongated ears are slightly injured. The hair is arranged in short schematic curls turned to the right. There is the *Srivatsa* symbol in the centre of the chest. the palms of the hands and soles of the feet are marked with the symbol of the wheel. The image probably belongs to the Kusana period on account of its ornamental halo and the treatment of the hair.

(2) Image of a Jina seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation (*dhyanamudra*). Head is missing. Ornamental halo and locks partly preserved which prove it to be a figure of Rsabhanath. On each side stands a male attendant probably Nami and Vimani, holding a fly-whisk in his right hand. The sculpture is perhaps identical with the life-size seated figure with an elaborately carved nimbus and long hair flowing over the shoulders and down the back.

(3) Statuette (ht. 2' 5") of the Jina Rsabhanatha seated cross-legged in meditation on a cushion which is placed on a throne (*simhasana*) supported by a pair to lions. In the centre is a wheel between two figurines of meditating Jinas, both defaced. The head of the main figure is missing, but the long straight hair is still visible on both shoulders. An attendant *chauri*-bearer stands on each side; the left one is missing.²³

(4) Image (ht. 2' 0") of a Jina seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation. Head is missing. Symbol appears in the palms of the hands on the soles of the feet.

(5) Image of a Jina seated cross-legged in the meditation (*dhyanamudra*). The head is lost, but remnants of a radiating halo are still extant. An attendant on each side; but one to the left is broken. The one to the right stands in the attitude of

23. Ibid., p. 91.

adoration (*namaskara*) and wears a snake-hood, showing him to be a Naga. On the front of the base is a relief representing eight human worshippers including three women and two children, standing in the attitude of adoration on both sides of a wheel placed on a pillar. Similar devotional scenes are commonly found on the bases of Gandhara images. On both sides of the relief are defaced lions. On the pedestal over the relief is an inscription in two lines, each 7" in length, which reads:—

*Samvatsave saptapanchase 57 hemanta-tri(tri)ti
ye divase trayoodase sya purvvayam...*

“In the fifty-seventh (57th) year, in the third month of winter, on the thirteenth day; on that (date specified as) above....”

(6) Evidently this sculpture is the same as “the broken naked Jina figure with an Indo-Scythian inscription dated in the year 57, both in words and in figures”, which was obtained by Cunningham from the Sitalaghati mound on the bank of the Yamuna.

(7) Fragment consisting of the lower portion of a Jina (?) image seated cross-legged in meditation. Left knee missing; pedestal defaced. Symbol of the wheel in the palms of the hands and on the soles of the feet.

(8) Proper left side fragment of the pedestal of a Jina image. Its front face shows a wheel on a throne, a male and a female worshipper standing to front in *anjali mudra* and a lion. On the upper and lower rims is an inscription in the characters of the Gupta period, which read as follows :—

(Sam) vva (i) 90 7 (?) varshe ma 1 Koteya-gana-Vaira-sakhi.

ddha (ma-ttadeshi)... vi (bu?) pratishthapita.

It shows that the image was established in the year 97 by someone who belonged to the Kottiya-gana and its Vajri sakha. The style of the figures on the front relief as well as the script make it certain that the year 97 should be referred to the gupta era, in which case the inscription would be dated in A.D. 416, in the beginning of the reign of Kumara Gupta.

(9) Fragment of an image showing the torso of a standing figure of Rsabhanatha. Head is lost. Portion of an ornamental halo; straight locks on shoulders are still preserved. On both sides appear an attendant standing on a lotus and holding a flywhisk. Gupta period.

(10) Mask of the head of a Jina figure of colossal size. Left cheek and nose missing; lips and chin damaged. Hair in short conventional curls. Face round and full; eyes large and protruding; pupils not indicated. Find-place Kankali tila (?). Gupta period.²⁴

(11) Mask of the head of a Jina (?) image of colossal size. Note and chin broken. Hair arranged in short conventional curls. The head seems to have an *usnisa* and there is a small urn above the nose. Gupta period.

(12) Head of a Jina image, of buff-coloured sandstone. Nose, chin and ears slightly damaged. Hair in short schematic curls. Face round and full, eyes large, pupils not marked. Eye brows in two curves almost touching each other.

(13) Head of a Jina (?) figure. Top of the head and nose is broken. Ears and chin are injured. Deep, round hole at the place of left ear. Hair is treated in schematic waves. Face is round and full, eyes large. Pupils are not indicated.

(14) Head (ht. 1') of a Jina image. Nose broken; ear-lobes injured. Hair are short with conventional curls. Face is round and full, eyes large,. Pupils are not indicated.

24. Ibid., p. 92

(15) Head of a Jina (?) figure, with nose broken and chin injured. Back of head including ears, missing, Hair arranged in short conventional curls.

(16) Head of a Jina figure which is much defaced. Hair is arranged in wavy rows.

(17) B.51. Head of a Jina figure which is well preserved. Nose and ears are slightly injured. Hair is arranged in rows of schematic waves. Face is broad and a flat urn appears between the eye-brows.

(18) Head with portion of left shoulder and halo of Jina (?) figure. Hair arranged in wavy rows. Forehead, nose and lips damaged.

(19) Head of a Jina figure. Nose broken; face much injured. Hair arranged in short schematic curls. Pupils indicated. Portion of ornamental halo.

(20) Head of a Jina figure. Much worn. Hair is arranged in short schematic curls.

(21) Fragment consisting of the lower portion of the head of Jina (?) figure.

(22) Fragment of the head of the Jina (?) figure with hair arranged in conventional curls.

(23) Head of a Jina image of colossal size. The surface has peeled off in places. The hair is arranged in schematic curls.

(24) Fragment of a stele with images of Tirthankaras. Of the four images, only the oval halo and remnants of the heads are preserved on three sides. One of them probably wore a Naga hood. Over each Jina are two flying figures, much worn, which carry garlands, flowers, etc. On the top of the stone is a raised disc, with two concentric circles.

(25) Sculpture of buff-coloured sandstone representing a Tirthankara seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation (*dhyanamudra*) on a lotus throne supported by two couchant lions. The main figure is headless and all the attending figures as well as the proper left lion are defaced. Between the lions we notice a wheel and two deer, which in Buddhist iconography denotes the Buddha's first sermon in the "Deerpark near Varanasi."²⁵ On the receding ends of the pedestal there are figurines of Kubera, the god of wealth, with his money-bag, and of the goddess of fertility, who holds a child on her left knee. Above them are two attendants, standing, which are broken and must have held fly-whisks. Each one of these is surmounted by four figurines, arranged in groups of two placed one over the other, and seated on lotuses so that four are placed to the right and four to the left of the ornamental halo of the Tirthankara. These eight figurines evidently represent the sun, moon and the five planets (which have given their names to the seven week-days), the last of the number being Rahu, the Eclipse demon who is shown as only a bust.

The main figure was evidently canopied by a parasol, on both sides of which there is a group of two flying celestials, male and female, probably meant for a Gandharva and an Apsara. These figures are all defaced.

The sculpture forms a transition between the Tirthankara figures of the Gupta period and those of the late Middle Ages.

(26) Head of a Jaina Tirthankara with curly hair and elongated ear-lobes. Gupta period.

(27) Stele carved with a standing nude Jaina Tirthankara who on account of the loose locks falling on both shoulders should be identified with Rsabhanatha. The upper corners are occupied by a pair of garland-bearing celestials and the lower ones by a pair of fly-whisk bearing attendants, and the margin

25. Ibid., p. 93.

on three sides by an undulating lotus-creeper. On the pedestal is a *cakra* on either side of which is an inscription in three lines in Brahmi characters of the Gupta period.

1. सिद्धम्-ऋषभस्य प्रतिमा समुद्र
2. सागराम्यां सङ्ग-रकस्य
3. दत्ता-सागरस्य प्रतिमा

“Victory. This image of Rsbha was dedicated by Samudra and Sagara to Sangaraka. The image (belonged to) Sagara.

The value of the record lies in the name of the Jina given *i.e.* Rsabhanatha, who is represented with loose locks on both shoulders. It is therefore possible to identify other Jina images with similar hair with the first Pontif Adinatha. The image should be assigned to the early fourth century A.D.

(28) Upper half of an image representing some Tirthankara. Srivatsa symbol appears on chest. Remnants of an elaborate halo are still preserved. Gupta period.

(29) Head covered with short curls, Nose, left ear, front portion the hair and back of the head are damaged. It probably belonged to a Tirthankara image. Gupta period. Kankali tila.

(30) Head of a Jaina Tirthankara of Buff stone from Kankali tila.

(31) Headless bust of a Jaina Tirthankara²⁶ with *Srivatsa* symbol on the chest. Gupta period.

(32) Fragment of an image showing headless Jaina Tirthankara seated cross-legged on a lotus. Gupta period.

(33) Image of seated Jaina Tirthankara with halo, between two attendants, one of which is broken. Gupta period.

(34) Pedestal consisting of the crossed-legs of a Jaina Tirthankara. On the front side between two crouching lions is a symbol composed of *mina-mithuna* heads with open mouths

26. Ibid., p. 94.

which a string is pendant. The sign of fish is according to the Digambaras, the cognizance of Tirthankara Aranatha, the eighteenth Jaina Arhat. An image of this Tirthankara under the name of Aarahat Nandivarta was found at Kankali tila and is now deposited in the Lucknow Museum. It may be noted that the Nandyavarta symbol is given to Aranatha by the Svetambaras (E.I. Vol. II, p. 204. inscription No. XX.). Judging from its style the pedestal belongs to the Gupta period.

(35) Head of a Tirthankara with hair arranged in S-shaped curves, ears elongated and nose damaged. Gupta period. Red sandstone.

(36) Image (ht. 11") of a Jaina Tirthankara with hair arranged in made of Buff stone, nose damaged, hair arranged in parallel crescent like waves. Gupta period.

(37) Head of a Tirthankara with hair in parallel crescents. Gupta period.

Tirthankara images of the Medieval period

Nagar further writes:—

(1) Statuette of a figure seated cross-legged in meditation. On pedestal below are two lions with a *dharmacakra* between them. On right side are four figures, two of whom are seated cross-legged in *dhyanamudra*. Remnants of a similar figure on the left side. The statuette represents a Jaina Tirthankara belonging to the Svetambara sect as the circular piece of cloth marked on the rim under the legs indicates. Medieval period.

(2) Lower portion of the figure of a Jina seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation.

(3) Image of a Jina seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation (*dhyanamudra*). There is an *usnisa* on top of the head and *Srivatsa* symbol in centre of the chest. On each side of miniature there is an attendant standing on a lotus and waving

a fly-wisk. In the two upper corners two flying figures appear apparently carrying garlands. The relief is enclosed between two pillars indicating a chapel in which the image was supposed to be placed.

(4) Image of a Jina seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation (*dhyanamudra*) on a low triangular cushion, with ornamental front. Head is missing and arms are broken. The nipples are marked by wheel symbols. In the centre of the chest is a *Srivatsa* symbol. Slightly embossed disk in the palms of the hands and on the soles of the feet.

(5) Image of the first Jina, Adinatha or Vrsabhanatha, seated on a cushion in meditation. Head is missing with top portion of the slab. The figure was originally placed in a chapel, the pillars of which are broken off above the base. The Jina's seat is supported by two couchant lions placed between two broken pillars. A piece of cloth²⁷ with garlands hangs down from the seat, so that its border touches the wheel beneath. Below it is a miniature couchant bull, the cognizance of the Jina. The lower portion of the sculpture is divided by four pilasters into three compartments. In the proper right and central one are two figures in that to the left, three standing figures of the Jinas. Immediately beneath the outer pilasters are two figures kneeling figurines of human worshippers. On both sides of the projecting portion of the stone is vertical row of five figures of which four are Jinas, seated in meditation. The missing top portion of the slab, probably contained eight more Tirthankara figurines making total of (24) twenty four, the traditional number of Jain patriarchs. The lowermost figures of both rows are a male and female probably a Yaksha and Yakshi; the latter holds a flower in each hand. A Nagari inscription in one line runs along the raised rim over the lions. It reads:—

Om Pandita Sri-Ganavara-devaya

27. Ibid., p. 95.

(6) Image of the 22nd Jina Neminatha seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation on a throne supported by two lions. On each side of the main figure stands a male attendant waving a fly-whisk. Under these two attendants are two couching figurines, male and female, with a staff in each hand. They probably represent Yaksha and Yaksini. The male wears a diadem on the top of his head, the female a high tiara. Over the *chauri*-bearers are two flying figures, apparently carrying garlands, and over these two elephants stand on both sides of the parasol which surmounts the Jina's head. On the top of the parasol there are traces of a miniature figure beating a hand-drum. On the raised rim beneath the pedestal is an inscription, of which the greater part is destroyed. It reads :— *Samvat 1104 Sri Bhadresvaracharya gachchha Mahila...* The year, if referred to the Vikrama era, would correspond to A.D. 1047. Under the inscription is a conch (?), the cognizance of the Jina Neminatha (PL. 55).

(7) Statuette (ht. 1' 4.5") of a Jina seated cross-legged in meditation (*dhyana-mudra*) on a cushion placed on a throne which is supported by a pair of couchant lions. The sculpture is much damaged and the head is missing. An attendant appears with a fly-fan to the left. The corresponding figure to the right is lost. A kneeling figure of a human worshipper appears on each end of the pedestal. There runs an inscription in one line along the lower rim of the pedestal, but only a few letters are preserved.

(8) Fragment consisting of the lower portion of a Jina seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation (*dhyanamudra*) on a triangular cushion ornamentally carved along the front. It bears an indistinct Nagari inscription dated Samvat 1234, corresponding to A.D. 1177.

(9) Image of white marble, representing a Jina seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation. The head is lost. In

the palms of the hands is a four-petalled flower. On the front face of the cushion is an inscription in three lines, composed in a mixture of Sanskrit and Hindi and written in the Nagari character. The date is the Vikrama year 1826, Magha vadi. 7 thursday, corresponding to the 18th January A.D. 1770. It reads:—

- a. *Samvat 1826 varshe mitr Magha vadi. 7 Guravasara Diganagare Maha(ra)je Kehari Si(m)gha raja vijaya (rajye).*
- b. *mahabhattacharaka sri-pujaya-Sri-Mahananmda-sagara-suribhis tad upadat (-desat) Palli-valavamsamagihagai.*

and

- c. *tre (Ha) rasana-nagara-vasina Chaudhari Jodharajena patitta (pratistha ?) karapiteya (kariteyam).*²⁸

“In the year 1826, (the month) Magha, the 7th day of the dark fortnight, on Thursday in the victorious (reign) of Maharaja Raja Kehar Singh at the town of Dig, by order of the great master of worshipful Sri Mahanand Sagar suri, the consecration was caused to be made by Chaudhari Jodha Raj of the Pallival clan and of Magiha family and a resident of the town of Harasana.”

(10) Image of Jina, either Suparsva or Parsvanatha, wearing a Naga-hood and seated cross-legged in meditation on a cushion, supported by sitting lions. The figure is placed in a miniature chapel, the pillars of which are broken. The projecting portion of the architrave are supported by rampant lions which stand on the heads of couchant elephants.

(11) Stele with a nude Jina figure, seated cross-legged in meditation each one of the four sides. One wears a seven-

28. Ibid., p. 96.

headed Naga hood; and another of the four figures has straight hair falling on both shoulders. Two are seated on a throne supported by a pair of lions between which stands a wheel, the narrow side facing. A similar wheel in the same position is found on the two remaining sides, but here it is placed between two squatting figurines, one a corpulent male figure holding a cup in his right and a money bag in his left hand; the other, a female, holding an infant in her left arm, and in her right an indistinct object. These figurines probably represent Kubera, the God of wealth of Hariti, the goddess and abundance.

(12) Stele carved on the four sides with a nude Jina figure seated cross-legged in meditation on a cushion placed on a throne (*simhasana*) supported by a pair of lions, turned outward with one forepaw raised. Between each pair of lions, in the centre of each one of the four sides, is a wheel. Along the four faces of the pedestal are miniature figurines of the nine planets beginning from Surya, holding lotuses. On one side there is a kneeling female figure and on another side a grotesque head showing Rahu. The upper portion of the stone with four heads is missing. One of the four figures is distinguished by long straight locks falling on the shoulders. Each Jina figure has a symbol in the shape of conventional flowers, in the palms of the hands and on the feet.

(13) Sculpture in buff-coloured sandstone representing the first Tirthankara Adinatha seated cross legged in the attitude of meditation (*dhyanamudra*) on a lotus-throne supported by two couchant lions. Between the lions there is an effigy of a bull, the cognizance of the first Tirthankara recognised also by his loose locks. We notice two kneeling figurines on both ends of the pedestal. They probably represent the donors of the sculpture. The back-slab is lost together

with head and arms of the Tirthankara figure. The knees also are broken.²⁹

(14) Image of the 22nd Tirthankara Neminatha seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation (*dhyanamudra*) on a throne which is supported on two dwarf pillars and a pair of lions seated with one forepaw raised. Half concealed behind the pillars are two figurines, down between the two lions. Under it there appears to be a wheel and on the plain rim of the pedestal beneath we notice a conch, the cognizance of the Tirthankara Neminatha. To the right and left of the main figure there is an attendant standing with a fly-whisk in one hand, and on both sides of the halo, a couple of flying celestials, probably a Gandharva and an Apsaras, of which the male figure carries a garland as an offering, whilst the female seems to shower flowers. Over each of these two groups there must have been an elephant standing on a lotus flower. The feet of that on the proper left are still traceable. The head of the Tirthankara is provided with an ornamental halo and is surmounted by a triple parasol, on the top of which there is a prostrate figurine beating a hand-drum. The sculpture is of the medieval type.

(15) Image in black marble representing a Jina seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation on a plain base. Head is lost. Symbols on chest and on the hand are visible.

(16) Statuette in white marble representing a Jina seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation on a plain base. Head is lost. Symbols on chest and on the hand. The sign of nudity is indicated between the abdomen and the palms of the hands placed in lap.

(17) Fragment showing a miniature Tirthankara figure seated in meditation on a lotus in a chapel, supported on two dwarf pilasters. To the proper left of this chapel there is a

29. Ibid., p. 97.

nude Tirthankara figure, standing, and seated Yaksini with a child on her left knee. The fragment was evidently the part of an image slab. Medieval period.

(18) Image showing Parsvanatha with snake coils at the back, seated in *dhyanamudra*. Head, forearms and hands are damaged. On pedestal appears a *dharmacakra* between two lions. Early medieval period.

(19) Image of headless Jaina Tirthankara seated on a high lion-throne. Medieval period.

(20) Stele carved with the figure of a standing Jaina Tirthankara with twenty-three miniature figures representing the other Tirthankaras. Medieval period.

(21) Architectural piece carved with four figures of standing Jaina Tirthankaras. Early Medieval period.

(22) Image of headless Jaina Tirthankara seated on a lotus. Gray stone. Medieval period.

(23) Fragment of a Jaina *chaumukhi* image of which the two Tirthankara viz. Adinatha and Suparsva are preserved. Early Medieval period.

(24) Fragment of a Medieval Jaina image consisting of a triple parasol and a portion of the lotus halo.³⁰

(25) Image of a seated Tirthankara having a triple parasol above his head. Medieval period.

(26) Image of seated Tirthankara under Bodhi tree. On either side a vertical band of squatting figures. From the loose locks falling on both shoulders of the figures it appears to be that of Rsbhanatha. Medieval period.

(27) Jaina Tirthankara; seated in *dhyanamudra*. The head with a full-blown lotus as halo is damaged. On right and left are two standing fly-whisk bearing attendants, above them

30. Ibid., p. 98.

two *antariksa-chara* deities mounted on elephants, and the clouds are shown with a pair of a garland-bearing celestial. The uppermost horizontal band contains a row of four seated Jinas. On the pedestal is a *dharmacakra* flanked by two couchant lions. A deer is shown in the right corner and a kneeling male figure in the left.

(28) Image of Parsvanatha with a canopy of seven snake hoods, is seated cross-legged in meditation. On either side a male and female attendant waving *chauris*, and a garland-bearing *deva* is poised in the sky. On pedestal is a *cakra* flanked by two couchant lions. Medieval period.

(29) Miniature Jaina stele showing *Pratima Sarvatobhadrika*, with four Tirthankaras standing under triple parasols. Medieval period.

(30) Upper part of a Tirthankara image consisting of the Arahata's head in a sunken niche underneath a Bodhi tree, on the foliage of which are shown two flying celestials holding garlands. Medieval period.

(31) Headless Jaina Tirthankara seated in *padmasana*. On the pedestal are two damaged lions rampant and facing in opposite directions. The recessed projections on right and left show a male and a female figure squatting in *lalitasana*, who may be the *sasana-devata*. The image has suffered much injury, Medieval period.

(32) There is an image of a seated headless Jaina Tirthankara with an attendant on each side. The one to the right is four-armed Balarama holding a cup in front right hand; the one to the left is four-armed, Vasudeva, the Tirthankara represented must be Neminatha. On the pedestal is carved a *cakra* between two squatting figures and two couchant lions looking in opposite directions. Early Medieval period.

(33) Headless, seated image of a Jaina Tirthankara is dated in Samvat 1548, Vaisakha sudi. The mark of nudity is also indicated showing that it belonged to the Digambara sect.”

***Miscellaneous Jaina Images*³¹**

On miscellaneous Jaina images, Nagar writes:—

(1) A stone sculpture depicts the goddess Chakresvari, the Yaksi of Rsabhanatha standing on a cushion supported by a Garuda. Originally the image must have had ten arms, each one of which held a wheel (*cakra*). The head which is broken is surrounded by an elaborate halo in the shape of an expanded lotus-flower. On each side stands a female attendant, that to the right holding a fly-whisk and that to the left a wreath. Both are defaced. In the centre of the top of the slab is a cross-legged figure of a Jina considerably damaged seated in meditation. On both sides of it is a flying figure carrying a garland.

(2) Image of a female deity representing Ambika, the Yaksi of Neminatha. She has an ornamental halo and is seated on a lotus cushion supported by a couchant lion. Her left leg is drawn up, and her right foot is placed on the ground. In her right hand she holds a bunch of flowers, partly broken, and with her left clasps a male child which sits on her thigh playing with the lower necklace on her left breast. Both of these figures are defaced. The female figure is clad in a garment which covers the lower part of the body. A scarf thrown over the shoulders and passing behind the neck falls over the upper arms. She wears an elaborate head dress, a double necklace, bracelets, anklets and an ornamental girdle. The nude child has a necklace, rings round its upper arm and wrist and a narrow band round the lions. To the left of the central figure stands another child, also mutilated, with similar ornaments

31. Ibid., p. 99.

and the right hand resting on the right knee of the goddess. At the other side of the standing child is a miniature Ganesha seated on a low cushion and holding in his left hand a vessel of sweetmeats to which he applies his trunk. On the corresponding side, to the right, is another seated figure, the face of which is broken. It holds a bowl in right and a purse in left hand. It represents probably Kubera, the god of wealth. This and the Ganesa figure have oblong haloes. On both sides of the central group stands an attendant waving a fly-whisk. On the panel beneath are eight dancing female figures, probably Saktis.

The upper portion of the relief projects a canopy of flowers. In the centre is a defaced figure of Jina seated cross-legged on a lotus in the attitude of meditation. On both sides is a four-armed figure standing on a flower. The right hand figure is that of Balarama holding *hala* and *musala*, and the left one is that of Visnu holding *padma* and *gada* in the right hands and *cakra* and *sankha* in the left. The image of Ambika, who is worshipped amongst the Jainas as the Yaksini of Neminatha may be compared with the actual image of Neminatha found at Mathura, which also show the two attendant figures of Baladeva and Vasudeva.

(3) There is also an image of the goat-headed god *Nemesa* or *Naigamesa* who presides two children hanging down about his thigh. Besides, there was, on each of his shoulders, a figure of which only the legs are still traceable. Judging from the style, the statuette belongs to the Kusana period.

(4) Figure of a goat-headed goddess with prominent breasts holding with her left hand a pillow on which a male child (defaced) is lying with hands joined on its breast, the right hand of the goat-headed figure is broken, but seems to have been raised to the shoulder.

(5) Fragment of an image shows a goat-headed goddess with prominent breasts over which is a necklace. The figure is evidently a replica of another figure in the Museum.

(6) Female bust of an image holding a cradle in her lap with a child sleeping on it, is similar to that on the female counterpart of the Jaina god Naigamesa³² though in the present instance the figure is not goat-headed. The right hand is shown in *abhayamudra*. The sculpture belongs to the Kusana period.

(7) Fragment of an image depicts a seated female figure of which only the left leg and left hand remain. She holds a cradle (?) on which an infant is lying. On both sides of her feet is a crouching figure. Pedestal is defaced.

(8) A stone sculpture is showing in relief a male and a female seated side by side in *lalitasana* under a *kalpadruma*. Projecting from the upper foliage of the tree is carved a miniature figure of Tirthankara seated in *dhyanamudra*, and on the trunk of the tree is an ascending lizard. On the pedestal is carved another figure seated with left leg drawn up flanked by two butting arms and a group of six frolicksome children.

(9) Image of a goat-headed female figure holding lotuses in right hand and a goblet in left. Probably the female counterpart of the Jaina god Naigamesa. Kusana period.

(10) Image fragment showing the upper part of a goat-headed male figure with children borne on his shoulders. Kusana period.

(11) Head of the goat-faced god Naigamesa. Kusana period.

(12) Image of the standing goat-headed deity Naigamesa, with two children on his shoulders. His right hand is in *abhayamudra*, left akimbo holding what seems to have been

32. Ibid., p. 100.

a purse. He was worshipped as the presiding diety of child birth and prosperity amongst the ancient Jaina community of Mathura. Kusana period.

(13) Image of a goat-headed four-armed goddess, seated in *lalitasana* on a mountain with a child on her left knee who is holding a cup near his mouth. She is holding a trident, cup and noose. Below her right leg is carved a minature animal, a bull or a buffalo, as her vehicle. She may be the female counterpart of Naigamesa or Maheswari, a Divine Mother. Medieval period.

(14) Image showing a male and female figure seated on a mountain under a tree, probably the Kalpadruma of Jaina mytthology. On the tree is seated a miniature Tirthankara in *dhyanamudra*. Both the principle figures are two-armed and hold a brimming cup in right hand. The female carries a child in her left arm.

(15) Image showing a goat-faced male figure with a child on each shoulder, representing the Jaina god Harinaigamesa. Kusana period.

(16) Image carved in the round showing a goat-headed goddess holding a child in left arm seated on her left knee. Her right hand is in *abhayamudra* and there is a big halo round the head. She wears a prominent necklace above breasts. She seems to be the female counterpart of the male god Naigamesa. Kusana period.

(17) Image of a couple seated on a mountain under a tree on which a Jaina Tirthankara is seated in meditation. The female figure holds a child in her left arm. On the pedestal is a group of seven miniature figurines in *arjalimudra*. Medieval period.³³

33. Ibid., p. 101.

(18) Goat-faced Jaina god Harinaigamesa standing with a child on each shoulder. Kusana period.

(19) Red sand stone image of the goat-faced god Harinaigamesa showing his right hand in *abhayamudra*. He carries four children, two on each shoulder. Kusana period.

Ayaga-pattas

On Ayaga-pattas, Nagar writes:—

(1) Q 2. tablet of homage or *ayagapatta* carved with a complete *stupa* surrounded by a railing and approached by means of flight of steps and an ornamental gateway (*torana*). The *torana* is of the usual type with three architraves, the projecting ends of the one beneath being supported by lion-brackets. The *stupa* is flanked by two pillars of Persepolitan style, the one to the proper right carrying a wheel and the other a sitting lion. On each side of the *stupa* are three worshipping figures. The two flying figures above possibly represent *munis* who were supposed to have the power of transporting themselves through the air. They are naked and carry in the left hand a piece of cloth and a waterpot or alms bowl, whilst their right hand is applied to the forehead in token of respectful salutation (*namaskara*). The second pair of figures may be identified with *suparnas* corresponding to the harpies of classical art. They have birds' tails and claws. The one to the proper right carries a bunch of flowers, the other a garland. The two female figures leaning in a graceful attitude against the drum of the *stupa*. They represent nymphs (*Yaksis*). On each side of staircase is a niche containing a standing figure. The nature of which cannot be ascertained. That to the proper right seems to be a male figure accompanied by a child, that to the left a female.

On the dome is a Prakrit inscription in six lines and reads:

*Namo Arahato Vardhamanasa Araye ganika
ye Lohasobhikaye dhitu samanasavikaya
Nadaye ganikaye Vasu (ye) Arahato devit(u)la
ayaga-sabha prapa sil(a) pa(to)pito Nigagha-
nam Araha(ta) yatane sa(ha) m(a) tare bhaginiye dhitar
putrena.*

sarvena cha parijanena Arahata pujayae.

“Adoration to the Araht Vardhaman.³⁴ The daughter of the matron (?) courtesan Lohasobhika (*Lavanasobhika*), the disciple of the ascetics, the junior (?) courtesan Vasu has erected a shrine of the Arhat, a hall of homage (*ayagasabha*), a cistern (and) a stone slab at the sanctuary of the Nirgrantha Arhats, together with her mother, her daughter, her son and her whole household in honour of the Arhats.”

Undoubtedly in the Jaina history of art and architecture, Mathura occupies an important place. The excellent sculptures excavated or found at Mathura display high artistic skills as well as the state of Jaina religion mostly during Kusana, Gupta and medieval period.

