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AN ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENTS OF THE KĀLAKĀCHĀRYA KATHĀNAKA

BY

B. N. MUKHERJEE

The *Kālakāchārya-Kathānaka* is a well-known cycle of legends found in Jaina scriptures and texts. One of its episodes deals with the quarrel between Kālakāchārya and Gardabhilla, the king of Ujjayini. The important features of this episode, found in different long and short versions, may be enumerated as follows.¹

Kālaka, according to most of the earliest versions², was a son of Vairasimha (variants-Vairasiha, Vajrasimha, Versimha, Vayarasiha³, etc.), the king of Dharāvāsa. He became a Jaina monk and went to Ujjayini where his sister Sarasvatī (called Silamai in one version⁴) also resided in a Jaina convent.

King Gardabhilla (also called Dappana in one edition⁵) of Ujjayini was fascinated by the beauty of Sarasvatī and ravished her. The enraged Kālaka left the city and according to the Long Anonymous Version, travelling “steadily came to the bank called the Scythian bank” (*anavarayam ca gacchanto patto Sagakulam nāma kulam*⁶). In the

1. The story is reconstructed here on the basis of a comparison of different published versions of the text. We have considered the earlier Prakrit and Sanskrit recensions, and not the later renderings in Gujrat or in mixed Sanskrit and Gujarati. For a description of different recensions, see N. Brown, *The Story of Kalaka*, pp. 25-35 and S.M. Nawab, *The Collection of Kālaka Story*, pt.I, pp. 1-32.
2. Op. cit. 37, 71, 87, 93 and 98.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, p. 102. In the *Nisithachurnni* the name of the sister is given as Rupavati (see n. 9).
5. N. Brown, Op. cit, p. 102.
6. N. Brown, Op cit, p. 40.

version of Bhāvadēvsuri it is stated that Kālaka “went to the Scythian bank situated on the other side of the Sindhu” (*Sindhu-parakulammi sagakulam gao muni*⁷) whereas, according to the *Sriviravaky-anumatam* recension, Kālaka “went to the western bank of the Sindhu river” (*surir gata eva Sindhonadyastaṭam Paschimparsvakulam*⁸). The *Nisithachurni*⁹, and the *Kathāvali* of Bhadresvara¹⁰ refer to the destination of Kālaka as the Persian bank (*Parasakulam*).¹¹

In the land in question lived the Sāhi, whose overlord was the Sāhānusāhi (i.e. the king of Kings). Kālaka stayed with the former. To this Sāhi there came a messenger from the Sāhānusāhi, demanding his death as well as that of ninety-five other Shāhis. In order to escape the wrath of their master the Sāhis were advised by Kālaka to go to Hindukadeśa (Mālavadeśa) in one (?) version¹² and the kingdom of Gardabhilla in another.¹³ According to the Long Anonymous Version, the Hindukadesa could be reached by crossing the Sindhu or the Indus.¹⁴

The Sāhis crossed the Indus and came to the land of Surāshtra. There they settled for some time and then proceeded to Ujjayini. The city was besieged and Gardabhilla was ousted. Sarasvatī was re-established in the discipline.

The Sāhis began to rule the conquered land with that Sāhi, to whom Kālaka had resorted, as their overlord. Thus arose the family of the Sagas or Sakas.¹⁵

7. Ibid, p. 89 v. 32. The Pushpamala of Maladhari Sri Hemachandrasuri also states that Kālaka went to the other side of the Sindhu called the Saga bank” (*Sagakulam nama Simdhuparakulam*) (Nawab, op. cit, pt II, p. 27, v. 37).

8. N. Brown, Op. cit, p. 99. V. 34.

9. Nisithachurnni, 10 Uddesa.

10. Bhadresvara, Kathavali (N. Brown, op. cit., p. 102, S.M. Nawab, Op, cit. pt. II, p. 41)

11. N. Brown, Op. cit, p. 102.

12. Haya-Padiniva-Payavo version (N. Brown, Op. cit., p. 974, V. 52; see also S.M. Nawab, Op. cit., pt. II, p. 205, v. 52).

13. Bhadresvara's Kathavali; (N Brown, Op.cit., p. 103; S.M. Nawab, Op.cit., 37).

14. N. Brown, Op.cit., p. 41. See also the version of Vinayachandrasuri (S.M. Nawab, Op.cit., pt. II, p. 97, v. 25).

15. According to the Nisitha-churnni the Sagakula or the Saka family was established in Suratta (i.e Surashtra) during the sojourn of Kālaka and the Shahis in that region.

According to some recensions the Sakas were uprooted by one Vikramāditya.¹⁶ The Long Anonymous Version states that this Viramāditya, who had become the king of Mālava by exterminating the Saka family, established his own era, and that his family was later destroyed by another Saka king, who started his own reckoning when 135 years of the Vikrama had already lapsed.¹⁷

The earliest manuscript of the Long Anonymous Version, the most elaborate of all recensions, is dated in the year 1335 of the Vikrama Samvat,¹⁸ i.e. A.D. 1277/78 or 1278/79. Again, another manuscript of the same recension, dated in following year,¹⁹ contains many copyists' errors,²⁰ and hence indicates that between the date of the original manuscript of this version and that of the present one should be allotted time enough for the accumulation of a number of bad readings, possibly as a result of inaccuracies of succeeding generations of the copyists. It may be noted in this connection that Bhāvadevasūri, who wrote a brief version of the Kālaka story, is known to have flourished about the middle of the 13th century, A.D.²¹

Thus by this time the Kālaka legend had already become well-known in Jaina literary circles. On the other hand, it has been pointed out²² that we should recognise in the name of Vairasimha of Dharāvāsa—described in most of the versions as the father of Kālaka—one of the Vairasimhas of the Paramara family of Khārā or Dhar.²³ Thus the full

16. N. Brown, *Op. cit.*, p. 43, v. 65; p. 90, v. 63 p. 95, v. 31, See also the version of Vinayachandrasuri (S.M. Nawab, *Op cit.*, pt.II, p. 97. v. 25).

17. *Ibid.*, p. 43 vv. 65 and 68-70. Some versions refer to the establishing of the Saka rule 135 years after the time of Vikramaditya (N. Brown, *Op. cit.*, p. 93, v. 64 p. 95, v. 32), but not to the Institution of the Vikram Era.

18. *Ibid.* p. 2.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 2 and 87. Brown notes in one place that Bhavadevasuri flourished in A.D. 1250 (*ibid.*, p 2). And again he states in another place (*ibid.*, p. 87) that the latter lived in samvat 1312 of the Vikrama Era (?)—A.D. 1254-55 or 1255-56.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

23. Brown considers the Vairasimha in question to be Vairasimha II of the Paramara family (*ibid.*, p. 2). However, there is no reason why he should not be identified with Vairasimha I. Brown is probably wrong in thinking that Dhara became the capital of the Paramaras in the time of Vairasimha II. It may have been so from an earlier period (B. C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p. 27).¹⁶ N. Brown, *Op. cit.*, p. 43, v. 65; p. 90, v. 63 p. 95, v. 31, See also the version of Vinayachandrasuri (S.M. Nawab, *Op cit.*, pt.II, p. 97. v. 25).

development of the story cannot have taken place prior to the second quarter of the 9th century A.D., when Vairasimha I began to rule.²⁴

The connotation of the term *Hindukadesa*, as used in the above form of the story, also indicates a late origin for the present state of that legend. Here *Hindukadesa* is placed to the east of the Indus—one version even replaces it by *Mālavadeśa* and another by the kingdom of *Gardabhilla*. Thus the *Hindukadeśa* of our story cannot be identified with *Sindhuka* or *Sindhudeśa*, meaning in pre-Christian and early Christian centuries a land to the west of the Indus.²⁵ The term *Hindukadeśa* may be more favourably compared with the name *Hind*, by which the Muslim chroniclers and geographers of early mediaeval times meant the Indian subcontinent or parts of it to east of the Indus.²⁶

24. Ibid, p. 30. Vairasimha I ruled from c. A.D. 836-37 to c. A.D. 863.

25. The Hou Han-shu indicates that Shen-tu was situated between Kao-fu (on the northwest?), sea (on the south-west or south?) and P'an-ch'i (on the east). It lay on a big river. (Hou han-shu, ch 118, pp. 9-10). Kao-fu was the Kabul area, and the sea was obviously the Arabian Sea. Hence the river was probably the Sindhu or the Indus. Sindhu and Sauvira, mentioned in the Junagarh inscription of Rudradaman, (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VIII, p. 44) were probably situated respectively on the west and east of the Indus. See also B.N. Mukherjee, The Lower Indus Country, book I, ch. II.

