

**JAINA GODDESSES AND NUNS IN WESTERN INDIA :  
A STUDY (c. A.D. 900-1300)**

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of the requirements for the Award of the Degree of

**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

**NANDITA PUNJ**

**CENTRE FOR HISTORICAL STUDIES  
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY  
NEW DELHI - 110 067  
INDIA**

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जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय  
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY  
NEW DELHI-110067

**CERTIFICATE**

This is to certify that this dissertation entitled **JAINA GODDESSES AND NUNS IN WESTERN INDIA : A STUDY (c. A.D. 900-1300)** submitted by **NANDITA PUNJ**, in partial fulfilment of requirements for the award of the degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY** of this University is her original work and may be placed before the examiners for evaluation. This dissertation has not been submitted for the award of any other degree of this University or any other University to the best of our knowledge.

(Prof. Suvira Jaiswal)

**SUPERVISOR**

Dated 21/07/1995

(Prof. B.D. Chattopadhyaya)

**CHAIRPERSON**

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Dated 21-07-1995  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
New Delhi 110 067

*Nandita Punj*  
( Nandita Punj )

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## Chapter I

### INTRODUCTION

Although there are a number of monographs which provide us with a good deal of information on the history of Jainism in India, its monastic organization, spread etc., not much attention has been given to the curiously ambivalent attitude of Jainism towards the female gender, particularly during the early Medieval period. We find that on the one hand the Jaina texts such as the Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita, reflect a typical ascetic attitude towards women depicting them as temptresses, source of sin etc. On the other hand it shows a serious concern to the question of the religious capabilities and rights of women and even gives rise to a sect like the Yāpanīyas which advocated complete equality between men and women with regards to their capacity to attain salvation.

P.S. Jaini's Gender and Salvation<sup>1</sup> is the only work of its kind which has dealt in detail with the question of spiritual liberation for Jaina women. Jaini highlights the as yet unresolved sectarian debate between the two major sects of Jainism, the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras through a series of texts ranging from the second to the late seventeenth century A.D. Robert. P. Goldman in a Foreword to Jaini's work has emphasized the unique character of the Jaina debates in the sense that they focus on the question of Gender and the biophysical nature of the human female, citing female reproductive physiology itself as the principal reason for women's incapacity to achieve salvation, thus making the Gynophobic elements in the Hindu texts also seem rather mild<sup>2</sup>. Although the Jaina thinkers could not escape the power of the patriarchal doctrine of male supremacy which requires that women should be subordinate in all spheres, they do deserve credit for trying to deal with issues that have till now remained at the periphery of social history.

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<sup>1</sup> P.S. Jaini, Gender and Salvation : Jaina Debates on the spiritual Liberation of women, Delhi, 1992.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. xvi.

While the Jainas, on the one hand are found debating the capacity of women to achieve salvation, at the same time, we also find that the female principle is well represented in the Jaina conception of the divine. Hence this ambivalence makes an exploration into the ways in which Jainism approached the gender question both at the level of the divine as well as the human level particularly interesting. In this particular thesis we have made an attempt to study the conception of goddesses in Jainism in the early Medieval period in Western India and the role and status of the female disciples in Jainism particularly those who were admitted into the monastic organization, as constraints of time have not allowed me to give much attention to laywomen.

One of the most authoritative and extensive work on the Jaina Monastic organization has been that of S.B. Deo<sup>3</sup>. S.B. Deo's History of Jaina Monachism is based on literary accounts as well as epigraphs and provides us with historical information on the spread and organization of the Jaina Monastic Order but the female ascetic order has been relegated to a small section of the book and the context of Western India has not been studied specifically. However the work provides us with very valuable data on the rules and regulations for nuns, various terms employed to denote nuns, designations noticeable in the hierarchy of the female ascetic order, their relations with monks etc. V.A. Sangave<sup>4</sup> has also relegated a small space to the subject of women where he briefly surveys the status of women under sub headings of social, religious, legal and political status.

Regarding the divine feminine in the Jaina context, not much work has been done apart from stay articles here and there. Jainism in Western India itself remains

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<sup>3</sup> S.B. Deo, History of Jaina Monachism from inscriptions and literature (henceforth HJM), Poona, 1956.

\_\_\_\_\_, Jaina Monastic Jurisprudence (henceforth MJM), Banaras, 1960.