34. Ibid., p. 102.

6

IMPORTANCE OF INSCRIPTIONS

I

INSCRIPTIONS : AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF CULTURE

Information derived from excavations, inscriptions, numismatics, monuments, art materials and similar sources, has contributed a lot to the history of our past. Sir William Jones (1774), Jones Prinsep (1838), Cunningham (1862), John Marshall, R.D. Banerjee (1922) and several others did a lot in this field. On the basis of Inscriptions, Dr. V.D. Mahajan in his 'Ancient India', has made a detailed study of the Mauryan Art. He quotes: "Prof. E. J. Rapson who emphasises the importance of inscriptions in these words: "The inscriptions supply most valuable evidence as to the political, social and economic conditions of the period and the country to which they belong. They testify, on one hand, to the restless activity of military caste and on the other to the stability of institutions which were, as a rule, unaffected by military conquest. One conqueror follows another, but the administration of each individual state remains unchanged either under the same prince or some other member of his family and the charters of monasteries are renewed as a matter of course by each new overlord."¹

1. Rapson, E.J. (Quoted by Mahajan, p. 17).

There is no doubt that inscriptions of different age put together provide autobiography of culture.

According to V.D. Mahajan the "inscriptions² are of great value. They are key to reach and understand the value and importance of a particular civilization and culture.

"As they are engraved on stones and metals, they cannot be tampered with without detection. Consequently, we can be sure while using the material from inscriptions that they contain what was originally written. While in the case of books, there is the possibility of interpolations by known and unknown authors, that is not the case with inscriptions. Their genuineness cannot be doubted. The inscriptions also give us a correct idea of the method of writing followed at a time when they were actually inscribed. The character of their script also enables us to fix their approximate age, location can also throw some valuable light. The difficulty of deciphering inscriptions has been overcome in most of the cases although the script of the Indus Valley still remains a mystery.

"If we analyse the contents of inscriptions, they can be grouped under the following heads: commercial, magical, religious and didactic, administrative, eulogistic, votive or dedicative, donative, commemorative and literary. As regards commercial inscriptions, their specimens are to be found on the seals of the Indus Valley. Some of these seals must have been used for the stamping of bales of merchandise, commodities like potteries, etc. 'It is possible that the shorter inscriptions (on the seals) are simply the owner's name and longer ones include titles that the owner of the seal happens to possess.' These seals may have been used by seafaring traders engaged in foreign trade. It seems that Nigamas and Srenis which were commercial organizations had the power of minting their coins and they must have possessed seals to

2. Mahajan, V.D. : *Ancient India*, p. 18.

be used for commercial purposes. Their record on perishable materials must have disappeared. However, there are references to the use of seals for commercial purposes in other inscriptions, *e.g.*, the Mandasor stone inscription of the time of Kumara-gupta and Bandhuvarman (Malwa Era 529).

Some specimens of magical inscriptions are found in the Indus or Harappan seals which were used as amulets and contained magical formulae on them. The seals have not been deciphered as yet and it is difficult to know their contents. However, they are very likely to contain the names of the deities which are represented by the animals. The animals represented on the amulets are the antelope, buffalo, Brahmi bull, composite animal, elephant, goat, hare, human figure, monkey, rhinoceros, short-horned bull and tiger. Some of the deities represented by them are the Moon, Yama, Siva, Indra, Brahma and Durga. It is to be observed that magical formulae continued to be written on metals as well as on birch-bark (Bhojapatra) and other materials”.

Similarly Jaina inscriptions throw light on the state of Jaina religion and their culture. “Religious and didactic inscriptions deal with religious and moral matters. Possibly, some of the seals and tablets of the Indus Valley were objects of worship and were not used as amulets. The inscriptions of Asoka are the best specimen of the religious and didactic inscriptions. The edicts of Asoka are appropriately called Dhamma-Lipi.

Asoka’s edicts are also a specimen of the administrative inscriptions. An extract from one of his inscriptions reads thus : “Everywhere in my dominions, the Yuktas, the Rajjukas and the Pradesikas shall proceed on circuit every five years as well for this purpose (for the instruction of Dhamma) as for other business.” The Sohgaure copper plate inscription of the third century B.C. is an example of pure administrative

inscription. The Junagadh rock Inscription of Rudradaman-I, also contains administrative material. A large number of copper plate inscriptions have been found both in the north and south and they contain many useful administrative details. Reference may be made in this connection to Banskhera copper plate inscription of Harsha.

As regards the eulogistic inscriptions (Prasastis), they are very important from the political point of view. Generally, they contain the name and genealogy of the ruler concerned, the earlier career of the King, his military, political and administrative achievements, the existence of contemporary states coming into conflict with him and the inter-state relations, the administrative system, the political ideals, the personal accomplishments of the King, his patronage, munificence and charity and mythological or Puranic allusions by way of comparison and similes. The one great difficulty in these inscriptions is that there is a tendency on the part of the authors to exaggerate the achievements of their patrons.

Eulogistic inscriptions can be sub-divided into two parts: *pure eulogy* and *eulogy mixed with other types*. The edicts of Asoka form a category by themselves. The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela of Kalinga belongs to the category of pure eulogy. It describes in detail the achievements of Kharavela in a chronological order. To the same category belongs the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. The number of inscriptions which contain eulogy mixed with other matter is very large. In practically every document of a permanent nature, reference is made to the glories of the ruling sovereign and his ancestors. Important specimens of the mixed type are to be found in the Nasik Cave Inscription of Usavadata, the Junagadh Rock Inscription of Rudradaman-I, the Nasik Cave Inscription of Gautami Balasri, the Mehrauli Iron Pillar Inscription of Chandra, Junagadh Rock Inscription

of Skandagupta, the Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta, the Mandasor Stone Inscription of Yasodharman, the Stone Inscription of Isanvarman, the Aihole Stone Inscription of time of Pulakesin II, the Talagunda Stone Pillar Inscription of the time of Santivarman, the Nagarjunikonda Inscription³ of Virapurudatt, Mandasor Stone Inscription of the time of Kumaragupta II and Bandhuvarman, etc.”

“We have a large number of votive or dedicative inscriptions. It is possible that some of the tablets found in the Indus Valley contain votive inscriptions. The Piprahwa Vase Inscription records the dedication of the relic casket of Lord Buddha. The Besnagar Garuda Pillar Inscription of Heliodoros also belongs to this category. Many of the dedicative inscriptions deal with the installation of images and the construction of temples. Reference may be made in this connection to the Mandasor Inscription of the time of Kumaragupta II and Bandhuvarman and the Bhitari Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta and the Aihole Inscription of the time of Pulakesin II.

The number of donative inscriptions is very large as many occasions offered themselves for this purpose to the rulers and the subjects. Some of the inscriptions refer to the donations of caves or other buildings for the residence of monks and ascetics. Some refer to the donation of money in the form of a permanent endowment. Out of these funds, the Brahmans and the needy were fed, lamps were lighted in the temples, etc. In some inscriptions, there is a reference to the donation of lands and villages to the monasteries, educational institutions and the Brahmanas.

Commemorative inscriptions record such events as birth, death or other important events. The Rummindei Inscription

3. Ibid., p. 19.

of Asoka reads thus: :King Priyadarsin, beloved of the gods, when he had been consecrated many years, came in person and did worship. Because here the Sakya sage, Buddha, was born, he caused a huge stone wall to be made and a stone pillar to be erected.” A large number of commemorative inscriptions refer to the Silaharas of Kolhapur, the Chalukyas of Kalyani, the Rashtrakutas, the Yadavas, etc.

Some inscriptions contain poetic compositions and dramatic works and their purpose is primarily literary. From the Mahanirvana Stupa at Kusinagara in Uttar Pradesh was discovered copper plate containing 13 lines and recording the Udana-Sutta of Buddha.

Inscriptions have been found on stone and copper plates and other materials. Asoka tells us that he got his edicts engraved on stone so that they may last for a long time. Writings on stone were on rocks, pillars, slabs, pedestal or the back of images, rims and lids of vases, caskets, etc., prisms of crystal, walls of temples, pavements of pillars of colonnades, caves, etc.”

“Copper was the material which was commonly used for the writing of inscriptions. An inscription copper-plated was called Tamrapata, Tamrapattra, Tamrasasana, Sasanapattra or Danapattra according to its contents. It is remarkable to note that land-grants were invariably inscribed on copper plates and were handed over to the donee so that they may serve as title-deeds. Fahien tells us that he found in many Buddhist monasteries copper plates which referred to the grant of land. Some of them were as old as the time of Buddha. The discovery of the Sohgaure copper-plate of the Mauryan period confirms this statement of Fahien. Hiuen Tsang tells us that Kanishka⁴ summoned a Buddhist Council which prepared three commentaries and those commentaries

4. Ibid., p. 20.

were engraved on copper plates and kept in stone caskets which were placed in the Stupas built over them. It is also stated that the commentaries of Sayana on the Vedas were engraved on copper. Some specimens of books inscribed on copper plates to be found in the British Museum. The use of copper for writing purposes was not very common up to the sixth century A.D. but it was quite popular for the next six centuries. Copper plates were of different sizes and thickness. Some of them were so thin that they could be bent easily and there were others which were very thick and heavy. The size of a copper plate depended upon the contents of the document and the size of the commonly used writing material in the district where the copper plates was issued. Sometimes a document was inscribed not on one copper plate but on very many and in that case the copper plates were fastened together by means of copper rings. In this way, the copper plates looked like a book which could be opened easily. Sufficient margin was left on the copper plates.”

A large number of Jain inscriptions and copper plates have been found and quite a good number lost.

Numismatics

“Mahajan further writes: A study of the Indian coins enlightens us a great deal regarding the history of ancient India. The Numismatic Society of India is doing a lot of useful work in this connection. We have at present a large number of coins found from various parts of India and dealing with the different aspects of ancient Indian history. Coins are of various metals, such as gold, silver and copper.

Coins help us to build up the history of the country in many ways. They give us the names of the kings who ruled at various times in different parts of the country. In many cases, the coins are the only information we have regarding the

existence of those kings would have remained unknown. Many a time, the information from the coins can be used to corroborate the evidence from other sources such as the Puranas, etc. The coins also help us to fix up the chronology. Coins mention the year in which they are issued. The existence of a large number of coins issued during the different year of the reign of a king helps us to fix the exact dates for the accession and the death of the king. The location of coins helps up to determine the extent of the territory of a king. The discovery of a large number of Roman coins in India confirms the fact that there was brisk trade between India and the Roman Empire. That also refers to the economic prosperity of India and the sea going activities of its people. The figures of the various kings appear on coins and from them we can have an idea regarding the head-dress of those Kings. Sometimes, the hobbies or the amusement of the rulers can also be known from a study of their coins. Coins give an indication of the prosperity or otherwise of the country. If people have gold or silver coins, they are likely to be prosperous. The case is otherwise if they have copper coins alone or more of them than those of gold or silver. Sometimes, the depreciation of coinage gives an indication that the country was passing through abnormal times. During the Huna invasion of India, the Gupta currency depreciated. The symbols on the Gupta coinage refer to their zeal for Hinduism, The coins⁵ give us genuine information regarding the history of ancient India and there is no possibility of their being tampered with. Coins were issued by the rulers and other authorities like Srenis etc. and there is no possibility of their being issued merely to deceive people.

“The earlier coins of India have only figures, devices or symbols and no legends. Sometimes, the coins were cast in

5. Ibid., p. 21.

dies but very often symbols were punched on pieces of metals. The symbol varied from time to time and were punched with a view to guarantee their genuineness and value.”⁶

In Buddhist and Jaina literature there is mention of circulation of golden coins. In rural areas barter system was popular.

Greek Invasion

It is generally believed after Greek invasion the practice of writing the names of the kings on the coins was started. Indo-Bactrian rulers issued a large number of coins who controlled Punjab and the North-Western frontier. These coins possess a high degree of artistic excellence and ultimately had a tremendous influence on Indian coinage.

.....The Greek coins refer to about 30 Greek kings and queens who ruled in India. The coins of Parthians and Scythians also give lot of historical information. Scythians also ruled over Gujarat and Kathiawar and issued coins. Kushans (Kusanas) also issued coins. The existence of Malavas, Yaudheyas and Mitra rulers of Panchala is known through these coins.

Mauryan Art

Asoka did not follow the Jaina traditions much like Chandragupta Maurya. After Kalinga war, Asoka embraced Buddhism, but he respected all the religions, including Jainism. He saw little difference in both religions-Buddhism and Jainism.

Some historians believe that fall of the Mauryas was due to Asoka's pro-Buddhist policy and the pro-Jaina policy of some his successors. Asoka followed the policy of universal toleration and amity among all the religious sects.

6. Ibid., p. 22.

The inscriptions of Asoka may be grouped as under which he built during his reign, viz., two minor Rock edicts, Bhabru Rock edict, two Kalinga Rock edicts, fourteen Rock edicts, seven Pillar edicts, four minor pillar edicts, two Commemorative Pillar Inscriptions and three Cave Inscriptions.

Mahajan writes: "According to Dr. Bagchi and Prof. Sastri, the age of the Mauryas constituted a notable epoch in the field of art and architecture. The magnificent art which flourished for about 50 years in the time of Asoka had no precedent and left no long-standing traditions as it failed to strike root. It was a parenthesis in the development of the indigenous art of India.

The view of Havell was that there were two distinct phases in the sculptured art of the Mauryan period. The first phase was distinguished by great nobility of design, cultured form of expression, and the finest technical accomplishment. To this class belonged the stone pillars of Asoka. Havell criticized the theory that Mauryan emperors imported all their best craftsmen from Persia. His contention was that such a view showed a lack of insight into Indian thought. The truth was that the symbolism of the royal craftsmen was thoroughly characteristic of Indo-Aryan thought. The so-called 'Persian bell-shaped capital' of Asoka pillars was a symbolic motif which was universal in Indian art. The label was misleading. The capital represented a flower and not a bell. It was the blue lotus of the sky, the flower of Visnu. The pillar had the same significance of world-dominion as the State umbrella which was a part of the paraphernalia of Indian royalty. The lotus symbolism was more characteristic of Indian art than the Persian art. The pink petals of the lotus flower were the robes of the Dawn Maiden (Ushas) and the pericarp was the rising sun. The lotus was associated with the earliest Vedic traditions of India.

According to the same writer (Havell), the second phase of the Mauryan art was shown in the profuse sculpture of the Stupas of Bharhut and Sanchi which recorded current events and legends connected with the life of the Buddha as told in the Jatakas. This art could be called primitive. It often reached a very high standard of technique. However, it was generally less cultured and refined. It was the work of lower grades of craftsmen. It was less pure in style. It was expressive of the craftsmen's own racial character in combining many non-Aryan elements with the Aryan ideas which dominated it.

"The view of Sir John Marshall⁷ was that two different classes of sculpture were to be found in the Mauryan period. The statue from Parkham in the Mathura Museum could be regarded as the "type specimen" of the first class. "The second class of Indian sculpture is represented by the Sarnath capital, which evinces a striking disparity in the style of sculptural ornamentation. This disparity is well exemplified by comparing the primitive treatment of the statue from Parkham in the Mathura Museum with the highly developed modelling of the Sarnath capital. The former represents a stage of art not yet emancipated from the binding law of frontality or from the trammels imposed by the pre-possession of the artist. The head and torso are so posed that, where they bisect vertically the two halves would be found to be almost symmetrical; while the flattened sides and back of the figure, connected only by a slight chamfering of the edges, are conclusive proof that the sculptor failed to grasp more than one aspect of this subject at a time or to coordinate its parts harmoniously together as an organic whole. These features are not mere superficial details of technique, due to the caprice of the artist. They are the fundamental characteristics of the nascent sculpture of all countries and the primitiveness of the

7. Ibid., p. 287.

art which they signify is borne out in this particular statue by other traits, namely, by the subordination of the side and back to the front aspect; by the inorganic attachment of the ear, by the uncouth proportions of the neck, by the intentional rotundity of the abdomen, and the absence of modelling in the feet”.

“The Sarnath capital, on the other hand, though by no means a masterpiece, is the product of the most developed art of which the world was cognizant in the third century B.C.—the handi work of one who had generations of artistic effort and experience behind him. In the masterful strength of the crowning lions with their swelling veins and tense muscular development, and in the spirited royalism of the reliefs below, there is no trace whatever of the limitations of primitive art. So far as naturalism was his aim, the sculptor has modelled his figures from nature, and has delineated their forms with bold faithful touch; but he has done more than this; he has consciously and of set purpose infused a tectonic conventional spirit into the four lions, so as to bring them into harmony with the architectural character of the monument, and in the case of the horse on the abacus he has availed himself of a type well known and approved in Western art. Equally mature is the technique to his relief work.

The view of Sir John Marshall was that the difference between the artists of the two schools was due to the training of the craftsmen of Asoka under the artists from Perisa. The Greek influence alone could have influenced the modelling of the Sarnath capital. The artists of Asoka learned to impart the polish from the artists of Achaemenid Empire. They learnt modelling from the Greek artists of Bactria. To quote Sir John, “While the Sarnath capital is thus an exotic alien to Indian ideas in expression and in execution, the Statue of Parkham falls naturally into line with other products of indigenous art

and affords a valuable starting point for the study of its evolution. These two works represents the alpha and omega of early Indian art, between which all the sculptures known to us take their place, approximating to one or the other extreme according as the Indian or the Perso-Hellenic spirit prevailed in them.

Dr. Smith⁸ was not prepared to go to the extent of ascribing foreign origin to the art of Asoka's period. He considered the treatment of the bull and the elephant in the Sarnath abacus as being entirely Indian in both subject and inspiration, and not in any way the outcome of a half caste art. According to Codrington, the Persian capital is not quite closely related to the early Indian bell-capital and does not show itself to be a necessary part of the structure of the Asoka pillar. "The Persian bell is conceived as part of a compound capital, and is always crowned by a further member, the lines of which curve upwards and outwards, the whole suggesting the flourishing head of a palm tree with a ring of drooping halfdead leaves clustering below round the stem. Above this comes a quadruple bracket-like member with upper and lower incurving volutes, between which and the final member is nothing but a head-and-reel fillet. Above this, the head and bent-back forelegs of the surmounting beast just out, without any sort of abacus or intermediary platform. The typical Achaemenid pillar-shaft was also fluted, not smooth, whatever its rudimentary form may have been.

It is to be noted that while the pillars at Persepolis and elsewhere are structural, those of Asoka are purely monumental. The idea of raising pillars is not completely foreign to India. Hindu temples have always before them their light pillars which are often adorned with the special symbol of god, a wheel, or a trident. The Asokan pillar is the

8. Ibid., p. 288.

descendant of those royal or tribal ensigns or standards which were set up to mark off the sacrificial area for Vedic ceremonies. The Indian purpose of those pillars is declared in their very locations. The pillars at Rummindei and Sarnath are commemorative of Buddha's birth and first teaching respectively. The pillar at Nigliva associates itself with the fifth of the previous Buddhas. A group of pillars guides the progress of the pilgrim towards the holy places of Buddhism.

According to Dr. Mookerjee, it cannot be claimed that Asokan art does not reveal any trace of foreign influence. India had her intercourse with the western countries and seats of Hellenic culture and civilization. The arts of various countries were bound to reveal some common elements and features which in the case of India and Persia might be traced to a common source from which the entire culture of the East or Asia has sprung.

According to Dr. Bagchi and Prof. Sastri, "The design and style of the Asokan monuments owed something to alien models, and foreign artists may have been employed to plan them at large; but the details of decoration and execution were in Indian hands and the substantial originality of Indian art was maintained even on these monuments. The magnificent use of the free-standing column to characteristic of Mauryan art was unknown to Persia and the Hellenistic countries. The borrowings that can be definitely proved are confined to details such as honeysuckle and palmette, the bead and fillet, and the cable moulding and other decorative elements, some of which continued in use for many centuries. The fact remains, however, that Mauryan art as a whole exhibits enough un-Indian features in its make up to place it outside the main line of Indian artistic tradition."

Asoka's pillars generally consist of a round and a monolithic shaft tapering from the base with a diameter

ranging from about 35½ inches to 49½ inches to a total height between 40 and 50 feet. The diameter at the top ranges from 22 inches to about 35 inches. The capital of the columns has the shape of a bell. The capital is surmounted by an abacus and crowning sculpture in the round. The pillar at Lauriya Nandangarh is preserved in the best condition. The crowning figure is lion while the abacus is adorned by a row of Brahmani geese pecking their food symbolizing the flock of which the Buddha was the shepherd. The pillars at Barkha and Rampurva have one lion only. There are four lions set back top back to the tops of the pillars at Sanchi and Sarnath.⁹ The pillar at Sankisa has an elephant at its capital. The pillar at Rampurva as a bull. The capital of Lauriya-Araraja pillar has a Garuda according to Smith but according to Dr. Mookerjee a single lion.

The decoration of the abacus shows a variety. Sometimes there is a lotus and honey suckle and sometimes wheels and animals.

The decorative design of Sarnath pillar follows a special technique. Its capital is surmounted by four lions standing back to back. It shows between them a large stone wheel which is the symbol of Dharmachakra. Only a fragment remains of this. The lions stand on a drum showing figures of four animals carved on it, viz., a lion, an elephant, a bull and a horse.

The pillars show a brilliant polish which has been the wonder of the coming generations. According to Dr. V.A. Smith, "The skill of the stone-cutter may be said to have attained perfection and to have accomplished tasks which would, perhaps, be found beyond the powers of the twentieth century. Gigantic shafts of hard sandstone thirty or forty feet in length, were dressed and proportioned with the utmost nicety, receiving a polish which no modern mason knows how

9. Ibid., p. 289.

to impart to the material." Again, "The art of polishing hard stone was carried to such perfection that it is said to have become a lost art beyond modern powers. The sides of the Barabar caves excavated in most refractory gneiss rock are polished like glass mirrors. The burnishing of Firoz shah's Lat, the column from Topra now at Delhi is so exquisite that several observers have believed to be metallic. Quaint Tam Coryate in the 17th century described the monuments as a 'brazen pillar' and even Bishop Herber, early in nineteenth century, received the impression that it was 'a high black pillar of cast metal'." The polish does not extend to the whole of the pillars. The part below the surface is not polished. The Delhi-Topra pillars is 42 feet 7 inches but the polish is visible only up to 35 feet. As regards the pillar at Rampurva, it is 44 ft. 9½ inches long but 8 feet 9 inches are left undressed and unpolished. Dr. Smith was right in saying that it must have been a tedious job to convey these pillars to distant places. Reference is made in this connection to the carrying of a pillar to Delhi in the time of Feroz Tuglak.

Mauryan art is not represented by the pillars of Asoka alone. We have many more specimens of the same. Seven rock-cut sanctuaries belong to the time of Asoka and his successors. Four of them are on the Barabar hill and three of them are on the Nagarjuni Hill. These places are near Gaya. It is possible that another cave at Sitamarhi near Gaya is also of the Mauryan period. The Gopi cave excavated in the reign of Dasratha is a tunnel-like excavation. It is 44 feet long, 19 feet wide and 10 feet high to the apex of vaulted room. These caves are chaste and severe. Their interiors are polished in the Asokan fashion.

The Kolhna (Basarh-Bakhira) pillar and the Rampurva pillar¹⁰ are assigned by R.P. Chanda to the reign of Bindusara.

10. Ibid., p. 290.

The Kolhma pillar is a heavy column. The abacus of its lion-capital is square and plain. The bull on the Rampurva pillar does not harmonize with the capital on which it stands. The two columns bearing the lion of Durga and the bull of Siva may have been the precursors of the more finished columns of Asoka. It is possible that the pillar of Sankisa bearing the elephant of Indra and the pillar at Lauriya Araraj with the Garuda of Vishnu belong to same group. The fragmentary capital with four bulls from Salempur is perhaps not pre-Asokan”.

Mahajan further writes : “The Greek writers have paid glowing tributes to the Mauryan palace at Pataliputra who was considered by them to be better than the palaces at Susa and Ekbatan. The gilded pillars of the palace were adorned with golden vines and silver birds. The palace stood in an extensive park studded with fish ponds. It was furnished with a great variety of ornamental trees and shrubs. About this very palace, Fahien, the Chinese traveller, observed : “The royal palace and halls in the midst of the city which exist now as of old, were all made by spirits which he (Asoka) employed and which piled up the stones, reared the walls and gates and executed the elegant carving and inlaid sculpture-work in a way which no human hands of this world could accomplish.”

The Mauryan palace seems to have been destroyed by fire. This is indicated by the ashes found in the site of Kumarahar in the neighborhood of Bulandi Bagh. A big hall covering an area of 240 square feet seems to have formed an important structure within the palace enclosure. The remains of this hall were discovered by Dr. Spooner at a depth of 17 feet. The lower part of the shaft of only one stone column measuring 14 feet 3 inches was found in an almost perfect condition. The existence of other stone columns could be inferred “from heaps of fragments of polished sandstone and

ash-pits in which they had sunk being regularity of a distance of 15 ft. from centre to centre of the heaps and the underlying ash circle." The hall had a wooden floor. The pillars stood on the wooden bases and supported a wooden super-structure. It appears that the hall was flooded once before it was burnt down by fire. According to Percy Brown, an authority on the subject, the hall was reared in three storeys on a high stylobate. It contained 15 rows of 15 pillars each. Colossal stone caryatid figures supported the ceilings of one of the storeys. Polished stone was used for a variety of purposes in the structure.

It appears that all the Mauryan towns were surrounded by high walls with battlements and a moat with water bearing lotuses and other aqua plants. The whole of it was surrounded by a railing palisade. Only fragments of the wooden ramparts of Pataliputra have been found at Bulandi Bagh near Patna".

"According to Dr. Bagchi and Prof. Sastri, a small rail at Sarnath and a throne in the interior of the temple at Bodh Gaya belong to the time of Asoka. Two Yaksha statues from Patna, fragments of a ribbed stone umbrella from Sanchi, a Yakshi statue from Didarganj, a statue from Parkham, two stone images of Tirthankaras from Lohanipur, a torso of Yaksha or king from Baroda (near Mathura) are also assigned to the Mauryan period. This is done on the ground that Chunar sandstone as been used for them. The brilliant polish of objects also points out to a similar conclusion. It is pointed out that the Yaksi from Didarganj is perhaps artistically the best of statues. However, N.R. Ray does not accept this view. According to him, "These life-size plastically round statues belong to different aspects and phases of Indian art. They are all Indian in form and appearance, in style and treatment and they have hardly any relation with the court art of the Mauryas."

It is also pointed out that Maurya craftsmen had attained a good deal of proficiency in the art of the jeweller and lapidary. Their special aptitude lay “not in the plastic treatment of form but in the high technical skill with which they cut and polished refractory stones or applied delicate filigree or granular designs to metal objects.” Sir John Marshall attributes the rock-crystal bowl from Piprahwa and the Beryl relic caskets found in the Bhattiprolu Stupa to the Mauryan period.”¹¹

Chandragupta Maurya patronised Jainism in a big way, but Asoka was also not against any religion, through he embraced Buddhism after bloodshed in Kalinga war. There are many pieces of Jaina art and architecture which were built and carved out during his reign. Country is proud of Mauryan Art, which is unique.

II

HATHIGUMPHA INSCRIPTION

Kharavela's Hathigumpha Inscription is very important for knowing the history of Jainism. It also shows the state of Art and Architecture of that period. According to A.L. Basham:

“The Hathigumpha Inscription of Khravela is one of the few significant sources available for the dark period in the history of India between the fall of the Mauryan Dynasty and the rise of the Guptas. Composed as it is in a very obscure Prakrit and its characters badly weathered by centuries of exposure to the elements and in places quite illegible, this inscription has long been the subject of a great controversy among historians and paleographers.

11. Ibid, pp. 291-292.

“The style of script suggests to me a date in the 1st century B.C., I would prefer to interpret the obscure chronological data in the inscription itself as referring to a period of 300 years after the Nanda king, and not 103”.¹

Kharavela of Kalinga was a contemporary of the Sungas and it is desirable to give an account of his work and achievements. We are lucky in having a lot of useful and interesting information about Kharavela in the Hathigumpha inscription. This inscription was ably edited by K.P. Jayaswal, and R.D. Banerjee.

The inscription begins with an invocation of the Arhats and the Riddhas in the Jain style. Then it proceeds to say that Kharavela became Yuvaraja after completing his 15th year and obtained Maharaj Abhisheka as soon as he completed his 24th year. He was anointed sovereign in the third dynasty of Kalinga and the name of his dynasty was the dynasty of King Cheta (or Chaitra?). The royal styles are Aira, Maharaja, Mahameghavahana and Kalinga-Adhipati. Kharavela is said to have descended from a family of Raja-Rishi.

In the first year of his reign Kharavela repaired the capital of Kalinga whose city walls, gates and buildings had been damaged by storm. He built reservoirs and restored gardens. He pleased 35 hundred thousand subjects.

In the second year, Kharavela sent a large army, disregarding Satakarni, to the west. He also destroyed the capital of the Mushikas to help the Kasapa (Kasyapa) Kshatriyas.

In the third year of his reign, Kharavela, who was well-versed in the Gandharva-Veda or the science of music, held theatrical performances, dances and other shows whereby “he entertains the capital.”

1. Basham, A.L., Foreword to Kharavela and Asoka by Shashi Kant, p. 1.

In the fourth year, Kharavela probably repaired some sacred buildings called "the abode of the Vidyadharas" and conquered the Rashtrikas and Bhojakas.

In the fifth year, Kharavela extended the old canal which had been excavated by King Nanda 300 years before, into the capital from the Tanasuliya Road.

In the sixth year, Kharavela granted privileges to the Paura and the Janapada corporations. The record of other achievements in the sixth year has disappeared from the inscription.

The record of the seventh year is almost completely gone, but it could not have been a long one. It appears that he got married in this year.

