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*Ambika, Stana, M.P.
Allahabad Museum No. 293
Courtesy : American Institute of
Indian Studies, Varanasi*

BOOK REVIEW

SRI UPĀSAKADAŚĀNGA SŪTRA, Punjabi translation by Ravinder Kumar Jain, edited by Purshottam Das Jain. Publisher : 25th Mahavira Nirvana Satabdi Sanyojika Samiti, Malerkotla (Pb.), 1981. Pages xxi + 166. Price Rs. 21.00.

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

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

—Sajjan Singh Lishk

A Nonpareil Ambika Image from Patian-Dai

MARUTI NANDAN PRASAD TIWARI

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

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

¹ Tiwari, M. N. P., *Elements of Jaina Iconography*, Varanasi, 1983, p. 58. It is surprising that the representation of the 24 *Yaksas* is not known from anywhere.

² So far only these three instances of the collective representations of the 24 *Yaksis* are known. They are all affiliated to the Digambara sect.

³ The image, bearing inscription in the characters of 10th-11th century A.D., was set up in the temple, older in date atleast by 300 years, which, however, remained empty for a long time. See, Cunningham, A., *Archaeological Survey of India Report* (Central India), vol. IX, Varanasi, 1966 (rep.), p. 32 ; Amar, Gopilal, 'Patian-Dai : Ek Guptakalin Jain Mandir', *Anekanta*, year 19, No. 6, February 1967, p. 344.

names⁴ inscribed below.⁵ The figures of 18 *Yakṣīs* are carved, in vertical rows, on two flanks of Ambika while the remaining five are portrayed, in a horizontal row, in the top *parikara*. The *Yakṣīs* in the top *parikara* are labelled as Vahurupini, Camunda, Sarasati, Padumavati and Vijaya while those on the two flanks (from top to bottom) are Jaya, Anantamati, Vairota, Gauri, Mahakali, Kali, Pusadadhi and Prajapati (on right), and Aparajita, Mahamanusi, Anantamati, Gandhari, Manusi, Jalamalini, Manuja and Vajrasamkala (on left).⁶

The figure of four-armed Ambika, wearing a long *dhotī* and bejewelled in *grāiveyaka*, necklaces, girdles (with suspended-loops), anklets, bracelets, armlets and *karaṇḍa-mukuta*, stands as she is in *tribhanga*. The goddess is provided with stellate cut halo. The small face of the goddess shows benign appearance, while other bodily features reveal sensuousness through flexions and prominent bosoms. Although the hands are damaged, yet foliage of a mango tree overhead and rendering of two sons, Subhankara and Priyankara, along with a lion mount, make the identification of the goddess with Ambika doubtless.⁷ The tiny figure of her Jina, Neminatha, the conch *lāñchana*, is also carved over her head. Besides Neminātha, the figures of 12 other Jinas, two seated and all others standing in *kāyotsarga-mudrā* as sky-clad, are also shown in the *parikara*. The nudity of the Jina figures distinctly relate them with the Digambara sect. The figures of the *gaja-vyāla-makara* trio as throne-frame animals, are rendered on two sides. Close to the feet of Ambikā, there appear a male and a female worshippers, while another figure of a worshipper is shown on the pedestal. The representation of two-armed Sarvanubhuti (or Kubera) *Yakṣa*, the male counterpart of Ambika, is significant here. He is seated in *lalitāsana* on the pedestal and holds a mace and a mongoose-skin purse. Another point of interest here is the rendering of two-armed figures of *navagrahas* on the lowermost part of the pedestal. Of the *navagrahas*, Surya in *utkūṭikāsana*, holds a long-stalked lotus in each of his two hands, while other six *grahas*, seated in *lalitāsana*, show the *abhaya-mudrā* and a water-vessel. The *ūrdhakāya* figure of Rahu is followed by Ketu.

⁴ The only other instance of the representation of 24 *Yaksis* with their names is known from the Santinatha temple (Temple No. 12) at Deogarh.

⁵ The names of Ambika, Cakresvari and one other unidentified *Yaksi*, are, however, not inscribed.

⁶ Cunningham, A., *op. cit.*, p. 31; Pramod Chandra, *Stone Sculptures in Allahabad Museum*, Bombay, 1970, p. 162.

⁷ Of the two sons, one on the right is riding on a lion, the *vahana* of Ambika, while the other one is standing to her left.

We shall now discuss the iconographic features of each of the 23 *Yakṣīs* in the *parikara*. All the four-armed *Yakṣīs*, carved arbitrarily instead of being in traditional order, are standing in *tribhaṅga* with their respective *vāhanas*. Their names correspond with list supplied by the Digambara works, namely, the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* (of Yativrsabha, c. 8th century A.D.), the *Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṃgraha* (of Vasunandi, c.12th century A.D.) and the *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* (of Asadhara, c.1200-1250 A.D.),⁸ excepting Manuja and Sarasati. However, the name of Anāmatī has been carved twice because of the engraver's mistake. The inscription, however, does not mention the names of Cakresvari, Rohini, Manovega, Manavi, Ambika and Siddhayini *Yakṣīs*.⁹ But the figures of Cakresvari, Manovega labelled as Manuja), Ambika and Siddhayini (labelled as Sarasati) could distinctly be identified on account of their iconographic features.

The first *Yakṣī* Vahurupini (Bahurupini—Cunningham), accompanied by a boar as *vāhana*, holds a sword, a shield and a water-vessel in her three surviving hands.¹⁰ In the Digambara texts, Vahurupini, the *Yakṣī* of the 20th Jina Munisuvrata, is conceived with a sword, a shield, a fruit and the *varada-mudrā* in hands and riding a black cobra.¹¹ Thus the present figure concurs with the Digambara tradition in respect of attributes only.

The second *Yakṣī* Camunda (Camura—Cunningham), accompanied by *makara-vāhana*, weilds the *varada-mudrā*, a *musala* (or *mudgara*), a cup and a water-vessel. The Digambara works invariably visualize the four-armed Camunda, the *Yakṣī* of the 21st Jina Naminatha, as riding on a *makara* and holding a *daṇḍa*, a *kheṭaka*, a rosary and a *khadga*.¹² The present figure agrees with the Digambara tradition only as to the *vāhana* and the attribute, *mudgara* (or *daṇḍa*).