26. Ibn Khurdadba, who died in 300 A.H. or A.D. 912, distinguished between Sind and Hind and took Bakar as the first place on the border of Hind. It is clear from the context that this author located Bakar to the east of at least the main channel of the Mihran, i.e. the Indus. He also included the kingdom of Balhara (—of a Rashtrakuta king having the title Vallabha), of Kamrun (Kamarupa), etc. within India. (H.M. Elliot and J. Dowson, The History of India as told by its Own Historians. vol. I, pp. 12-14) which probably means Hind. (For the identification of Bakar, see J. Abbot, Sind—a reinterpretation of the unhappy valley, pp. 60-64).

Ibn Khurdadba probably included in Hind only lands lying to the east of the Indus. One is left with the same impression after reading the Kitabu-l Akaiim of Abu Ishak Al Istakhari, written about the middle of the 10th century A.D. (Elliot and Dowson, op. cit. pp. 26-27; see also the map accompanying the Ashkalu-l Bilad, written in A.H. 589 or A. 1193, ibid. p 32)

The Chaah-nama, the original Arabic version of which was written probably before 136 A. H. (A.D. 753). also distinguished between Sind and Hind, but made Alor capital of both. This indicates that Hind or a part of it was situated near Sind of the Chack-nama. Only a little more than a century prior to the date of the original Chah-nama, Sin-tu was taken by Hsuan-tsang as including a land immediately to the west of the Indus (T. Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, Vol. II, p. 252).

On the other hand, there are certain factors which suggest high antiquity for at least some portions of the Kālaka story. The name *Kālaka* is a celebrated one in Jaina hagiology. It may be pointed out, without entering into the question of plurality of Kālakas,²⁷ that all relevant texts indicate that a Jaina monk of that name was alive in the year 453 of the Vira Era.²⁸ In a stanza appended to three manuscripts of Dharmaprabhasuri's version it is stated that in the same year Kālaka "took (*gahiya*) Sarasvatī."²⁹ This evidence, even though appearing in a comparatively late version,³⁰ may be accepted on the ground of its not being contradicted by any other source at least as a working hypothesis. The Kālaka associated with Sarasvatī should be the same as the brother of the Sarasvatī of our story. In fact, Merutuṅga, though another late authority,³¹ explicitly states that in the year 453 after Vira's *nirvāṇa*, Kālikāchārya (i.e. Kālākāchārya), the uprooter of Gardabhilla, was honoured with the title of *Sūri*,³² hence it is possible that our Kālaka lived in 452 of the Vira Era. Although there is a controversy about the epoch of this era, no existing theory would place the year 453 of that reckoning after the 1st century B.C.³³ or much before it.

Traditional chronology, however, should never be accepted as an independent evidence. Hence the testimony of Ptolemy confirming a part of our story is much more important for our purpose. It states

The word Sind may well be a corruption of the name Sindhu (i.e. Shentu). Hind within which Ibn Khurdadba includes lands lying to the east of the Indus, may also denote in the Chach-nama at least some of the same territory. (Elliot and Dowson, op cit., pp. 136 and 138).

27. N. Brown thinks that the Jaina traditions testify to the existence of the three Kālakas—one dying in the year 376 of the Vira Era, the second flourishing (perhaps becoming a Suri) in the year 453 of that era, and the third living in the year 933 of the same reckoning (Brown op. cit., p 7). U.P. Shah, on the other hand, supports the existence of only one Kālaka living in the 1st century B.C.
28. Brown, op cit., p. 6.
29. Ibid.
30. The earliest known manuscript of the version of Dharmaprabhasuri is dated in samvat 1502. (Ibid, p. 93).
31. Merutuṅga composed the Prabandhacintamani in samvat 1367. (Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, os. vol. IX, p. 147).
32. Ibid, p. 148.
33. For different theories about the epoch of the Vira Era, see H. C. Ray Choudhuri, Political History of Ancient India (5th edition) p. 213, n. 3. See also JBBRAS, os, vol. IX, p. 147.

that after crossing the Singdhu or the Indus Sāhis or the Shāhis entered into Surāshtra (the widest possible geographical limits of which included, as the cumulative evidence of certain sources should indicate, the whole of the Kathiawad peninsula and the adjacent lands to its north as well as a part of the littoral lower Indus area to the east of the Indus³⁴). Hence it can be assumed that within the land of the Sāhis or Shāhis, called Sagakula, was incorporated the coastal portions of modern Sind to the west to the Indus. Again, since these Shāhis crossed the Indus only once, they should have forded its main eastern arm flowing near the Saurāshtra area. In other words, the Indus delta, known to the classical writers as patalene,³⁵ was included in Sagakūla. This interpretation compels us to reject the theories of Konow and Jayaswal, who placed Sagakūla respectively in Sauvira³⁶ and Seistan.³⁷

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34. The Junagadh inscription of c. A.D. 150 refers to Rudradaman I as the lord of inter alia Anartta and Surashtra (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VIII, p. 44) and speaks of Suvisakha as ruling on his behalf the whole of these territories (ibid, p. 45). Since this epigraph also states that Suvisakha repaired the dam of the Lake Sudarshana (ibid.), apparently in the vicinity of Junagadh (JBBRAS, os, vol. XVIII, pp. 47-55; IA, vol. VII, p. 257), this lake must have been either in Anartta or in Surashtra. It also appears from the same source that they were contiguous territories.

The term Surashtra seems to have survived in Sorath, the name of an area in Southern Kathiawad (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 6). This may indicate that at least South Kathiawad was known in some earlier ages as Surashtra (ibid). Anarttapura, referred to in the records of the Maitrakas of Valabhi and identified Vadnagar in the Mehsana district, is considered to be connected with Anartta (Ibid.). So the latter may have included in some earlier periods certain regions to the east of the Little Runn of Cutch and immediately above Kahtiawad (Ibid). It has also been suggested that Anartta may have also incorporated Northern Kathiawad. (Ibid, Bhagwanlal Indraji observed that certain Puranic passages should indicate the inclusion of the whole of Kathiawad within Anartta).

Surastra or Saurashtra seems to have been referred to in classical sources as Syrastrène (Ptolemy, Op. cit. VII, I, 55-61; McCrindle, Ptolemy, p. 140). It appears from a section of the Periplus Maris Erythraei (sec 41) that Syrastrène included the territory now covered by the whole of the Kathiawad peninsula and the adjacent lands to its north as well as a part of the littoral Lower Indus Country to the east of the Indus. Syrastrène, the name of a province of Ptolemy's Indo-Scythia, may also have the wider connotation (Ptolemy, op. cit. VII, 1, 35-61).

35. Strabo, Op. cit., XV, 1 33; Ptolemy, Op. cit. VII, 1, 35.
 36. Journal of the Asiatic Society, Vol XII, p. 18.
 37. Journal of the Behar & Orissa Research Society, Vol. XVIII, p. 233. Brown's equation of Hindukadesa with the Lower Indus Country (Op cit. p. 57) is

In the second or the third quarter of the 2nd century A.D.³⁸ Ptolemy enumerated patalene, Syrastrane and Aberia or Saberia as the provinces of Indo-Scythia several towns situated outside the possible natural limits of any of those three religions.⁴⁰ It appears that Ptolemy extended the ethno-geographical name of Indo-Scythia (i.e. land of the Indian Scythians or Scythians in India) to a larger political division. The latter incorporated the land denoted by the geographical connotation of the term *Indu-Scythia* and also some tracts politically annexed to the territory of some power ruling Indo-Scythia at the time to which Ptolemy's source of information should be dated.