In the 8th year, he invaded Magadha and reached as far as the Barabar Hill (Gorathagiri) on the old route from Gaya to Pataliputra, killed some one there in some preliminary action and prepared himself to march forward. But the rival king called the King of Rajagriha refused to give battle and retired to Mathura. Kharavela thought it prudent not to pursue the matter further.²

In the 9th year, Kharavela gave costly gifts. He gave a Kalpa tree which means a tree of solid gold. The tree had leaves of gold and the gift was accompanied by gifts of elephants, horses, and chariots with their drivers. These gifts were made to Brahmanas who were persuaded to accept them, by lavish feasts. During the same year, Kharavela built "on both banks of the Prachi" (a river near Bhuvanewar) a great palace called "The Palace of Victory" at the cost of 36 lakhs of silver coins.

2. For a revised text of the inscription by B.M. Barua, see pp. 461-82 of *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1938. (quoted by V.D. Mahajan, p. 301).

In the 10th year, Kharavela sent his army against Bharata-Varsha or Northern India. The other details of this year have disappeared from the inscription.

In the 11th year, Kharavela led in procession the wooden statue of Ketu-Bhadra who had flourished 1,300 years before. The statue had been established by "the former kings of Kalinga" in the city called Pritudaka darbha. The procession gave satisfaction to the Janapad (a country).

In the 12th year, Kharavela invaded the countries of North-Western Frontiers (Uttarapatha). In the same year he caused consternation amongst the people of Magadha and made their king do homage at his feet. He returned home rich trophies of Anga and Magadha together with the recovery of some Kalinga heirlooms and the statue and foot-marks of the First Jina which had been carried away by King Nanda. At home, he built towers, the interiors of which were carved, and placed by extraordinary captures or presents of elephant-ships which were brought to Kalinga apparently from the King of Pandyas, from whom he took numerous other presents and captures in precious stones, rich articles, horses, elephants and men.

In the 13th year, having satisfied himself with the extension of his empire, he devoted his energies to religious acts. On the Kumari Hill (Udayagiri), he did something for the Arhat Temple. Ninety hundred bulls maintained by the king are mentioned in the inscription but as the inscription is damaged it is not possible to make out the full sense. A pavilion on four pillars inlaid with beryl was also erected. The cave which has this inscription was also made. This took place in the 13th or 14th year of his reign which coincided with the 165th expired or completed year of king Muriya. Kharavela is called the king of Peace and Prosperity, the Bhikshu King and the King of Dharma (Dharmaraja) who as

been devoting his life to "seeing to, hearing and experiencing Kalyanas." The last line is like a peroration recapitulating the political glory of Kharavela.³

According to Jayaswal and Banerjee the Hathigumpha inscription occupies a unique position amongst the materials of Indian history for the centuries preceding the Christian era. In point of age, it is the second inscription after Asoka, the first being Nanaghat inscription of Vedisri. But from the point of view of chronology of pre-Mauryan times and history of Jainism, it is the most important inscription yet discovered in the country. It confirms the Puranic record and carries the dynastic chronology to about 450 B.C. It also proves that Jainism entered Orissa and probably became the state religion within 100 years of the death of Mahavira. It affords the earliest historical instance of the unity of Bihar and Orissa (450 B.C.). For the social history of the country, we get the very important datum that the population of ancient Orissa was 3½ million in about 172 B.C. This not only confirms the information which we have from the Arthasastra and Megasthenes that our fore-fathers took census of their states, but also furnishes us some guide in estimating the population of Northern India in ancient times. The inscription also throws light on the history of Satkarni I, third sovereign of the Andhra dynasty of the Puranas. Above all, this is the earliest inscription of India which mentions an era known as "The Kala of Raja Muriya."

It is to be noted that while scholars like Dr. Smith have accepted the interpretation of the inscription as given by Jayaswal and Banerjee, Dr. R.C. Majumdar has raised many objections. He points out that Kharavela did not belong to the third dynasty of Kalinga. He might be in the third generation

3. English rendering alongwith Jayaswal and Banerjee's translations are given in the following pages. (See Mahajan, p. 302-303).

of the dynasty of Kalinga as Satkarni of Andhra was the third and they both declared their independence after the death of Asoka. Moreover, there is no ground for holding that the dynasty of Kharavela dated from the Mahabharata times. It might be from the time of the Nandas. Dr. Majumdar says that the words denoting the population as 35 hundred thousand do not read so. He also objects to the identification of the King with Pushyamitra. He does not agree that there is any mention of Ketu-Bhadra who fought in the Mahabharata war 1300 years ago in the inscription. Moreover, the quotes from the Mahabharata the actual wording and shows that Ketu-Bhadra mentioned there was not the son of the king of Kalinga and he did not lead the Kalinga army. Dr. Majumdar also points out that there is no direct reference, of a date in the 16th line of the inscription as mentioned by Jayaswal and Banerjee.⁴

Here Shashi Kant in his research based publication “Kharavela and Asoka” provides more elaborate description:

“The Hathigumpha Inscription of Mahameghavahana Kharavela has had a fascinating course since its discovery in 1825 A.D. It is not a royal panegyric merely ; it is an epitome of history. Such chronological narration of events in a matter-of-fact manner is yet to be found on rock, pillar or stone of an ancient date. It has an order and a sequence not met so far in any other inscription of comparable date and that makes it much more valuable as a historical document. Moreover, it forms the only source of information about its author and subject.

The inscriptions of Devanampriya Priyadarsi Asoka, definitely earlier than this epigraph of Kharavela, give very little information of political nature and read more like sermons incised on stone. More or less contemporary Nanaghat Inscription and the later Nasik Cave Inscriptions of

4. Mahajan, V.D. : Ancient India, pp. 301-303.

the Satavahanas, as also the Girnar Inscription of Rudradaman, present little as a chronological record. They, as well as the later *prasastis*, or eulogistic inscriptions, as they are so aptly called, generally seem to make vague claims and assertions for their royal authors or patrons through praiseful epithets.

In fact, such a historically potent epigraph is yet to be discovered elsewhere in the contemporary world. In India, the place which is assigned to Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* among ancient historical writings, is well deserved by this inscription in the realm of epigraphy and it betrays well-informed historical consciousness among the Indians more than two thousand years ago.

To use the terminology of Kautilya, it is a *Prajnapana Lekha* (Public Notification) engraved for the purpose of narrating (*akhyanam*) the principal events of the life and reign of King Kharavela, and is endowed with all the six qualities of *arthakrama* (proper arrangement), *sambandha* (relevancy), *paripurnata* (completeness), *madhuryam* (sweetness), *audaryam* (dignity) and *spashtatvam* (lucidity), that make a good composition.⁵

Decipherment

Tracing the history of decipherment, Dr. Shashi Kant says: "No wonder therefore that this inscription has been engaging the attention of the Indologists and claiming their best labors for the last nearly one-and-a-half century. It was first noticed by Sterling in 1825 A.D., who gave an account of it in the *Asiatic Researches*, XV (pp. 313 ff.), and was first published by Prinsep from an eye-copy prepared by Kittoe in 1837, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, VI (pp. 1075-71, plate LVIII). A tracing of the inscription was published by Cunningham in the *Corpus Inscriptionum*

5. *Arthasastra*, X, (trans. R. Shama Sastry, 4th ed., pp. 71-75).

Indicarum, I (pl. XVIII, pp. 27 f, 98-101, 132 ff.), in 1877, and a version of it, by Raja Rajendra Lal Mitra in the *Antiquities of Orissa*, II (pp. 16 ff.), in 1880. The same year a cast was also taken to the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

It was, however, only in 1885 that the first reliable version was given by Dr. Bhagwan Lal Indraji in the *Actes du Sixieme Congress International des Orientalistes* (pt. III, sec. 2, pp. 152-77). He also made out the name as *Kharavela*. Buhler suggested certain corrections in 1895 and 1898.⁶ The first inked impression was taken in 1906 by Dr. T. Bloch and was sent to Prof. Keilhorn who passed it on to Dr. J.F. Fleet. In 1910 Fleet published certain corrections in the Line 16⁷ and Luder also published a summary.⁸ In 1913 Prof. R.D. Banerjee examined certain portions and in 1917 two linked impressions were again taken, one of which was published in the *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, III, 4 (pl. I), and the other was sent to Dr. F.W. Thomas. Dr. K.P. Jayaswal discussed and read it on the basis of that impression in *J.B.O.R.S.*, III, 4 (pp. 425 ff.),⁹ and the next year he published a revised text of his reading after checking it from the rock itself.¹⁰ In 1919 Jayaswal and Banerjee examined the inscription on the spot and H. Pandey of the Archaeological Survey Department prepared a cast of which two paper impressions were also taken. "It is as successful a copy as the present condition of the original allowed it to be." It was published in 1927 in *J.B.O.R.S.*, XIII. The cast and the paper impressions are preserved in the Patna Museum. In 1924, Jayaswal and Banerji

6. 'Origin of Indian Brahmi Alphabet', *Indian Studies*, No. III, p. 13.

7. *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, pp.242 ff, 824ff.

8. *E.I.*, X, App., pp. 160-61 (No. 1345).

9. Banerjee's Note is on pp. 486ff, therein.

10. *J.B.O.R.S.*, IV, pp. 364 ff.

went over the corrections and in 1927 and 1928 the former published the results of his further studies.¹¹ In 1929 Dr. B.M. Barua also edited this inscription at No. 1 in his *Old Brahmi Inscription in the Udaigiri and Kandagiri Caves*. Sten Konow,¹² Thomas¹³, Muni Jina Vijaya¹⁴ and R.P. Chanda¹⁵ also added some useful information.

A somewhat definitive stage in decipherment was marked by a fuller discussion of its paleography by Banerjee in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, X (pp. 133 ff.), as also by a joint edition of the text by Jayaswal and Banerjee in 1929-30 in the *Epigraphica Indica*, XX (pp. 71-89, No. 7). The latter also on that basis reconstructed the history of Kharavela in his *History of Orissa*, I (pp. 71—92). Barua did not agree with them and so he published his revised edition in 1938 in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XIV, 3) pp.; 45-85). In 1942 Dr. D.C. Sircar published his readings and annotations in the *Select Inscriptions*. I (pp. 206—13, No. 91).¹⁶ Perhaps no other single epigraph has been the subject of so much research and controversy. And yet it leaves much to be desired.

11. *J.B.O.R.S.*, XIII, pp. 221ff.' XIV, pp. 150ff.

12. *Acta Orientalia*, I, pp. 12ff.

13. *J.A.R.S.*, 1922, pp. 83-84.

14. Quoted in *E.I.*, XX also his letter in *Anekanta*, I, 6-7, p. 351.

15. *I.H.Q.*, 1929, p. 395f., 595.

16. Among notable contributions may be added : Sircar in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, II, pp. 211ff ; Bal Chandra Jain's *Kalinga-Chakravarti* (in Hindi) ; Dr. N.K. Sahu in *A History of Orissa*, pp. 327-30 ; Jagannath in *A Comprehensive History of India*, II, pp. 111-15 ; Dr. L.N. Sahu—*Udisa mem Jaina Dharma* (in Hindi), pp. 39-73 ; and Dr. J.P. Jain—*Bhartiya Itihasa : Eka Drishti* (in Hindi), pp. 180-90.

(Quoted by Shashi Kant pp. 4-5)

Site

Some three miles to the north and north-east of Bhubaneswar in the Puri district of Orissa is situated a low range of hills called the Khandagiri and Udayagiri. These hills preserve some of the early specimens of rockcut architecture in eastern India. The excavations are known in the local parlance as the *gumpha*, or cave. The two storeyed Rani gumpha on the Udayagiri represents the Orissan rock-cut cave architecture at its best.¹⁷ To the west of it is the Bada Hathigumpha (Big Elephant Cave),¹⁸ “a natural cavern, very little improved and enlarged by art”, on the southern face of the Udayagiri.

On the overhanging brow of this Hathigumpha is engraved the precious record of the doings of King Kharavela of Kalinga, other wise little known to history, in seventeen lines covering an area 15 feet 1 inch in length and 5 feet 6 inches in height. “The inscription begins on the southern face and is continued up to a place where the stone has actually become the roof of the cave. The last eight or nine lines occur on a sloping surface where it is difficult either to read or copy them. Below the inscription the walls of the natural cavern have been chiselled straight and at places are as beautifully polished as those of the Barabar caves. Near the floor there are sundry rockcut partitions which do not appear to have been regular walls as they do not go up to the roof. In the dressed and polished portion of the side or the wall of the cave there are a number of later inscriptions (of about the

17. For fuller account, see Percy Brown—*Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu Periods)*, (4th ed. 1959), pp. 28-30.

18. There are two Hathigumphas on the same hill. To distinguish between the two, one is called Chhota (Small) Hathigumpha and the other, merely Hathigumpha or Bada (Big) Hathigumpha.

(Quoted by Shasi Kant, p. 5).

tenth or eleventh century A.D.)¹⁹ many of which contain proper names which are not of any historical interest. They prove, however, that the cave was visited by pilgrims up to the tenth century A.D., and therefore it must have been considered some sort of a sacred shrine. The bed of the cave is full of sand in front and unless it is excavated its original form cannot be determined. The Hathigumpha stands at right angles to Svaragapuri and Mancapuri on its left and the Sarpa cave on its right. There are several small and large excavations on the top of the boulder which forms the roof of the cave.”²⁰

Although the entire record appears to have been very carefully inscribed, it has suffered greatly from Nature's fury. The record as it is now, is very much weather-beaten and shows signs of progressive natural decay. Three main problems confronting the epigraphists in deciphering it are : firstly, the different forms of a few letters, secondly, the misleading chisel-marks, and thirdly, the changes wrought by natural decay and weather conditions. As early as 1917 it was observed that “the rock was roughly dressed on the right hand side. The chisel-marks of the dressing are misleading ; they tend to produce misreadings. These long and irregular marks left by the original dressing, are not the only pitfalls. Rain-water which trickles down the roof of the cave has cut into the letters and produced a few letter-like marks. Natural decay produced by time has given misleading turns to numerous letters. Even hornets like to take liberty with the record of the Emperor Kharavela with perfect impunity and have added a few irregular marks on it.”²¹

19. See, *Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India*, 1922-23, p. 130.

20. Jayaswal and Banerjee (*E.I.*, XX, p. 72).

21. *J.B.O.R.S.*, III, 4, p. 430.

(Quoted by Shashi Kant, p.6)

On the basis of the plates published in *J.B.O.R.S.*, III and XIII, and *I.H.Q.*, XIV,²² the inscription may be read as follows. Variants as well as my reasons for accepting a particular reading or restoration are given in the notes below. Punctuation marks have been indicated within brackets. The particles and characters which are not quite distinct but are most probably there, have also been shown with in brackets. Components of compound words have been separated by hyphens where feasible.

Translation

A brief description of historic account found on the inscription has appeared in earlier pages. On the basis of the reading and proposed restorations originally in Prakrit it should be rendered into English as follows²³:

“Obeisance to the Arahamtas !

Obeisance to the Siddhas !!

By the Hon'ble King, Mahameghavahana, His Majesty Kharavela, the Lord of Kalinga, the Increaser of Cheti Royal House, (the Owner of) glorifying auspicious marks, (and) the Possessor of virtues (the fame of which has) reached the farthest limits of the four quarters, were played for fifteen years, with a body handsome and tawny in colour, sports (worthy of) Prince.

22. Sri B.V. Nath, Superintendent of “Archaeology and Museums, Orissa, has informed that an impression was also taken by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra in 1954. It has not been published. It may also be added that due to the progressive decay of the original the later impressions are likely to miss some characters, hence not much help can be derived from them.

23. Jayaswal and Banerjee (*E.I.*, XX, pp. 86–89) and Barua (*I.H.Q.*, XIV, p, pp. 470–82) give different renderings.

Thereafter by the Adept in Correspondence, Currency, Accountancy, State Regulations and Laws, (and) the Clear-headed in all Sciences, (the kingdom) was administered for nine years as Crown Prince.

Then on completing the twenty-fourth year, to make the remainder of his youth prosperous by conquests, being the third in descent in the Royal House of Kalinga, (he) gets anointed as Great King.

And, having been anointed, in the first year (of his reign), (he) causes in the capital of Kalinga, (verily) the Abode of the Brave, the gates, ramparts and buildings which had been

Below, J. stands for Jayaswal & Banerjee and B for Barua.

- J—"L.1 Salutation to the Arhats (*Arihats*=lit. 'Conquerors of enemies', i.e., Jinas). Salutation to all the Siddhas. By illustrious Kharavela, the Aira (Aila), the Great King, the descendant of Mahameghavana, the increaser (of the glory) of the Cheti (Chedi) dynasty, (endowed) with excellent and auspicious marks and features, possessed of virtues which have reached (the ends of) four quarters, overlord of Kalinga,
- L.2 for fifteen years, with a body ruddy and handsome were played youth some sports ; after that (by him who) had mastered (royal) correspondence, currency, finance, civil and religious laws (and) who had become well-versed in all (branches) of learning, for nine years (the office of) Yuvaraja (heir-apparent) was administered. Having completed the twenty-fourth year, at that time, (he) who had been prosperous (*vardhamana*) since is infancy (?) and who (was destined) to have wide conquests as those of Vena,
- L.3 then in the state of manhood, obtains the imperial (maharajya) coronation in the third dynasty of Kalinga. As soon as he is anointed, in the first (regnal) year (he) causes repairs of the gates, the walls and the buildings (of the city), (which had been) damaged by storm; in the city of Kalinga, (he) causes the erection of the embankments of the lake (called after) Khibira Rishi, (and) of (other) tanks and cisterns, (also) the restoration of all gardens (he) causes to be

damaged by storm, to be repaired, and the embankments of the cool reservoir to be strengthened, and all the parks to be renovated, by (spending) thirty-five hundred thousands; and (he) makes (his) subjects Happy.

And in the second year (of his reign), paying no heed to (King) Satakarni (he) sends in the western direction a multitudinous army (consisting of) cavalry, elephants, infantry and chariots, and with his army having reached the (river) Krishanavena, strikes terror into the capital of the Asikas.

Again, in the third year (of his reign), the Master of the Science of Music makes (the citizens of) the capital enjoy themselves by causing the performance of folk dances,

-
- L.4 done at (the cost of) thirty-five hundred thousands, and, (he) gratifies the People. And in the second year (he), disregarding Satakarni, despatches to the western regions an army strong in cavalry, elephants, infantry (*nara*) and chariots (*ratha*) and by that army having reached the Kanha-bemna, (he) throws the city of the Musikas into consternation. Again in the third year,
- L.5 (he) versed in the science of the Gandharavas (*i.e.*, music), entertains the capital with the exhibition of *dapa*, dancing, singing and instrumental music and by causing to be held festivities and assemblies (*samajas*); similarly in the fourth year, 'the Abode of Vidyadharas' built by the former Kalinga king(s), which had not been damaged before..... with their coronets rendered meaningless, with their helmets (?) (*blima*) cut in twain and with their umbrellas and
- L.6 *bhingaras* cast away, deprived of their jewels (*i.e.*, *ratana*, Skt. *ratna*, precious objects) all the Rathikas and Bhojakas (he) causes to bow down at his feet. Now in the fifth year he brings into the capital from the road of Tanasuliya the canal excavated in the year one-hundred-and-three of King Nanda..... Having been (re-)anointed (he while) celebrating the Rajasuya, remits all tithes and cesses,
- L.7 bestows many privileges (amounting to) hundreds of thousands on the City -Corporation and the Realm-Corporation. In the seventh year of his reign, his famous wife of Vajiraghara obtained

(classical) dances, songs and instrumental music, and the celebration of festivals and fairs.

Likewise, in the fourth year (of his reign), (he) dwells in the Dwellings of the Vidyadharas (which) no former king of Kalinga had ever scathed, and makes all the Rathikas and Bhojakas (whose) crown and caparisoned horse have been dashed to pieces, umbrella and golden pitcher have been removed and jewels and fortune have been seized, to down at (his) feet.

And, in the fifth bountiful year (of his reign), (he) causes the Tanasuliyavata Canal (which was) opened out by the Nanda king in the year 103, to be brought into the capital [by spending...thousands].

the dignity of auspicious motherhood.....Then in the eighth year (he) with a large army having sacked Goradhagiri.

- L.8 causes pressure on Rajagaha (Rajagriha). On account of the loud report of this act of valour, the Yavana (Greek) King Dimi (ta) retreated to Mathura having extricated his demoralised army and transport....(He) gives with foliage,
- L.9 Kalpa (wish-fulfilling) trees, elephants, chariots with their drivers, houses, residences and rest-houses. And to make all these acceptable (he) gives at a fire Sacrifice (?) exemption (from taxes) to the caste of Brahmanas. Of Arhat.....
- L.10(He) causes to be built a royal residence (called) the Palace of Great Victory (*Mahavijaya*) at the cost of thirty eight hundred thousands. And in the tenth year (he), following (the three-fold policy) of chastisement, alliance and conciliation sends out an expedition against Bharatavasa (and) brings about the conquest of the land (or, country).....and obtains jewels and precious things of the (kings) attacked.
- L.11 And the market-town (?) Pithum'ca founded by the Ava King he ploughs down wit a plough of assees; and (he) thoroughly breaks up the confederacy of the T(r)amira (Dramira) countries of one hundred and thirteen years, which has been a source of danger to (his) Country (Janapada). And in the twelfth year he terrifies the kings of Uttarapatha with ...thousands of

And, having been anointed [for six years], to display (his) royal opulence (he) bestows all taxes, grants and many (other) favours (worth) hundreds and thousand upon the townsmen and villagers.

And, while reigning in the seventh year, she, (that is, his) wife named Vajiragharavati, [obtains] the dignity of mother [due to] accumulated merit.

And, in the eight year (of his reign), having stormed the invulnerable Gorathagiri (fortress) with a big army (he) oppresses the king of Rajagriha. And sounding aloud this act

L.12 And causing panic amongst the people of Magadha (he) drives (his) elephants into the Sugamgiya (Palace) and (he) makes the king of Magadha, Bahasatimita, bow at his feet. And (he) sets up (the image) 'the Jina of Kalinga' which had been taken away by King Nanda.....and causes to be brought home the riches of Anga and Magadha along with the keepers of the family jewels of.....

L.13(He) builds excellent towers with carved interiors and creates a settlement of a hundred masons, giving them exemption from land revenue. And wonderful and marvellous enclosure of stockade for driving in the elephants (he).....and horses, elephants, jewels and rubies as well as numerous pearls in hundreds (he) causes to be brought here from the Pandya King.

L.14(he) subjugates. In the thirteenth year, on the Kumari Hill where the wheel of Conquest had been well-revolved (*i.e.*, the religion of Jina had been preached, (he) offers respectfully royal maintenances, China clothes (silks) and white clothes to (the monks) who (by their austerities) have extinguished the round of lives, the preachers on the religious life and conduct at the Relic Memorial. By Kharavela, the illustrious, as a layman devoted to worship, is realised (the nature of) *jiva* and *deha*.

L.15 bringing about a Council of the wise asceticas and sages, rfrom hundred (*i.e.*, all) quarters, the monks (Samanas) of good deeds and who have fully followed (the injunctions).....near the Relic Depository of the Arhat, on the top of the hill,.....with stones.....brought from many miles (*yojanass*) quarried from

of prowess (he), along with (his) army and entourage, marches to the river Yamuna [lying in the] having liberated (the city of) Mathura. [And (he) moves with satellite kings. (?)] (Here), with a wish-fulfilling Tree burdened with foliage, and along with (his) cavalry, elephants and chariots, (he) goes [to worship the Stupa] revered by all householders and, having performed the Sarva-grahana (ceremony), gives the community of Brahmanas gifts and [worships] the Arahantas.

excellent mines (he builds) shelters for the Simhapatha Queen Sindhula.....

L.16 Patalaka (?).....(he) sets up four columns inlaid with beryl.....at the cost of seventy-five hundred thousands ; (he) causes to be compiled expeditiously the (text) of the seven-fold Amgas of the sixty-four (letters). He is the king of Peace, the King of Prosperity, the King of Monks (*bhikshus*), the King of Religion (*Dharma*), who has been seeing, hearing and realising blessing (*Kalayan*as)

L.17 accomplished in extra-ordinary virtues, respecter of every sect. the repairer of all temples, one whose chariot and army are irresistible, one whose empire is protected by the chief of the empire (himself), descended from the family of the Royal Sage Vasu, the Great Conqueror, the King, the illustrious Kharavela."

B —"Obeisance to Arahats, the Exalted Ones, obeisance to all Siddhas, the Perfect Saints.

By his Graceful Majesty Kharavela, the great Aira king, the Sovereign lord of Kalinga, the scion of the Mahamegha family, the increaser of the Cheti Royal House, who is possessed of the noble and auspicious marks, who is gifted with the attributes (of one capable) of subduing the earth extending as far as the four seas, were played for fifteen years the sports befitting the young age of the prince with a handsome body of 'fair brown complexion.' Thereafter, for nine years, just the office of a crown Prince was administered by (His Royal Highness) who was well-versed in (matters relating to) writing, coinage, accounting, procedure, and approved principle of action, whose self was purified by proficiency in all (Indian) 'polite learning'. Having then completed twenty-four years, he who, as he waxed great,

After the well (accomplished campaign of) conquest, [in the ninth year (of his reign)], (he) builds the royal abode named Mahavijayaprasada on both the banks of the (river) Prachi by (spending) thirty-eight hundred thousands.

And, in the tenth year (of his reign), the Dispenser of War and Peace causes to be made [preparations] (for) marching forth in Bharatavarsha to conquer the (whole) land.

[And, in the eleventh year (of his reign)], (carrying) with (him) gems and jewels (he) moves [in the southern direction] in a slow procession and causes Pithunda, the abode of Avakings, to be ploughed by ploughs drawn by asses, and for the well-being of (his) realm, breaks the confederacy of Tamila countries (which had been) formed in the year 113.

And, in the twelfth year (of his reign), [marching at the head of] thousands [of brave warriors], (he) strikes terror into

passed the rest of his manhood in making notable conquests, gained the high state implied by the coronation of a great king in the third royal dynasty of Kalinga, in regular linear succession.

And as soon as he was anointed in the very first year, (His Majesty) caused the Kalinga-city Khibira in which the gates, walls and residential ouses were damaged by stormy wind, to be repaired, and caused the embankments of the cool tanks to be made and (also) caused the work of restoration of all the gardens to be done at the cost of thirty-five hundred thousand (pieces of the standard coin), and (thereby) pleased the subjects.

And in the second year, not (at all) bringing Satakarni into (his) thought, (His Majesty) caused a multitudinous army (consisting of) horses, elephants, foot-men and chariots to march in a western direction, and with the aid of the army that reached (the bank of) the Krsnavena (river), struck terror into the city of Asika (Musika?).

Again, in the third year, (His Majesty) who was a master of science of music—the Gandharva lore, caused the capital to be entertained by the display of combats, dancing, singing, and instrumental music, and (no less) by the arrangement made for festivities and convivial gatherings.

(the hearts of) the kings of Uttarapatha [while going northwards], and engendering great fear into (the hearts of) the people of Magadha, causes (his) elephants and horses to drink (water) the (river) Ganga, and makes the king of Magadha, (named) Bahasatimita, to bow at (his) feet, and [worships] in the temple (enshrining the image) of Jina from Kalinga (which had been) taken away (from there) by the Nanda king, and having seized the family-jewels [from the treasury], carries away the riches of Anga and Magadha.

Likewise, in the fourth year, (His Majesty caused to be done his duty to) the home of the Vidyadharas, founded by the former kings of Kalinga, which was not invaded before, compelled all the Rathikas and Bhojakas, who were deprived of their wealth and jewels, whose royal insignia consisting of umbrellas and vases had been cast away, who were abandoned by good Brahmins (?), and whose crowns were rendered meaningless to bow down at (his) feet.

And then in the fifth year, (His Majesty) caused the canal opened out by King Nanda three hundred (or 103) years back to be brought into the capital from the Tanasuliya road.....

And in the sixth year, (His Majesty) while displaying his royal prosperity, bestowed (unprecedented) favours on the inhabitants of town and districts by remitting all taxes and duties amounting to many hundred thousands (pieces of the standard coin).

And in the seventh year, (his Majesty caused) compact groups of hundreds of horses, (portable) diamond chambers and warriors (to proceed to) the tranquil spot and join the foot of the Samataka Hill.... And in the eighth year having stormed with a mighty army (the fortress of) Gorathagiri of invulnerable wall, (His Majesty) brought a pressure to bear upon Rajagrha, and the Yavana King ?mi???? retreated to Mathura in order to release the troops and vehicles restlessly moving on account of uproar of reprisal on his (Majesty's) part.....returned (to Kalinga), marched back with Kalpavrksa, the Wishing Tree, burdened with foliage, and (the troops) of horses, elephants and chariots, (did something for) all householders, and to captivate all (he) offered the gift of victory to Brahmins, (offered something to) the Arhata (recluses).....

[On returning home], (he) cause banners to be fixed on all the firm pinnacles of the gates (of the capital) by spending two thousand. And (it is) portentous marvel (that) leading (a force of) elephants and boats (he) siezes [with little difficulty] horses, elephants, jewels and rubies from the king of the Pandyas and at this moment fetches many pearls, gems and jewels (worth) hundreds and [thousands], and subjugates [the people of the Pandya kingdom].

And in the ninth year, (His Majesty) caused the royal residence Mahavijaya-prasada, the "Great Victory Palace", to be built on both the banks of Prachi at the cost of thirty-eight hundred thousand (pieces of the standar coin).

And in the tenth year, well-read and experienced in the principles of policy, (His Majesty) proceeded on a campaign for the conquest of countries in Bharatavarsa.....(?)