⁸ The Digambara list of the 24 *Yakṣīs* include : Cakresvari, Rohini, Prajnapti, Vajrasrṅkhala, Purusadatta, Manovega, Kali, Jvalamalini, Mahakali, Manavi, Gauri, Gandhari, Vairotya (or Vairoti), Anantamati, Manasi, Mahamanasi, Jaya, Taravati (or Vijaya), Aparajita, Bahurupini, Camunda, Ambika, Padmavati and Siddhayini.

⁹ Jain, Niraj, 'Patian-Dai Mandir Ki Murti Aur Caubis Jina Sasanadeviyan', *Anekanta*, year 16, No. 3, August 1963, p. 101 ; Tiwari, M.N.P., *Jaina Pratiṣṭhā-maṃjari*, Varanasi, 1981, p. 161.

¹⁰ The attributes here and elsewhere are reckoned clock-wise starting from the lower right hand.

¹¹ *krśṇanagasamarudha devata bahurupini/khetam khadgam phalam dhatte hema-varṇa caturbhujā—Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṃgraha* 5.61-62 ; *yaje kṛśṇahigam khetaka-phalakhadgavarottaram—Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* 3.174.

¹² *camunda yastikhetaksasutrakhadgotkata harit/makarastharcyate pancadasa-dandonnatesabhak—Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* 3.175.

The third *Yakṣī* Sarasati, joined by the *vāhana* peacock, is shown with *varada-mudrā*, a manuscript and a *vīṇā* in her three surviving hands. The *Yakṣī* is identifiable with Siddhayini, the *Yakṣī* of the 24th Jina Mahavira, on account of her attributes, manuscript and *vīṇā*.¹³

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

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

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

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

¹³ Tiwari, Maruti Nandan Prasad, *Elements of Jaina Iconography*, p. 58-62.

¹⁴ *devi padmavati namna raktavarnam caturbhujā/padmasanankusam dhatte aksasutram ca pankajam/athava sadbhujā devi caturvimsati sadbhujā—Pratisthasarasamgraha* 5.67-68 ; *yestum kurkatasarpagatriphanakottamsadvisoyata sat/pasadih sadasatkrte ca dhrtasankhaspadido astaka—Pratisthasaroddhara* 3.174.

¹⁵ *simhasana caturbahurvajracakraphaloragah/tejovati svarnavarna namna sa vijayamata—Aparajitaprccha* 221.32.

¹⁶ *jayadevi suvarṇabha kṛsnasukaravahana/sankhasicakrahastasaṁ varadadharma-vatsala—Pratisthasarasamgraha* 5.55. Also : *Pratisthasaroddhara* 3.171.

¹⁷ *tathanantamati hemavarna caiva/caturbhujā/capam banam phalam dhatte varada hamsavahana—Pratisthasarasamgraha* 5.49. Also : *Pratisthasaroddhara* 3.168.

The eighth *Yakṣī* Vairota (Vairata—Cunningham), provided with *nāga vāhana*, shows the *varada-mudrā*, a snake, a snake and a water-vessel. Vairotya (or Vairoti), the *Yakṣī* of the 13th Jina Vimalanatha, in Digambara works, is likewise conceived with snake as mount and holding snakes in two hands and a bow and an arrow in the remaining ones.¹⁸

The ninth *Yakṣī* Gauri, traditionally associated with the 11th Jina Sreyamsanatha, in conformity with the Digambara *dhyānas* rides a deer with one arm in *varada*, and the rest holding a lotus, a lotus and a water-vessel.¹⁹

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

The 11th *Yakṣī* Kali, associated with the seventh Jina Suparsvanatha, in accordance with the Digambara texts, rides a bull and shows the *varada-mudrā*, a trident, a *ghaṇṭā* and a watervessel in hands.²²

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

¹⁸ vairoti namatau devi haridvarna caturbhujah/hastadvayena sarpau dvau dhatte ghanasavahana—*Pratisthasarasamgraha* 5.42. Also : *Pratisthasaroddhara* 3.167.

¹⁹ However, the texts envisage *mudgara* in place of a lotus. padmahasta suvarnabha gauridevi caturbhujaj/inendrasasane bhakta varada mrgavahana—*Pratisthasarasamgraha* 5.38 ; samudgarabjakalasam varadam kanakaprabham—*Pratisthasaroddhara* 3.165.

²⁰ devi tatha mahakali vinita kurmavahana/savajramudgara (krsna) phalahasta caturbhujaj—*Pratisthasarasamgraha* 5.34. Also : *Pratisthasaroddhara* 3.163.

²¹ caturbhujaj krsnavarna vajra gadavarabhayah—*Aparajitaprccha* 221.23.

²² However, the texts envisage fruit in place of a water vessel and even trident is sometimes replaced by a spear. sitagovrsabharudha kalidevi caturbhujaj/ghanatatrissulasamyuktaphalahastavaraprada—*Pratisthasarasamgraha* 5.30 ; sita govrsaga ghanam phalasulavaravrtam—*Pratisthasaroddhara* 3.161.

visualized as four-armed and riding an elephant with the *varada-mudrā*, a disc, a *vajra* and a fruit in hands.²³

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

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

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

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

²³ *devi purusadatta ca caturhastagajendraga/rathangavajrasastrasau phalahasta varapada—Pratisthasarasamgraha* 5.25 ; *gajendragavajraphalodyacakravaraṅga hasta—Pratisthasaroddhara* 3.160. Also : *Aparajitapreccha* 221.19.

²⁴ *prajnapiiirdevata sveta sabbhujapaksivahana/ardhenduparasum dhatte phala-sristavarapada—Pratisthasarasamgraha* 5.20 ; *paksisthardhenduparasuphalasidhivaraiḥ sita—Pratisthasaroddhara* 3.158 ; *abhyavaradaphalacandram parasurutpalam—Aparajitapreccha* 221.17.

²⁵ The Digambara works, however, envisage *matulinga* in one other hand. *vame cakresvari devī sthapyadvadasasadbhuja / dhatte hastadvayevajre cakrani ca tathastasu/ekena bijapuram tu varada kamalasana/caturbhujathava cakram dvayorgaruda vahanam—Pratisthasarasamgraha* 5. 15-16. Also : *Pratisthasaroddhara* 3.156.

²⁶ *astapadam samarudha devī namna'parajita / phalasikhetahastasau haridvarna caturbhujā—Pratisthasarasamgraha* 5.59 ; *śarabhastharcyate khetaphalasivarayuk harit—Pratisthasaroddhara* 3.173.

provided with a peacock as *vāhana* and a fruit, a snake (or a mace), a *cakra* and the *varada-mudrā* as attributes.²⁷

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

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

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

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

²⁷ sumahamanasi devi hemavarna caturbhujā / phalahicakrahastāsau varada sikhi-vahana—*Pratisthasarasamgraha* 5.53 ; cakraphaledhirankitakaram mahamanasim suvarṇabham—*Pratisthasaroddhara* 3.170.