As a tract is not likely to be called after a people until some time after their first settlement in it. Ptolemy's evidence which implies that Aberia or Saberia, Patalene and Syrastrane were known as the lands of the Scythians, should indicate that the Scythian colonisation of these provinces probably started long before the date of his *Geography* or rather that of the source of his information. In fact, the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, a text probably of the 1st century A.D.,⁴¹ locates Scythia in the lower Indus area.⁴² We have also convincing data to suggest that some of the sources of Ptolemy's information may be dated to periods earlier than the beginning of the Christian era.⁴³

The evidence of Ptolemy thus shows that Patalene and Syrastrane began to be inhabited by the Scythians long—even centuries—before the date of his *Geography*, i.e. 2nd or 3rd quarter of the 2nd century A.D. There are precisely two of the three territories indicated in the *kālaka* story to have been colonised by the Sagas or Sakas by the time of Kālaka whom the Jaina hagiology dates not later than the 1st century

wrong; for the latter includes inter alia territories lying even to the west of the Indus.

Konow was also wrong when he suggested that Hindukadesa was the Shen-tu of the Hou han-shu. (S.Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, pt I, pp. LXVII and LXVIII). Hindukadesa was situated on the east of the Indus, whereas Shen-tu incorporated some regions to the west of that river.

38. E H. Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography*, Vol, II pp. 546-547.

39. Ptolemy *Geographika Huphegesis*, VII, 1, 55-61.

40. B.N. Mukherjee, *The Lower Indus Country c. A. D. 1-150* book II, ch. I; see also W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (2nd edn.)

B.N. Mukherjee, op cite. book I, ch.; cf. W.H. Schoff, *Periplus*, p.

41. B.N. Mukherjee, Op.cit., book I, Ch I; W.H. Schoff, *Periplus*.

42. *Periplus*, etc. see 38.

43. W. W. Tarn, Op. cit.

B.C. And as Sakas were certainly Scythians,⁴⁴ the testimony of Ptolemy should land conviction to at least a part of the Kālaka story.

The *Kālākāchāry-Kathānaka* indicates that Sagakūla or Śakakūla (including the area called Patalene (in classical sources) was colonised by the Sakas before their settlement in Surāshṭra. We have noted above that in two versions there appear the name *Paraskula* in place of *Sagakula*. If the relevant portions of these two recensions, like the corresponding sections of other editions, echo events of a period very much earlier than the date of Ptolemy's *Geography* of the 2nd or 3rd quarter of the 2nd century AD., then the terms *Sagakula* and *Parasakula* are not necessarily contradictory. For the "Scythian bank" might also be called the "Persian bank", if it was included within the dominions of an Iranian overlord. We have produced elsewhere sources suggesting hegemony of the Imperial Parthians over the west bank of the Indus in a period of the 2nd and again the 1st century B.C.⁴⁵ And from its situation, the Parthian empire may well have been referred to by an Indian author as a Persian empire. It is also to be noted that the overlord of the Saka Shahis is called a Sahansahi or Shahanushāhi, an Iranian version—probably familiar among the inhabitants of the Indo-Iranian border lands—of the title *Basileos Basileon* appearing on the coins of the Imperial Parthians.⁴⁶

If one accepts the evidence of the Long Anonymous Version as correct in stating that the Vikrama Era was established after the overthrow of Śaka rule in Ujjayinī, the *Kālākāchāry-Kathānaka*'s references to the Sagakūla and probably to the Parthian hegemony over Sagakūla may be dated well within the first half of the 1st century B.C.⁴⁷ However, it must be noted that neither are the earliest examples of the use of the era of 58 B.C. found in the region of Ujjayinī, nor does the name *Vikrama* appear in such instances.⁴⁸ Moreover the story of the Śaka occupation of Ujjayinī before the beginning of the Christian Era is not corroborated by any reliable independent evidence.

44. Sakai or Sacae referred to Strabo and described by him as Scythians (XI, 8.2), were obviously Sakas. See Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Vol, I, No. 2, July, 1966, p. 5.

45. B. N. Mukherjee, The Imperial Parthians in the Lower Indus Country ch. II.

46. W. Wroth, Catalogue of Parthian Coins in the British Museum.

47. See also Konow's remarks in CII, vol. II, pt. I.

48. Ibid.

No doubt, as Konow⁴⁹ and Jayaswal⁵⁰ contended, some Jaina treatises including the *Pattavalis*⁵¹ and the *Theravali* of Merutuṅga⁵² put the rule of the Śakas in Ujjayini before the beginning of the Vikrama Era.⁵³ However, they also place nabhovāhana and Gardabhilla before the Śakas,⁵⁴ and think that Nabhovāhana was the same as Nahapāna of coins and inscriptions. The identification is made virtually certain by the facts that another Jaina work describes the protracted struggle between a Sātavāhana king and Nahavāhana⁵⁵; that the latter name may be variant of the name *Nabhovāhana*, and that the only ruler known to have been involved in such a war and to have borne a name almost similar to that of Nabhovāha was Nahapāna. But this Nahapāna cannot have ruled before the 1st century A.D.⁵⁶ This at once reveals the weakness of the relevant portions of the works on which Konow and Jayaswal depended. Hence it must be admitted that no reliable source testifies to Saka rule in Ujjayini in the 1st century B.C.

It appears that, of the different features of the Kālaka story, only those concerning with or alluding to the existence of Śaka colony on the western bank of the lower Indus, the Parthian hegemony over the same region, and the activities of the Śakas in Surāshṭra (in the 1st century B.C.?), can be taken as his historical facts. It is doubtful whether any Jaina teacher called Kālaka was in any way associated with the Śaka activities in Surāshṭra. We can only admit that such an association was believed in by the time the story had grown up around the core of hard facts. When it was given literary form it was evidently altered, expanded and historically vitiated, and thus later characters⁵⁷, such as Vairisimha, etc. were incorporated in it.

49. JBBRAS, vol. XVI, pp. 234f.

50. Indian Antiquary, Vol II, pp. 362-363; JBORS, Vol. XVI p. 234.

51. JBBRAS, os. vol. IX. p. 148.

52. See also Cunningham, Numismatic Chronicle, 1888, p. 232.

53. See IA, Vol. II, pp. 362-363, where Prakrit gāthās from the works of Merutuṅga, Dharmasagar and Jaivijagani are quoted.

54. Śrīmad-Bhadrabāhusvāmi-pranīta-Nityuktīyukta-bhāṣhyakalīta-Śrīmad-Haribhadrāsuri Suttatitavṛitta-parivaritam Śrīmad-Āvasyakasūtra-syottarārdham, parvabhagai (edited by the Agamodaya Samiti) folios 712-713.

55. The name nahapana itself could easily be corrupted in the Indian sources into Nahavana, etc.

56. See B N. Mukherjee, op. cit., book III, ch. I. In this connection see also the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 1953, pp. 30-40.

57. This critical appraisal of the contents of the Kalaka story indicates that Dr S K. Chattopadhyay is wrong in thinking that the legend is wholly unhistorical (S. Chattopadhyay, Early History of Northern India, p. 56).

Thus the cumulative effect of the testimonies of the Kālakāchārya Kathānaka and Ptolemy indicates the presence of a Śaka colony including Patalene probably under the hegemony of the Imperial Parthians; and the activities of the Sakas or Scythians in Surāṣṭra.⁵⁸

58. We must add here that there is no evidence suggesting the activities of the Saka-Scythians from the Lower Indus region, where Sagakula was situated in the Punjab area in the 1st century B.C. There is no proper foundation for the theory of Rapson (Cambridge History of India, vol. 1, p 568), Konow (CII, vol. II, pt. I, pp XXXI-XXXII). Tarn (Op. cit., p. 232), Marshall (Taxila, vol. I, pp. 44-45), etc. advocating such activities and connecting the Scytho-Parthian Mause with them.