And in the eleventh year, (His Majesty).....went in procession with jewels and gems.....caused the grassy overgrowth of Prthudaka, founded by a former king, to be let out into the Langala (river) and destroyed the accumulation of dark swamps that grew up in thirteen-and-hundred years (and) became a cause of anxiety to the country.

And in the twelfth year, ...with the aid of thousands of the Sivils (?), (His Majesty) produced consternation among the rulers of Uttarapatha, wile generating an immense fear among the people of Magadha, caused the elephants and horses to drink in the Ganges, and compelled Brahmaspatimitra, the king of the Magadha people, to bow down at his feet, (did something in connection with) the settlements of the Kalinga people subjugated by King Nanda,.....carried the wealth of Anga and Magadha with the aid of persons sskilled in clever tactics,.....caused to be erected towering temples and gates with figures of the goddess of luck in their niches, procured at the cost of a hundred *visas* (of gold) the rare and wonderful trappings of elephants, the King of Pandya, rich in mettled horses, elephants and jewels and gems supplied here hundreds and thousands of apparel (?), pearls, gems and jewels,.....subdued (some people).

And, in the thirteenth year (of his reign), by the Royal Worshipper (who has) performed the vows (and is) resplendent with (super-natural) powers, the Lay Devotee (who is) addicted to worship, His Majesty Kharavela (whose) soul is dependent on body, is caused to be excavated for purposes of worship the Relic Memorial (in honour of) the Arahamtas (who have) cast off transmigration, on Mount Kumari, the auspicious mountain in Vijaya circle.

And in the thirteenth year, on the Kumari hill in the well-founded realm of Victory, were excavated the *jivadehasrayikas* by his Graceful Majesty Kharavela, devoted to the worship of those who depended on royal patronage, those who had fulfilled their (religious) vows, (and) those who sought shelter during the rains for use as comfortable resting places by the Arhata (recluses), the cause of whose future gliding in the course of transmigration had been greatly extenuated (and) who were (there) for fulfilling the Yapa (Rainy Season Vow).

For the honoured recluses of well-established reputaiton and the Jnatrkas (?) viewing all things alike (and) the monks(?) belonging to (different) orders (and) coming from a hundred directions, with hundreds and thousands of stones quarried out of excellent quarries (and) collected from (an area extending over) many *yojanas* by expert heads, (His Majesty caused) indeed (to be made) sleeping-and-sitting accommodations fitted with artistic pillars (?) on a slope near the Arhat resting place, and caused the columns to be set up in a beryl-set hall with an ornamental courtyard at the cost of seventy-five hundred thousand (pieces of the standard coin), and in sixty-four panels, intersected with sculptures, caused to be produced (the scenes of) peaceful music.

The king of severity was he, the king of prosperity, the king of renunciation, the righteous king, (capable) of perceiving, hearing and experiencing things that are conducive to welfare was His Graceful Majesty Kharavela, the mighty conqueror, the upholder of the realm of royal command, the protector of the realm of royal command, the repairer of all abodes of the gods, the worshipper of all sects, accomplished by virtue of the possession of certain special qualities."

[On being invited by the King, His Majesty Kharavela], the reverend Sramanas (who are) self-possessed and the Jnanis, Tapasvi Rishis and leaders of Samghas from all directions, (coming from) many *yojanas*, [numbering thirty-five hundred, assemble] in the well-laid out quadrangle near the shrine of the Arahamta on the top of the hill, on the stone (platform adjacent to) the shrine (dedicated by) queen Sindhula (hailing from) Simhapatha.

[In front of the Assembly Hall] (he) causes to be set up a pale red and quadrilateral pillar inlaid with beryl, and causes to be read expeditiously the peace-giving Principal Scripture, (that is,) the Twelve Angas, (which has been) gradually declining (in volume) since the year 165. He (is a) peaceful king, he (is) a wise king, (a) mendicant king (and a) righteous king (who) questions about, listens to (and) meditates upon the well-meaning scriptures.

[The year.... .] The Expert in extra-ordinary excellences, the Worshipper of all religions, the Embellisher of all temples, the (Possessor of the) might of irresistible army and entourage, the Bearer of Wheel (of conquest), the Protector of the realm, (the one) whose wheel rolls on unimpeded, the Support of princely houses and families, the Great Conqueror, His Majesty Kharavela the King.”²⁴

The Date of the Inscription

Dr. Shashi Kant further writes: “An analysis of the data presented in this epigraph gives us much valuable information not only about the personality and achievements of Kharavela, but also about the political and social conditions of the times in which he lived. The most baffling problem about him is, however, his date.

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24. Shashi Kant, pp. 22-32 (English Translation of Hathigumpha Inscription from Prakrit both by Jayaswal and Banerjee, seperately).

This is the earliest known inscription which mentions dates of past historical events. The Tanasuliyavata canal is stated to have been opened by the Nanda King in *ti-vasa-sata* or the year 103, the Tamila Confederacy is stated to have been fromed in *terasa-vasa-sata* or the year 113, and the Principal Scripture of the Jains is stated to be declining in volume since *pannatariya-satha-sata-vasa* or the year 165. The question arises — in what era are these dates mentioned ?

The circumstance that the inscription was incised on the occasion of a religious ceremony, lends the clue that the era of reckoning may be one connected with the religion to which the ceremony related. It leads us to assume that these dates are in the Mahavira Era which has been as much popular among the Jains as the *anno Domini* among the Christians or the *anno Hegirae* among the Muslims. The M.E. is said to have started from October 15, 527 B.C., the date of *nirvana* or demise, the last memorable event in the life of Mahavira, the last of the twenty-four Tirthankara revered by the Jains.²⁵

Taken in M.E. the above three events would fall in 424 B.C., 414 B.C., and 362 B.C., respectively.

The extant literary traditions of both the Digambaras and the Svetambaras, the principal sects among the Jains, seem to confirm that the date for gradual decline of the canonical knowledge may be M.E. 165. According to the Digambaras as well as the Svetambaras eight pontiffs after Mahavira possessed full canonical knowledge and the last of them was Bhadrabahu I. The Digambaras assign a period of 162 years to these eight pontiffs, while the Svetambaras assign 178

25. For a discussion of the date of Mahavira's *nirvana*, see, Jain, Dr. J.P., *The Jaina Sources of History of Ancient India*, pp. 32-54.

A *Tirthankara* is a religious pioneer and deified saint.

years.²⁶ It is possible that the period was actually 165 years since the tradition recorded in this inscription is closer to the event than any of the available literary traditions.

As for placing the event of the opening of the Tanasuliyavata canal in M.E. 103 or 424 B.C., it is necessary to consider the chronology of Nanda. Nanda is twice mentioned in this inscription : he opened the canal in the year 103 and he took away the image of Jina from Kalinga to Magadha. It means that this Nanda was the King of Magadha. The Jain tradition unanimously places the Nandas 60 years after Mahavira and assigns them a rule of 155 or 150 years. This is with reference to Ujjayini²⁷ and indicates that the Nanda kings of Magadha had annexed Ujjayini in 466 B.C. The expression *Namda-raja* used in the inscription also seems to indicate that it does not refer to a particular King Nanda; it more correctly refers to a Nanda King, *i.e.*, a king of the Nanda dynasty. The Nandas continued to rule in Ujjayini till 312 or 317 B.C., when the Mauryas dislodged them. Chandragupta Maurya's coup in Magadha is dated in *circa* 324 B.C. He may have taken some time to consolidate his position in Magadha and may have been able to extend his sway over Ujjayini a few years later. The Mauryan chronology does not cause any hindrance in assuming that the Nandas ruled over Ujjayini for 155 or 150 years after 60 years from the demise of Mahavira.

As for reconciling this period with the history of Magadha, the seat of Nanda imperial authority, it is significant that the Brahmanical Puranas assign a total of 143 years to Mahanandin, and Mahapadma and his eight sons. On the basis of Chandragupta Maurya's accession in 324 B.C., the Nanda

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 262-65 (Pontifical Genealogy Mahavira's Successors).

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 255-61 (Dynastic Chronology from Mahavira's Nirvana to M.E. 1000).

dynasty's rule in Magadha ended in that year and the accession of Mahanandin took place in 467 B.C. Since the Jain and Brahmanical traditions converge on this point, Mahanandin may be taken to be the founder of the Nanda dynasty.²⁸

The Buddhist tradition is firm on the point that the Buddha's death took place in the 8th year of Ajatasatru's reign. It also assigns a total of 80 years to Ajatasatru and his successors, *i.e.*, a total of 72 years after the Buddha. The Brahmanical tradition assigns a total of 83 years to them. The traditional date of the Buddha's demise is 544 B.C.²⁹ On that

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28. The total period of 143 years for the Nanda rule in Magadha seems to be correctly represented by Mahanandin (43 years), Mahapadma (88 years) and Mahapadma's 8 sons (12 years). Nandivardhana (40 years) is said to have preceded Mahanandin and he is also said to have founded the Nanda line. It, however, appears that Nandivardhana and Mahanandin are identical, the latter ('the Great Nanda') being a title of the former. Al-Beruni mentions an Indian era with the initial year 458 B.C., which goes back to the time of the first Nanda king. (see, Sachau, E.C., *Al-Beruni's India*, II, pp. 5-7). This also seems to suggest that the Nanda take-over in Magadha might be in 467 B.C. The era might have been founded a decade later to commemorate the assumption of imperial status. (Quoted by Shashi Kant, p. 34)
 29. This is according to the oldest tradition among the Buddhists. Geiger places the event in 483 B.C. on the basis of a late Cantonese tradition. It is worth noticing that while the historians have generally placed implicit reliance on the Ceylonese Buddhist traditions for the chronological build-up of Magadha from Bimbisara to Asoka, they have rejected the same for the date of the Buddha himself. This has been done on the basis of Sandrokottos-Chandragupta Maurya synchronism and by computing the dates from Chandragupta's accession to and from. Perhaps it would be better to reconcile the points of general agreement in the different sets of tradition (Jain, Buddhist and Brahmanical) on the basis of certain firm points in those traditions. When worked on that method, a reasonable chronology can be drawn out for ancient India. I am inclined to support the traditional dates of the Buddha and Mahavira as preserved in the respective Buddhist and Jain traditions since they would hardly make a mistake on that point. (Quoted by Shashi Kant, p. 35)

basis Ajatasatru's line should come to an end in 472 or 469 B.C. It also brings us nearer 467 B.C. for the beginning of the Nanda rule.

It appears that there was an interregnum of 3 to 5 years before Mahanandin could firmly establish himself in Magadha and soon after he launched Magadha on an ambitious career of conquest. In 424 B.C. Mahapadma succeeded him and he appears to have led the victorious arms of Magadha into Kalinga and further south. The inauguration of one's reign with a campaign of conquest, has been a popular practice with ambitious monarchs throughout the world. It is also reflected in Kharavela's desire at the time of his coronation 'to make the remainder of his youth prosperous by making conquests'.

In the very first year of his reign, in 424 B.C., Mahapadma conquered Kalinga, opened the Tanasuliyavata canal there, and took away the image of Jina from Kalinga to Magadha. He may have marched further south. This must have been quite unexpected for them and so the idea of forming a confederacy should have dawned upon them. According to the instant inscription this confederacy was formed in 414 B.C., ten years after Mahapadma Nanda's campaign in Kalinga.

This confederacy arrested the southward expansion of the Magadha empire under the Nandas and after them, under the Mauryas. On the basis of the evidence afforded by the inscriptions of Asoka Maurya it can be assumed that the Magadha empire had extended as far south as the Godavari and the Krishana. This region appears to have been brought under the Magadha empire by the Nandas, most probably Mahapadma whose depredations led the Tamils to form a confederacy. Reference to the Nandas in the early *Sangam* Literature, the oldest Tamil literature, lends support to this assumption.³⁰

30. Sastri, K.A.N., *A History of South India* (2nd ed. 1958), pp. 85-86. (Quoted by Shashi Kant, p. 36)

In Rock edicts II and XIII Asoka lists the Cholas, the Pandyas, the Satiyaputras, the Keralaputras and the Tamraparniyas (Ceylonese) as living to the south of his empire. They seem to represent the members of the Tamila confederacy. The confederacy not only held its own against the Magadha imperialism under the Nandas and Mauryas, but in course of time itself became a danger to its neighbours. This is suggested by Kharavela's motive in breaking it in his 11th regnal year. He did it 'for the well-being of his realm'. And he could think of marching against the Pandya king in the 12th year only after he had broken the Confederacy in the previous year, probably through diplomatic means.

The above discussion strongly suggests that the dates mentioned in the instant inscription are in M.E.

Unfortunately the date of the epigraph itself is missing. It has already been suggested in note 4 on p. 21 ante that the mutilation at the beginning of L 17 should have, in all probability, contained it. Under the existing circumstances, however, we have to ascertain it on the basis of the contemporary data available in the inscription.

Names of two contemporaries are mentioned : Satakamnim in the western direction, and Bahasatimitam, the king of Magadha ; the former with reference to an evident in the 2nd year of his reign, and the latter, to that in the 12th year. Added to this is the fact that Kharavela was the third ruler of his dynasty, the *Chedi-raja-vamsa*.

It is generally accepted now that the Mauryan Empire disintegrated soon after the death of Asoka in c. 235-234 B.C. His grandsons Dasaratha, Samprati and Vigatasoka seem to have divided the empire among themselves with their centres respectively in Magadha, Ujjayini and Gandhara. Jalauka, a son of Asoka, also seems to have become independent in Kashmir. Taking advantage of the internecine

feuds among the successors of Asoka, some of his servants also appear to have carved out independent principalities. The examples seem to be furnished by the founder of the Satavahana line in the Nasik region and the founder of the Chedi line in the Kalinga region.

According to Prof. K.A.N. Sastri, 'the exact date of the foundation of the Satavahana power cannot be determined, but the Puranic lists suggest that the first king, Simuka, probably began to reign about 230 B.C.³¹ Dr. K. Gopalachari more surely places the event soon after Asoka's death in c. 235 B.C.³²

The Satavahanas have been referred to as 'Andharabhritya', which further suggest that the founder of the line was servant of the Maurya emperors, perhaps of the rank of a Mahamatra (member of the Imperial Service) and holding a Commissioner's or Governor's charge in the region where he proclaimed his independence, and that he originally belonged to the Andhra region.³³ In no other way the Satavahanas appear to be connected with Andhra ; all their possessions were confined to the western coast and only a very late epigraph of the 24th or 26th ruler is the earliest Satavahana record so far known from the Krishna district in Andhra.

31. *op. cit.*, p. 89.

32. *A Comprehensive History of India*, II, pp. 293-328. Gurty Venkat Rao's view placing Simuka in 271 B.C. is highly improbable. No such thing could be thought of in the hey-day of Maurya imperial power under Asoka. The political geography available in Asoka's epigraphs also discounts such a hypothesis. (Rao in *The Early History of the Deccan*, Pt. I-VI, pp. 90 ff.

33. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya has discussed the controversy as regards the home of the Satavahanas in the *Journal of Indian History*, XLI, III (Dec. 1963), pp. 749-55. He also holds that the Satavahanas were migrants to the Maharashtra region. (All quoted by Shashi Kant, pp. 37-38)

The founder of the Satavahana line was Simuka who is assigned a reign of 23 years. He was succeeded by his younger brother Krishna (Kanha) who reigned for 18 years. Then came Sri Satakarni whose exploits are recorded in the Nanaghat inscriptions of his queen Naganika. He reigned for 10 years (c. 194-184 B.C.). He is said to have been a very powerful king who performed many sacrifices including the Rajasuya and the Asvamedha which proclaim political supremacy and ascendancy.

Two facts strongly suggest that this Satakarni should be the Satakarni of the instant epigraph. The passage *achitayita-Satakarni* indicates that Satakarni was a powerful ruler with considerable influence to the west of Kalinga and it was really a matter of great courage not to pay any heed to him and send troops in the western direction. On the basis of the available evidence Sri Satakarni appears to have possessed such influence and power, but his namesake, the sixth ruler of the line who came 36 years after him, is not credited with any military or political exploits. The tenor of the inscription suggests that Kharavela was a man of action himself and would not have referred to anybody in such a rather deferential tone unless he was convinced of his superiority as a man of action. The event relates to the 2nd year of Kharavela's reign. A year later he himself marches into the Vindhyas and subdues the Rathikas and Bhojakas, the feudatory chiefs most probably owing allegiance to the Satavahanas and at least under their influence. This seems to indicate that the power of the Satavahanas had rather suddenly declined by that time. Kharavela did not come into direct conflict with the dominions. This discussion leads us to the conclusion that the 2nd regnal year of Kharavela should coincide with the 10th or 9th year of Satakarni's reign, i.e., 184 or 185 B.C.

The other fact supporting this synchronism is that a total of 50 years had elapsed by then since the founding of the Satavahana and Chedi lines. The latter was founded by the grandfather of Kharavela and that much period is not improbable for the two reigns, of his grandfather and father. If this Satakarni is taken to be the sixth (instead of the third) ruler of the Satavahana line, the beginning of whose reign is placed 18 or 36 years later, the intervening period between Kharavela's accession and the founding of the line by his grandfather would be at least 68 years or 86 years even if the 2nd year of his reign is supposed to be the very first year of that Satakarni's reign. The fact that Kharavela himself was coronated at the age of 24, however, lends support to the assumption that the total period of the reigns of his grandfather could not have been greater than 50 years.

We may conclude that the coronation of Kharavela took place 50 years after the disintegration of the Maurya Empire at the death of Asoka, that the first Satakarni, the third ruler of the Satavahana dynasty, was his contemporary, and that this Satakarni's reign came to an end before Kharavela launched his successful campaign in the Vindhya in his 4th regnal year. It would mean that Kharavela's reign began in c. 185 B.C. and the date of the instant inscription, which was recorded in the 13th regnal year of Kharavela, should be c. 172 B.C. or M.E. 355.³⁴ Since there is no further record of Kharavela it is possible that his reign might have come to an end in that year. The paleographic similarities of the instant inscription with the Nanaghat inscriptions of Sri Satakarni's queen Naganika, may be cited as a further supporting evidence for the above view.

34. It is significant that the obliteration at beginning of L 17 is sufficient to contain *Panatariya-panatisata-vasa* (= The year 355). (Quoted by Shashi Kant, p. 39)

But the identification of Bahasatimitam presents a more complicated problem. Twice Kharavela went to Magadha. In the 8th year he stormed the fortress of Gorathagiri, lying a few miles to the west of Rajagriha, the ancient capital of Magadha, but did not go further north or east. The term, *Rajagriha-nripa* used in this context appears to be synonymous with the 'king of Magadha,' whose name was not mentioned here since no direct contact took place with him at that time. This time Kharavela perhaps had no intention of waging a war against Magadha, and the fortress was stormed most probably as a part of strategy for securing his communications in his onward march to Mathura. But the next time, in his 12th year, he marched into Magadha and then he came into direct contact with its king, Bahasatimitam, whom he made to bow down at his feet.

Literary traditions are silent about any Bahasatimita (Brihaspati mita). Numismatic evidence shows that there was a king of this name about that time. Cast coins bearing the legend 'Bahasatimitasa' have been discovered at Kosam, the site of Kausambi.³⁵ The script is Asokan Brahmi and is supposed to be of the same style as that of an inscription found at Mora in the Mathura district which also mentions 'Brihasvatimitra'³⁶. On stratigraphic grounds these coins are assigned to *circa* 185-115 B.C.³⁷ Struck coins of Bahasatimita have also been found at Kosam and they are also assigned to 2nd century B.C.³⁸ Their paleography is said to be similar to

35. Jagannath in *A Comprehensive History of India*, II, p. 107.

36. *J.A.R.S.*, 1912, p. 120.

37. Sharma, G.R., *the Excavations at Kausambi* (1957-59), pp. 19, 80-85.

38. Jagannath, *op. cit.*, ; also, Allan, J., *British Museum Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India*, p. xcvi.

that of the Pabhosa Cave inscriptions which also mention 'Bahasatimitra'³⁹.

This evidence put together indicates that there was a king named Bahasatimita in eastern India in the first quarter of the 2nd century B.C., his dominions extended as far as the Vatsa region,⁴⁰ his mother Gopali was the daughter of King Tevaniputra Bhagavata of Ahichchhatra, and his daughter Yasamata lived at Mathura. King Tevaniputra Bhagavata was the son of King Sonakayanaputra Vamgapala who appears to have founded his independent kingdom in Ahichchhatra in similar circumstances as did Simuka and Kharavela's grandfather but about two decades later on the death of Samprati. If so, Tevaniputra Bhagavata's daughter's son could be a contemporary of Kharavela and could be his adversary in his 12th year in c. 173 B.C.

The instant inscription makes Bahasatimita the king of Magadha and it also seems to indicate that his territory included Anga to the east. An examination of the evidence afforded by the *Yugapurana* of the *Gargisamhita* and its correlation with the information supplied by the Pabhosa Cave Inscriptions, also suggest that the Mauryan dynasty in Magadha was put to an end by the confederacy of the newly formed kingdoms of Mathura and Ahichchhatra and that Bahasatimita who was a prince of the Mathura house but was also the daughter's son of the then king of Ahichchhatra, was installed as King of Magadha in c. 206 B.C. under the regency of an Ahichchhatra prince.⁴¹

39. *E.I.*, II. pp. 240-43 ; also, my book *Kausambi* (Hindi), pp. 110-111, 117-118.

40. The Problem of dismemberment of Maurya Empire has been discussed in detail in my *Hisotry of Vatsa*. (All quoted by Shashi Kant, p. 40)

41. The tradition contained in the *Yugapurana* seems to suggest that the confederate forces of the Yavanas, Panchalas and Mathuras

It is believed that in c. 187 B.C. Brihadratha, the last of the Mauryas, was killed by Pushyamitra Sunga in Magadha and the latter founded the Sunga dynasty. On this account K.P. Jayaswal identified Bahasatimita with Pushyamitra Sunga, saying that Pushya was a star in the Brihaspati constellation. This identification has, however, not been accepted. It is to be noted that no coins of Pushyamitra Sunga have been discovered at least in Magadha. No inscription of his or referring to him, has also been found in Magadha. In fact, no Sunga inscription has been found in that region.

On one point the Jain and Brahmanical puranic traditions converge that Pushyamitra came after the Mauryas. According to the former ruled for 30 or 35 years and according to the latter, for 36 years. The Jain traditions relate to Ujjayini. The puranic traditions cannot be definitely located. The story of the *Malvikagnimitra*⁴² suggests that the headquarters of the Senapati (=Pushyamitra Sunga) were at Vidisa, and those of the Sachiva, in Vidarbha. This indicates that the event should relate to the Ujjayini branch of the Mauryas. On epigraphic evidence the easternmost limit of the Sunga dominions appears to be Bharhut,⁴³ near Nagod in the Satna district. Possibly the dominions of the Sungas, and at least of Pushyamitra, included

put an end to the Maurya rule in Magadha. (ref. D.R. Mankad, 'A critically edited text of the Yugapurana', *J.U.P.H.S.*, XX, pp. 32-64). These Yavanas are, however, not to be confused with the hordes of Demetrius because till c. 200 B.C. the Seleucids were still strong and Bactria was yet a Satrapy. They could at best be the mercenaries employed by the kings of Mathura and Ahichchhatra.

The problem of Bahasatimita has been examined at length in my *History of Vatsa*. (Quoted by Shashi Kant, p. 41)

42. A play in classical Sanskrit by Kalidasa.
43. Dhanabhuti's record on the eastern gateway mentions *Suganam raje* ('in the kingdom of the Sungas'). (Majumdar, N.G., *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, I, p. 95.)

only Malwa (Ujjayini and Vidisa) and Bundelkhand regions in central India. The mere finding of an inscription of Dhana who claims to be the sixth in descent from Senapati Pushyamitra, at Ayodhya is no conclusive evidence of Pushyamitra's sway in that region, more so since it does not mention that the findspot was included in his or in the Sunga dominions. He had an encounter with the Greeks but that took place on the Kali Sindhu in central India; this also lends support to the above view. According to the Jain tradition, Pushyamitra should have ruled in Ujjayini from 204 to 174 or 169 B.C.. The lower limit of his reign appears to be 169 B.C. since it would be in accord with the puranic tradition assigning him a reign of 36 years. The encounter with the Greeks appears to have taken place towards the close of his reign in view of two facts, firstly that his forces were commanded by his grandson Vasumitra⁴⁴ and secondly that according to Justin, Demetrius is placed in c. 178-136 B.C.⁴⁵ Kharavela does not mention him as he did not come into any contact with him in the course of any of his campaigns. The above discussion leads us to the conclusion that although Pushyamitra Sunga was also a contemporary of Kharavela, he was different from Bahasatimita of Magadha.

Thus it is possible to deduce that Kharavela should have ruled in Kalinga from c. 185 B.C. to c. 172 B.C. and that since our record does not record any event after the 13th year of his reign, it should have been inscribed in c. 172 B.C.⁴⁶

44. *vide, Malavikagnimitra.*

45. Justin says that Demetrius was 'king of Indians' when Eucratides was king of Bactria and Mithridates was that of Parthia. The last named is placed in c. 171-136 B.C. (All quoted by Shashi Kant, p. 42)

46. Shashi Kant, p. 43.

Personal History

Dr. Shashi Kant further writes giving more details: The readings and constructions leave little scope for speculation about the lineage of Kharavela, yet attempts have been made to find references to the puranic Aila, Chedi, Vena and Vasti in the inscription. It has also been said that he belonged to the third dynasty of Kalinga.

The passage *taitiye-Kalinga-rajavamse-purisa-yuge* clearly indicates that he was the third in descent in the royal family of Kalinga. *Purisa-yuga*=*purusha-yuga*, means 'generation',⁴⁷ and the governing *tatiye* settles that his was the third generation. He does not mention the names of his father and grandfather, and otherwise also we do not know anything about them, except the inference from this very passage that the grandfather founded the line in Kalinga.

The name Kharavela has been mentioned thrice in the inscription : in L 1, L 14 and L 17. At all the three places it is preceded by appropriate titles and epithets, as was the custom. The construction suggests that *Airena*(= *Aryena*= by the high-born, noble, honourable) is a mere honorific and its equation with *Ailena*, i.e., 'descendent of Ila, father or mother of the Pururavas,' is not possible. a royal honorific was necessary at the beginning of the description of the king and this purpose could not be served by *Aila*. *Arya* has been used in the meaning of 'noble, honourable, high-born' in ancient literature usually

47. The term occurs in the *Sukhabodha* commentary by Devendraganin on the *Uttaradhyana Sutta* while describing the episode of the breaking down of nine spokes of Chandragupta's chariot as the Nanda's daughter stepped into it. Chanakya dispelled Chandragupta's fear of a bad omen by saying that it signified that his dynasty would last nine generations (*Nava-purisa-jugani tujjham vamsam holi*). Hemachandra also uses *purusa-yugani* in the same sense in the *Parisistaparvam* (VIII, v. 326). Both these sources are Jain.

and it was also the usual form of address in the sense of 'Sir, My Lord, Your Majesty'. The word has no pretensions to the Aryan race, the way it has been used in literature.

If we leave out the epithets, the name complete with honorifics and titles would be 'Arya Maharaja Mahameghavahana Kalingadhipati Sri Kharavela' in L 1, 'Sri Kharavela' in L 14 and Raja Sri Kharavela in L 17. *Mahameghavahana* (lit. Indra, or 'the rider of elephant') appears to be a royal title of the kings of Kalinga which they assumed or earned due to the preponderance of elephants in that region. The same honorifics and titles as Kharavela's in L 1 are borne by Kudupa whose inscription has been found in the nearby Patalapura cave.⁴⁸

Kharavela is the proper name. It can be equated with Sanskrit *Kshara-vella*, meaning 'moving sharp as the wind' or 'the very cyclone'. His career as depicted in this epigraph is true to his name.

He mentions the name of his family as *Chedi-rajya-vamsa* which signifies that it originally belonged to the Chedi region. There is no indication for connection it with the puranic Chedis. As already observed, the founder hailed from the Chedi (Bundelkhand) region, was posted in Kalinga, and took advantage to the weakness of the Maurya authority like Simuka who was posted near Nasik. Such migrations were always possible.

The passage *vadhamana-sesa-yovanabhivijayo* in L 2 simply means 'to make the remainder of his youth (*sesha yauvana*) prosperous (*vardhamana*) by conquests (*abhivijayo*), and there is apparently no allusion to Vena or

48. *Airasa Maharajasa Klimagadhipatino Maha (megha)vaha(na)sa Kudupa-sirino lenam.* (I.H.Q., XIV, 1, p. 160). (Quoted by Shashi Kant, p. 44)

his son Prithu. It also appears from the instant record that Kharavela never lost sight of this objective and almost every alternate year he led a campaign of conquest.

The passage *Rajasi-vamsa-kula-vinisito* in L 17 also does not contain any reference to the puranic king Rajarshi Vasu. This epithet describes Kharavela as the 'Support or Refuge of the princely houses and families', and there is nothing unusual in it when we know of his successful expeditions against several princely houses and families.

By its very nature the record is very personal and the author does not mention even the names of any of his predecessors. The possibility of mentioning any legendary heroes is thus precluded. Literal meanings convey reasonable sense and there is no need or scope for assuming references.

An issue was born to him in the 7th regnal year. His name is not mentioned in this epigraph. The Manchapuri cave, in front and to the south-east of Hathigumpha, contains three inscriptions respectively in the upper storey (Svargapuri), lower storey (Patalapura) and a side wing of lower storey (Yamapura), recording the dedications of the Agamahisi (chief Queen) of Kalinga-Chakravarti Sri Kharavela,⁴⁹ of Arya Maharaja Kalingadhipati Mahameghavahana Sri Kudepa, and of Kumara Vadukha.⁵⁰ This cave appears to have been reserved exclusively for the members of the royal family. The issue born in the 7th year might be either Vadukha or Kudepa, and it is also possible that Vadukha might be his childhood name

49. Arahamita-pasadam Kalinganam-Samananam-lenam Kari to (,) *Rajino Lalakasa Hathis(i)ha-sampanatasa dhutuna Kalinga-cha (Kavatino Siri-Khara)velasa Agamahisina karitam.* (*Ibid.*, p. 159).