²⁸ *Pratisthasarasamgraha* 5.53 ; nirvanim devim gauravarnam padmasanam caturbhujam pustakotpalayuktadaksinakaram kamandalukamalayuta vamaḥastam ceti—*Nirvanakalika* 18.16.

²⁹ sapadmamusalambojadana makaraga harit—*Pratisthasaroddhara* 3.166.

³⁰ devata manasi namna sadbhujavidumaprabha/vyāghravahanamarudha nityam dharmanuragini—*Pratisthasarasamgraha* 5.51 ; sambujadhanudanamkusasarot-pala vyāghraga pravalanibha—*Pratisthasaroddhara* 3.169.

is known as the *Yakṣī* of the eighth Jina Candraprabha. She is visualized as eight-armed and riding a buffalo with an arrow, a disc, a trident, a noose, a bow, a fish, a sword and the *carma* in her hands.³¹

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

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

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

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

³¹ jvalini mahisarudha devi sveta bhujastaka / kandamcakramtrisulam ca dhatte pasam ca mu(ka)sam—*Pratisthasarasamgraha* 5.32 ; candrojjvalam cakrasarasa-pasa carmatrisulesujhasasihastam—*Pratisthasaroddhara* 3.162

³² manavi ca haridvarna jhasahastacaturbhujah / krsnasukarayanastha phalahastavaraprada—*Pratisthasarasamgraha* 5.36.

³³ turangavahana devi manovega caturbhujā / varada kancana chaya siddhasiphalakayudha—*Pratisthasarasamgraha* 5.28 ; manovega saphalakaphalakhadg-vararcyate—*Pratisthasaroddhara* 3.161.

³⁴ varada hamsamarudha devata vajrasrnkhala / nagapasaksa sutroruphalahasta caturbhujā—*Pratisthasarasamgraha* 5.22-23. Also : *Pratisthasaroddhara* 3.159 ; *Aparajitaṭṭhā* 221.18.

that much of concordance with the tradition. Of the 24 *Yakṣīs*, 14 in the image under discussion fully agree with the textual prescriptions in respect of their names, *vāhanas* and distinguishing attributes.³⁵ The names of Manasi, Mahamanasi, Jaya, Padmavati and Anantamati although correspond with the traditional list, yet their iconography differ from the known *dhyānas*, e.g. Padmavati and Anantamati ride respectively a lion and a peacock (and lion) instead of *kukkuṭa-sarpa* and *hamsa*. It, thus, appears that these figures were probably carved on the basis of some such tradition which is now lost to us. Siddhayika (or Siddhayini), on account of her closeness with Sarasvati, is called Sarasati, and hence rides a peacock, in place of a lion. Prajnapti, although labelled as Prajapati agrees with the tradition in respect of *paraśu* only. The rendering of *hamsa* with Prajapati is suggestive of her association with Brahma by virtue of her name. Another *Yakṣī* Manuja may be identified with Manovega on the testimony of horse *vāhana* and sword and shield in hands. The figure of a *Yakṣī* with *gaja-vyāla-vāhana*, however, remains unidentified. Thus the unidentified *Yakṣī* and Anantamati, carved twice, leave Rohini and Manavi, respectively the second and the tenth *Yakṣīs*, unrepresented.

³⁵ Cakresvari, Vajrasrnkhala, Purusadatta, Kali, Jvalamalini, Mahakali, Gauri. Gandhari, Vairotya, Vijaya, Aparajita, Baburupini, Camunda and Ambika. Though the name of Cakresvari is not inscribed, yet the features make her identification doubtless. The names of *Yaksis*, which in most of the cases are erroneous, suggest that the engraver was an illiterate person.

Kautilya—A Follower of Jainism

BINOD KUMAR TIWARY

The end of Nanda dynasty and installation of Mauryas on the political scene of ancient India may be credited to Kautilya, who uprooted the rule of the former and succeeded in making Candragupta Maurya the ruler of Magadha. Kautilya¹ was one of the strongest prime minister in ancient India, who not only framed certain rules and regulations for the coming generations, but laid them down in his famous book the *Arthaśāstra*. So far the religious belief and leanings of Kautilya is concerned, both Buddhist and Jainas take him in their own fold. But if we go through all aspects of his life, it would be clear to us that he was more attached to Jainism than any other cult prevailing in Northern India during the 4th century B.C.

The ancient Jaina text *Avasyakacūṛṇī* not only regards Kautilya as a Jaina follower, but preserves his life in detail as well. According to it, he was born in a devout Jaina Brahmin family in B.C. 472. The name of his father was Canaka or Cani and his mother was Canesvari² who lived in a village called Canaya³ in the *Viṣaya* or district known as Golla.⁴ They ancestrally belonged to Brahmin caste, but were Jaina *śrāvakas* from the religious side.⁵ Even today, we find several families in South India, who are Brahmins by caste but traditionally are followers of Jaina cult.⁶

The Buddhists give a very interesting legend regarding the birth of Kautilya. It has been narrated that he was born with all his teeth in his mouth.⁷ As his father was a Jaina *śrāvaka*, many Jaina *śramanas* used

¹ He is also known as Canakya and Visnugupta in contemporary and other texts.

² *Avasyakacūṛṇī*, p. 563.

³ *Avasyakasutra vṛtti*, p. 433 ; *Parisistaparvana*, 8. 194.

⁴ Cf. R. K. Mookherjee, *Candragupta Maurya and His Times*, p. 232.

⁵ *Parisistaparvana*, chap. VIII, verse 105.

⁶ J. P. Jain, *Pramukh Aitihasik Jain Purus aur Mahilayen*, pp. 34-35.