REFERENCES TO PAINTINGS IN THE KUVALAYAMĀLĀ

RĀMVALLABH SOMĀNĪ

The *Kuvalayamālā* was composed by Uddyotana Sūri in 778 A.D. at Jālore, Rājasthān. It is a very important Jain work, having several references to the paintings done on canvas *citrapaṭṭas*, walls and other sites. It is also very rich in other descriptions.

A Buddhist writer Lāmā Tāranātha describes that the old Western school of art was developed by an artist-Śṛṅgadhar, under the patronage of King Śīla of Maru¹ – country. A divergence of opinion existed about the identification of this ruler. Attempts were made to identify him with Harṣavardhan of Kanauj and Maitraka-ruler Śīlāditya² of Vallabhī. But none of them had their possession over the Mārawār state. Thus king Śīla can be identified with Śīluka (Śīla) of Maṇḍor. This fact can be corroborated from the iconographic repertory of the Pratihār Age, which proves that qualitative and positive development took place under the aegis of some trained masters.

The *Kuvalayamālā* contains manifold details of the art of paintings. It mentions that a Muni having some *citrapaṭṭās* in his hand met Kuvalayacandra. He gave his introduction that he was the son of Siṅha, the ruler of Dvārakā and his name was Bhānū. He also stated that he had become fond of executing painting.³ He was so much accomplished in this art that he could appreciate the work by examining the linear conception, composition, use of colours and other⁴ details. This proves that certain norms pertaining to paintings were then popular. On the request of Kuvalayacandra, he began to display his *paṭṭās*. Perhaps, every *citrapaṭṭa* was having several foldings and each folding was having some parts on which the series of different scenes were painted. The details of a *citrapaṭṭa* 'Saṃsāra-cakka' were as under. These scenes were painted by some Upādhyāya who had handed it over to the above Muni-Rāja.

1. Tāranath—History of Buddhism in India (Indian Antiquary Vol. IV p. 10. Dr. Motichandra-Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India (Ahmedabad, 1949) p. 18.
2. Lalita Kala No. VIII pp. 83-84.
3. *Mamaṇ ca Cittamme Vasaṇaṇ Jāyam (Kuvalayamālā)* (S.J.G.M.), pp. 185-line 11).
4. *Rehā-Ṭhāṇaya-Bhāvehi, Sanjuyam-Vaṇṇa-Virayanā-Sāram-Jānāmi cittayammam narida Daṭṭhum piJāṇami*, ibid. p. 185 line 12.

1. In a hunting scene, an equestrian king was closely following his game. The frightened animals were running sharply to save their skins. Some persons, who were accompanying the king, were engaged to divert them forcibly towards him.⁵
2. In the next scene a man deterred by some robbers was trembling with fear. The cruel flagellating of robbers caused the man to groan deeply.⁶
3. The details of agricultural life were depicted in several compartments of succeeding scenes. A man was ploughing his field. Dripping with blood, the oxen were carrying *Juvā* of the plough on their shoulders. A cord, which passed through the nostrils, was tied to their necks. Land thus ploughed was depicted separately by lines in the painting. The Labourers were shown working in the field, and did crop cutting also. In the scene of the *Khaliyāna* the farmers were taking out corn from the crops with the help of oxen.⁷
4. Thereafter, there were series of scenes which contained the details of a man's death. During illness he was enshrouded by his relatives. On his death, his relatives began to bemoan and wait. Later in a scene, his dead body was carried to cremation-ground. A good number of persons had accompanied it having pieces of wood, fodder and fire. In the cremation-ground, the dead body was kept on pyre and it was ignited to fire. The family members, including father, mother, wife and others, who were standing near it, were deeply mourning. It is interesting to note that women had also went to cremation ground with the dead body during that time. It has now been stopped. The *Tarpaṇa* was given to the dead body in a tank. The scene ends by depiction of the charities to the Brahmins.⁸

The second *citrapaṭṭa* was mostly having the portraits and other amorous scenes. The details of these scenes are given below :

1. A beautiful scene of a youth and a damsel is given. The later had kept her eyes downwards and gesticulating shyness by moving her toe on the earth. The youth was bolder snuggling her and enjoying the pleasure of tactuality. Several postures

5. *ibid.*, p. 185 line 28-31.

6. *ibid.*, p. 185 line iv-32 page 186 lines 1 to 3.

7. *ibid.*, p. 186 lines 14 to 32 p. 187 lines 1 to 5.

8. *ibid.*, p. 187 lines 1 to 5.

of sextual inter-course were given in the succeeding scenes. On the birth of a child celebrations of festivities were made as available in the later scenes.⁹

2. Several portraits and scenes on different topics were arranged. As per description given in the text, each portrait was given separately. (a) A wrestler was displaying his feats. (b) A good looking man was decked with several ornaments. (c) A rich man was having ornaments *Kaṇṭhā* and *Kaṭak*. (d) A portrait of a man, who was conceited on high family traditions. (e) A very greedy man. (f) A pandit, though devoid of learning, was holding a book in his hand. (g) A man was holding a quiver and a bow. (h) A man was having a sword, (i) a parrot was in a cage, (j) A woman was badly writhing due to agony of pregnancy, (k) a child was playing with parrots and hens, (l) a man was dallying with the girls and young ladies, (m) a group of young women were sneering at an old man sitting between them, (n) a king was sitting on a *Palaquine*. (o) a battle scene, wherein the soldiers were shown fighting, (p) a scene of *Rāja-Sabhā*, wherein the king was attended by his *Sāmantas*, (q) a greedy man was diving into the sea for getting the treasures, (r) a thief was stealing others property and (s) the fishers were depicted catching the fishes.¹⁰

Its second part, according to the *Kuvalayamālā*, was an excellent piece of art. It has several scenes of duals and other battles. The scenes delineated in them are mostly duals between an elephant and a lion, a tiger and an ox, two buffalos and a peacock and a serpent. Thereafter, the Muni had displayed a scene wherein ghastly tortures of hell were painted. Flow of hot-water in a river *Vaitaraṇī* was depicted separately. In another scene of heaven dalliance of the gods with the *Apsarās* were painted. The Muni had also shown another *citra-paṭṭa* containing the narrative details of a story of two *Vanik-putrās*, who after facing great hardships became the millionarie. They became the followers of the Jain-congregation. It was having twenty different scenes linked with the above narratives.¹¹

Some more references about executing individual paintings on *paṭṭas* were also described in the above book. Before a prince

9. *ibid.*, p. 187 line 7 to 25.

10. *ibid.*, p. 187 line 26 to 32 and p. 188 line 1 to 9.

11. *ibid.*, p. 188 line 30, 33 page 189 line 1 to 32, page 190 line 1 to 32 and page 191 to page 193.

Kāmagajendra of Auranābhapur, a painter presented a *paṭṭa* having a portrait of a damsel (*cīta-putaliya*). On its expressive and artistic qualities, all the persons presented in the court praised much and said that it was done by a painter, who was well-accomplished in the art. However, the Kumar, did not agree with them and said that the kings, painters, and poets, who misled by imagining and perceiving unreal thing as substantial, would positively go to hell. The painter strongly rescinded the charge and explained that a good painter was not free to adopt any scene imaginatively. He would always prefer to paint the thing which was subject to visualization. Thereafter the prince examined the picture of the *paṭṭa* and said that (i) the figure was quite graceful fascinating and charming. It was rivalling to the figure of *Tilottamā*. (ii) It has clear linear conception and luminous clarity in expression, (iii) several colours were successfully usual in it.¹² (iv) Various units of measurements (*Māna Jutān*) not only for the total height but for various parts of body were strictly followed. Thus due proportion was maintained.