50. *Kumaro-Vadukasa lenam.* (*Ibid.*, p. 161). (Quoted by Shashi Kant, p. 46)

and Kudepa, the proper name which he assumed on his succession. Such instances are not unusual.

Kharavela had at least two wives, namely, Vajiragharavati who bore him a child in the 7th year (L 7) and Queen Sindhula of Simhapatha (L 15). Since the latter is mentioned with the title of Queen, she appears to be identical with Agamahisi of the Svargapuri record. The location of Svargapuri is in accord with the description of Sindhula's shrine in our inscription and this seems to confirm the identification. We thus gather that the Chief Queen of Kharavela was named Sindhula, she hailed from Simhapatha, she was the daughter of King Lalaka Hathisiha, and she followed the religion of her husband. Kharavela refers to her dedication of a shrine, which appears to be confirmed by her own Svargapuri record wherein she is said to have built *arahamta-prasada*, i.e., a shrine in the honour of *Arahmta* for worship-purposes, as well as *lenam*, i.e., cave-dwelling for *Sramanas* (ascetics).

The opening of the epigraph with the Jain hymn of obeisance, makes its author definitely a follower of Jainism. It is also confirmed by the fact that the dates mentioned are in M.E., as we have seen above. He calls himself *pujanurata-uvāsaga*, i.e., 'a lay devotee addicted to worship.' The four-fold Jain congregation consists of monks, nuns, male lay devotees and female lay devotees, and his description of himself is thus in accord with the traditional concept. The description of the assembly is also essentially Jaina.

But he was not intolerant or fanatic. Nowhere does he disparage, criticise or show disrespect to other religions. In fact, he takes pride in calling himself as *Sava-pasamda-pujako* (worshipper of all sects) and *Sava-devayatana*. *Samkharakaraka* (embellisher of all temples) (L 17); and at the *Savagahanam* ceremony in Mathura he worshipped the *Arahamta* and at the same time gave gifts to the Brahmins (L 9). This catholicity of outlook and broad liberalism was the

characteristic trait of nearly all the successful Indian rulers. It is also a fact that all his expeditions were purely political and military campaigns and none of them was guided by any religious motive. N.K. Sahu's suggestion that Kharavela was a Jain by birth, *i.e.*, Jainism was his family religion,⁵¹ appears to be acceptable.

Considerable care appears to have been bestowed upon his education. He was given training not only in correspondence,⁵² Currency,⁵³ Accountancy,⁵⁴ State Regulation and Laws,⁵⁵ but was also taught music and was given a liberal education covering other sciences, so as to make him an accomplished and cultivated king. He was associated with administration at the age of 15 when he was made the Yuvaraja (Crown Prince) and for full 9 years he was given practical training in administration. No epigraphic record of such meticulous training of a prince has so far come to light.

51. *A History of Orissa*, ed. N.K. Sahu, (1st ed., 1956, Susil Gupta), Vol. II, p. 329.

52. *Lekha* stands for official correspondence. Kautilya had dealt with the subject at considerable length (*Arthashastra*, trans. R. Shama Sastry, 4th ed., pp. 71-75). a manual named *Lekha-paddhati* was also written in the time of the Chalukyas of Anahilapatana.

53. Buddhaghosa (*SBE*, XIII, p. 201) and Kautilya (*op. cit.*, p. 95) have also used *rupa* in the sense of coins or currency. It broadly covers the science dealing with public finance.

54. *Ganana* stands for accountancy and broadly covers the science dealing with public accounts.

55. *Vavahara* and *Vidhi* stand for laws. *Vavahara* (=vyavahara) stands for the law as defined by practice and seems to cover the mass of precedents, State Regulations and customary laws.

Vidhi denotes the positive injunctions—the laws as they were.

For effective dispensation of Justice, knowledge of both the Code and the Regulations (which supplement the former) is essential.

At the age of 24 he became the king. Being a Yuvaraja already, there would not have been any difficulty in succession. The word *papunati* seems to suggest some trouble, but the context does not support such a suggestion and it appears to be a matter of style only. The event of his father's death has been ignored altogether, most probably because the record is too personal. Our record closes in his 13th regnal year when he was only 37 years old. Nothing is known about him after that year.

Campaigns

In more details Dr. Shashi Kant further observes: He led six campaigns in all, one in the 2nd year, one in the 4th year, one in the 8th year, one in the 11th year and two in the 12th year. They appear to be merely campaigns of conquest and no annexations appear to have been made except in one case. They, help in determining the extent of Kalinga.

The first campaign was in the western direction up to the capital of the Asikas on the R. Kamhabemna (Krishnavena). The direction suggests that the Krishnavena should be identified with the Wainganga.⁵⁶ Its identification with the Krishana which flows to the south of Kalinga and not to the west, is incorrect. It is not possible to locate Asikanagara which probably lay across the Wainganga. In fact, his army reached only the river and does not appear to have sacked or entered the town itself. Presence and manoeuvres of his army on his side of the river were sufficient to cause

56. It joins the Pranhita at Sivni, which, in its turn, joins the Godavari near Sironch. both in the Chanda district.

Barua supports this identification on the ground that the main tributary of the Wainganga is the Kanhan which joins it in the Bhandara district (*IHQ*, XIV, 3, p. 475 fn. 166), suggesting there by that it might be known as Kanha-Waina or Krisan-vena. I am inclined to agree with him.

alarm to the people across the river. The object of the campaign appears to be exploratory in the main and it seems to indicate that the Wainganga formed the western boundary of the kingdom of Kalinga.

The next expedition, in the 4th year, was a campaign of conquest. It was also in the western direction and was personally led by him. He crossed into the Vindhyas⁵⁷ and defeated the Rathikas and Bhojakas. These Rathikas and Bhojakas bore all the insignia of royalty, namely, crown, caparisoned horse, umbrella and golden pitcher. In the inscriptions of Asoka the Rishtikas and Bhojas are listed among the *aparatas* or the people living in western India. They appear to have been autonomous tribes under the protectorate of the Maurya Empire. The Satavahanas coveted their friendship and did not interfere with them. Queen Naganika was the daughter of a Maharathi. They seem to have been knit together in a loose confederation; enjoying all rights and prerogatives of sovereignty, and in alliance with the Satavahanas. Their territories seem to be interspersed in the central and western Deccan in the hilly tracts and lay between Kalinga and Nasik. Their confederate forces appear to have been defeated by Kharavela. It is, however, not known where the battle was actually fought. The battle was decisive and his western flank was fully secured as we did not hear of any further expedition in that direction. As the context shows, it

57. The Vindhyas have been referred to in the inscription as *Vijadharadhivasam* (*Vidyadhara*+ *adhivasam*) poetically. In the Jain puranic lore these ranges are generally referred to as the abode of the Vidhyadharas.

Jagannath's suggestion that it refers to some sacred place of the Jains and its violation by the Rathikas and Bhojakas was the immediate cause of war, (*op. cit.*, pp. 113-14), is not acceptable in the context. It is a geographical term pure and simple.

should have been fought somewhere in the Vindhya, not very far from Kalinga, across the Wainganga and below the Narmada. There does not appear to be any exaggeration in his statement that the former kings of Kalinga did not go as far as the Vindhya, and he also did not cross the Vindhya into Malwa so as to come into contact with the Sungas, or go very deep into the Vindhya westward so as to come into direct contact with the Satavahanas. No annexations are claimed; he was satisfied by making his adversaries submit to him and by seizing their jewels and fortune.

The third expedition, in the 8th year, is northward. He first mentions the storming of Gorathagiri, near Rajagriha. It seems to indicate that to the north boundaries of Kalinga were nearly contiguous with those of Magadha. Gorathagiri was a hill fortress, serving as a defence for Rajagriha, the ancient capital of Magadha, and it lay in the Barabar Hills, some six miles to the west of Vaibhar Hill in Rajgir in the Gaya district of south Bihar. Its situation in the southern part of Magadha suggests the contiguity of the southern boundaries of Magadha and the northern boundaries of Kalinga. Kharavela did not go further into Magadha and seems to have turned westward to Mathura. The storming of this fortress was merely a strategic measure to secure his communications in the rear in his onward march.

Since he claims to have reached the Yamuna after liberating the city of Mathura, he appears to have marched through the tract lying below the Ganga and Yamuna. It was not intractable. A battle appears to have been fought near Mathura. It is suggested by *vipamumchitu* ('having liberated'). But the name of the adversary, who appears to have been an aggressor is not mentioned..... Mathura was not annexed and therefore on liberation it should have been returned to its

rightful owner. His further activities in Mathura were confined to performing religious ceremonies.

The real campaigns of conquest were yet to follow, and preparations for these were made in the 10th year. For the next two years he remained busy in these campaigns, marching to the south, then to the north, and again to the south. His ambition was to conquer the whole country and live up to the ideal of a *Chakravartin*.⁵⁸ This is the earliest epigraphic record mentioning the name of the country as Bharatavarsha (*Bharadavasa*).⁵⁹

Having made the necessary preparations in the 10th year, he first marches to the south, in the 11th year, and sacks Pithunda, the metropolis of Ava kings. Pithunda can be identified with Pityndra, mentioned by Ptolemy as the Metropolis of Maisolia and the Arvarnoi.⁶⁰ It lay in the interior of Maisolia, the coast between the rivers Godavari and Krishana. It has been suggested that possibly it did not lie very far from Vijayapuri (of the Nagarjunikonda inscription). Amaravati and Vijayawada, in the heart of ancient Andhrapatha.⁶¹ Exact location is not known. The Arvarnoi of

58. *i.e.*, supreme over-lord. This ideal is common to all the Indian traditions. According to the Jain tradition, there have been 12 Chakravartins who had conquered the whole earth, and the first among them was Bharata, the son of Rishabha, the first Tirthankara. (see, *Mahapuranam*, *Trisasthisalakapurushacharita*).

59. In the Jain tradition Bharata, the son of Rishabha, is credited with giving the country this name, while in the Brahmanical tradition Bharata, the son of Dushyanta and Sakuntala immortalised in the *Abhijnana-Sakuntalam* of Kalidasa, is also credited with it.

60. *Ptolemy's Ancient India*, ed. S.N.Majumdar, pp. 67-68, 185.

61. H.C. Rayachaudhuri in *The Early History of the Deccan*, Pt. I-VI, p. 56. It is also identified with Pihunda mentioned in the *Uttaradhyayan sutra*, which, however, does not help in locating it.

Ptolemy may be identical with the Ava people, or else *Ava* is misreading for *Amdha*, meaning the Andhra kings in the context, which is not quite impossible.

The southern boundary of Kalinga appears to be the Godavari. The manner in which Kharavela marches to Pithunda, shows that it could not be very far from Kalinga and must be somewhere near the southern border across the Godavari. The way in which it was sacked, seems to indicate that the Pithunda kingdom was annexed and the southern boundary was extended as far as the Krishna. Kharavela was now face to face with the Tamila confederacy which he set out to break 'for the well-being of his realm.' He claims to have broken the Confederacy, but does not mention to have marched further south and indicates that he Confederacy was broken through diplomacy rather than warfare. The Cholas⁶² were probably the northern-most member of the Confederacy, whose territory lay between the Pithunda and Pandya kingdoms. They seem to have been won over and he was thus enabled to march forth to the Pandya kingdom the following year.

In the 12th year he had two expeditions : one to the north and the other to the south. He marched forth into Magadha up to the Ganga⁶³ and obtained the submission of the Magadha

62. Asoka mentions the Pandyas after the Cholas. The Pandyas have also been associated with Madura on the R. Waigai from very ancient times, while the Cholas have been associated with "Tanjore on the R. Cauveri, which lies to the north of Madhura.

63. The reading is *hathasam Gamgaya payayati*, i.e., he marks his elephants and horses (*hathasam=hasti+asvam*) drink in the Ganga. There is no reference to the Sugangya palace, as supposed by Jayaswal and Banerji (*E.I.* XX, p. 88 f. n. 8). This name of the palace of Chandragupta Maurya is mentioned only in a very late work of fiction, the *Mudrarakshasa*, and it is not mentioned in any of the traditional accounts or epigraphic records.

king Basatimita. Although the name of Pataliputra is not mentioned the reference is evidently to that city which lay on the Ganga, and had continued to be the capital of Magadha at least since the days of the Nandas. The fact that he worshipped in the temple which enshrined the image taken away by the Nanda king from Kalinga, seems to indicate it.

He simply claims to have struck terror into the hearts of the kings of Uttarapatha (*Utarapadha*), which means that he did not come into contact with any other king of North India and did not go beyond Magadha. Here Uttarapatha has been used in the common sense of the term, meaning North India. Two broad divisions of the country have been Uttarapatha and Dakshinapatha, the former referring to the region lying to the north of the Vindhyas and the latter, to that lying to the south of the Vindhyas. An inference to the north-western region beyond Prithudaka (near Thanesar) cannot be drawn from Uttarapatha here as the context does not at all support it.⁶⁴

After the successful expedition against Magadha in the north, he marched against the Pandyas, perhaps the most powerful member of the Tamila Confederacy, in the south. He calls his victory against the Pandyas 'a portentous marvel',⁶⁵ and this seems to indicate the power of the Pandyas. The operation against the Pandyas appears to have been two-fold, *i.e.*, military as well as naval. Elephants formed the task-force on land and boats were used on the sea. This is the earliest epigraphic reference to the use of boats for war purposes, and it seems to confirm the overseas activities of

64. Jagannath (*op. cit.*, p. 114, f.n. 3) also takes it to have been used in a general way for North India.

65. *Abhutamachhariyam* = *adbhutam*=*ascharyam*, or *abhutam*=*ascharyam*. In both the cases the meaning remains the same.

the Kalinga people.⁶⁶ Kharavela is, however, not known to have led any overseas expedition although he maintained a fleet of war-ships.

Dominions

The kingdom of Kalinga as inherited by Kharavela appears to have comprised the entire territory known as Tri-Kalinga, including Utkal, Tosala and Kalinga.⁶⁷ It was bounded on the north by the R. Damodar, beyond which lay Magadha ; on the west by the R. Wainganga, beyond which lived the Asikas and the Rathikas and Bhojakas; on the south by the R. Godavari, beyond which lay the Pithunda kingdom and the Tamila countries ; and on the east by the Bay of Bengal. Kharavela appears to have annexed the Pithunda kingdom. The total annihilation of Pithunda signified by its being ploughed by ploughs drawn by asses, seems to suggest annexation. All other expeditions of his were aimed at obtaining formal submission and allegiance so as to secure his frontiers

The capital of Kalinga (*Kalimga-nagari*) should lie somewhere on the R. Prachi on both banks of which Kharavela built the Mahavijayaprasada. It should not be very far from the sea coast since it is stated to have been ravaged by a

66. See Majumdar, B.C., *Orissa in the Making*, and Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy*, p. 119-39. "Kalinga had built up a great overseas empire and spread her colonies as far as Philippine islands in the east and far south into the islands of the Indian Archipelago") Sahu, N.K., ed., *A History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 62).

67. Utkala lay between the rivers Damodar and Brahmani, Uttara Tosala between the Brahmani and the Mahanadi, Dakshina Tosala or Kongoda between the Mahanadi and the Vansdhara, and Kalinga between the Vansdhara and the Godavari (*vide*, Banerji, R.D., *History of Orissa*. Vol. I. map opp. p.49).

cyclone. The name of the city is stated to have been mentioned. *Khibiram* is merely its adjective, meaning 'the Abode of the Brave' (*Ksi* : dim. of *Kshiti* : +*viram*). It appears to have been a custom in Kalinga and the neighbouring or e.g., the capital of the Asikas was called Asikanagara, the principal city in the Tosla region was called Tosali, and similarly the capital of the Kalinga kingdom was called Kalinganagari.

It has been sought to identity it with either Dhauli or Sisupalagarh.⁶⁸ Dhauli lies in the Puri district, on the metalled road from Cuttack to Puri a little distant from the R. Prachi. A set of Asoka's rock Edicts, including the Kalinga Edicts addressed to the Mahamatras of Tosali and Samapa, has been found inscribed on a low hill and near that there is an open stretch of land of ancient habitation extending up to the river. It represents the site of Tosali since *Tosali* can be phonetically corrupted into *Daluli*, and also because it lies in the Tosala region which covered the Mahanadi delta and extended up to the R. Vansdhara to the south. It is possible that Kharavela's grandfather was the Mahamatra of Tosali. There seems to be strong indication that Tosali was not adopted as the capital of the newly founded kingdom, but a site nearby, which was just on the banks of the river, was chosen for the new capital. The exact location of the Tansauliyavata canal is not known, but the context seems to suggest that it was brought into the capital from a nearby place, most probably from the old town of Tosali into the new capital.

Sisupalagarh lies 1½ miles east-southwest of Bhubaneshwar and 6 miles to its west-northwest are the Khandagiri-Udayagiri hills. According to B.B. Lal, a presumption is raised in favour of its being identical with

68. The suggestion that it might be Kalingapattam in the Srikakulam district (*E.I.*, XX, p. 83 f. n. 19), is not worth considering since it does not answer to the description given in the inscription.

Kharavela's Kalinganagari on the following pieces of circumstantial evidence: on fortified town of comparable date except Sisupalagarh is known to exist near about the Khandagiri-Udayagiri hills, and the excavations did reveal a collapse and subsequent repair of southern gateway-flank of the fortifications which seems to confirm Kharavela's statement that he got repaired the gate way and fortification-wall which had been damaged by a storm.⁶⁹ The upper limit of the site is placed at c. 300 B.C., its Early Period being 300-200 B.C., Early Middle Period 200 B.C.-100 A.D., Late Middle Period 100-200 A.D. and Late Period 200-350 A.D. It is difficult to support this presumption in view of the fact that Kalinganagari must be on the Prachi and Sisupalagarh does not fulfil that condition. Its proximity with that Khandagiri-Udayagiri is not so relevant in the context. The fortress may have served the same defence purposes for the old town of Tosali as well as the new capital, as were served by Gorathagiri for Rajagriha.

The new capital was a walled town, with gates having pinnacles on which were flown the royal banners. It had cool reservoir and parks. It probably suffered from scarcity of water and so Kharavela brought the Tanasuliyavata canal into it. He also added to its beauty by building the Mahavijayaprasada on both banks of the Prachi at a cost of 38 lakhs.⁷⁰ The two

69. An early historical fort in Eastern India', *Ancient India*. No. 5 (January 1949), pp. 66-67.

70. The plural ending of *sahasehi* (*sahasrani*) clearly points to the cost as 'thirty-eight hundred thousands'. There is, however, no information as to the name or value of standard in which this amount has been denoted. The finding of a silver punch-marked coin from the filling forming the terrace in front of the Hathigumpha (*I.A.-R.*, 1961-1962. p. 321), might suggest that the costs were mentioned in terms of silver coins current in those days. (Quoted by Shashi Kant, p. 55)

portions of the palace appear to have been linked through bridges. It should have been a beautiful thing and a marvel of engineering for those times but in the absence of any physical remains, as also any reference in literature, it is not possible to catch a glimpse of it.

It is clear on the basis of Hathigumpha inscription of King Kharavela, that Jaina Art and Architecture flourished in Kalinga region during 1st century B.C. Jaina temples, caves, palaces, bridges, canal were built or repaired during his regime and art patronised. It is a fact, Tirthankaras were worshiped in the region, though Buddhism had spread far and wide.

JAINA MONUMENTS IN ORISSA

There is a long tradition of cave-dwellings in Orissa, which were mainly constructed by the ruling chiefs and the wealthy persons for the use of the Jaina and Buddhist monks.

“The tradition of architectural heritage in Orissa is as old as her recorded history. Orissa offers rich and varied archaeological treasures and wealth of monuments in a pristine and, fortunately, intact form. The entire State is dotted with a large number of standing monuments such as early Jaina caves, mediaeval Jaina temples, Buddhist stupas, mediaeval forts; palaces of erstwhile kings and ruling chiefs and colonial buildings built even during the British regime.

Sisupalgarh Fort and Temples

No monument datable earlier than the third century B.C. has been found so far except prehistoric remains. But, from third century B.C. onwards, the built heritage is recorded for a period of about twenty two hundred years. Among these, the remains of Sisupalagarh fort and the temples form a class by itself and are famous for their architectural style.

The ruins of Sisupalagarh are located 3 km to the S.W. of the town of Bhubaneswar. The remains of the impressive fortification wall rising about 10 m. from the surrounding place form a square plan. Oriented approx. along the cardinal directions, each of its side measures approx. about 400 m long thus enclosing an area little over 1.6 square km. The contour of the area suggests existence of corner towers and eight large gateways, two on each side besides about the same

number of smaller openings distributed all over the perimeter. Such a disposition clearly suggests a regular planning not only of the fortification but also of the street inside which are likely to have run east-west and north-south connecting the gateways in a grid pattern. The ground level inside the fort is about 5m. than that on the outside. Thus the fort while being too large for mere citadel enclosing the royal palaces and attached residences did not accommodate the entire population, a considerable section of which lived outside the fortification. The fort is also encircled by the waters of a river called Ganga or Gandhawati. This streamlet served as a moat with a perennial supply of water.

Dhauili Hills: Edicts of Asoka

To the south-east of the fort at a distance of about six km. lie the Dhauili hills where on a low granite boulder are inscribed the edicts of emperor Ashoka (Asoka) after his conquest of Kalinga which caused immense loss of human life. Ashoka decided not to indulge in any such warfare in the future. He turned Buddhist and also took steps to propagate that religion amongst his people. He respected Jainism.

Khandagiri-Udayagiri Hills

Again about 10 Km. to the N.W. of Sisupalagarh are the Khandagiri and Udayagiri which contain several large and small Jaina caves. One of them, called the Hathigumpha or the Elephant's cave, contains the famous inscription of Kharavela narrating the principal events of his life year by year. Another cave, called Baikunthapura cave bears an inscription which shows that it was excavated under the orders of the queen of Kharavela. This shows that these caves and the habitation area of Sisupalagarh pulsated with life during the couple of centuries before the Christ.

The caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri called *lena* in the inscription are essentially dwelling retreats of Jaina ascetics. There are radical differences between general plans of this group and of western India. The West-Indian caves consist of a congregation hall surrounded by cells but at Udayagiri and Khandagiri, the hall has been completely dispersed with, probably the very nature of religion did not call for it.

Another peculiar feature of Udayagiri, Khandagiri caves is the absence of sanctuary which is an important element in the Buddhist rock cut caves. However, some of the caves in the later periods were converted into shrines with minor alterations, by excavating the floor. The height of the most of the caves including even exceptionally large one like the cave no 1 (Rani Gumpha) of the Udayagiri does not allow a man to stand erect; the remaining ones are slightly more than man-height. Some of the cells are so narrow that one can not stretch oneself. The cells are essentially dormitories showing sloping rise of the floor at the rear end to serve the purpose of a pillow. This inclination of the floor extends from one end to other. It amply proves that each cell was used by a number of monks. The needs of the monks must have been very few. The walls of the cells were not even provided with niches. To keep scriptures and articles of bare necessity, shelves were often cut across the walls of the verandah.

Coming to the technical details one can not but be struck by the similarity between these rock cut caves and the present day *kachcha* houses of the Eastern India. The excavator evidently attempted to carve in live rock-structural houses with which they were familiar. Thus the ceilings of the cells are often arched and convex like that of a hut.

The number of doors varies from one to four according to the size of the cells.

The doorways are invariably small. The door have grooves, cut all around their outer frames probably to receive movable wooden shutters. Additional holes for hinges at the threshold and the lintel in a few caves suggest a single door.

Unlike most Buddhist cells, the caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri are adequately lighted not only due to their general lay out but also due to the profusion of door-openings. The caves can be divided into two broad categories. One-plain without a pillared verandah and other-with a regular verandah. Whether this division has any chronological significance or not is difficult to decide though on general grounds, some of the caves of first category might have been earlier than those of the latter. The former are small, and without any architectural embellishment.

The interval or the time gap-between the individual caves of first category and those of second category can not be reckoned in terms of centuries, architecturally they form a homogeneous group. None of these caves represent a different age or different architectural tradition. Their architectural features combined with paleographical evidence suggest a date of the first century B.C. or so and probably extension in the succeeding centuries.

As there is no water available or the river flowing by the side of the caves a few reservoirs, some of them stepped cut in the rock to hold rain-water. Such reservoirs exist on both the hills called Lalita kunda, Akashganga, Radha kunda, Syamakunda and Gupta ganga.

Jain Temple

Of the monuments which are not rock cut but are structurally built, the most noteworthy is an apsidal temple built of large laterite blocks on the crest of Udayagiri hill which is not only the first 'apsidal temple' in the east also the earliest

found structure in the entire east. The recent excavations conducted at Lalitgiri have revealed an apsidal structure in brick datable to early centuries of Christian era. With a lull of some centuries a Jaina temple was also constructed on Khandagiri hill, in mediaeval times. Its architectural members indicate that it was built in typical Orissan style.

The rapid growth of Vaishnavism and Saivism gave a serious set back to the Jaina community in the Gupta and post-Gupta eras and no constructional activity is noticed in the main land of Orissa. Jaina monks and Acharyas probably migrated from the heartland of Orissa to some other parts and a few shifted on the south-east of Orissa state, particularly in the Koraput area, at a place called Subei. Here, Jaina temples were built in a large number. These temples bear typical characteristics of Orissan style of temple architecture. Majority of them are in a uncared state and the Archaeological Survey of India has proposed these groups of temples for the protection to develop these temples and arrest the decay.”¹

Apart from historical, cultural and religious significance the architecture of Jaina monuments of Orissa, built in different periods is a proof of great craftsmanship and grandeur. In the words of R.P. Mahapatra²:

“Architecture of Jaina monuments of Orissa is represented through the rock-cut caves and structural edifices. The rock-cut caves having Jaina affinity are mainly available in the twin hills of Udayagiri and Khandgiri of Puri district though the tradition of cave dwelling has been reported from elsewhere in Orissa. As regards structural edifices of comparable date we get ample references or them in the Hathi-

1. E.B. : Jaina Monuments in Orissa , Encyclopedia of Jainism. Vol. 12, pp. 3283-3285.

2. Mahapatra, R.P. : Jaina Architecture of Orissa, Encyclopedia of Jainism, Vol. 12, pp. 3011-3033.

Gumpha inscription of Kharavela. But unfortunately except the ground plan of the apsidal structure on the crest of Udayagiri hill and a relief sculpture on the opening frieze of the facade of the lower storey of Rani-Gumpha of the same hill, we do not find their existence in the entire length and breadth of Orissa. In the first instance we should take up the architectural features of the large number of caves excavated on the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills under the patronage of Kharavela, his chief queen, sons, successors and administrative associates and then proceed on the basis of available evidences to the description of structural shrines in different localities of Orissa attributed various periods of her history. Apart from these, we also find Jaina relics preserved in a large number of shrines dedicated to other religious cults. They have nothing special to be regarded as Jaina monuments. In the recent years Jaina relics have also been under worship in separate rooms of domestic buildings like the one noticed at Jaunliapapati of Cuttack town and other, located in a building in the heart of Jeypore town in Koraput district. They have not been included in our study of Jaina architecture in Orissa.

Cave Architecture

Cave architecture in India dates back to the period of the Maurya rule when an advanced technique was patronised by the Maurya court. Lomasha Rsi Cave in the Garabara hill, caused to be excavated by Asoka and the Nagarjuni hill caves attributed to king Dasaratha, the grandson of Asoka inaugurated a new practice in the stone cutting art in India. The cave dwellings eminently served the purpose of monastic abodes for the *Ajivikas* and not only that artificial caves were excavated but also the mountain hollows which were the dwellings of the wild animals, were dressed and polished to

make them suitable residence for the monks. The Mauryan caves were no doubt crudely designed without the verandahs and with no remarkable workmanship inside the chamber, the arched entrance being somewhat clumsy. But this was an admirable and deciding advance of the tradition of Indian cave architecture which developed to a great extent both in artistic and masonry workmanship in the later rock-cut monasteries at Bhaja, Bedesa, Kondane, Karle, Kanheri, Ellora, Ajanta, etc. The cave excavations at Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills under the patronage of the Chedi rule marked an important stage of development in between Maurya caves and the later caves belonging to the early centuries of Christian era. The caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills are however, not so elaborate although with their pillared verandahs and elegant carvings they mark a definite advancement upon their Mauryan counterparts.³

The large number of caves that have survived in the course of centuries in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills no doubt convey us a fairly good idea about their architectural peculiarities, but we get few references to their structural details from the inscription carved on their bodies. The representation of a variety of dwellings ranging from royal palaces to humble huts and religious establishments as are found on the monuments at Sanchi are mostly wanting at this place. In spite of this handicap, the existing caves, even in their ruined state, provide enough details with regard to their various component parts, the technique of their excavation and the manner of their disposition.

The Hathi-Gumpha inscriptions on the walls of different caves do not provide sufficient knowledge to study various technical terminologies associated with cave architecture at this place. However, a term *lenam* has been used frequently in those inscriptions to devote the Gumpha's or caves.