⁷ *Mahavansa*, *gathas* 68-69.

to come to his house and at the time of his birth, they were present in the house of Cani. He asked the *śramaṇas* to forecast the future of the boy. They told him that the newly born child would be a distinguished and famous person. Later on when he became the prime minister of Candragupta Maurya,⁸ their forecast came to be true. Acarya Hari-bhadra Suri has given more attention to the life of Canakya. He says that the presence of the Jaina *śramaṇas* at Canakya's house at the time of his birth indicates that his parents were followers of the same cult.⁹ The *Āvaśyakacūrṇī*, while narrating his life shows that he was given fourteen types of education and became a *śrāvaka* during his youth. Hemacandra, the author of *Parīṣiṣṭaparvāna* has mentioned the Jaina pontiff Sambhutavijaya calling Kautilya '*saṅghopāsaka*'. He honours Canakya with the title like '*pravacanopahāsa bhīru*'¹⁰, '*saṅghapuruṣa*'¹¹ and '*nirjarodyāta*',¹² which are generally used for a member of *śravaka saṅgha*. He further says that it was Cankaya, who converted Candragupta Maurya to Jainism and before accepting this new faith, there was a discussion between the king and the prime minister and Canakya convinced Candragupta of the Jaina principles and ethics which he then gladly accepted.¹³

A story of the last days of Canakya throws some light also on his religious belief. It is said that during the ripe old age of his life, Kautilya was falsely charged of murdering the king's mother. When he felt that he has fallen in disrespect in the palace, he passed on his post to his disciple Radhagupta, took *munidīkṣā* and started starving himself to death like a true Jaina.¹⁴ The *Bhatta Painṇā*,¹⁵ *Santhāra Painṇā*¹⁶ and *Marāṇa Painṇā*¹⁷ confirm this event of Kautilya's life.

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

⁸ Kautilya lived with Candragupta Maurya for about twentyfive years, (*J.S.B.* Vol. XVII, pt. I, p. 12)

⁹ *Upadesapada*, v. 9.

¹⁰ *Parīṣiṣṭaparvāna*, chapter VIII, verse 405.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, verse 411.

¹² *Ibid.*, verse 458.

¹³ *Ibid.*, verse 434.

¹⁴ *Upadesapada*, *gathas* 151-172.

¹⁵ *gatha*, 162.

¹⁶ *gatha*, 73-75.

¹⁷ *gatha*, 569.

which in Kanarese means 'white pond'. In the inscriptions found there, the place has been called Dhavalasarasa, which also means 'white lake'.¹⁸

The famous book of Kautilya *Arthaśāstra* also shows the inclination of its writer to the Jaina faith. The text mentions gods like Aparajita, Apratihata, Jayanta and Vaijayanta,¹⁹ which remind us of the four gods Aparajita, Vijaya, Jayanta and Vaijayanta of the Jaina text *Samavāyaṅga*. Kautilya is also shown as advising the king to prohibit the slaughter of animals for all four months of the rainy seasons during the period of *Cāturmāsya*.²⁰ The four months²¹ are the same in which the Jaina monks keep themselves confined to certain place to avoid any type of *himsā*. Prohibiting animal slaughter during *Cāturmāsya* by Kautilya also shows his inclination towards the religion of the Jinās. Besides, it is natural that if Candragupta Maurya accepted, followed and propagated Jainism, his prime minister might be a follower of the same religion. The ancient Indian history is full of examples of other dynasties and periods.

¹⁸ C. J. Shah, *Jainism in Northern India*, p. 138.

¹⁹ *Arthashastra*, II, 4.17.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, XIII, 5.

²¹ These four months are almost covered by the Christian months of July, August September and October.

Yatis and Vratyas

J. C. SIKDAR

(from the previous issue)

Classification of the Vrātyas

The *Pāṇcavimsa Brāhmaṇa* makes mention of the following classes of the Vratyas, viz. Kanisthas⁵⁰ or Hinas, the libidinous class who did not observe *brahmacharya* (continence), or carried on agriculture or trade,⁵¹ but deteriorated “by staying in Vrati settlement.⁵² They were further sub-divided into two classes, viz. the Arhantas (saints) and Yaudhas (warriors) probably corresponding to the Sramanas and Ksatriyas.⁵³ The Arhant class of the Vratyas consisted of the Sadhakas and Sadhus (practiser of austerity and ascetics) as is clearly indicated by the connotation of the word ‘Arhant’. It is to be noted that the word ‘Arhant’ is used for the Jaina Tirthankaras or the Buddha of the Sramanic tradition to which the Jainas and the Bauddhas belong. So it can be suggested that there was a close relation of the Sadhakavarga (ascetic class) of the Vratyas with the Sramanic tradition as is indicated by this word ‘Arhant’. The Yaudha class of the Vratyas was the Rajanyavarga corresponding to the ruling caste of the Aryan community. Another class of the Vratyas was the Garagira (swallowers of poison) “to whom commoners’ victuals taste like Brahmana’s food, who though not consecrated, speak the tongue of the consecrated and yet call what is easy of utterance difficult to utter.”⁵⁴ That is to say, Sanskrit was not their dialect, so it appeared difficult for them to pronounce Sanskrit learnt by them under the influence of the Vedic Aryans. This particularity is not only marked in the case of the Garagira Vratyas but is found in the case of the general class of the Vratyas. Another class of the Vratyas was represented

⁵⁰ *Pāṇcavimsa Brāhmaṇa*, XVII. 3.2.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, XVII. 1.2.

⁵² Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture*, p. 39.

⁵³ See *Pāṇcavimsa Brāhmaṇa*, XVII. 52-53 ; cf. XVII. 1.2.

⁵⁴ *Pāṇcavimsa Brāhmaṇa*, XVII. 1.9.

by the *sama-nica-medhras*⁵⁵ or Jyesthas, “those whose *medhra* (penis) hangs low through control of (sexual ?) passion.”⁵⁶ They also lived in the Vratī settlement. They may be the worshippers of *sama-nica-medhra* and the practisers of Yoga, according to A. P. Karmakar.⁵⁷

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

Home of the Vratyas

It is difficult to determine the original home of the Vratyas with certainty, but it is suggestive by their wandering habits that they were possibly western tribes beyond Sarasvatī.⁶⁰ According to the literary evidences, it is possible to locate their settlement in the east particularly in Magadha⁶¹ because of their association with its people. The Magadhans have been mentioned in the *Sūtras*⁶² as a people, the wandering bands of which had a tendency to go to western lands from the east. The *Kausitaki Āraṇyaka*⁶³ states that Madhyama Pratibodhiputra is a resident of Magadha (Magadhavasin), while in the *Atharvaveda*⁶⁴ Magadha is stated to be related with the Vratyas.

⁵⁵ *Pancavimsa Brahmana*, XVII. 4.1.

⁵⁶ *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture*, p. 39.

⁵⁷ *Pancavimsa Brahmana*, XVII. 4.1. See *Vratyas in Ancient India*, p. 53.