The walls of the palaces and houses of the rich persons were spurred with the beautiful murals. There are references of cleaning the walls for doing the murals (*Paphādesu-citabhitiyo*). At the time of some auspicious ceremonies (marriage ceremony and others) the painting was done on them.

Thus the following details of the technical matters of the art of the painting are also noticed.

(i) Attempts were made to paint the figures more fascinating having expressive and artistic qualities. The only residuals of the contemporary-paintings are available in the *Daśa-vaikālika-sūtra-cūṇi* and *Ogha-Niryukti* (1060 A.D.). The Pratihār sculptures specially of 8th to 10th centuries A.D. are obviously have similar senseousness and infinite grace. A careful study of them would reveal that both hieratic and profane figures were rendered with some angularity in poses. Depiction of careful platting and intertwining of hair in braids, harmonious composition of body and arrangement of hands with obvious stances prove that the composition of the icons was made with luminous clarity.¹³

(ii) The painting was generally done on canvas. Sometimes a single story was painted on a *citra-paṭṭa*. But generally multifarious stories and portraits were done on it. The *Samśārācakra paṭṭa* was quite

12. *ibid.*, p. 233 lines 20 to 24.

13. The Authors book 'Miniature Paintings from Rajasthan-chapter I.

important. It was painted in order to get a common man aware of the transitoriness together with direful tortures of human life (*Manuyān*) and others.

(iii) Attempts to depict natural scenery were made. It was perhaps a good tradition to paint the landscape and other scenes.

(iv) The artists and painters were individually respected. We have their identification in the *Kuvalayamālā*. They were known as *Cittakalā-Jutio*, *Cita-Kusalo*, *Cita-Kalā-Kusalo*, *Cittagār-dārao* and others. It is interesting that the artist was compared with Lord Brahmā. Similar comparison is also available in the Vasantgarh (Sirohi) inscription of VE 744 (687 A.D.) and Nagar inscription of VE 741 (684 A.D.).¹⁴

(vii) Some words for line (*Rehā*), colour (*Vaṇṇa*), writing (*Vatini-Virayaṇam*) expression of feeling (*Bhāva*), posture (*Thāyaṇa*), measurement (*Māna*) and others were quite popular and were abundantly used in Indian literature. The word *Dattanum* was used in the *Kuvalayamālā* for critical examination of the qualities of the painting. Stress was laid on linear conception, appropriate use and application of colours and proper expression of the emotions and feelings.¹⁵

During the Pratihara period, the *Kuvalayamālā* was the only example of depiction of paintings. We find similar good references in *Samarāicca-Kahā*, *Upamiti-Bhava-Prapañca-Kathā*, *Dharmopodeśa-Mālā*, *Sura-Sundarī-Cariu* and other works composed in Rājasthān.

Thus the *Kuvalayamālā* remained a specific work containing the details not only of the miniature paintings, but also some other subjects of religious studies, art, architecture and others.

14. The Author's book Jain Inscription of Rajasthan 'Inscription No. 1.

15. Dr. Prema Suman Jain, *Kuvalayamālā-kā-Sāmsaṅktika-Adhyayan* p. 302-305.

CULTURAL HERITAGE OF BENGAL IN RELATION TO JAINISM

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Jainism, which was preached by Pārsvanātha and Mahāvira in pre-Mauryan times, is still a living faith in India. It has considerably moulded the cultural progress in India. It is one of the earliest religious faiths of India—the history of the growth and development of which have been elaborately delineated in various religious texts and commentaries of the sect both in Prākṛta and Sanskrit besides various other vernacular languages of India. The influences which this religious faith once exerted upon the populace of India, specially the Vaisya and Kṣatriya communities, including royal personages are evidenced by the existence of numerous temples, rock-cut caves, votive shrines illustrated manuscripts, images and reliefs of the Tīrthaṅkaras and their attending deities in bronze and stone in various places of the eastern, western and southern zones of India. Mathura and other places of northern India were also other important Jaina strongholds.

Jainism like Buddhism had its origin in eastern India-Vāiśālī in Bihar, but it had its influence felt in the neighbouring states of Bihar, viz., Bengal and Orissa. Places like Vaiśali, Rājgir, Pareshnāth hill (Sameta-śikhara) and Pāvāpuri in Bihar are hallowed with the memory of the principal Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras of which special mention may be made of Pārsvanātha and Mahāvira.

There are evidences to show that some of the royal personages of the Shaiśunāga dynasty like Bimbisāra and Kunika – Ajātasatru were adherents to Jainism. On the evidence of the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, the Kalingarāja, it is clear that at least one king of the Nandas was a staunch supporter of Jainism, who carried a Jina figure to his capital, while conquering Orissia, only to be brought by the great Kalinga king, mentioned above. The founder of the Maurya dynasty, king Chandragupta also embraced Jainism in the later years of his life and died as a member of the Jaina laity at Sravanabelgolā in Mysore. Celebrated Bhadrabahu was the spiritual 'Guru' of this great monarch.

While Buddhist preachers including Buddha selected Kośala and Magadha as the respective regions for propagation of their religious views, Vaisālī and Bengal were chosen by Mahāvira and his followers for the aforesaid purpose.

Mahāvīra, who was born at Kundagrāma in the vicinity of Vaisālinagara, spent earlier part of his life in the towns and villages as well as in monastic recluses in hilly regions. We have it from some Jaina cononical texts, corroborated by Buddhist texts as well, that Mahāvīra personally visited the Rādha desa and possibly also Suhma-
desa to its south in connection with his religious preachings. According to some sceptic scholars, the great Jaina preacher did not actually travel in Bengal. Now, let us examine the correctness of the latter view in the following paragraph.

According to the Jaina traditions, recorded in their canonical texts like the Āyāraṅga Sutta, Kappa Sutta and Bhagavaī Sutta, Mahāvīra came to Angadesa, Rādha-desa and Suhmādesa and spent as many as 18 years in preaching his religious ideas. In Lesson 3, Lecture 8 of Book I of the Āyāraṅga Sutta (ed. Jacobi, Trans), it is said that while travelling in the pathless country of the Lādhas (Rādhas) in Vajjabhūmi* and Subbbhabhūmi, Mahāvīra was encountered with various difficulties and oppressions, for the people of the said tracts attacked him with sticks, made the dogs bite him and used abusive languages against him. Sometimes it was difficult for him in reaching a village. In the long run, however, Mahāvīra became victorious and brought many people of the Lādha country to his fold. It has further been recorded in the aforesaid text that the mendicants (Nirgranthas or Jainas) used to take rough food in Vajjabhūmi and used to move about with long and strong poles in order to drive away the dogs so attacking. As to the presence of the Jaina medicants in that part of country in circa 3rd century B.C. (the date of the Sūtra) we may construe that either Jainism existed there before the arrival of Mahāvīra and he only increased the number of his followers, or the description had nothing to do with Mahāvīra's travel in that land and probably related to the treatment meted only to some Jaina monks at a subsequent period. While the former conclusion cannot be well-substantiated at the present stage of our knowledge, the latter view is unwarranted : To my mind it appears that the Jaina monks came to the Rādha country even before the travel of Mahāvīra in Bengal, and he went there in order to strengthen the number of his adherents. Were the Jaina mendicants, mentioned above, the followers of 'Cāturyāma' observance as preached and practised by Pārsvanātha ? For some Jaina followers of parts of the districts of Hāzāribāgh, Rānchi and Mānbhūm were said to have practised the same even at the end of the 19th century A.D. The Bhagavaī-sūtra mentions that Mahāvīra once spent a rainy season at Paniyabhūmi. The Jaina Kalpasūtra, too records that the rainy season was spent by the great Jaina leader at Paniyabhūmi (va of Paniyabhūmi – 'anārya-deśa-visesā'). This place was possibly inha. ed