3. Sahu, N. K. : *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 377.

As to the technical significance of the term '*lena*' we are aware that each of the cave dwellings on the Udayagiri hill which is designated '*lena*' in the old Brahmi inscriptions is known as '*Gumpha*', a term equivalent to the *prakrit* *Gumpha*, the Asokan *kubha* and the Sanskrit and Pali *Guha*. These ancient cave dwellings with their arch entrances represents the ruder form wherefrom the later Buddhist cave temples, with their infinitely superior workmanship and ornamentation in the interior may be said to have developed. And with these, ancient Maurya cave dwellings may be sharply contrasted with caves excavated on the Kumari hill by king Kharavela and his co-adjutors for the accommodation of the resident Jaina recluses and saints as representing altogether a different architectural design and artmanship.

It is evident that each of the caves on the Kumari hill was so designed as to make it appear like a regular cottage or residential building with an open or pillared verandah (*pasada*) in front of one or more chambers dug out in the interior in the shape of rooms, the verandah being provided, in some examples, with a pent-roof. These cottage like or palace like cave-dwellings of the Jaina saints and recluses may be judged with their peculiar roofs as Orissan patterns of the Buddhist monasteries at Saranatha and other places.⁴

As regards to the '*lena*' Barua⁵ takes it to be a natural cave, cavity or cavern improved by human hand. There can be no objection to apply it to '*lena*' as a designation or to applying the sense of such cave. At any rate no other reference can be drawn from Buddhaghosa's definition of a *lena* as a habitation with an opportunity for sitting and lying made either by excavating house in a mountain or raising a wall there, a *pabhara* is sufficient (to serve as a dwelling)".

4. Barua, B. M. : *Old Brahmi Inscriptions*, p. 299.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 300.

Regarding the technique of the excavation of caves it appears that the excavators followed the same pattern as adopted by present day masons for such works. Some ground plan with specific design and details must have been prepared by the master architects with necessary instructions from their patrons. In order to reproduce the same in stone they were to trace out suitable sites after clearing the debris and examining various technical aspects such as quality of the stone, its compactness, size of the plan, etc., before actual commencement of the work. But such matters were given little consideration at the time of excavating open caves or scoopings which were probably executed on trial basis or left to the amateurs. Iron hammers with wooden or bamboo adjuncts and chisels entirely of iron were possibly used in the preliminary stage to clear away large chunks of stone. The technique is normally to cut grooves around and then strike out the stone from the centre. A clue to this device is still to be noticed on the ruined caves where stones have been removed subsequently or have been abandoned before completion. After this, they are made plain by chiselling out the uneven surface through chisels and hammers of lesser gradation. Then their surface was made smooth by rubbing, polishing the inner parts with stones of much harder variety. This process was probably carried out in hand with occasional addition of water. The sculptures and other decorative motifs on the facades or pillars are then suitably worked out. In any case, human labour backed by adequate royal patronage and knowledge of the craftsmanship played the major role in designing such caves.

As the stone at Udayagiri and Khandagiri is of course grained sandstone of soft, porous and incohering nature, the excavators after tracing suitable sites designed the caves at edges of the hills in different directions and heights. The

excavators thus saved both labour and expenses by following the configurations of the rock and connecting different caves, wherever necessary, by rock-cut steps, some of which exist even now. There is a predilection towards excavation near the top of the ledge or boulder, probably to lessen the load over the caves, the rock being of a brittle variety.

In later periods, some of the dwelling cells at this place were converted into shrines with minor alterations, such as increasing the height of the chamber by the excavation of the floor to a deeper depth and providing greater space by the removal of not only the partition walls between contiguous cells but those dividing the verandah.

Now coming to the architectural details we notice the caves at Udayagiri and Khandagiri are designed with one or more cells either on the main wing or along their sides in addition. Some of them are considered double-storeyed. A number of small scoopings without any structural embellishment are attempted near leading caves of which some are large enough to accomodate human beings in lying condition, but others are mere hollows excavated at random, either to retain items of daily use or provide sitting accomodation to wandering mendicants. The cells are invariably oblong in plan, as their corresponding walls are not of the same length. The front walls containing door openings are usually larger than the back walls.

Meant for Jaina recluses who are noted for the rigour of their ascetecism and extreme self mortification; the caves provide little amenities. The height of the cells includig even the exceptionally large ones like Rani-Gumpha does not allow a man to stand erect, the remaining ones are only slightly more than man high. The cells which have curved roof normally provide more standing space than the ones designed in flat or standing roofs. The inner walls of all the caves were

originally left plain but in the medieval period inner walls of a few caves of the place were carved with Jaina symbols and divinities. In rare cases small holes or niches have been fashioned on these walls to keep lamps and other articles of daily use. A thin coat of lime has been applied to these walls in most cases.

The floors of all the cells and even the minor scoopings near them were raised at the back. But in some cases they have been destroyed in subsequent periods and in their place fresh masonry works taken up leaving however the mark of their original design the side walls. This inclination of the floor extends from one end to the other evidently to be shared by a number of Jaina recluses at one time. This sloping rise served as pillows for them.

Ceilings of the cells are both designed in curved and flat shape but in respect of the verandah they are entirely flat. Those which are shown in flat are slightly slanting towards the opening. But the arched roof are normally elevated in the middle. The object of this arching was to prevent leakage in the middle. The whole surface is cut smooth, and there is nothing like ribs, beam and rafters to be anywhere seen. They appear to serve as supports to the projecting arch over them, and can be taken to be copies of wooden models. Here they have been used as ornaments for the situation in which they occur, carved in solid rock, they can contribute very little to the mechanical strength of the super structure.

The relative number of door openings in both Udayagiri and Khandagiri caves varies from one to four, according to the size of the caves. They are in most cases found in the front verandh to the cells is the system, irrespective of the fact that caves are looking to different directions. The door ways are invariably small. Even in cells high enough for a man to stand erect one as to crawl to enter. The size of the

doors remain within a limited variation in almost all the caves of the place, the height being between 0.91m to 1.40m. In several cases, the front walls have been knocked down and in its place artificial partition walls have been constructed in subsequent dates. One should not confuse with the door openings of those repaired caves. On the other hand in a number of caves partition walls have not been constructed after the demolition of the original ones for which there are wide openings in front. They also should not be taken as the usual pattern of the original door openings. The Jambs, in some cases, slope inwards, causing the opening slightly wider at the base than at the top, a feature common in many caves of the earlier date including the one at Barabara. The doors have grooves, cut all around their outer frames, probably to receive movable wooden or bamboo shutters. Additional holes for hinges at the threshold and a lintel in a few cases suggest single doors. Unlike most Buddhist caves, the cells of Udayagiri and Khandagiri are adequately lighted which is due not only to their general layout but also the profusion of door openings.

Windows are noticed in Khandagiri-Gumpha, Ganesa-Gumpha and upper storey left wing Rani-Gumpha. Such openings for the admission of light and air are rarely met within cave architecture, though they are not absolutely wanting.

The fact is that the mendicants for whom they were excavated passed their time in open travelling from place to place and the caves were occupied only at night, in foul weather and during the rainy season when the ceremony of 'wassa' had to be celebrated and possibly also in the depth of winter as also by the old and decrepit, who could no longer pass a life of itinerancy and for them and at such times windows were scarcely needed.⁶

6. Mitra, R. L. : *The Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 13.

The verandahs are all opened in front. The passage to them is maintained on either side of the pillars as well as the space between the side pilasters and the nearest pillar. The side walls are measured as per the width of the verandah in front of the cells. These walls except in rare cases are devoid of sculptural representations. But the outer face of the backwall of the verandah (to which we also call the front wall of the cell) contain a number of relief panels within the semi-circular arch-bands, tympana pilasters, railings, animals, birds and human figurines.

In some caves long shelves have been fashioned on the side walls of the verandah. They are occasionally fronted with railings. They have been designed in living rock to provide accommodation for scriptures or articles of daily use of the Jaina mendicants. Their presence at this place as an architectural embellishment appears to be an advance in cave architecture.

The verandah ceiling in all cases has been designed flat. They have never been finished smooth like those of the cells. No limit wash has also been given to them. The roofs of the verandah project outward in the form of caves, the inner sides of the latter being curved as in a thatched or tiled hut to break the flow of rain water. In case of the double storeyed caves, the roof of the lower wing usually forms a terrace to the upper wing.

Leaving aside a limited few, like Bagha-Gumpha all other caves of this place have benches in front of the cells as well as on the two sides of the verandah. These elevated portions served the purpose of sitting of the resident monks. R.L. Mitra⁷ while discussing the Rani-Gumpha considered them as "raised seat or Plinth." But in either case the purpose remains the same. The benches of all important caves of Khandagiri cave No. 1, 2, 4 and 13 have been completely destroyed. In

7. *Ibid.*

some cases, the floor of the verandah is made plain with additional masonry works and all traces of this elevated seat have been removed. The floor of the verandah which was originally lower in Ananta-Gumpha has been raised to the top level of the bench by masonry. The maximum length of the bench in front of the upper main wing of Rani-Gumpha records 19.20m with 0.39m. as height and 0.71m as its breadth. In the scooping where no such verandahs have been designed we do not find the benches. The side benches are designed in accordance with the breadth of the verandah. The side benches commencing from each end of the back bench extend up to the base of the side pilasters instead of the edge of the verandah floor. To this aspect Percy Brown⁸ observes "Another feature in some of the Orissan viharas is a ledge or podium carved like a continuous bench around certain of the compartments. Here is seen an early appearance of "Asana" a stone seat with a sloping back-rest which in more developed and highly decorated form became prominent in the temples of central and western India in the early medieval period.

The roof of the verandahs wherever available are supported by heavily designed pillars in front and pilasters attached to the side walls. They are of one and the same pattern in a particular cave. Passage to the verandah is maintained through the space between the pillars as well as pilaster and the nearest pillar. Their number increases with the size of the cave complex. In smaller caves like Jaya-Vijaya-Gumpha and Tatowa-Gumpha No. 1 only one pillar in the centre and two side pilasters serve the purpose. Except the side pilasters and a few pillar in perfect condition most of the pillars in these caves are gone leaving indications of their location on the floors, above which new masonry pillars are provided to protect the roof from further damage. In the absence of those

8. Brown, Percy : *Indian Architecture (Hindu and Buddhist)*, p. 36.

pillars, the side pilasters guide us to their probable design and shape. Stepped pedestal is common to all the pillars. Though three distinct varieties of pillars are available at this place, the one divided into three sections, the central part octagonal and the lower and upper square, appears to be more profusely used. They have no capital and the upper part of the shaft touches the verandah ceiling. The brackets usually project inward and outward from the top of these pillars. The second variety of pillars are divided into five sections of which the basal, central and terminal ones are square and the intermediate ones are rendered octagonal by chamfering the corners of the squares. The pillars and pilasters alike of this group are having capitals representing different animal figures resting on corbelled abacus above inverted lotus flower. The third variety is represented through the central pillar of the Jagannatha-Gumpha which passes through four, eight, sixteen, eight and four sides with the arrises chamfered so as to achieve the effect of half-medallions. The upper part of most of the pillars and pilasters belonging to the three groups are relieved with enigmatic and winged animal and bird figures seated back to back and a few decorative motifs.

A part from the heavily designed verandah pillars and pilasters, the door-ways of the facade are each flanked by side pilasters on *ghata* bases above stepped pedestals as a common feature. The *ghata* bases are either plain or decorated. The shaft of these pilasters are plain or flat, fluted or decorated. Abacus is both in stepped or square shape. But the crowning elements in each case are adorsed animals over plain or bell-shaped lotuses. In rare case, however, neckings and cables are noticed.

Brackets seemingly to support the superstructure are noticed on the inner and outer sides of the verandah pillars, and in exceptional cases with the side pilasters. They are designed in the solid rock and have little functional value—Their curved outer faces are filled with decorative motifs,

animals and human figures in various poses. In one instance of Rani-Gumpha, it is evident that the brackets is detachable as the sockets exist on the pillar and the roof.

Lintels, which usually connect the gap between the door jambs, windows and other openings of a superstructure now-a-days are also appeared in some caves of Khandagiri hill. The verandah pillars and pilasters are connected through these lintels. But as they have been designed in the living rock they may be considered as structural embellishments rather than mechanical devices. where the lintels have not been fashioned, the pillars directly support the verandah roof.

A distinctive element, in all early rock-cut *viharas*, is the arcading, which decorates the cells and which in the Orissan examples, is of an exclusive kind. Instead of being of the horse-shoe variety, the arches of the arcades are almost invariably semi-circular and their lower ends corresponding to the springer of a true arch are expanded to enable them to be supported on pilasters. These pilasters have capitals formed of pairs of recumbent animals. These outer edges of these arches are surrounded by *svastikas*, *vadhamangalas* or by a triangular pointed, crest or finial enclosing a floral ornament or a figure. The style of ornamenting the door frame is common to most of the caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri with a few exceptions. These decorations being repeated throughout are greatly diversified and scrolls, single flowers, figures of men and animals have been carved at option without any reference to uniformity. Each frame is complete by itself and except in outline and general character bears no relation to the neighbour. The arched bands over the door-ways of Bagha-Gumpha, Dhanaghara-Gumpha and Tentuli-Gumpha are, however, left undecorated. In case of Tatowa -Gumpha No. 2, the ends of supporting rafters are distinctly visible in the inner parts of these arched band.

The semi-circular space (tympana) created by the arched bands over the door-ways of Ananta-Gumpha and Tatowa-Gumpha No. 2 are relieved with floral devices and religious activities. In other cases they are, however left plain. Where the front wall of the cells are destroyed or damaged and new masonry work done in their places we do not trace this arcading system.

Railings which popularly known as Buddhist rails are extensively used at Sanchi-*stupa* and Bharhut (now in Calcutta Museum) where they have been lavishly embellished with carvings presented by rich devotees. In earlier times these rails were employed round the sacred trees and *stupas*. The simplest form of rail consisting of square pillars set at a little more than their own breadth apart and joined by three broad bars rounded on the sides and placed near to one another and to the head rail which joins the top of the pillars. So faithfully have the *stupas* been copied in the form of *Dagobas*, that in early every case the rail pattern is one of the features on these altars as well as the umbrella which decorated the *stupa*.

These railings appear prominently running in continuation with the parapet on the verandah and round the trees worshipped in Ananta-Gumpha and Jaya-Vijaya-Gumpha and below the sculptured friezes of Rani-Gumpha, Ganesa-Gumpha and the Manchapuri-Gumpha. Except Rani-Gumpha where they are in three barred pattern in other places they represent significantly two long bars. Thus it is evident that railings have nothing special with Buddhist relics. They too, appear in Jaina monuments. The most obvious and simple mode of fencing is to have uprights at short intervals with connecting bars whose number is regulated by the peculiar exigency of each individual case. These railings have never been designed free standing at this place. Above the tympana arches and extending along with the entire length of the

verandah and continuing along the side walls of Ananta-Gumpha, runs a set of railings interrupted only at places by groups of stepped merlons (pyramidal battlements) each alternating with a blue-lotus, a pattern often repeated on the railings of Bharhut.

Two small rooms which often regarded as guard rooms are met with the lower storey of Rajni-Gumpha, adjacent to its left and right wings. The roof of those two rooms are seen much below the verandah roof of the respective wings but the door-ways are of the usual size.

Provision of standing armed guards in front of the terminal piers of Rani-Gumpha, Ganesa-Gumpha, Manchapuri-Gumpha, Jaya-Vijaya-Gumpha and Tatowa-Gumpha No. 2 yet form another early feature of cave architecture in Orissa. In addition the the armed guard figure against the right pilaster of Jaya-Vijaya-Gumpha, a lady heavily wedded with decorative costumes is standing in front of its left pier. Similarly, though the guards of the lower wings of Rani-Gumpha are of the usual type, the two on either side of the main wing of the upper storey of this cave are fashioned mounting on animals. The standing ones are invariably seen each with long spear and sheathed sword suspended from the shoulders. In rare cases, however, only a sword is held and the other hand rests on the body.

As indicated earlier the roof of the lower storey of some ambitious caves were designed in the pattern of forming open terraces of the upper storeys of those caves. The upper storeys in such caves are excavated much behind the lower ones and the area cut smooth for free movement. We find best examples of this pattern with the Rani-Gumpha and the Manchapuri-Gumpha. The terrace in front of the upper storey of Rani-Gumpha as evident from the damaged condition was extended

- up to the edge of the verandah roof like that of the Manchapuri

cave. A three barred railing along the whole length forming the projecting fence for the terrace of Manchapuri cave is still available with intervening uprights. R.L. Mitra⁹ conjectures a similar railing in front of the terraces of the Rani-Gumpha. Percy Brown¹⁰ on the other hand infers from the open terrace, sculptured friezes and the courtyard in front of Rani-Gumpha, that a regular drama was performed at this place for entertainment of cave dwellers on important occasions.

Most of the caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri were excavated on the edge or the sloping edges of the hills for which the ground in front of them is made plain for the purpose of open courtyards. The cells of less ambitious caves are directly open to the courtyards but in case of full-fledged caves they are open through their pillared verandahs. In case of Manchapuri-Gumpha, the right wing has been extended corresponding to the left battered wall to give it a look of perfect courtyard. At Rani-Gumpha, the two side wings have been extended to a considerable length to form a partially enclosed courtyard. Cave Nos. 6, 7, 8 and 9 of Khandagiri hill have a common courtyard for them. J.D. Beglar¹¹ is of opinion that "The arrangement of this excavation shows that from the earliest times Indian civil architecture has adhered to the same broad feature in plan, the merits of the plan have not been properly brought forward, it is evident that the larger the scale on which the works executed the greater will be the effect viewed from the courtyard, not in the simple proportion of size, but in duplicate proportion due, first, to actual increase of size, and second to the increased power of receiving a larger portion of the whole at any instant on the retina, more

9. Mitra, R. L.: *The Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 8.

10. Brown, Percy: *Indian Architecture (Hindu and Buddhist)*, p. 36.

11. J. D. Beglar, *ASI Report*, Vol. XXIII, Cunningham (Ed.), p. 91.

especially as regards the vertical dimensions in a narrow courtyard, the head has to be tilted up to an inconvenient extent to see the entire height of the inner facade whereas the same height of facade, if seen at a greater distance *i.e.*, with a larger courtyard, would be taken in at one view. Unfortunately few Indian palaces or other buildings having courtyards have been built of such dimensions as to enable the spectator to receive in its entirety a view of any side of the interior facade from any point within the court and as it is the inner facade of such buildings which experience teaches me is more highly ornamented than the exterior, the chief beauty in this arrangement is lost from inability of the spectator to receive an image of the whole on the retina of his eye."

Leakage of rain water from the top of the caves often causes enormous problem to the dwellers. But while designing the cells the architectures took special care for its eradication. Here, the caves have usually been excavated with a gentle slope away from the main rock, thereby ensuring drainage. Weep-holes have been provided in cases where there is a chance of landslip in consequence of the rain water percolating through the surface and collecting in the soil below. Prinsep¹² who was much impressed with the drainage system at this place wrote "The indigenous method which had been adopted to drain the chamber, which form the porous nature of the stone, would otherwise have dropped in wet weather, otherwise have dripped in wet weather, small grooves are cut along the ceiling all verging to one point at the lower corner where a perforation is made to conduct the water without." In cases where the mass of rock above the caves is enormous this system was not adopted but it gave satisfactory result in case of single storeyed verandahs. As indicated earlier the front of the verandah roofs have been rounded off and regular

12. Prinsep, *JAS*, Vol. XII, p. 1079.

grooves undercut to throw rain water at a distance from the caves.

As most of the caves are designed on the uneven surface of solid rock access to them, is maintained through rock-cut steps. Large number of those steps have gone away with and in their places modern masonry steps have come up. Those which have enough space in front, these steps are cut across the entire length in one or more courses. Through these steps one can conveniently enter to the verandah of a conveniently enter to the verandah of a cave. Access to the upper storeys is maintained through uneven surface with occasional narrow, rock-cut steps. The minor scoopings excavated at different height have not steps at all. A number of caves of both Udayagiri and Khandagiri have also been deprived off these steps in subsequent periods when massive quarrying operation took place at the site. The upper cells of Sarpa-Gumpha and Khandagiri-Gumpha are difficult to be approached as their front portions do not carry any approach.

Manchapuri-Gumpha, Alakapuri-Gumpha and Rani-Gumpha are often regarded as two-storeyed caves. In Alakapuri-Gumpha the upper cell is somewhat above the heavily damaged lower cell. But in case of Manchapuri-Gumpha and Rani-Gumpha, the upper storeys are designed much behind the cells of the lower wing. The upper part of Manchapuri-Gumpha is known as svaragapuri-Gumpha whereas the different wings of the lower and upper storeys of Rani-Gumpha comes under one and the same name. R.L. Mitra,¹³ while discussing the Rani-Gumpha, observes, "The caves on the three sides are apparently two storeyed but in reality they are not so as the upper storey is so placed as not be right above the lower, but some way behind it. This arrangement obtains in most of the other two storeyed caves

13. Mitra, R. L.: *The Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 8-9.

and its objects evidently is to secure the greatest strength and stability by placing the caves always on solid rock, instead of perforated hollows. The soft, fragile, incohering texture of the stone rendered this precaution necessary and we find that whatever it was neglected, the caves have suffered serious injury." In addition this practice to setting back the upper storey may have been introduced here for the very nature of the rock, which did not allow enough space for the upper storey to be built directly over the lower. The pattern of setting back the upper storey, much behind the lower ones does not however indicate the ignorance of designing multistoreyed building in sculpture in the beginning of the friezes of lower storey of Rani-Gumpha gives sufficient knowledge of the fact.

To approach the caves in both Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills several routes have to be followed on the living-rock. Those which are on the living rock are cut in steps at times very steep and inconvenient to pass through. The main route to Udayagiri which was originally in stepped pattern was entirely renovated recently by the Archaeological Survey of India and in its place a continuous pavement with raised sides has been constructed by laterite blocks. This pavement leads to the open space in front of the famous Hathi-Gumpha from which it turns both the right and left for other caves. Cave Nos. 2 to 9 of Udayagiri are situated on the right of this laterite path.

Similarly another laterite stepped path originating from the main road connects the Khandagiri-Gumpha from which it turns to right and left for other caves of Khandagiri hill. A narrow route commencing from the open in front of Tatowa-Gumpha No. 1 leads the visitors to Ananta-Gumpha no. and the Jaina temple at the crest of Khandagiri hill. Quite opposite to it another stepped path leads to the Haridasa group of caves of Udayagiri hill. This group can also be contacted by

descending few steps near the Sarpa-Gumpha. Rani-Gumpha the most ambitious excavation of Udayagiri hill remaining slightly away from the main route can be touched upon through the path in front of the Bajaghara-Gumpha.

As there is no major river in the neighbourhood, the cave dwellers depended mainly on a series of rock-cut wells in both Udyagiri and Khandagiri hills. They are, two each in Khandagiri and Udayagiri in addition to the two minor ones, the Syamakunda and Gupta-Ganga in Khandagiri. These wells are normally filled with rain water, except the minor ones which have probably perennial springs inside to provide facilities for drinking water.

The two wells noticed in Udayagiri are known as Lalita Kunda and Hathi-Nisuni located respectively to the north-east and east of Ganesa-Gumpha.

Hathi-Nisuni has been abandoned completely. Local people believe that the royal elephant of Lalatendu Kesari has usually stayed here. There are a series of rock-cut from the surface till the bottom of this well. It is nothing but a stepped well for storage of rain water. Lalita-Kunda does not appear to be very deeply cut. The top edges of its four sides are cut unevenly and irregular steps have been provided on the living rock along the entire length on its north and eastern sides for the convenience of the users.

The *Vapi* or well referred to the damaged inscription in five lines of Somavamsi king Udyotakesari is probably the Akasa Ganga situated close to Lalatendu Kesari-Gumpha which was connected with it by a flight of steps. Seven of these steps have escaped the hands of stone cutters. Due to quarrying operations the pool is now situated at a much higher level than the foot path and is only approachable from the top. It is oblong in plan, cut into the solid rock and said to be fed by a natural spring at the bottom.

Following the main route for a short distance one will encounter, the other rock cut pool of this hill known as Radha-Kunda situated close to Cave No.12. It too contains rain water which has turned greenish in colour. A flight of steps from the left of Radha-Kunda leads up to a barren ledge and about fifty meters from this place is located a natural cavern locally known as SyamaKunda. It has a deperession in the centre of the floor containing water. Its front portion is built with masonry works. The water inside appears perfectly clean and can be used for drinking purposes. Behind Deva Sabha at a lower level is situated Gupta-Ganga a long natural tunnel. At its near end is a small pool of water. The front of this tunnel is widely open but gradually becomes narrower towards the end. One has to struggle a great deal to reach the water source.

Notwithstanding their being the work of rock-cutters and sculptors and not of masons and engineers required in a true piece of architecture, these rock-cut caves by their emulating structures of timber, bamboo and thatch, have important place in the history of Jaina architecture. Their importance is further increased by the paucity of extant Jaina buildings of this period. The excavators attempted to copy in live rock structural houses with the result that the features peculiar to wooden, tiled and thatched houses were reproduced even if they are irrational and unnecessary for stability. Thus the ceilings of the cells that of a hut, the ceilings of the verandahs supported on brackets and architectures perched on pillars, as in a hut with bamboo and wooden posts are mostly lower than those of the cells, the floor of the verandahs are at a level lower than those of the cells; the roof of the verandahs project outward in the form of caves the inner sides of the latter being carved as in thatched or wooden huts to break the flow of rain water, the door-jambs incline inwards making the openings

slightly wider at the base than at the top, which is inappropriate in masonry or rock.¹⁴

N.K. Sahu¹⁵ considers the caves of Khandagiri hill except Tatowa-Gumpha No.1, Tatowa Gumpha No.2 and Ananta-Gumpha as belonging to the medieval period as they do not bear Brahmi-inscriptions but on the other hand depict sculptures and inscriptions of the medieval period. But all these reliefs and inscriptions are of later additions on the faces of the already existing caves, which to judge from the architectural features, originated simultaneously with their corresponding ones in the Udayagiri hill. All that is indicated is that they continued to be in use till later times unlike the Udayagiri caves.

Structural Architecture

Shashi Kanta¹⁶ assumes that Kharavela convened a council of Jaina monks on the Kumari hill (Udayagiri) which had already attained the status of a famous place of pilgrimage of the Jaina retinues. It appears to have been a well attended assembly in which 3,500 monks from all directions joined. The site of the assembly was the quadrangle near the shrine of the *Arhamta* on the roof of the Hathi-Gumpha on the face of which is the record inscribed. The quadrangle consisted of a stone platform.

He¹⁷ further assumes that "in front of the Assembly hall was set up a pale red and quadrilateral pillar inlaid with beryl apparently to serve as a replica of the *Mahastambha* in accord

14. Mitra, D.: *Jaina Art and Architecture*, A Ghosh (Ed.), Vol. I. p. 77.

15. Sahu, N. K.: *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 376.

16. Shashi Kanta: *Hathi-Gumpha Inscription of Kharavela and the Bhabru Edict of Asoka—A Critical Study*, p. 62.

17. *Ibid.*

with the traditional description of *samavasarana* (the preaching hall of the Tirthankara).

To substantiate this view an apsidal structure perhaps the first of its kind in Orissa, as been exposed by the excavation on the top of the Udayagiri hill, just over the Hathi-Gumpha containing the inscription of Kharavela. The Archaeological Survey of India under the leadership of D. Mitra took up the excavation of the site during the years 1958-59 and a brief account of the said excavation has been published in the *Indian-Archaeology—A Review* for the same year. To facilitate exact information I reproduce the said accounts extenso:

“The ruins consisted of an apsidal structure with an axial length of 78'1” and basal length of 46'. Its outer wall constructed of large laterite blocks, followed the north-west to south-west slope of the hill top, the maximum number of extant courses being eight. Within the structure towards its base end, was a circular wall with only one surviving course of laterite slabs. Between the outer edge and the inner edge of the former was a minimum gap of 6'. The space within the apsidal structure save that enclosed by the circular wall was passed with laterite but towards the northern end, where the sand stone bed-rock was the highest the rock itself was used as the floor after dressing. Post holes, circular or irregular occurred in the rock and in the pavement. From the facts that such post holes existed in the rock around the outer wall at fairly regular intervals and that a few pottery tiles were found in the northern corner of the building, the existence of a tiled roof resting on posts and having projecting eaves might be conjectured.

In the northern corner of the apsidal structure was a drain fashioned by cutting a channel into the rock and covered by laterite slabs flush with the floor. It was evidently designed to take off water from the circular structure.

At a later stage the circular wall was converted into an apsidal structure by the addition of an oblong wall towards its north-east, running roughly parallel to and within the framework of the original apsidal wall. The circular wall was however kept undisturbed. The oblong part of the new structure and a wide opening in each of its north-western and north-eastern walls.

An enigmatic feature, related with the complex, but somewhat later in construction, was a semicircular wall its ends meeting the inner faces of the outer apsidal structure near its base. It was built of three rows of laterite blocks placed on edge and supporting one another, the inner most blocks beings laid obliquely on the old floor.

A earlier oblong structure evidently unconnected with the complex and partly overlaid by the circular walls seemed to have been the first structure on the site. Its wall had been reduced to one course of laterite when the circular wall was raised.

Belonging to the last phase of the occupation on the site and a date when the complex described above had fallen into disuse was a square plateform with recessed corners shabbily built of laterite and sand stone blocks on the debris over the south-eastern face to serve as a step. Inside, was a smaller square, also built of sand stone and laterite blocks the intervening space between it and outer wall being filled with earth.

The pottery found in the filling of the floor was red and ill-baked and rubbed off easily.

There was no other small find except a dolcrite neolithic cell with an oblong section. It was found amidst the laterite soil forming the filling of the floor."