⁵⁸ *sthavirad-apeta-prajñāna ye te sama-nica-medhra, Latyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, VIII. 6.4.

⁵⁹ *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture*, p. 44.

⁶⁰ Dr. Radhakrishna Choudhury, *Vratyas in Ancient India*, p. 16.

⁶¹ *sarve vratya purvoktāni vatyadhanabhi dadyuh, LSS*, VIII. 6. 28. *magadha-desiyaya brahmavandhave daksinakale vratya-magadhadesanivasin, KSS*, XXII. 4. 24 ; cf. *Der Vratya*, pp. 6, 7, 96-97. 163.

⁶² *BDS*-1.2, 13 ; *BSS*-XX. 13 ; *ASS*-XXII, 6. 18 ; *HSS*-XVIII-6 ; *ZDMG*-56. 553 ; *AA*-ii. 1.1. ; Keith, *AA*-200., *SA* 46 note 4. Vide *Vratyas in Ancient India*, p. 16, f.n. 34.

⁶³ *Kausitaki Aranyaka*, VII. 13. This is not mentioned in earlier *Aitareya Aranyaka*. Oldenberg regards this as usual ; cf. p. 400, note ; cf. Weber, *Indian Literature*, p. 112 Note. Vide *Vratyas in Ancient India*, p. 17.

⁶⁴ *śraddha pumsali motro magadho vijñānam vaso aharusnisam, AV*. 15. 2.5.

Magadha is regarded by both *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*⁶⁵ and *Lātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*⁶⁶ as the main centre of the Vratyas and their culture. But this region was held in contempt by the Vedic Aryans. According to them, Magadha,⁶⁷ Anga, etc. were considered as impure lands of the Non-Aryans lying at the outer land of the Aryan territory (i.e. old Aryavarta).

It should be noted in this connection that Magadha was intimately associated with the Ajivikas,⁶⁸ the Bauddhas⁶⁹ and the Jainas⁷⁰ and their sramanic culture at a certain period of ancient India as it is evidenced by the ascetic life and activity of Gosala Mankhaliputra, the Ajivika leader, and Ajivika caves of Barbar hills, the Buddha's attainment of Bodhi and his religious activity and that of Mahavira in this region.

No Vedic followers liked to maintain the relation with the Vratya culture at later periods of Indian civilization when they consolidated their position in the social life of Aryavarta, probably due to its anti-Vedic Sramanic aspect prevailing in a land beyond the Aryandom among the non-Vedic people, as is clearly indicated by the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*⁷¹ in its reference to Magadha's association with the Vratya culture.

The Cult of the Vratyas

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

⁶⁵ KSS, XII. 4.24.

⁶⁶ LSS, VII. 6.28.

⁶⁷ AV, V. 22. 14. ; JBORS-XXIV, pt. 3, pp. 107-8.

⁶⁸ See *Bhagavati*, 15th Sataka ; Ajivika caves at Barbara Hills donated by King Dasaratha.

⁶⁹ The Buddha attained *Bodhi at Gaya* which is in Magadha. Rajagrha and Nalanda, the two main centres of the religious activities of the Buddhists are lying in Magadha.

⁷⁰ Mahavira passed some parts of his ascetic life at Nalanda in Magadha. His religious activities centred much at Rajagrha in Magadha as evidenced by the *Bhagavati Sutra* that he appeared there more than 60 times to deliver his religious sermons to the people.

⁷¹ *magadhayam visvasphatika-samjino'anyan varnan karisyanti...saurastravanti sudranarvuda marubhumi—visayamsca vratya dvijabhira-sudradyah bhoksayanti sindha tatadarvikovim-candrabhaga kashmira-visayan vratyo' mlecchadayah sudra bhoksyanti, Visnupurana, 4. 24. 18, p. 585.*

⁷² *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture*, pp. 41-42.

a well-organized human society of eastern India with a distinct language, culture, civilization, customs and behaviour which were, different from those of the Vedic Aryans. They were the non-Vedic people having their own religion and philosophy. The religious sect of the Vratyas might have been related to the Indus Valley Civilization⁷³ as is suggested by some archaeological evidences, such as seals having the image of a god seated in an attitude of yoga and with *urdhva medhra* ;⁷⁴ it is come across that the ancient people was unfamiliar with the Agnihotra cult of the Vedic tradition when the Brahmanas used to practise this cult prior to the sunrise every day.⁷⁵

It is known from all works on the Vratyas that they were entirely inexperienced in the observance of the Agnihotra cult.⁷⁶

The Vratyas were the opposers of Vedic customs of religion, etc. and were the renouncers of the rules of violent sacrificial performances of the Vedic followers as is indicated in the *Atharvaveda*.⁷⁷ In the *prasnopaniṣad*⁷⁸ the Vratyas have no doubt been praised. As pointed out, the Vratyas were uninitiated and unreformed by the Vedic customs, for they had no Brahmanical discipline.⁷⁹

In the beginning the Vratyas had no Vaisya class among them as is suggested by the reference to two groups of them, viz. Arhant and Yaudha. But later on it appears that they were divided as Vratya Brahmana Vratya Ksatriya, and Vratya Vaisya⁸⁰ and they appeared to have mixed up with different elements of the society.

⁷³ *Ibid*, p. 44. ; *Pamcavimsa Brahmana* (XVII. 4.1.) mentions *sama-nica-medhra* as one of the sect of the Vratyas.

⁷⁴ *Atharvaveda*, 15. 2.

⁷⁵ *athatah sayamannam pratardanamantaramagnihotramityacaksate yavadvai puruso bhasate na tatvat pranitum saknoti pranain tada vaci juhotti yavadvai purusah praniti ... purve vidvamso agnihotram juhavamcakruh—Kausitaki Upanisad*, 2.5.

⁷⁶ *JBORS*, XXIV, Pt. 3, pp.107-8. Vide *Vratyas in Ancient India*, p. 27.

⁷⁷ *Atharvaveda*, 15th Kanda.

⁷⁸ *vratyastvam pranaikarsiratta visvasya satpatih, Prasnopanisad*, 2. 11.

⁷⁹ *viijatayah suvarnasu janayannavratamstuyan tansavitripribhrastan vratyaniiti vinirdiseta, Manusamhita*, X-20. *savarnasu ca esam (varnesam) acaritavratebhyo jata vratyas iti anulomah*. Cf Kautilya. Vide *Vratyas in Ancient India* p. 29.