by the merchant community (*panya-panita-panitya*) place has been located by commentators in Vajrabhūmi ('terrible indegenes') within Rādha country. But, the point is where actually this region was located. According to some, it was equivalent to Bīrbhūm, while according to others it may conveniently located either in Mānbhūm or in Dhalbhūm or in Bānkurā. But it seems to me that the land comprised of stony or lateritic sterile and hard regions of West Bengal and the eastern escarpments of the Chotanagpur plateau bordering the former state, for the word Vajra means hard or sterile. It has perhaps nothing to do with Vrachā or Vrajabhūmi or Bājiraghara, as suggested by some. The district of Mānbhūm, however, derives its name from the Manavarjakas' or 'Mānavarttikas', mentioned in the Mbh. (IX. 357) and the Mārka Purāna (LVII. 43). It may incidentally be mentioned that Mānbhūm, which lies to the east of the Chotanagpur Division of Bihar comprised a portion of the Jhārkhand region an indefinitely extensive area, coterminous with the 'Jungle Maha' tracks. In the opinion of Col. Dalton, the great Anthropologist, the Jungle Mahals district of the 19th century was the land of the 'Bhumijas' and comprised of the district of Burdwan as well as parts of the districts of Bīrbhūm, Bānkurā, Midnāpur, Sāntāl Pargar ās and the eastern districts of the Chotanagpur Division. As to the sterile character of Rādha, comprising this Vajrabhūmi, we have the evidence of epigraphic records and literature. The northern Rādha, according to the Bhuvanesvara-Prasasti of Bhatta Bhavadeva (cir. 11th cent. A.D.) and the *Prabodha-chandrodaya-nāṭaka* of Kṛṣṇa Misra, also of the same date, was a sterile or barren region, lacking in water and consisting of pathless tracks in jungles etc. Subbhabhūmi has been identified by some with Singhbhūm, but the consensus of opinions would equate with ancient Suhma-*desa* comprising south-western part of Bengal.

Regarding Mahāvīra's travel in Rādha it is further said in the Jaina Kalpasūtra that Vardhamāna-Mahāvīra spent the first rainy season at Asthika-grāma (Lec. V., Sec. 122), which according to its commentator was formerly known as Vardhamāna. But, to my mind it appears that the commentary of the relevant passage in it has not been rightly interpreted, for it was the intention of the commentator to explain that the name of Asthikagrāma was changed to Varddhamāna, after the visit of Mahāvīra in that region. Whatever that may be, the Jaina Kalpasutra, in question, refers to a legend amounting for the change of the name, viz. one Yakṣa Śūlapāni collected an enormous heap bones of people on which was built a temple by the people afterwards. The place may be identified with modern of Burdwan. There is a temple called Sāt Deuliyā at the village of Devliyā, a Jaina settlement, not far away from Burdwan Town. It may incidentally be

mentioned here that there are places called Hādāipur and 'Yakher Dāngā in the district of Bīrbhūm. It is related in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (a work of circa 11th cent A.D.) that once a traveller from the town of Vardhamāna reached the great forest of the Vindhyan system through the southern quarter perhaps via Bānkurā and Puruliā. There was a Vardhamānavihāra (a stūpa) at Tulākṣetra, mentioned in one illustrated Buddhist manuscript of the Pāla epoch. But it was located in Vareṇḍrī, i.e., north Bengal, Vardhamāna as a place-name was very familiar in Bengal (in Rādha, Vareṇḍri and Samataṭa—Chittagong regions) and other states of India in ancient and medieval times.

It is held by scholars that before the coming of the Aryans, the Rādhadesa was inhabited by the non-Aryan people, who spoke an unintelligible speech, i.e. not in an Indo-Aryan language. Major parts of eastern India was considered as 'Vrātyadeśa'. Though aryanization of Bengal began in circa 7th century B.C., there are scholars who think that the land was aryanized by the Jaina preachers. As to the time and manner of the spread of Aryanism in Bengal scholars differ, but it seems true that Rādha was aryanized later than Puṇḍrabhūmi. According to the Ceylonese Mahāvamśa, reclamation of Rādha was achieved by the semi-legendary king Vijaya of Vaṅga. This text has described Rādha as being covered in jungles, infested by wild animals and inhabited by peoples with totemistic beliefs. Thus, we see that though the suggestion of the aryanization of Bengal by the Jains cannot be accepted as true, it is certain that both Aryans and non-Aryan monks often visited Rādha or Suhma country in the 5th century and onwards.

From a critical analysis of the Jaina and Buddhist chronicles and canonical texts, it seems certain that Bengal (Pundravardhana, Rādha and Suhma) was the sweet home of Jainism in the 4th—3rd cent B.C. onwards untill it was checked by the tide of the resurgent Buddhist and Brahmanical faiths in 8th cent. A.D., though it continued to remain as a living faith even few centuries after, not to be wiped out even in the present era.

The history of Jainism, which begins with the travels of Mahāvīra and other Nirgranthas (Jains), culminated in the 3rd cent., B.C., when the illustrious disciple of the famous Jaina religious leader Bhadrabāhu (a contemporary and religious guru of Chandragupta Maurya), a native of Bengal born at Devikota Godāsa (who seemed to have born in East Bengal) formed a sect of his own (Godāsagaṇa) in eastern India with four sub-sections or branches, viz. a) Puṇḍravardhaniya, b) Koṭivarsiya, c) Tāmraliptiya and d) Dāsi-Kharvatika. Each of these sects except the last one was associated with the well-

known regions of Bengal. Dāsi-Kharvatika was possibly situated somewhere in the highly tracts or lateritic terrains of West Bengal in Mānbhūm—Midnapore—Bānkurā zone. But, the influence which the 'Godāsa-gaṇa' exerted upon the Jaina community cannot be assessed at present (cf. existence of Gowdas in Mysore), nor is it possible on our part to determine the importance of the Pāñcastupanikāya of the Vaṭagohāli in Rajashahi apparently in the Koṭivarṣa region in Bengal, of the Gupta times.

On the evidence of a tradition, recorded in the Buddhist Divyāvadāna the Nigantha (=Nirgrantha or Jaina) sect was well-established in Puṇḍravardhana town, the members of which were massacred by the order of Asoka, the Maurya for allegedly having despoiled the pictures of the Buddha. The Puṇḍravardhaniya monks of the Nigantha order were also mentioned in the Buddhist Vinaya texts and in one of the descriptive labels of the Bharhut railings. One of the Jaina monks or Rāḍha (Rāḍā) caused the erection of Jaina image at Mathurā (inscribed in the 2nd c. A.D.). There was perhaps a dearth of Jaina inscriptions in Bengal in the few centuries before and after Christ, due to the great massacre of the Jainas at the behest of Asoka. But a revival of Jainism can be noticed in the 5th century A.D., when a Brahmin couple donated land grants and made offerings at Vaṭagohāli (Goālbhiṭā) for the maintenance of a Jaina viḥāra founded by Ācārya Guhanandin of the 'Pañca-stūpa-nikāya' of Kāsi or Navyā-vakāsikā. This information has been derived from the Pāhārpur c.p. inscription dated in the G.E. 159, i.e. 478-79 A.D. The said 'viḥāra' is now occupied by the great Buddhist temple monastery at Pāhārpur. The plan of the Pāhārpur temple is of 'Sarvatobhadra' type. It is suggested that the 'Sarvatobhadra' type of architecture has been evolved by the Jainas, for the 'caturmukha' or 'caumukha' votive shrines or the Jainas tally well with the former type. K.N. Dikshit has also suggested as to the existence of an earlier 'caturmukha' shrine in situ. One monastic recluse of the Jainas is said to have been found at Maināmatī, now in Baṅglādeśa. Few Jaina images, mostly fragmentary and appertaining to the Gupta and the post-Gupta times have also found in Bengal.

We have it from Hiuen-Tsang that Jainism was in a flourishing condition in Bengal when he visited the parts of the east, north and south Bengal. He also noticed some Jaina temples and establishments therein, Even in the time of this great Chinese traveller, the Digambara Jainas outnumbered their rival sect.