The complex structure was no doubt a Jaina religious edifice as the Udayagiri and the adjacent Khandagiri hills contain monuments of no other faith. Further as the twin hills of Udayagiri and Khandagiri have till now been known to represent only cave dwellings of the Jainas, the present structure may be regarded as having provided the resident monks with a place of worship in perfect accordance with what the Hathi-Gumpha inscription says about the Relic Memorial (*Kayanisidiya*) excavated by Kharavela.

The date of the apsidal structure though appears uncertain it can reasonably be guessed from circumstantial evidences and attributed to Kharavela who brought back from Magadha the Jina of Kalinga that had been taken away by the Nandas and built some structures of stone on the Kumari hill (Udayagiri) where he also excavated a number of cave-dwellings for the Jain heretics.

The excavation at Udayagiri further revealed an ancient ramp built of laterite blocks. It is three meters wide, rises from the foot of the hill and reaches the terrace in front of the Hathi-Gumpha and is supported on either side by retaining walls. It is wedge-shaped in plan showing greater width near the head, than at the tail. Shashi Kant¹⁸ takes this ramp to represent the quadrilateral pillar mentioned in the inscription.

At a certain distance from the bottom of the ramp there are two walls at right angles to support the filling below terrace in front of Hathi-Gumpha in sand stone and laterite. The dexter wall is of sand stone and is prominently battered; it is discernible up to the original steps leading to the cave which contains the inscription of the chief queen of Kharavela. Carved stone railings and upper part of a female statue in sand stone have been found near the steps. The railings might have embellished Sindhula's shrine.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

The archaeological evidence put together suggests that the shrine over the Hathi-Gumpha, the ramp in front of it and cave to which to dexter wall leads, were the product of a single building activity. It thus confirms the epigraphic evidence about the location of the shrines of Kharavela and Sindhula as well as the site for the assembly of the monks.

In fact, the apsidal structure practically covers the entire top of this particular portion of the hill, the vacant space not being extensive enough to accomodate any assemblage. To make necessary accomodation for the occasional gathering this artificial terrace was raised in front of the Hathi-Gumpha with necessary filling retained by walls running towards cave 9 and 17 of Udayagiri hill.

An instance of a double storeyed building is available in the opening panel of the lower main wing of Rani-Gumpha. It presents a barrel-valuated roof crowned by a row of finials. The upper storey has only one entrance, through which a person is looking out, there is a balustrated open balcony round it, on which a women is standing. The lower storey has two doors each with a female figure. To the left side of this structure is a thickly grown mango tree. This gives an indirect reference to the structural habitation of the people as well as confirm to the mention of the *Mahavijaya* palace in the Hathi-Gumpha-inscription. But whether this particular building represents the palace of king Kharavela or just a building, out of the many available in the capital is difficult to be ascertained at this stage. To this representation Charles Fabri¹⁹ considers—“What may seem at first sight to be a house of two storeys, is actually a representation of two mud huts, one behind the other, lack of knowledge about perspective made the artist carve them one over the other. But there are two mud huts, both with thatched roofs, with doors and windows made of

19. Charles Fabri: *History of the Art of Orissa*, p. 21.

bamboo, and the upper of further one has a delightful indication of a hedge running round of it."

But the subsequent panels of the same wing represent military exploits of a royal person who may tentatively be identified with Kharavela. On the basis of this analogy, the double storeyed building represented in the opening panel may be identified with the palace of Kharavela from which his campaigns actually commenced. This buildings gives us a fair idea on the state of civil architecture prevalent during the period.

From the end of the Chedi rule we do not find any architectural complex till the advent of the early medieval period which can be specifically related to the Jaina pantheon though Yuan Chwang indirectly supports their prevalence in the area. The numerous remains of *chaumukhas* designed in the shape of miniature *rekha* or *pidha* style of temples containing Jaina Tirthanakara figures within their niches give us enough to the fact even Jaina temples or religious shrines were built in subsequent periods taking into consideration of the broad features of Hindu monuments. No remains of *stupa*, connected with any Jaina establishment like those of the Buddhists, are however, reported in the entire length and breadth of Orissa so far.

N.N. Vasu reported two ruined Jaina sites containing ancient temples of which one was located at Koisali, close to village Badasai in Mayurbhanja district. His report on the dilapidated temple at Koisali from where a Parsvanatha image was recovered is given below:

"The place where the Parsvanatha image was set up in ancient times was excavated in April 1907, The western side of this place is 90ft. in length, the eastern side being 102 ft., the northern 55 ft, and the southern 86ft. respectively. The portion already excavated has revealed the existence of an

entire foundation and a portion of the ground floor of an ancient Jaina temple. The temple appears to have had a sanctum (*garbhagrha*) and a Jagamohana. It faces north. There is no means of ascertaining how long it has been in ruins. People say that earth had accumulated over the ruins of the temple 5 to 6 ft. deep. But it was afterwards removed and the ground levelled for the purposes of cultivation. We have been able to discover stone foundations here two to three feet below the ground. During excavation a large *amalaka* was discovered amidst the ruins. The style of sculpture seems to be ancient and very fine. The ceiling of the rooms within the temple has iron work attached. This iron work found during the excavation proves that from very early times the people of Mayurbhanj know how to use that metal for building purposes. Specimens of pottery used in ancient times have also been found.”²⁰

The other place Pundal, is located at a distance of two miles to the north-east of Ayodhya in Balasore district. Here once the image of Jaina Tirthankara was recovered from the bed of river Sona. Formerly, a temple stood on what is now the river-bed. The stones which once belonged to that temple are occasionally found in the sands of the river.

At Ayodhya we found extensive ruins of temples at a place near the High School. Dressed stones, *amalaka silas* and other fragments of temples are found scattered around. But it is difficult to assign the ruins to either Buddhism or Jainism as the place appears to be extremely rich in antiquities of both these cults.

As indicated earlier, Koraput—district of Orissa once dominated the scene of Jaina activity. A group of ruined Jaina shrines are noticed within a rectangular enclosure at a place

20. Vasu, N. N.: *The Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj*, pp. 46-47.

called Suai close to metal road leading to Nandapur. Of the entire series of temples only two are still standing others are damaged completely leaving traces of their location only through overcrowding of dressed stones. Each cell has figure of Jaina divinity at its sanctum. They are all constructed of stones of local variety. On close examination the available two shrines it would be evident that each was a *triratha* structure with a low tower topped by an *amalaka*. Their base mouldings indicate to an earlier date. Along the door jambs is evidence of square and circular rosetts enclosed within dotted squares. There is no niche in the central *rahas* for the *Parsvadevatas* nor their outer walls are decorated with motifs. In plan, the other ruined temples appear to have smaller dimensions. No trace of the porch or *Jagamohana* is visible in front of these extant temples.

At a little distance to this place is another much ruined basement of a shrine containing the figure of a Tirthankara. From its present condition nothing can be made out as regards to its ground plan.

At Kachela, the Jaina temple originally some thirty feet high and ten feet broad as reported by G. Ramdas²¹ is now only available to an extent of some seven or eight feet high with two Jaina relics within the sanctum. There is no trace of the porch in its front. The lower part of this shrine do not show any projection in the outer walls. In and around the open space in front one can find large number of dressed stones and parts of the *amalaka sila* lying scattered. The sanctum of the dilapidated temple is locally known as *asthana mandapa*. The whole complex is picturesquely located at the foot of a hillock known as Deo Donger. The temple was built in stone.

The village B. Singpur appears to have been a major centre of Jaina religion. Numerous Jaina images are under

21. JARAS, Vol. VI, pp. 8-14.

worship inside thatched houses and the Jagannatha and Siva temples of the place. The site is located exactly in the type of its counterparts at places like Kachela and Suai of the same district. It can well be presumed that many of earlier shrines built for the Jaina divinities were subsequently converted to Brahmanical temples.

In Orissa there are several instances of Jaina *chaumukhas* available, containing within their niches figures of standing Jaina Tirthankaras. The one available at Badasai is having a square base. Its *bada* (lower part of this miniature shrine) is also shaped in square form. Its superstructure is designed in several tiers as in the *pida* temples or *khakhara mundis* of Orissan temple design. The crowning elements above *beki* consist of the usual *amalaka*, *khapuri* and the *kalasa*. The two *chaumukhas* found preserved in the Jaina temple at Cuttack also envisage the same style. Two more *chaumukhas* were also brought to the Orissa State Museum, one from a place known as Manikchak near Jaleswara of Balasore district and the other from Badacharpoi of Jaipur area of Cuttack district. The one brought from Manikchak is designed in the shape of a *pidha* temple. It has five tiers and the base has two mouldings. *Dopichha* lions seen, supporting the crowning elements being placed on the *visama* of the super-structure at each corner. The individual niches meant for the Tirthankaras are in oval shapes with pinnacles at their tops. The *mastaka* consists of the *amalaka*, *khapuri* and the pinnacle in the pattern of a lotus bud. The *chaumukha* collected from Badacharpoi is a departure from the conventional *pidha* order. The superstructure of this *chaumukha* is in *rekha* temple style on a square base. The outer faces have their central *raha pagas* flanked by the *kanikas*. Two miniature temples also in *rekha* order are relieved one above the other at the top of each Tirthankara in front of the *raha paga*. The *mastaka* is consisted

of the usual *beki*, *amalaka*, *khapuri* and the pinnacle, also a lotus bud. But the *ghanta* or *Sri* as available in *pidha* temples of Orissa are not envisaged in these miniature *chaumukhas*. These *chaumukhas* indirectly help us to know the pattern adopted by the Jainas in designing their religious edifices. They are all made in solid blocks of stones and from their design they appear to have been once fixed to some structures or on pillars within the precincts of Jaina shrines.

To the south-west of the Jaina temple on the crest of Khandagiri hill there is a large, open smooth piece of ground of terrace devoid of any vegetation, gently sloping towards the west, which bears the name *Devasabha* or the assembly of Gods. It roughly measures one hundred and fifty feet across and is located within a thin sheet of turf.²² On the surface of this terrace a number of monolithic miniature shrines most of them having at one of their faces the figure of Tirthankara are scattered. Like the votive *stupas* they were evidently dedicated by pious devotees near the main sanctum. A good number of them at present have been stored in one corner of the temple compound located near it. Their importance lies in their furnishing a rough idea about the general appearance of the extinct temples of the place which must have been of the *rekha* type. Sterling²³ who reported on this aspect observes "At the back of these temples a highly remarkable terrace is shown, called *Devasabha* or assembly of Gods, which is covered with numberless antique looking stone pillars or temples in miniature, some standing, others lying on the ground, about two or three feet long, having on each of the four sides a figure of the naked Jain deity rudely sculptured. The place is still frequented by the Jaina of Parwar merchants of Cuttack who assemble on festival of their religion."

22. Mitra, R. L.: *The Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 15.

23. *JASB*, Vol. VI, p. 1076.

R.L. Mitra²⁴ who wrongly described them as the models of *chaityas* containing Buddha figure indicated that “on the centre of this area is built a small square pillar having on each side figure of Buddha in base relief and round it are placed a number of model *chaityas* arranged in four rows making four complete circles. The *chaityas* are two and a half to three feet in height with a cubic bases and a pyramidal spire having on each side of the base an image of Buddha. The style of these *chaityas* is similar to that of such structure found in BuddhaGaya, but the images are standing nude and not seated and dressed, as is usual in the last named place. Altogether there are between eighty and ninety of these models, some of which are broken and others lying prostrate. Probably there were a hundred of them when originally set up.

All of these miniature shrines are made of sand stone of the variety available in the place and fashioned in *rekha* temple shape instead of having a pyramidal spire as noted above by R.L. Mitra. Being situated at the top of the hill and overcrowded with such votive temples containing Jaina divinities, people of all religious order are tempted to assign it the name of *Devasabha* where according to mythology the Gods assemble to have their own deliberations. It is difficult to ascribe any date to the *Devasabha* in the present state of our knowledge but on the basis of the features of the Jaina Tirthankara images in some of the caves of Khandagiri and within the miniature shrines themselves, we can roughly take its origin back to the medieval period, prior to it this place might have been used by the Jaina ascetics for their open discussions or occasional get-together.

24. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 65.

New Rsabhanatha Temple

The crest of Khandagiri hill is crowned by a temple dedicated to Rsabhanatha. The figure of Rsabhanatha made of white marble is of recent installation. R.L. Mitra²⁵ has given an account of its picturesque set up thus "Ascending now the top of the hill we come to a Jaina temple which forms the most picturesque feature of the place. In itself a structure of the recent date being only about eighty years old, in style having nothing to commend it to particular attention being small, insignificant and totally devoid of ornament it is nevertheless the most prominent and attractive object on these hills, perched on the very crest of the hill and commanding a wide view as far as the eye can reach with the low hills of Dimapara on the one side and the great tower of Bhubaneswar on the other and an open country all round, whose sterile ungrateful laterite soil is relieved here and there by topes of mango and bamboo and tolerably large patches of cultivation, the temple enjoys one of the finest and most romantic sites which could be selected in this part of the country for raising the mind of man from its mundane surroundings to an undisturbed contemplation of the author of creation. The Jainas have been particularly fortunate in this respect, and all their more important temples have been placed on especially picturesque sites". Like the generality of Brahmanical temples in Orissa, this temple comprises two parts, a temple proper and the *Jagamohana* both built in the pyramidal style and plastered over lime. The temple was most probably built on the site of an earlier shrine a presumption, substantiated not only by Kittoe's notice in 1837, of the vestiges of earlier structures at the site, but also by the existence on the terrace near the temple of more than a hundred monolithic miniature shrines, most of them having at one of their faces the figure

25. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 64.

of a Jaina Tirthankara, Sterling too, reported to this construction and the large quantities of images of the *Nirvanas* or naked figures executed in grey chlorite slate rock for worship of the Jainas found all around.

Now coming to the architectural details we find the main temple is built on a high plinth with square *bada* and pyramidal superstructure. The tiers seven in number are gradually diminishing towards the top. From the front edges of the third and fifth time of each side we find lions projecting forward almost in the centre of the tiers. The niches meant for the *Parsvadevatas* like that of the Hindu temples are kept empty on the *rahapagas* of there sides. The *bada* has five projections and each projection is set with *khakharamundis* in regular intervals. The *padukanala* attached with *makara* head is noticed on the base of the northern wall. The crowning elements of the temple consist of the *ghanta* or *Sri*, *amalaka*, *khapuri* and *kalasa*. The *beki* is envisaged above the pyramidal roof. The temple facing east is opened through the eastern wall to the *Jagamohana*. No trace of *graha* panel and the conventional door Jambs containing attendant figures are available at the entrance of the temple. The *simhasana* in the centre of the *garbhagrha* preserves the recently installed marble Rsabhanatha figure surrounded by a series of Jaina image of earlier period.

The *Jagamohana* in front, on the other hand having the same plinth is built with a rectangular *bada* and pyramidal roof. The roof consists of five tiers, lions are projecting (like the temple) from the centre of the edges of the third tier of each side. Two lions flank the crowning elements at the top of the eastern tier. They are facing to the northern and southern directions. The crowning elements as usual consist of the *ghanta*, *amalaka*, *khapuri* and *kalasa*. The main entrance to the temple complex through the *Jagamohana* is on the east.

However two side entrances are noticed on the northern and southern walls of the *Jagamohana* and the temple are not decorated with any carvings. The *simhasana*, floors of both the shrines and the outside steps are all covered with white marble slabs. The *Jagamohana* also do not contain any attendant vehicle of the divinity.

This temple complex was built by Manju Choudhury and his nephew Bhavani Dadu of Cuttack, Jaina merchants of the Digambari sect.²⁶ In front of the temple there is a fine terrace, about fifty feet square with a raised masonry seat all round. The Jains are very particular about this terrace as an appurtenance to their temples and invariably have it in front of all their places of worship. Their temples being with some notable exceptions small and not fit to accommodate any large number of persons at the same time, these terraces are very useful for the congregation to assemble on. On either sides of the temple are also miniature shrines also in pyramidal design. The one found on the northern side has a pillared *mandap* added in front in recent date.

The Other Jaina Temple and Shrines

The colossal image of Parsvanatha in black marble which is installed in a marble shrine to the right of the temple and within the same courtyard was commissioned in the year 1950. The basement, corner pillars and crowning *sikharas* at top are all fashioned in marble. The crowning element above the roof of the shrine is formed of a series of *angasikharas*.

On the top of the Mahavira-Gumpha an oblong masonry structure with its roof and crowning elements fashioned after a temple of the *pidha* order is noticeable. It was probably built recently when the three images of Rsabhanatha were installed inside the Mahavira-Gumpha by the Jains who

26. Mitra, R.L., *Ibid.*, p. 64.

added a structural pillared verandah to the cave, removed in the first decade of the present century.

Another small shrine having opening on all the four side walls and a pyramidal roof is available in front of the Barabhuji-Gumpha. It too, is crowned with *amalaka Sila* and the *kalasa*.

Cuttack town has the distinction of three Jaina shrines of modern origin. They are located in Chaudhury Bazar, Jaunliapati and Alamchand Bazar. The one in Jaunliapati is nothing but a part of the residential building. Architecturally the Jaina temple of Chaudhury Bazar leaving aside the recent one of the Alamchand Bazar, is best preserved. It displays all the major features of an Orissan temple style. Situated within a spacious compound it has the main temple in *rekha* order and *Jagamohana* in *pidha* design, a feature common in all the later Orissan temples. A small chamber between the temple and the *Jagamohana* is serving the purpose of *antarala*. It rather links both structures, and the space created thereby helps the pious devotees to pay respectful homage to the deities from a close distance.

The main temple in *rekha* order is facing east. It has a raised plinth, square *bada* slightly-curvilinear tower and the crowing elements. The outer walls have five projections each which are designed with *angasikharas* up to the end of the *bada*. The recesses in between the *pagas* are filled with female figures, musicians, couples, lions, peacocks, etc. and the *pagas* have projecting lions at regular intervals. The tower near the *visama* shows five moulding and above the *visama* are placed at each corner crowning elements of a temple consisting of the *beki*, *shanta*, *amalaka*, *khapuri* and *kalasa*. The crowning element which is otherwise known a *mastaka* of the Orissan temple is represented here by *ghanta*, *amalaka*, *khapuri* and *kalasa*, with *beki* (neck) as the connecting link between the

body (tower) and the *mastaka* (head). To the side of the kalasa is the *dhvaja* to a pole. The top most *kalasa* is conical in shape.

The temple has no separate shrines for the *Parsvadevatas* nor there are niches within the central projections of the outer walls. But the northern and southern walls have just above the base and at the centre of the *bada* spaces for windows fitted with *jalis* (screens). Through these windows air and light enter to the sanctum.

The *Jagamohana* on the other hand though built on the same base is having a square *bada* and a pyramidal superstructure. The tiers on the superstructure are seven in number and each tier from its outer edge displays projecting lions. The *bada* has five vertical divisions and *mastaka* above *beki* represents the same elements like that of the main shrine. The *Jagamohana* had originally four openings but the one to the south is closed for preservation of a few Jaina relics. The western opening leads to the sanctum. The other two on the east and north are used for the entry and exist of the devotees. The inner areas of the *Jagamohana* ceiling are painted with various floral and linear designs. The niches within its inner walls are filled with ancient Jaina relics but no carvings are noticed anywhere in the inner walls of the *Jagamohana* and the main shrine. The lintel over the door jambs displays the figure of a seated Parsvanatha flanked by two female attendants instead of the usual *navagraha* slab and the *Gajalaksmi* of the Hindu pantheon. The *simhasana* (covered with marble) in the centre of the sanctum preserves a large number of Jaina divinities in stone marble and brass of different dates. The whole complex is plastered and given a coat of lime mixed with red-ochre.

The Jaina temple at Alamachand Bazar was completed during the year 1974. It followed the general feature of the

Jaina temples of Rajasthan, situated within a narrow courtyard the temple has a very high plinth almost sharing with the front apartment. The lower parts of the main shrine are vertically divided into five projections, the central ones of which contain seated Jaina Tirthankara figures within niches. The superstructure above the *bada* is formed of miniature towers and the crowning part above the *beki* is supported by heads of squattish human figures placed on the *visama* on each direction. The topmost parts of the temple consist of the *amalaka* and *kalasa*. The *dhvajastambha* is fixed near by the post meant for the lightening conductor.

The porch in front is having a square *bada* and dome shaped roof. It has door openings on all directions and except the one leading to the sanctum others are flanked by windows. The doors in their front have sun-breakers designed in pyramidal roof on well polished marble pillars. The entire courtyard is paved with glazed tiles and mosaic. The inner chamber on a high pedestal preserves the images of Neminatha, Mahavira and Muni Suvrata all in *yogasana* pose. No trace of *Navagraha* slab is available on the lintel and in its place a seated figure of a Tirthankara is depicted.

The small Jaina shrine built by the mother of late L.N. Sahu at Chaudwar is hardly fifty years old. It preserves a number of Jaina Tirthankara images. The Rsabha image of this place is disfigured through paintings. The shrine constructed at the site is a miniature temple of *pidha* order on a square base and plastered allover.

The other Jaina shrine at village Bhanapur on the Bhubaneswar-Cuttack section of National Highway for preservation of the brass idols of Jaina divinities recovered in the close vicinity was built in the last decade by one Kangali Bhatta. This temple facing west is constructed with a pyramidal roof supported on a square base. The crowning

elements do not show any special feature. It too is plastered all over.

A modern shed is constructed at Podasingidi, at the foot of the mountain containing Yogichata is Keonjhar district for enshrining of Jaina *Sasanadevi* and Tirthankara figures. This shrine is dedicated to Ramachandi in view of the fact that it contains some Ambika figures which are locally called *Chandi Thakurani*. It is a square structure with a flat roof and an entrance in front. The stone pedestal near the back wall of the chamber is set with three Ambika figures. The front wall in its outer face also has a stone pedestal intervened by the door steps for installation of Tirthankara images found nearby. This structure has been recently built by the local people. This has been completely plastered and given a thick coat of lime. §

These newly constructed structures prove that Jaina religion is popular in Orissa and people have great faith in Tirthankaras.

§. All references quoted by R.P. Mahapatra.

8

JAINA HERITAGE IN ANCIENT BENGAL

I

The Ancient Bengal patronized both Jainism and Buddhism. The ruling chiefs helped in spreading the message of the great teachers in the land of Ladha (*i.e.*, Radha or Bengal). Undoubtedly the message of 'Tirthankaras' spread in this land through literature and arts till 11th century A.D. R.K. Jana in his research based paper has surveyed the glimpses of Jaina heritage in Ancient Bengal based on documentary proofs and other sources. It seems Jainism started declining after growing influence of Islam in 10th century A.D. onwards, as Jana writes:

"From the remote past Bengal (undivided) came under the influence of different religious systems, such as Vedic, Jain as well as Buddhist with its gradual Aryanisation. Possibly it happened not later than c. 4th cent. B.C. Unfortunately we have no detailed information, by which we can sketch gradual progress of different religious system in Bengal at that time.

Both Buddhist and the Jain canonical literature mention lists of sixteen great states in northern India at the time of Buddha and Mahavira. But about eastern states the Buddhist list only mentions Anga, whereas Jain *Bhagavatisutra* mentions Vanga and Ladha among the eastern states. The fourth Upanga *Prajnapana* gives a list of twenty-five and half (25 ½) Janapadas with their respective capitals as the Aryan

people, which includes Vanga (Tamralipti) and Ladha (Kotivarsa).¹

Jain religion became one of the major religious sects of eastern India under Mahavira. One of the earliest sources of Jain tradition the *Acaranga Sutra*² refers to Mahavira's life in his twelve-year pre-*Kevela-Jnana* period. Mahavira had travelled widely in the pathless country of the Ladha through Vajjabhumi and Subbbhabhumi as mentioned in the text. Actually Vajjabhumi and Subbbhabhumi were the divisions of Ladha, which is to be identified with the western parts of the West Bengal.³ It has also been mentioned that the people of Ladha (*i.e.* Radha) were barbarous at the time of Mahavira's visit. Lord Mashavira and his foloweres had faced ill treatment from the people of this region. It is said that 'some of the recluses carried bamboo staves in order to keep off the dogs'⁴. According to the *Kalpasutra*⁵ Mahavira from northern Bihar visited as well as spent a year of his missionary career in Paniyabhumi, which was included in Ladha (*i.e.* Radha, in West Bengal). During his visit the western parts of Bengal possibly came under the influence of Jainism. It is also to be believed that within a few years after Mahavira's demise Jainism was firmly rooted in Bengal. On the basis of the references of some places in early Pali canonical literature, it can also be inferred that possibly Bengal accepted Jainism before Buddhism.

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1. Majumdar, Dr. R.C.: *History of Ancient Bengal*, p. 26; *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX, 1981, p. 375.
 2. *The Sacred Books of the East* (Ed.) F. Max Muller, Vol. 22, Part-I (*The Acaranga Sutra*), pp. 84-85, notes 1 and 2.
 3. Chatterjee, A.K.: *A Comprehensive History of Jainism* (up to 1000 A.D.), p. 23.
 4. Barua, B.M.: *The Ajivikas*, p. 57.
 5. Max Muller, *op. cit.*, (*The Kalpasutra*) p. 254. (Quoted by Jana, *Encyclopedia of Jainism*, p. 2412)

It is a difficult task to have a correct idea about the progress of Jainism after the demise of Lord Mahavira. Possibly Jainism continued to flourish in Bengal after his death in those areas, where he caught his doctrine. In eastern India as stated by *Kalpasutra*, a Jain sect existed after the name of one Godasa, who was a disciple of Bhadrabahu, known as Gadasagana. In course of time this Gadasagana sect was divided into four sub-sects⁶ such as —the Kotivarsiyas; the Pundravardhaniyas; the Tamraliptiyas and the Kharvatiyas. Except the last one, three other above mentioned Sakhas were geographical units of ancient Bengal. According to a canonical text *Prajnapana*, Kotivarsa was the capital of the Ladha (*i.e.* Radha) country; according to the *Divyadana*, the Pundravardhana was centre of the Nirgrantha Jain religion during the time of Emperor Asoka; this area roughly is the present north Bengal; and so far as Tamralipta is concerned, another early Jain text *Bhagavatisutra*,⁷ records a story of merchant named Tamli Moriyaputta, who became a Jain monk apparently in Mahavira's life time. About the Kharvatiyas nothing is yet to be known. It leaves no doubt that strong Jain influence existed in northern, west and south Bengal from pre-Christian times.⁸ According to Harisena, the author of *Brahatkathakosa*, though it was composed in *c.* 931 A.D., the Jain *guru* of the Mauryan Emperor Chandragupta, Bhadrabahu was a son of a Brahmana of DevaKottaPura, which was situated in Pundravardhana. It implicates that Pundravardhana was one of the earliest Jain centre. According to Harisena, he was indebted to earlier works such as original *Aradhana*, for this information.

6. Ibid., p. 288.

7. *Bhagavati Sutra* of Sudharma Svami, translation and notes by K.C. Lalwani, Vol. II (Satakas 3-6), book, 3, Ch. 1, pp. 22-23.

8. Majumdar, R.C., *op. cit.*, p. 26.

The most important Jain record, which was found during excavation at Paharpur (Rajshahi, Bangladesh), is a copper plate inscription⁹ of the Gupta year 159 (C. 478-479 A.D.). This 5th century A.D. inscription is incidentally the earliest Jain epigraphic record from Bengal (undivided). This record is an endowment for the worship of Arhats to a Vihara in Vatagohali¹⁰ near Paharpur and presided over by the disciples descended from the Nirgrantha Acarya Guhanandin of Kasi. A Brahmana named Nathasarman and his wife Rami made this endowment. They were staunch devotees of Guhanandin. It is interesting to note here that no Jain canonical texts mention a Brahmana Jain devotee, though Jain canonical texts mention some Brahmana converts. The Jain Vihara was situated in the Nagiratta mandala of Pundravardhanabhukti. Possibly it was built before the date of the copper-plate record. Acarya Guhanandin is described as a follower of 'Panca stupanikaya'. This expression 'Panca stupanikaya' is also found in the non-canonical Digambara literature. According to *Brahatkathakosa* (12.132ff) there is a reference of the founding of five *stupas* at Mathura. Possibly the Digambara monks of Panca Stupa sect of Mathura sent some of their followers to Bengal afterwards. This sect is one of the earliest branches of the Digambara school. No doubt this copper plate inscription proves popularity of the Digambara religion in ancient Bengal.

Regarding the state of Jainism in Bengal the celebrated Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Yuan-Chwang records a valuable account during his visit to India in the second quarter of the 7th century A.D. In this account he has mentioned the

9. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. 1, p. 359; *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XX, p. 61 ff.

10. Premi, N.: *Jaina Sahitya aur Itihas* (Hindi) p. 127 ff. (Quoted by Jana, p. 2413)

existence of numerous Digambara Jain Nirgranthas in Pundravardhana¹¹ and Samatata¹² of ancient Bengal along with the comparative references to other major-religious sects. According to Dr. P.C. Bagchi¹³ by the time of Yuan-Chwang's visit in India, the Ajivikas possibly merged with the Nirgranthas, who were numerous in Bengal. But there is no information by which can be proved the separate existence of the Ajivikas in Bengal. *Bhagavatisutra*, one of the oldest Jain canonical texts, confirms the antiquity of Ajivika religion. The term 'Nirgrantha' means 'free from fetters'¹⁴. According to A.K. Chatterjee¹⁵ the term 'Nirgrantha' was first invented by Parsva, who was (roughly) 250 years senior to Lord Mahavira and later came to denote his (Parsva's) followers. Possibly Mahavira was an ascetic belonging to the Nirgrantha order.