⁸⁰ *vratyas tu jayate vipratpapatma bhujakantakah avantya vatadhanauca pursapayah saika eva ca—Manu X. 21. vaisya tu jayate vratyastudhanvacarya eva ca karusasca vijanma ca maitrah satvata eva ca—Manu X. 23. atah .urdhve trayo'apyete yathakalam samskrtah savitri patita vratyas bhavanyarya vigarhitah —Manu II 39.*

It is to be noted that the names of the Mallas and Licchavis are come across in the *Manusmṛiti* among the Ksatriyas who have been regarded as Vratyas.⁸¹

As already observed, the eulogy and glorification of Ekavratya⁸² have been made throughout the entire fifteenth *kaṇḍa* of the *Atharvaveda*. This Ekavratya was infused with a serenity and loftiness and had later on, according to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, developed into Rudra-Siva⁸³ who "had a close connection with the Vratyas"⁸⁴ as is indicated by the attributes given to him, such as Mahādeva Isana,⁸⁵ etc.

The God Siva shown on the seal illustrated in plate XII of "Mahenjodaro and the Indus Civilization" is, according to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, doubtless a prototype of the historic Siva with his three faces, seated in an attitude of *yoga* and with *urdhva-medhra* clearly exhibited.⁸⁶ In the Sivamudra of Mahenjodaro the pair of horns which is found meeting in a tall head dress on the head of Siva crowning his head may be the representation of *uṣṇīsa* of Ekavratya-Rudra-Siva in another form as mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*.⁸⁷

Pumscali (harlot), Magadha,⁸⁸ etc. also are found to be associated with the Vratyadeva. But no relation of the Vratyas has developed with the Vedic God. Therefore, it may be accepted that the form of worship of the Vratyas has perhaps originated from the Vratya cult on the basis of the thoughts and ideas conceived by the Vratyas themselves.

It seems that the *Brāhmaṇas* did not first accept the *Atharvaveda* in the list of the *Vedas* because of its relation with the Vratyas as it is clearly indicated by the evidence that the *Vedas* were counted by mentioning *Vedatrayam*—the *Rk*, *Yaju* and *Sama*,⁸⁹ leaving aside the

⁸¹ *jhallo mallasca rajanyad vratya licchavirevaca natsca karanascaiva khasau dravida eva ca*—*Manu* X. 22.

⁸² *vratya asidiyamana eva sa prajapatim samairayat sa ekavratyo abhavat*, etc. *AV*, 15th *Kanda*, 1-6.

⁸³ *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture*, pp. 40-48.

⁸⁴ Bhandarkar, *Collected Works*, IV, 147-76. Vide *Vratyas in Ancient India*, p. 38.

⁸⁵ *so avardhata sa mahanabhavat sa mahadevo abhavat sa devanamisam paryat sa isano abhavat* etc. *AV*, 15th *Kanda* 1-15.

⁸⁶ *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture*, p. 41.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁸⁸ *sraddha pumscali matro magadho vijnanam . . . pravarlan kalmalirmahih*, *AV*, 15.2.5

usah pumscati mandri magadho . . . AV, 15.2.13.

⁸⁹ *ara iva-rathanabhau prane sarvam pratisthitam rco yajumsi samani yajnah ksatram, brahma ca*—*Prasnopanisad* 116.

Atharvaveda,. It was after a good deal of struggle that the *Atharvaveda* came to be recognised as the fourth *Veda*.⁹⁰

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

As already pointed out, one class of the Vratyas, viz. Garagira (poison swallower) may be associated with the Saivites directly,—as Siva is known as Nilakantha. According to the Puranic tradition, poison which emerged from the mouth of Vasuki in the course of churning of the sea by the gods and the asuras for nectar was swallowed by Siva to save the world from the poisonous effect as a result of which his throat became bluish.⁹¹ Thus it may be inferred that these Vratyas had inseparable relation with the Saiva *paramparā*.

It seems that Saiva *paramparā* and Sramanic *paramparā* of the Arhants of the Vratyas had mutually some similar features in the early stage of their culture because the spirit of both the *paramparās* appears to be one and the same. Both the sects are mainly based on the vows of austerity, non-violence, *yoga*, nudity,⁹² etc.

According to my revered teacher, Dr. H. L. Jain there is possibility of the identification of Rsabhadeva, the first Tirthankara with Siva and they appear to be one and the same divine personality.⁹³ Therefore, a close relationship of the Vratyas with the Sramanas is indicated on the basis of the culture of the Vratyas on the one hand and that of the Vedic Aryans on the other.

Dr. H. L. Jain⁹⁴ holds the view that the Vratyas were the monks and householders of Sramanic tradition who became the object of wrath of

⁹⁰ *Atharvaveda* is called after particular priest.

(a) *Atharvanangirasah-TB*. III 12 ; 9.1 ; *PB XVI* 10-10, *SB-XVI* 1. 10.10

(b) *Bhrgu angirasah Kausika* 63.3 ; 94.2-4 ; 137, 25 ; 139, 6, *Gopatha B*, 1.1.39; 2-18 ; 3.1.2.4 ; *AV. V.* 19.1.2. (*Bhrgum himsitva* etc.)

(c) *Ksrtaveda-SB-XIV*, 8-14, 1-4 ; *Brh. Upn. V.* 18.1.4 ; *Parsnopanisad*, II.6.

(d) *Brahmadeva*, Sgs-1.16.3., vide *Vratyas in Ancient India*, p. 32.

⁹¹ *Siva Purana*.

⁹² *Bharatiya Samskr̥tīmen Jainadharmā ka Yogdan*, pp. 16-17.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

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

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁹⁶ *vratyastvam pranaika rsiratta visvasya satpatih*, *Prasnopanisad*, 2. 11.

⁹⁷ Vide *Bharatiya Samskr̥timen Jainadharma ka Yogdan*, p. 19.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

A Note on Vasunandi And His Date

HAMPA NAGARAJAYYA,

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

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

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

Ramacandra Mumuksu (RM) the author of *Puṇyāśrava Kathākoṣa* (PKK) also mentions Vasunandi, and describes him as a versatile in Jainology, a *māsopavāsīn* (a person who could fast for a month), who was prominent among the learned, and for whom virtues were ornaments

(verse 6, *Granthakāra Praśasti*, RM, PKK, 2nd. ed. 1978, p. 338). Late Dr. A. N. Upadhye, has very rightly pointed out in his useful introduction to PKK that :

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

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

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

*paḍigahamuccatthaṇam pādedayamaccaṇamca paṇamam ca
maṇavayaṇa kāyasuddhi esaṇasuddhi ya danavihi 255*

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

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

One more evidence is there in support of this conclusion. *Vaddara-dhane* (VA), an anthology of 19 stories, is a popular Jaina prose work

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

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

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

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

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

Jaina Sculptures From Anai-Jambad

PRATIP KUMAR MITRA

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

¹ Anai-Jambad is situated at 23 18° North (latitude) and 86 2° (longitude). Cf. Suphal Mondal, *Purulia Pariciti* (in Bengali), Purulia, 1981, p. 59.