With the revival of Brahmanical faiths and the royal patronage to Buddhism, Jainism went on waning in Bengal from 8th century onwards. But most of the images and temples, as found in Bengal,

belong to 9th-10th centuries A.D. though some of them may belong to 11th-12th centuries A.D. Some Jaina shrines, mostly in a ruinous condition, have been noticed in the westernmost districts of west-Bengal and the border-districts of Bihar. During the Pāla-Sena times the Jainas in Bengal were mostly assimilated in the 'avadhuta' sect-only to be revived after few centuries-chiefly due to religious zeal or the Jaina imigrants from western-India, some of whom, however, embraced Hinduism afterwards. The bulk of the Jaina religionists may now be found at Āzimganj (Kāyahās), Jāiganj, Berhampur, Rangpur, Rājshāhī, Rāmpur Boāliā-Lohārdāgā, Mānbhūm, Bāli, Hooghly, Uttarparā, and Culcuttā. Most of them belonged to Mārwar and Bikāner, who came to the aforesaid places for business purpose in or about the 18th cent. A.D. Most of the temples at Mānbhūm and Bānkurā were erected in the 9th-10th centuries. Dalton has attributed the erection of the temples to the Śrāvakas or Śāraks (Jaina) of Manbhūm, who came to Mānbhūm in connection with the working of the copper mines in the adjacent areas in Singhbhum. Like all colonists they followed the river courses and the remains of their temples may be on the banks of the Dāmodara, Kaṇsāvati and Suvarnarekhā. These temples, according to Dalton, belong to circa 14th century A.D., But after a detailed survey of the temples in the area, it has been seen that a bulk of them belonged to 9th-10th cent. A.D., while the other to 11th cent. A.D. and after. There is an inscribed image, belonging to the 'Nāhār Collections', Calcutta, which is datable in the 15th century A.D. However, some of these temples were repaired or renovated by Akbar's General, Mān Singh in the 17th century A.D. Majority of the Jainas of Bengal belonged to the Digambara sect.

Most of the Jaina temples, as noticed in Bengal, have been found in the districts of Bānkurā and Mānbhūm. As regards temples in Bānkurā, mention may be made of those at Hārmāshrā, Bāhulārā, Kenduā, Baṛkolā, Paresnāth, Ambikānagar, Chitgiri, Dharāpāt, Bihārināth Hill & Deulbhirā which were evidently centres of Jainism. Temples of Sāreśvara and Salleśvara in the said district belong to the Jaina group. Architecturally, they belong to circa 10th century A.D. the District of Mānbhūm is also rich in Jaina antiquities. Large ruins of Jaina establishments and temples exist there in places like Charā. Sānkā, Senerā, Borām, Balarāmpur, Pālmā, Ārsā, Deoli, Pākhirā, Lathondungri and Dulmi. The temple at Rājparā-Orgāndā, dt. Midnapore, belonging to the medieval times, is also of Jaina character. There were perhaps more temples in Manbhūm than in the rest of Bengal put together. The development of Jainism possibly centered round the valleys of Dāmodar, Kansāvati and Suvarnarekhā, which abounds in scores of Jaina Shrines and 'chaityas' as well as images in

stone of the Tirthaṅkaras and Śāsanadevatās, appertaining to Jaina hierarchy. In the following paragraphs the temples in the districts of Puruliā (part of the Mānbhūm which has come to West Bengal and has become a separate district), Bānkurā and Burdwan are being described briefly locality-wise.

Deoli (Puruliā)—This place, which is several miles to the south-west of Puruliā town, was once a stronghold of the Jainas. The vestiges of the same consists of four stone temples in the four corners with a larger temple in the centre. In one of this 'pañcāyatana' group is found the life-size image of Tirthaṅkara Aruānātha-over the trefoil area round the head of which, was noticed the carved out images of three Tirthaṅkaras in each side of the two rows. From Jorāpukur, a place adjacent to Deoli, several images of Jaina hierarchy were found.

Pākbira (Purulia)—Several temples in brick and stone as also stone images of the Tirthaṅkaras were found from this place, which is only few miles to the south-east of Puruliā town. Images include those of Mahāvira, Parshvanāth, Kunthunātha, Neminātha, Śāntinātha and Ṛṣabhanātha. Most of these images are now being housed in a shed, which possibly occupied the site of a stone temple. Particular mention may be made of one colossal stone image of Mahāvira, locally known as 'Bhiram'. There is an inscription in the pedestal of the image written in the characters of the 9th-10th centuries A.D., i.e. the time of Pāla suzerainty over Bengal. Some have characterised it as an image of Chandraprabha. The name 'Bhiram' was probably derived from the second part of the name 'Mahāvira'. The place named Pakbira was also possibly derived from 'Mahāvira (Pākbirā meaning the place of Bira, i.e. Mahāvira). Some of the temples at Pākbirā face to the west and south. The temple, which covers the shed, was once a stupendous temple and faced to the west.

Charā (Purulia)—This stronghold of Jainism once contained as many as seven temples of which two round temples now exist. Stone images and votive 'chaumukha' shrines representing the 24 Tirthaṅkaras, have also been found from this place, which is only six miles to the north of Puruliā.

Besides the aforesaid places there were other places of Jaina interest in the district of Puruliā, viz. Śānkā, Senerā, Jhāldā, and Ārsā and Balarāmpur.

In the district of Bānkurā also there were many Jaina temples, of which mention may be made of Bāhularā, Ambikānagar, Chitgiri, Dharārāt and Deulbhirā, Barkolā and Paresnāth, Śaresvar and Śallesvara.

Jaina temples have also been found at Deuliyā in Burdwan. The Sundarbans area was possibly once an important centre of Jainism, as images of Tīrthaṅkaras have been from places like Nalgorā, Chatrabhoga and Rāipur. It is possible that 'Jatār Deul' in that region might have originally been a Jaina temple. Most of the aforesaid temples in Puruliā were made of stone and consisted of a cella, vestibule portico, maṇḍapa and ardha-maṇḍapa. Stylistically, most of them belong to 9th-10th centuries A.D. Temple-building activities of the Jainas in Bengal were revived again in the 17th-18th centuries by the immigrant Jainas from Bīkāner and Mārwar, who built marvellous temples-chiefly in marble-in places like Berhampur, Āzimganj and Calcutta, after a pull of about three centuries due to the inroads of Islam.

The sectarian rancour and animosity played not an insignificant part in converting Jaina establishments or shrines into corresponding Brahmanical and Buddhist norms and forms in subsequent year when Jainism became a spent up force in Bengal.

As to the images* in stone and bronze of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras and other accessory deities, special mention may be made of the images of Ṛṣabhanātha from Bhadrakālī in Hooguly, Māndol in Rajshāhī Surohār in Dinājpur, Jhāldā-Patāmdā-Sānkā-Bhrābhūm-Pakbirā in Puruliā, Ambikā Ambikānagar-Barkolā in Bānkurā, Rājparā in Midnapur, Ādinā in Māldāh (inscribed in Arabic characters of the 14th century A.D., image being a product of the 10th century A.D., name Ādinā has been derived from Ādinātha); Śāntinātha from Rājpara in Midnapur; Ujani in Burdwan, Pākbiṛ in Puruliā, Chiāda and Chitagiri in Bānkurā; Pārsvanātha from Deulbhirā, Bihārināth hill, Dhārāpat, Bāhulārā. Bārkolā and Chiādā in Bānkurā, Pākbiṛā, Barām and Lāthondungri in Puruliā, Kāntāben and Nalgorā in 24 Parganas, inscribed image (date Sam. 1110) from Āzimganj in Murshidabad; inscribed Vāsupūjya image in Rajasthānī script from Sāgardighi; Candraprabha from Pākbiṛā in Purulia; Aruānātha from Deoli in Purulia; Neminātha from Malpah, Murshidabād and Pakbira; Ajitanātha from Barkola in Bankura and Pakbira in Purulia.