Most of the ancient Jain relics situated in Bengal are in Manbhum and Singhbhum regions. Some scholars opined that possibly Jainism had spread from Bihar to Orissa (Kalinga) through these areas.¹⁶ According to some scholars, the message of Nirgrantha religion was possibly carried to Orissa by the Jain monks of southern Bengal. But Dr. A.K. Chatterjee opined that these monks belonged either to the Tamraliptika or Kotivarsa Sakhas as mentioned in the *Theravali*¹⁷.

11. Watters, T.: *On Yuan Chwang's Travel in India*, II, p. 184.
12. Ibid., *op. cit.*, p. 187.
13. Majumdar, R.C., (ed.): *History of Ancient Bengal*, p. 411, Footnotes, 3.
14. Bhattacharya, S.: *A Dictionary of Indian History*, p. 601.
15. Chatterjee, A.K., *op. cit.*, p. 14.
16. Choudhury, P.C.: 'Jainism in Manbhum', *Jain Journal*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, 1984, P. 152.
Idem, 'Jainism in Bihar', *Jain Journal*, Vol.; III, No. 4, 1969, p. 152 and pp. 155-156.
17. Chatterjee, A.K.: *op. cit.*, p. 78 and p. 87.

According to J.D. Beglar an active trade, commerce and pilgrims route existed between Kalinga and Magadha through this region.¹⁸ The Hathigumpha inscription¹⁹ of Kharvela, refers to the Gorathagiri (*i.e.* Baraber hills in Gaya, Bihar) and the Gangetic plains of Pataliputra (in Bihar), which indicates some routes from Kalinga to Magadha through this region.²⁰ According to the Jain *Harivamsa* of Jinasena II,²¹ the eastern region is formed of twelve peoples among which one is Manovartika. This Manovartika is the Sanskritised form of Manbhum.

It has been suggested by some scholars²² that the modern Manbhum is the Santhal Parganas, was named after the Manas of Orissa. Possibly Manbhum region was the *via media* region through which the contacts between Bihar and Orissa were maintained. An inscription²³ of the year 62 of the Kusana era (c.150 A.D.) depicted on the pedestal of a Jain image from Mathura refers to a Jain monk with the epithet—which has been interpreted as ‘a native of Radha’ (or Western Bengal)²⁴. It proves that a strong Jain heritage flourished in this area. This area in question from the early medieval period enjoyed freedom from any strong central authority. This can be inferred

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18. Beglar, J.D.: ‘Report of a tour through Bengal Provinces in 1872-73’, *Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. VIII, pp. 48-51.
 19. Sircar, D.C.: *op. cit.*, p. 213.
 20. Barua, B.M.: ‘Kharvela as King and Builder’, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. XV, pp. 46-51.
 21. Chatterjee, A.K.: ‘The Jain Harivamsa’ in *Religion and Culture of the Jains* (ed.) p. 107, pp. 100-117.
 22. Majumdar R.C., (ed.): *The Classical Age*, p. 94, note. 1.
 23. Ghosh A., (ed.): *Jain Art and Architecture*, Vol. 1, p. 73; Banerjee, R.D.: ‘The Palas of Bengal’, *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 72.
 24. Banerjee, R.D.: *op. cit.*, p. 72.

on the basis of available data: for example of Mana dynasty established a kingdom in the hilly region between Midnapur and Gaya districts,²⁵ Rhotasgarh²⁶ seal and the Midnapur copper plate inscription²⁷ of Sasanka prove his control over this area; the Ganjam copper plates²⁸ of Madhavaraja II dated 619-20 A.D. of Sailodbhava dynasty ruling over Kongoda, who summons the name of Sasanka as suzerain;²⁹ possibly this territory was annexed by Harsavardhana in the c. 7th century A.D., under his authority.³⁰ According to K.C. Panigrahi,³¹ later the Bhaumakaras and the Bhanjas of Orissa ruled over in Kalinga and the border areas of Bengal and Bihar. During the reign of Mahipala I (c. 988-1038 A.D.) Pala empire had been restored by him and this area in question was also included,³² though there is no positive evidence in support of the view³³ that he had recovered western or southern Bengal. From the account of Rajendra Cola's invasion in Bengal, Mahipala's rule over West Bengal can possibly be inferred.³⁴ But still there is difference of opinion among scholars. The

25. Majumdar R.C., (ed.): *op. cit.*, p. 78 and p. 92.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

27. Majumdar, R.C., "Two copper plates of Sasanka from Midnapore," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, (Letters) No. XI, pp. 1-9.

28. Hultzsch E., (ed.): *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, p. 143ff, 'Ganjam Copper Plates.'

29. Panigrahi, K.C.: *History of Orissa* (Hindu Period), p. 52.

30. Majumdar R.C.: (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 106-107.

31. Panigrahi, K.C.: *op. cit.*, p. 86.

32. Bhattacharya, K., Mitra, P.K., Bhoomik, A. Ch., 'Jain sculptures at Pakbirra,' *Jain Journal*, Vol. XX, No. 4, p. 135.

33. Majumdar, R.C., *History of Ancient Bengal*, p. 132.

34. Nilakanta Sastri, K.A., *The Colas*, pp. 206-208. (Quoted by Jana, p. 2414).

Ramacharita of Sandhya-karanandin³⁵ does mention a list of princes, possibly feudal lords of the forest countries, who helped Rampala to crush Kaivartta rebellion, such as—Laksmisura of Aparamandara of the forest tracts and Rudrasikhara, the ruler of Tailakampa (*i.e.* Telkupi in Purulia district) and so forth; possibly they were de fact local rulers in nature. About the sculptures of this area R.D. Banerjee indicates the position of Jain zone of influence in Bengal.³⁶ According to him the Jain zone of influence possibly extended from the south bank of the river up to the northern frontier of the jungle country^{36a} and the stylistic affinity of the sculptures of this zone had been influenced by the Orissan type.^{36b} It can be seen from the above mentioned data on account of relatively greater political freedom from any central authority, the culture of this area had flourished independently, possibly with the broader cultural influence from the adjoining centres.

No important Jain inscription has been found from West Bengal as well as Bangladesh between c.600 A.D. and Jainism existed till the end of the 11th century A.D. During the Pala Age it is generally believed that Jainism suffered a sharp decline in Bengal (undivided).³⁷ There is no reference to Jain patronage of any kind by the Pala as well as the Sena kings in their numerous inscriptions, except one. This is a Jain record,³⁸ which belongs to the 24th year of the king Rajyapala, who

35. *Ramacaritam of Sandhyakarnandin* (ed.), Sastri, M.H.P., revised with English translation and notes by Dr. R.G. Basak, A.S.B. (Memoir Series, Vol. III, No. 1, (reprint 1969), p. 36. and pp. 126-127).

36,36a,36b. Banerjee, R.D.: 'Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture,' *Archaeological Survey of India*, New Imperial Series, Vol. XL VIII, pp. 144-145.

37. Majumdar, R.C.; *op. cit.*, p. 521.

38. Sircar, Dr. D.C., 'Nalanda Stone Pillar Inscription of the time of Rajyapala, regnal year, 24,' *J.R.A.S.B.*, Vol. 15, 1949, pp. 7-8 Plate-I.

ruled in the first half of the 10th cent. A.D.,³⁹ which has been discovered from Bargaon (near Nalanda, Bihar), incised on a pillar, but in connection with Jain heritage in Bengal this record has no relevance.

In this connection, some dohas written in the Pala age show a different picture. MM. H.P. Sastri discovered some Bengali manuscripts of Sahajayana Buddhist character from Nepal in 1907 A.D. In the year 1916 A.D. he edited and published it under the title, *Bauddha-Gan-O-Doha*. One of the dohas was composed by one Saroja Vajra and later commented upon by Advaya Vajra. There is a difference in opinion among scholars about the date of Saroja Vajra.⁴⁰ To avoid any controversy, it is better to place Saroja Vajra and his commentator (who was definitely later than the original author), in the Pala period between c. 12th cent. A.D. It is interesting to note that the doha writer and his commentator used the harshest language⁴¹ against the Ksapanakas to refute their philosophy. It is clear from their writings that main point of their attack was against the so-called Ksapanakas' or the religious practice or Ksapanakas' whose religious philosophy seems to have been similar to the Jain Digambara practice, such as— keeping long nails, shaving of head, going naked etc. Such types of practices were stigmatised by the doha author Saroja Vajra as well as his commentator. Now if the Ksapanakas in the doha were Jains, then this type of negative approach against the religious philosophy of the Ksapanakas

39. Majumdar, R.C., *op. cit.*, p. 124.

40. Majumdar, R.C., *op. cit.*, pp. 389-90, note p. 410, No. 204; C.R. Pal, 'Jainism in Bengal during the Pala period as revealed in the Buddhist Dohas,' *Jain Journal*, Vol. XVIII, 1978, No. 2, pp. 67-69.

41: MM.H.P. Sastri, *Bauddha-Gan-O-Doha* (Bengali), p. 7, pp. 81 and 87. (Quoted by Jana, p. 245).

(or Jain philosophy) in one way proves their popularity in Pala period in Bengal. But nothing can be said further.

A large number of epigraphs of the Pala-Sena period in Bengal do not contain any reference to Jainism. But there is no dearth of Jain images, which belong to the Pala period and a few to a later period which have been brought to light from different parts of West Bengal as well as Bangladesh. On account of various excavations and survey of antiquarians, in West Bengal, which comprises Purulia district (sites are—Deoli, Pakbirra, Sanka, Chharra, Senara etc.); Bankura district (sites are—Pareshnath, Ambikanagar, Kendus, Loadihi, Barkola, Harmashra, Bahulara, Dharapat etc.); Midnapore district (sites are—Rajpara, Tharagram etc.); Burdwan district (sites are—Satdeulia, Raina, Katwa, Ujani etc.); and from the district of 24 Parganas' Sunderban region. Jain Icons are mostly sculptural representation of Tirtankaras with their various Parsvadevatas and attendant figures, images of the Sasanadevis, sometimes associated with their respective male Yaksa counterparts, a few *caturmukha* (or *caumukha*) miniature votive shrines.

In this connection by the courtesy of the Directorate of Archaeology, Government of West Bengal⁴² nine unpublished Jain sculptures, which belong to the state Archaeological Museum,⁴³ West Bengal are mentioned below with their respective iconographic features, probable dating, material and provenance.

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42. Ganguli K.K.: Paper on 'Jaina Art of Bengal'; Chakravarti D.K.: 'A Survey of Jaina Antiquarian Remains in West Bengal' in *Exhibition of Jain Art Souvenir*.
 43. The author would like to express his gratefulness to Dr. Gautam Sengupta (Director), Directorate of Archaeology, West Bengal; and M.P.K. Mitra (Officer-in-). (Quoted by Jana, p. 2416).

Ambika (Museum No. 5.52)

The bejewelled goddess stands on a lotus, which is placed on a *tri-ratha* pedestal in *abang* a pose, holding a little child (her younger son Prabhankara) with her left hand. Her right arm is broken. She has an oval *sirascakra*. Above the goddess there is a sprawling mango tree ladden with fruits. On the stem of the mango tree is seated Jina (Neminatha) in *dhyanasana*. The goddess is clad in a finely carved *sari* and a scarf. She is gracefully decorated with sparac but elegant ornaments such as armlet, bracelet, necklace, and kundlas. Her hair is arranged in a elegant coiffure with two fold buns. The back slab contains the usual horizontal crossbar—plaque decoration in flow relief, aside from some flowereing motif also.

45.8 cms. × 24.5 cms.

C.10th Cent. A.D.

Sandstone.

Padmaprabha (Museum No. 5.215)

The standing figure of the Jina (Padmapraba) is carved out on an almost rectangular stele (with slightly roundish up edges) in *kayotsarga* pose. The figure has elongated carlobes and his hair is arranged in schematic curls with a prominent usnisa. He is adorned with bordered oval sirasckara. The face of the Tirthankara is slightly mutilated. The Jina stands on a lotus, which is placed on a *pancaratha* pedestal. The central projection of the pedestal bears of Lanchana—lotus, of the Tirthankara Padmaprabha. Inner facets of the pedestal bear two crouching lions, while the outer most facets are left blank. The back slab is bare. Two male cauri bearers are placed on either side of the lower corners. The twin vidyadharas are placed at the upper corners, hovering in the conventional representation of clouds with garlands. Top of the stele

contains a mutilated *chatra* and a drum and a pair of cymbals struck by disembodied hands.

Santinatha (Museum No. 5.32)

The standing figure of the Jina (Santinatha) on a lotus, which is placed on *tri-ratha* pedestal, in *kayotsarga* pose. The central projection of the pedestal bears the Lanchana of Santinatha (Tortoise), while the remaining facets on either side are left blank. On the back slab there is one vertical pose with horizontal crossbar on which two triangular plaques. Ovoidal Sirascakra is surmounted by a (mutilated) *chatra*. The Jina is flanked by two *camaradharas* on either side of the lower corners. The sculpture is plain and bare and does not contain the usual elements of the Parikara (*i.e.* the Vidyadhara couple or the heavenly magicians). The sculpture is highly corroded.

An Image of Jina (Museum No. 5.93)

The standing figures of the Jina in *kayotsarga* pose on a lotus, is placed on a *tri-ratha* pedestal. The central projection of the pedestal bears the Lanchana. But it is beyond recognition. Possibly the Lanchana is Makara (of Suvidhinatha?); outer facets of the pedestal are left blank. On the back slab there is one vertical pose with a horizontal crossbar, on which are two triangular plaques. Oval Sirascakra is surmounted by a (mutilated) *chatra*. The Jina is flanked by two *camaradharas* on either side of the lower corners. The sculpture is remarkably plain and bare. It does not contain the usual elements of the Parikara. The sculpture is highly corroded.

Head Torso (Jina) (Museum No. 5.11)

Head of a Jina image with elongated earlobes and hair is arranged in schematic curls, possibly with a *usnisa* (now

broken away). The face of the image is with dropping eyelids and sports a sublime smile. The face of the image is slightly mutilated.

Santinatha (Museum No. 5.212)

The Jina stands on a lotus in *kayotsarga samapadaasthanaka*, which is placed on a *tri-ratha* pedestal. A stylized lotus creeper with scrolled leaves and buds (or a half-bloomed lotus) occupies the central projection of the pedestal, under which there is a *lanchana* an antelope. On either side of the lotus there is a kneeling postured female figure in *anjali-mudra*. One of the outer registers (left) of the pedestal bears the figure of a crouching lion, while the other outer register (right) bears a kneeling figure of a female devotee in *anjali-mudra* and a crouching lion (pedestal of the sculpture is not properly projected in the photograph). The Jina has elongated earlobes and his hair is arranged in schematic curls with a small *usnisa*. On either side stands male *cauri* bearers (faces are mutilated) on a half-bloomed lotus. On the edge of back slab eight Jyotiskadevas are arranged in a vertical row of four on either side of the Jina. Those on the dexter side appear to be Surya, Mangala, Brhaspati and Sani, while those on the sinister side are Soma, Buddha, Sukra, and Rahu; on the back slab there is one vertical pose with a horizontal crossbar, on which are two triangular plaques. The ovoidal shape *sirascakra* is ornamented with intricate pattern of beads and flame-tongued border device and also with flowering twigs on either side. The top of the stele is ornamented with the tri-linear *chatra* over the head of the Jina (it is not properly projected in the picture). Vidyadharas are placed in a flying posture holding garlands

and also a drum and a pair of cymbals struck by its embodied hands.

Miniature Caturmukha Shrine (Muesum No. 5.68)

This votive Jain *caturmukha* shrine is represented in the form of a miniature *rekha* temple of the *tri-ratha* type. The tower rises in a slow curve. The flat *amalaka* is mutilated. The central page are embellished with floral motifs. Above the *padapitha*, deep niches have been curved on the extended plane of the central projection. Each contains a standing figure of the Tirthankara in *kayotsarga* pose under a *chatra* with two *cauribearers* on either side of the lower corners. On its four facets, there are figures of Jain Tirthankaras, one of which could be identified as Parsvanatha while the *lanchana* of the other three are mutilated beyond recognition. The upper facets of the niches are projected out in the shape of an arch and are flung out on two sides, which rest on thin pilasters. The *padapitha* consists of three lower mouldings.

Miniature Caturmukha Shrine (Museum No. 5.266)

This miniature *caturmukha* shrine is represented in the form of *rekha*-temple of the *tri-ratha* type. The tower rises in a slow curve and is surmounted by a roundish *amalaka*. The *finial* has been broken away. All four central *pagas* are embellished with two shallow niches, which are arranged in vertical order holding a couple of Jina figures in each. Above the *padapita*, deep niches have been carved on the extended plane of the central projection. Each contains a standing Tirthankara with two *cauribearers* on either side of the lower

corner. On its four facets are figures of Jain Tirthankaras, which could be identified as Ajitanatha (*lanchana*-elephant), Candraprabha (*lanchana*-crescent), Padmaprabha (*lanchana*=lotus) and the other one consists of an indistinct *lanchana*. All stands on lotus in *kayotsarga* pose. The upper facets of the niches are projected out in the shape of an arch and are flung out on two sides, which rest on these pilasters. The *padapitha* consists of three lower mouldings.

Miniature Caturmukha Shrine (Fragment) (Museum No. 5.72)

It is a part of a miniature rekha temple type Jain votive *caturmukha* shrine. The *Padapitha* portion and the *amalaka* have been broken away. The tower rises in a slow curve. All four central parganas are embellished with three shallow niches, which are arranged in vertical order, each holding two standing Jain Tirthankara figures in *kayotsarga* pose.

Lastly it can be inferred that from the days of Lord Mahavira, Bengal (undivided) was one of the great centres of Jainism. Due to lack of information, about the state of Jainism in the pre-Gupta period, very little is known. The only inscription discovered from Paharpur proves how popular the Jain Digambara religion was in north Bengal during Gupta period. In this regard the Chinese account of the second quarter of the 7th cent. A.D. by Yuan-Chwang mentioned the immense popularity of Jainism in Pundravardhana and Samatata. Afterwards, in post-Gupta period there is no literary evidence as well as any inscription about the state of Jainism in Bengal. Possibly from 10th cent. A.D. Jainism in Bengal started to decline.

On account of various excavations and survey of antiquarians, particularly in Bankura,⁴⁴ Purulia,⁴⁵ Parts of Midnapore⁴⁶ and Burdwan,^{46a} a large number of a Jain icons and temples have been discovered, which proves the popularity of Jainism even in the Pala period, though till now there is no reference to royal patronage in Pala-Sena epigraphs. It is regrettable to say that in the remote villages of West Bengal many sculptural pieces and architectural fragments associated with Jainism are lying in a neglected condition and revered by the villagers as Brahmanical god and goddess or as Buddha. These need thorough documentation and careful preservation in order to keep and save the ancient Jain heritage intact in Bengal as soon as possible.

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44. For further information see, Dr. (Mrs.) D. Mitra 'Some Jain Antiquities from Bankura,' *J.A.S.B.* 1958, Vol. 24, No. 2; Amiya Kr. Bandyopadya '*Bankura Jelar Purakirti*'.
45. For further information see, R.D.' Banerjee, 'Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture', *Archaeological Survey of India*, New Imperial Series, Vol. XLVIII; David McCutchion 'Notes on the Temples of Purulia District' in *Census* 1961; West Bengal Census Handbook, Subhas Ch. Mukherjee 'Pakbirra—A Lost Jain Centre of Purulia', *Jain Journal* Vol. XII, No. 1, P.C. Dasgupta 'Pakbirra's Shrines of the Emancipated' *Jain Journal* Vol. V, No. 3, Dr. (Mrs.) D. Mitra "Telkupi, a Submerged Temple Site in West Bengal.' *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 76, Subhas Ch. Mukherjee, 'Glimpses of the History of Manbhum,' (Book); Mr. S.De. "Two Unique Inscribed Jaina Sculptures,' *Jain Journal*, Vol. V, No. 1.
46. See, T. Satra, *Paschim Vanger Purasampad, Uttar Medinipur*' (Bengali), D.R. Das 'Bailihatir Jain Mandir' (article), Kausiki, 6th year, No. 10, 1976, (Bengali).
- 46a. See, P.C. Dasgupta, 'A Rare Jaina Icon from Sat-Deuliya,' *Jain Journal*, Vol. VIII, No. 3. (Encyclopedia of Jainism, Vol. 9, pp. 2412-2422).

II

OTHER BENGAL JAIN SCULPTURES

As a matter of fact, Indian Museum, Calcutta is one of the earliest Museums in the country. It has a rich collection of Jaina sculptures according to Nagar.¹ Some of which are as described below:

(1) A small marble figure of Parsvanatha, seated in the *bhumisparsamudra* is available in the Museum. The cushion on which the figure is represented to be seated is inscribed. On the upturned palm there are three circles, side by side, and on the chest an oval, four-lobed eminence. A large seven-headed cobra forms a canopy over the head of Parsvanatha.

(2) The figure of Santinatha, the sixteenth Jina, is known by his symbol, the Indian antelope, placed below the lotus pedestal on which he stands. This figure is carved in bold relief, against a slab, two feet high and one foot broad, and behind the figure there is a round slab, like the back of a chair, terminating in a peaked ornament on each side, and behind the head is a somewhat horse-shoe shaped nimbus. There is a male human attendant figure on each side, carrying a *chowri*, and with one arm akimbo, and below the pedestal on each side stands a lion. Above these attendants there are in relief two other figures of Jinās, one above the other on each side of the slab, and above the highest pair there are some defaced figures, probably Vidyadharas. The highest pair of Jinās is defaced, and the symbols on the lowest pair are so obscurely represented that it is impossible to determine what they are.

(3) A somewhat similar sculpture, the principal figure being the first Adinatha, as indicated by his cognizance, the

1. Nagar, Shanti Lal; Jaina Sculptures in Indian and World Museums, pp. 58-61.

bull, below the lotus pedestal on which he stands and at each corner of which, as in the previous one, there is a lion. There is a male human attendant figure as in the last, less than half the size of the Jina himself. There is also the same kind of arrangement behind the figures as in the last, with the Vidyadharas above and a *catra* over the head which has an elaborate head-dress, while the head of the previous figure had small curly locks. On each side of the principal figure, arranged in seven rows, one above the other on each side of the slab, are twenty four Jinas, Parsvanatha being indicated by the many-hooded snake over his head, but the other symbols have not been indicated beyond some conventional carving in front of each pedestal.

(4) A small reddish sandstone pedestal forming a lion throne, on which four of the Jinas are seated back to back against a quadrangular pillar, terminating above in the foliage of *Saraca Indica*, which forms a bower over each figure, with suspended garlands. The heads of the figures have been broken off. Each figure is in the *bhumisparsamudra*, and there has been a beaded halo behind each head. There is a lion at each corner of the throne, one-headed, but with two bodies, a body to each side of pedestal a man and a woman are worshipping the *cakra*. The symbols of the Tirthankaras are not shown.

(5) A similar sculpture, square at the base, but is without the lion throne. The four Jinas, one of whom is Parsvanatha, as indicated by the five-headed cobra on his head, are standing erect on a simple flat pedestal, at each corner of which are a couple of human figures, much injured, but apparently kneeling. The heads of the Jinas are very much injured. No one of them have symbols. They stand turned into a kind of conventional floral canopy over each Jina except Parasvanatha. The sculpture has also a mortice, so that it probably was a fellow pillar or baluster of another sculpture.

(6) There is fragment of sculpture in the same red sandstone as the two previous sculptures, and therefore probably with the same history. It consists of two temples, one larger than the other, with four roofs, surmounted by expanded *chatras*, and *amalaka* ornaments. Sitting in the temple, between two pillars, is a *Sakti* with one foot on a stool and the other leg drawn up, and holding erect an object in each hand. Externally the temple has *sardula* on each side. In the little adjoining temple, there is a Jina in the erect attitude. The sculpture on the left side terminates in a mythical elephant's head, on which is a small kneeling human figure.

(7) An elaborately carved sculpture, broad, with a figure of the tenth Jina, Sitalanatha, sitting on a richly cushioned throne in the *bhumisparsamudra* under a *chatra* and with an elaborate lotus medallion or nimbus behind the head. The figure is known to be of the Jina by the *Srivatsa* symbol on the chest and on one sole. There is a large male human attendant figure, with an elaborate head-dress on each side, accompanied by a small female human figure, and over these, on each side, is a Vidhyadhara offering garlands, and above these, on a lotus pedestal, on each side, is a mounted elephant with an attendant behind it, bowing in reverence to the tree. The lobes of the ears of the Jina are enormously enlarged by ornaments, and the hair is in small spiral curls gathered into a top-knot. The features are very short, round and flat, and the eyes are very narrow and elongated.

(8) There is another, and more perfect sculpture than the last, and with the lotus throne supported on two richly carved pillars in front. Below the throne there are two *sardulas* with open mouths and pawing the ground, and behind them at the corners are two women at one side, and a woman and a man at the other, the front figures in each case is kneeling. The side of the back of the throne are also supported by *sardulas*.

In front of the throne, between the pillars, a richly ornamented cloth hangs down in front. The Jina is the same as in the last sculpture, and is in the same attitude.

(9) A fragment, probably the upper part of a large statue of a Jina, it consists of a conventional representation of the Bodhi tree (*ficus religiosa*), behind the branches of which is a conventional representation of a lotus flower, resembling somewhat the medallions of the Bharhut Stupa. On the left side of the dome-shaped tree, is a figure of Siva and Parvati, below which is a *makara* swallowing a human being, and in the opposite corner there are the remains of a similar monster.

(10) An architectural fragment, probably part of a Jina temple, and which from the similarity of the stone to the foregoing specimen, is probably from the same locality and with a similar history.²

(11) Portion of a large sculpture elaborately carved and consisting of a handsome pilaster to the left, on the right side of which stands a male human figure in an easy attitude with a bull at its feet in the background. The head of figure is lost, but round the neck hangs a garland down below the knees where there is a clasp, the centre of which is a monkey's skull. Behind the head there is a lotus flower as a halo. The pilaster has the same characters as the pillars on the foregoing Jain sculpture, to which this fragment, in the stone of which it is made of and in its general art characters, has so strong a resemblance.

(12) On a quadrangular tower made of copper, but much corroded, there are three storeys, each one of which is supported by a pillar at each angle, and the storeys diminish in height from below upwards. Each one is solid, and there are twelve, eight and four Jinas, back to back in the first,

2. Ibid., p. 59.

second and third storeys respectively, that is, all the twenty-four Jinas are represented. The four figures in the uppermost storey differ from the others in being naked and being in the *bhumisparsamudra*, and one of them, of Parsvanatha, is indicated by his cognizance, the polycephalous snake forming a canopy over his head, but the symbols of the other twenty-three Jinas cannot be detected. All appears to have a triangular figure on the centre of the chest. The top of the tower terminates in an ornament.

(13) A figure apparently of Chandraprabha, the eighth Jina, depicts him in the *bhumisparsamudra*, on a throne, the back of which is supported by a large nimbus surmounted by the crescent moon. At the sides of the upper portion of the back of the throne there is an elephant's head. The hair is in small curly locks, and the figure is naked.

(14) A figure of a Jina in the *bhumisparsamudra*, but with no symbol remaining to identify the same.

(15) Another figure, is apparently of a Jina in the *bhumisparsamudra*, but the symbol is lost. The hair is long, and falls down over the shoulders. The back of the throne and nimbus have been broken off.

(16) In a much corroded figure, a Jina is shown seated in the *bhumisparsamudra* and not seated on a throne.

(17) A sculpture, being an erect figure of Parsvanatha has shown him standing under a seven-hooded snake, the figure being carved in deep relief, so much so, that it is only connected to the slab by its head, shoulders and a few other parts at intervals. The coils of the snake behind the figure extend to the ground, and have been ingeniously taken advantage of by the sculptor to be the points at which the figure is attached to the main mass. On the right hand of Parsvanatha stands a female Naga in human shape with a snake

over his head, and holding a long handled *chatra* over the Jina. The rest of the slab is profusely covered over with human figures, demons, monsters and animals, doubtless a representation attack on Parsvanatha by his enemy Kamatha, treated after the fashion of the attack of Mara on Buddha Gotama, as depicted in Buddhist sculptures.³ Some of the uppermost figures are attempting to hurl down rocks, while others at the side attack the Jina with swords and shields in hand. Some of the attacking figures have the heads of animals, and these have generally human faces represented on their bellies. A number of the human figures are forcefully shown, and one of them in particular, a large male figure to the right, is rather a powerfully executed figure, a personification of famine with sunken eyeballs, his body so emaciated that each individual muscle is portrayed as if it had been carefully carved out. Above it, a buffalo rears against the Tirthankara. At the feet of the Jina, on the left hand side, there are some little Naga figures in human form, knelling in adoration, and , on the opposite side, a man and a woman are in adoration at the feet of the Jina.

(18) A black stone figure of Parsvanata has an inscription on the back of the pedestal. There is no slab behind the figure. It is seated in the *bhumisparsamudra*. There is a large conical eight-lobed *kaustubha* like symbol on the centre of the chest, while the nipples are represented each as a large circle, containing a somewhat convex disc, with a rounded eminence in its centre. On the upturned left palm there is a diamond-shaped figure; and on the soles, apparently appears a similar symbol.

(19) A similar figure is also inscribed and with similar symbols. The ears are long and pendulous, and the hair, as in the former figures, is in small spiral curls. The figure is of

3. Ibid., p. 60.

highly polished black stone, so that the colour is not that of the tenth Jina.

(20) A small fragment of an erect figure of a Jina, without the head and a considerable part of the legs and arms are also broken. It had been a part, probably of a larger sculpture, as there are to the right two small figures in the *bhumisparsamudra*.⁴

It can surely be said that ancient Bengal patronised Jaina religion and Jaina Art and Jaina Architecture flourished for centuries.

4. Ibid., p. 61.

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