² The place is also known as Paresnath or Paresnath Mahadev-Beda.

³ For alternative and shorter routes see, Subhas Mukhopadhyay, "Anai-Jambader Jaina Puraksetra" (in Bengali), *Sraman*, 4th year, 2nd number, Calcutta, 1383 B.S., p. 43 ; *Idem*, "Puruliar Purakirti-12 : Anai-Jambad/Mahadev-Beda" (in Bengali), *Chatrak*, 7th year, 1st number, Purulia, 1383 B.S., pp. 5-6.

⁴ The author is informed that the Sri Sarak Jaina Samiti of Kharkhari, district Dhanbad, Bihar, has restored an old Jaina temple at village Bhangra on the Purulia-Hura Road which houses a fine *caturmukha* shrine, and also preserved three Jaina images at village Polma on the Purulia-Manbazar Road.

⁵ During the author's second visit to Anai-Jambad in December, 1982, he noticed a further Jaina sculpture being added to the collection. This is an image of *Pan-catirthika* variety having representations of four Jinas in *kayotsarga* besides Rsabhanatha, the *mula-nayaka*.

⁶ Brief but excellent notices of these sculptures are provided by Mukhopadhyay in his two articles, *supra*, but these are not accompanied by the photographs of the images.

⁷ Mukhopadhyay, *Sraman*, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

⁸ Except the image of Candraprabha described in the text *infra*.

1. Tirthankara Candraprabha, 44cm × 24cm (fig. 1)

This image, one of the few seated icons of Tirthankara discovered from Purulia district,⁹ was found in damaged condition and subsequently restored. The Jina sits in *padmāsana* with his hands in *dhyāna-mudrā* on a full blown *mahāmbujapīṭha* having a base comprising of five squat supports on which are carved indistinct objects. Crescent, the *lāñchana* of the Jina is depicted on the centre of the lotus seat. The back of the throne is cut roughly along the torso of the central figure and consists of vertical panels topped by horizontal mouldings relieved with short pilasters. Enclosed within these panels, one on either side of the Tirthankara, stand male *caurī*-bearers wearing short lower garments and plain jewellery. The Jina sits under a projected trilinear *chatra* slightly damaged at the front. He has elongated ear-lobes and his hair is arranged in schematic curls with an *uṣṇīṣa*. A semi-circular *śiraścakra* gracefully rimmed with rows of leaves and pear-like beads surrounds his head. The *prabhāvalī* is generously decorated with floral scrolls and creepers, and includes the usual garland bearing *Vidyādhara* couple on the edges. Pairs of heavenly hands playing on drums and cymbals are seen flanking the *chatra*.

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

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

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

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

⁹ Mukhopadhyay, *Chatrak*, op. cit., p. 8.