Images of Mahāvīra and the Shāsanadevatas like Ambikā or Amrā or Kuśmaṇḍini and Padmāvatī (Jaina prototype of Brahmanical Manasā and Buddhist Jagulī) have been found from several places in West Bengal. Of these, Ambikā of Ambikanagara and Bankurā, one such image in bronze from Nalgora in 24 Parganas, Padmāvatī from the same district (preserved in the State Arch. Gallery, West Bengal) as well as seated images of two Sasanadevatas (in one slab), probably identifiable with Ambika and Cakreśvarī with babies in their laps and the four Tīrthaṅkaras with their emblems carved in the pedestal from

Natai in Midnapur and ascribable to c. 9th cent. A.D. (also preserved in the State Arch. Gallery) are very interesting and unique of their kind. As inscribed image of Rṣabhanātha, belonging to 10th cent. 11th cent A.D., refers to the gift of a certain lay Jaina worshipper (Shrāvaka) has recently been collected from the district of Purulia.

The Tirthaṅkara images, as found in Bengal, are mostly in the 'Kāyotsarga' pose, and they generally belong to 10th-11th cent. A.D. Some 12th century—Jaina images have also been found here. In the 'Nahar collections' there is Jaina image, which is dated in the 15th century A.D. While some of these images are still to be found in Jaina centres in West Bengal, others are now being preserved in the Galleries of the Indian Museum, Varendra Res. Soc. Mus., Vangīya Sahitya Parisat Museum, Archaeological Directorate of West Bengal and the Asutosh Museum. Besides Museums, there are some Private collections in West Bengal which are rich in Jaina antiquities.

For the Jaina images preserved in the State Archaeological Gallery of West Bengal readers are requested to go through the scholarly and informative article, written by my colleague Sri D.K. Chakraverty, M.A., and published in Souvenir on the 'Mahavira Jayanti 1965,' pp. 27-33.

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SOCIAL AND CULTURAL GLIMPSES FROM THE KUVALAYAMĀLĀ*

A.N. UPADHYE

Lately the Kuvalayamālā of Uddyotansūri has been edited by me (Singhi Jain Series, No. 45, Bhartiya Vidya Bhavana, Bombay, 1959). It is a unique Campū in Prakrit. Though it is Dharmakathā, it is *saṃkīrṇa* in character, with the result that its contents are not only didactic but replete with details pertaining to various walks of life. There is a stylistic Digest of it in Sanskrit by Ratnaprabhasūri (lately edited by me as a supplement to the above); but the varied details are conspicuously absent in the Sanskrit Digest the primary object of which is to narrate the tales in a classical Sanskrit style so usual in the works of Daṇḍin, Bāṇa and others.

The Kuvalayamālā (in Prākṛit) bristles with striking social and cultural touches of great interest. The author draws his chief characters from the different well-known layers of the society. By birth Caṇḍasoma was a Brahmin; Mānabhata, a Kṣatriya; Māyāditya, a Vaiśya; Lobhadeva, a Sūdra; and Mohadatta, a prince. The pilgrimage to Gangā and other holy Tirthas was prescribed by the priest as a *prāyacitta* against various sins (48 f., 63 f., 72 f.), though not approved of by the author. A typical Tīrthayātrika is described with reference to his dress and equipments (58.1 f., see also 48.24 f.). A famine or draught of twelve years often led people to migrate for food and prosperity (३ 202). The author supplies a list of respectable ways of earning wealth (57.22 f., also 191.1 f.) and also of benevolent channels of spending it (65.8 f.) Though Vārānasi had many good and bad openings for earning wealth (57.16 f.) it was Dakṣiṇapatha, with Pratiśṭhāna as an important town therein, that was looked upon as a prosperous territory by the traders (57.27 f.), whose preparations for a trade-trip and onward travel from camp to camp (65.13 f., 135.21 f., 198.23 f.) are noteworthy. We get a good sketch of the preparation of a trader's fleet; the rituals are interesting; and the various items in the boat deserve special attention (61.1 f.). Often the trade-routes pass through perilous forests (३ 118). In the vicinity of the Sahya mountain, there were parties of Bhillas who often robbed the caravans (135.27 f.). Their Pallis (for instance, the Cintāmaṇi, p. 139) seem to be pretty prosperous

* Reprinted from C.L. Jain Felicitation Volume

saṃniveśas (227). The Bhillas are Mlecchas; but now and then, despite their wild habits (112.21 f.) in contrast to the respectable, they too have their code of behaviour (146.13-6). Traders had their clubs; and the custom at such a Club in Soppārāya (i.e. Sopara near Bombay) was that the foreign traders narrated their experiences and adventures and were honoured there with Gandha, Tambula and Malya (65.22 f.). These traders exchanged their information as to what commodities were available in different places and where they could be sold with greater profit. Horses were sold in Kośala in return for elephants; betel nuts were exported to Uttarāpatha in exchange for horses; and pearls were exported to Eastern country (pūrvadeśa) in exchange for Camaras. Conchs were available in Dvārakā. From the Barabarakūl a tusks and pearls were brought in exchange for clothes. Palāsa flowers could fetch gold in Suvarṇa-dvīpa. Buffaloes and cows fetched netra-*paṭṭa* in Cīna and Mahacīna. Neem leaves could buy jewels in Ratnadvīpa. Men were in great demand in the kingdom of ladies etc. Some of these details cannot be accepted on their face value : they may be just exaggeration (₹ 129). In the busy market places, men from the different parts of the country came and had conversations in different languages (₹ 246) which are interesting specimens of contemporary spoken idioms as the author could catch them. Their business conversations are quite lively and give some ideas about the weights and measures (153.16 f.). Greedy merchants took risks of travelling on land and by sea of the dangers of which they were quite aware (65.15 f., 66.6 f.). Now and then there were shipwrecks (₹ 166). Traders went on long journeys, some time for more than twelve years, leaving their young wives behind (74.12 f.). Various good and bad omens were attended to while going on a journey for the preparation etc. (see ₹ 285), and they are explained in short (₹ 289).

The birth of a prince and the subsequent activities and festivities are elaborated in a stylistic manner. Likewise the wedding is described in all the details : the preliminaries of the marriage, the wedding function along with the rituals and concluding rites, the bed-ceremony, the couple enjoying the sea-sight from the palace terrace and various pastimes such as *prehelikā* etc. (₹₹ 273-80). A good description of the coronation of Yuvarāja is available (200.8 f.). There is a scene of the royal *āpāna-bhūmi* at which various sweet drinks are served (₹ 50).

Very interesting are the gossips of the village ladies bringing water and of the boys in residential schools (149.30 f., 151.18 f.). The parade of conveyances (₹ 57) in the royal courtyard and the scene of the

Jayavāraṇa running amuck (३ 248) reflect events in the contemporary capitals.

Playing on the swing was an important sport of the spring (51 f.) during which was celebrated *Madanamahotsava* giving an occasion for youths to meet in the festive gardens (77 f., see the reference to *Madanatrayaḍaṣī* in line 15). During the autumn, parties of dancers, actors etc. moved from village to village; and how a programme was enacted at a village is graphically described (46.5 f.). There was a festival on the day of the *Sharat-paurnima* (103.32). While describing the scenes and activities in the city, late in the evening, the author presents a picturesque sketch of the movements of the *Kāminī* (३ 156-58). There may be some exaggeration; still there are available some glimpses of the fashionable and luxury-loving section of the society. Festivities like the *Indramaha*, *Mahānavamī*, *Dīpāvali* and *Baladevotsava* appear to follow in succession after rainy season (148.11 f.).

There is a pretty good number of beliefs reflected in the *Kuvalayamālā* here and there. Blood and flesh were taken from a living body and used for alchemical purpose (69.24 f.) A robber possessed a miraculous sword and a pill, the latter being always placed by him in his own mouth (251.25, 253.18). More than once a miraculous movement, jumping up a like flash of lightening (*vijjukkhittaṃ karaṇaṃ*) is mentioned (73.24, 87.13).

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