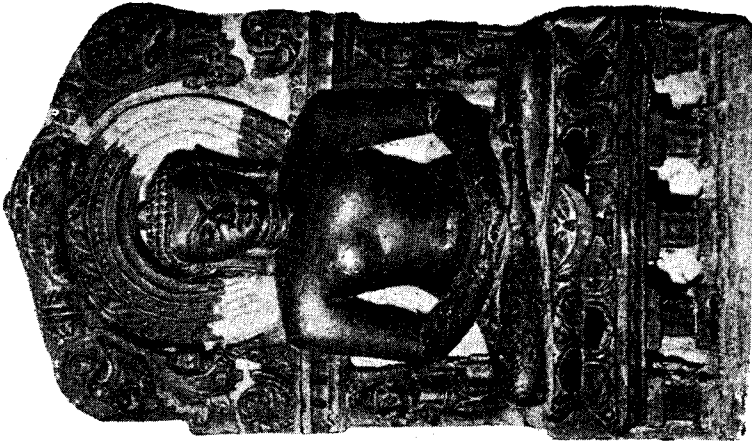


Fig. 1
Tirthankar Chandraprabha

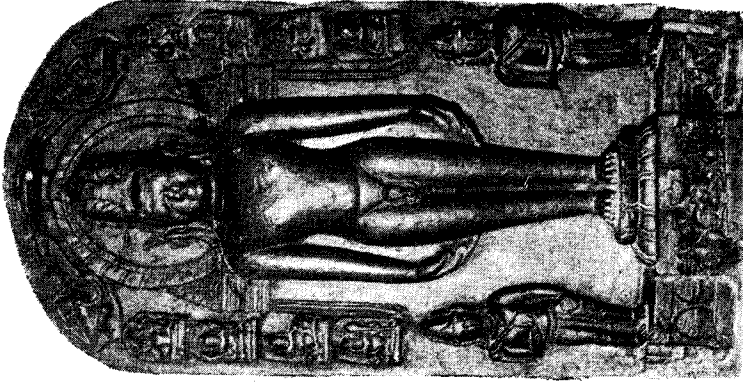


Fig. 2
Tirthankar Rsabhanatha

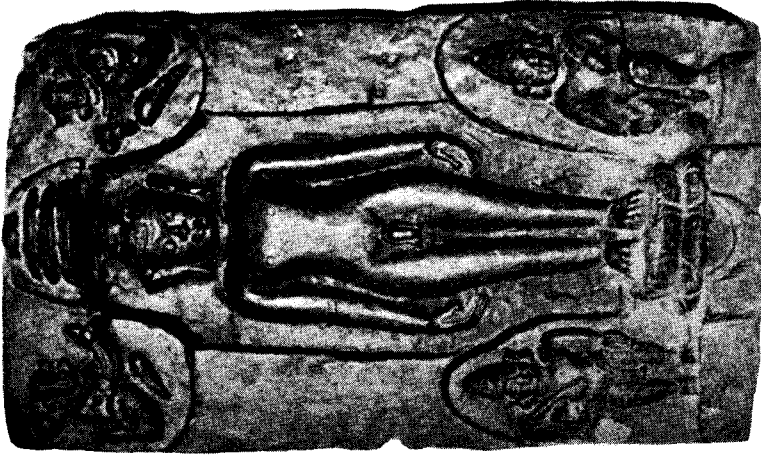


Fig. 5
Tirthankar Chandraprabha

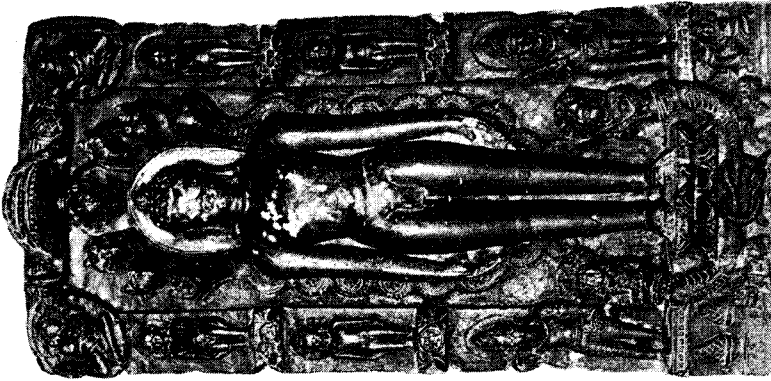


Fig. 4
Tirthankar Parsvanatha

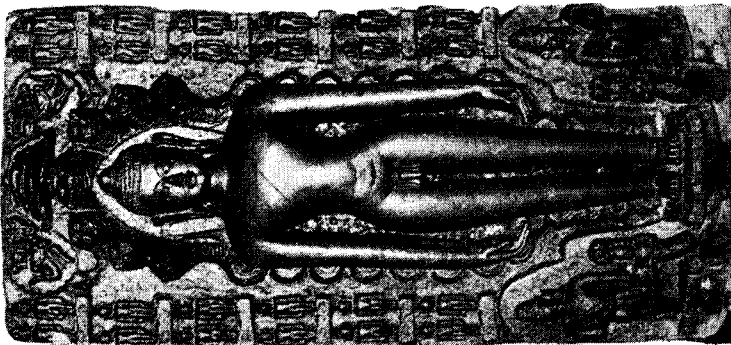


Fig. 3
Tirthankar Parsvanatha

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

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

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

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

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

jection of the *triratha* pedestal bears the *lāñchana*, crescent of the Tirthankara.

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

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

bodily form. It seems that it belongs to a period co-terminus with the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century A.D.

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

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

The sculptural wealth of South-West Bengal as represented or expressed in by the examples of early mediaeval sculptures¹⁰ recovered from this area requires to be treated as a separate entity.¹¹ The region roughly covering the erstwhile district of Manbhum,¹² the district of Bankura,

¹⁰ Dating roughly between 800 A.D. and 1200 A.D.

¹¹ Paresh Chandra Dasgupta, "Pasaner Phul" (in Bengali), *Sraman*, 7th year, 2nd number, Calcutta, 1386 B.S., pp. 35-41.

¹² Presently divided into the districts of Purulia (West Bengal), and Dhanbad (Bihar).

the north-western part of Midnapore, with extensions into the districts of Singhbhum and Ranchi of the Chhotanagpur Division of Bihar, represents a characteristically common trait in the icono-plastic art,¹³ which is somewhat removed from the main-stream of the Pala art.¹⁴ Here, the stone is more coarse grained¹⁵ and occasionally porous offering little scope for metallic sharpness as usually found in the more well known examples of Pala art. In respect of modelling of the body these sculptures are in general more robust and forceful than merely graceful or lyrical.¹⁶ Stylistically, the specimens of this region betrays quite a distinct idiom, a strong remnant of classical tradition mingled with migrating art forms of Varendra, Magadha, and Khiching, held together and inspired by the canonical tradition of the Nirgranthas.

The author would like to express his gratefulness to the President, Sri Sarak Jaina Samiti, Kharkhari, district Dhanbad, Bihar, for kindly permitting him to publish the sculptures under discussion ; to his teacher Sri Santosh Kumar Bose, Head of the Department of Museology, University of Calcutta, for help and guidance while preparing this paper ; to Dr. Atul Chandra Bhowmick, Lecturer of the same Department for having found time to accompany him to Anai-Jambad and helping him with useful suggestions during field work.

The photographs published here are through the courtesy of Sri Sarak Jaina Samiti, Kharkhari, district Dhanbad, Bihar.

¹³ For Jain sculptures discovered from this region see among others, A. Ghosh (Ed.), *Jaina Art and Architecture*, Vol. I., New Delhi, 1974, pp. 155-158, pl's 83A, 84, 92A ; Vol. II, New Delhi, 1975, pp. 263-265, pl's 156A, 158, 159 ; J. D. Beglar, *Report of a Tour through Bengal Provinces in 1872-73*, Archaeological Survey of India Reports, Vol. VIII, Calcutta, 1873 ; D. K. Chakraborty, "A Survey of Jaina Antiquarian Remains in West Bengal", *Brochure on Jaina Art*, Bharat Jain Mahamandala, Calcutta, 1956 ; "Jainism in Bihar", *Jain Journal*, Vol. III, No. 4, Calcutta, 1969, pp. 152-156 ; "Jainism in Bengal", *Ibid*, pp. 162-165 ; D.R. Patil, *The Antiquarian Remains of Bihar*, Patna, 1963 ; H. Coupland, *Bengal District Gazettters, Manbhum*, Calcutta, 1911 ; David J. Mc Cutchion, "Notes on the Temples of Purulia", *District Census Handbook, Purulia, West Bengal*, Calcutta, 1961 ; Debala Mitra, "Some Jaina Antiquities from Bankura, West Bengal", *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Letters*, Vol. XXIV, Calcutta, 1958, pp. 131-134, pl's I-X ; Subhas Mukhopadhyay in a series of articles in Bengali entitled "Puruliar Purakirti" published in *Chatrak*, Purulia, from the 4th number, 3rd year, 1380 B.S., onwards.

¹⁴ See, R. D. Banerjee, *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol. XLVIII, Delhi, 1933, pp. 144-145. Stella Kramrisch has excluded the Chhotanagpur region from the ambit of Pala-Sena art. See her, 'Pala and Sena Sculpture', *Rupam*, Calcutta, October, 1929, p. 109.

¹⁵ R. D. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

¹⁶ Sri P. C. Dasgupta has made a comparison between two Parvati images preserved in the State Archaeological Museum, West Bengal, one hailing from Ambikanagar, Bankura, and the other from West Dinajpur, which illustrate the point well. See Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

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