<sup>4</sup> V.A. Sangave, Jaina Community, a Social Survey, Bombay, 1959.

a much neglected subject, the only major works being those of C.B. Sheth<sup>5</sup> and K.C. Jain<sup>6</sup>, which give us an idea of the inception and spread of Jainism in these areas, the sources for the study of Jainism, political and social patronage received by the Jainas, literary and cultural developments etc.

Much of the secondary source material on goddesses in Jainism has been the work of art historians, the most prominent amongst whom is U.P. Shah. U.P. Shah has contributed immensely to our knowledge of Jaina Iconography and art through his books<sup>7</sup> and articles. He has shed welcome light on such important issues as the beginnings of image worship in Jainism and the evolution and significance of Jaina Iconography<sup>8</sup>. In his book Studies in Jaina Art he has mainly discussed symbol worship in Jainism. One of the major contributions of U.P. Shah in this field has been solving the puzzling issue of Introduction of Śāsanadevatās in Jainism. The discovery of Akota Bronzes<sup>9</sup> in 1951-52 was a landmark in the study of Jaina art and Western Indian Sculpture. It proved beyond doubt that Yakṣīs, guardian or

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<sup>5</sup> C.B. Sheth, Jainism in Gujarat (A.D 1100 - 1600), Bombay, 1953.

<sup>6</sup> K.C. Jain, Jainism in Rajasthan, Sholapur, 1963.

<sup>7</sup> Studies in Jaina Art, Banaras, 1955., Jaina Rūpa Maṇḍana, New Delhi, 1987; U.P. Shah and Dhaky (ed), Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, Ahemadabad, 1975.

<sup>8</sup> "Age of Differentiation of Digambara and Śvetāmbara Images and Earliest Known Śvetāmbara bronzes", Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum (henceforth BPWM), Vol I, No. 1, 1950-54, pp 30-40.

"Beginnings of Jaina Iconography" in Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P. (henceforth BMAUP), No. 9, 1972, pp 1-14.,

"Evolution of Jaina Iconography and Symbolism" in Shah and Dhaky (ed), Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, pp 49-68.

<sup>9</sup> Akota Bronzes, Bombay, 1959.



attendant deities of the Jainas were introduced in Jainism in the Sixth Century A.D.<sup>10</sup> Through his articles he has traced the growth of the Jaina Pantheon<sup>11</sup>. U.P. Shah has also studied the iconographic evolution of Jaina goddesses Ambikā<sup>12</sup>, Sarasvatī<sup>13</sup>, Vidyādevī<sup>14</sup>, Cakreśvarī<sup>15</sup> and Siddhāyikā<sup>16</sup>, taking into account extant images as well as literary references. Several Jaina tantric texts have been brought to light by U.P. Shah, showing the growth of Jaina tantra from the third-fourth centuries A.D.<sup>17</sup>. The majority of his works deal with iconographic issues, taking into account existing images and textual references to the same. They do not seem to go beyond the survey of iconography to probe issues such as the Jaina attitude towards the divine feminine, depicted in a marked measure in early Medieval Jaina art and her importance in the lives of the Jaina community.

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- <sup>10</sup> Also in the same context, "Yakṣa Worship in Early Jain Literature" in Journal of the oriental Institute, Baroda (henceforth JOI), Vol III, Parts 1-4, 1953-54, pp 54-71., "Introduction of Śāsanadevatās in Jaina worship", in Proceedings and Transactions of the All India Oriental Conference (henceforth PAIOC), vol II, part I, 1959, pp. 141-152.
- <sup>11</sup> "Minor Jaina Deities" in Jol, Baroda, Vol. 31, No. 4, 1981 - 82, pp 371-378 and Jol, Baroda, Vol. 32, No. 1, 1982, pp.82-98.
- <sup>12</sup> "Iconography of the Jaina goddess Ambikā", in Journal of the University of Bombay (henceforth J U B), vol. IX, Part 2, 1940-41 pp. 147-55.
- <sup>13</sup> "Iconography of the Jaina goddess Sarasvatī", in J U B, Vol. X, 1941-42, pp.195-218.
- <sup>14</sup> "Iconography of the Sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās", in Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art (henceforth JISOA), Vol. XV, 1947 pp. 114-170.
- <sup>15</sup> "Iconography of Cakreśvarī, Yakṣī of Rṣabhanātha", in JOI, Baroda, Vol. XX, No. 3, 1971, pp. 281-313.
- <sup>16</sup> "Yakṣiṇī of the Twenty-Fourth Jina Mahāvīra", in JOI, Baroda, Vol XXII, pp. 70-78.
- <sup>17</sup> "Supernatural Beings in the Jaina Tantras" in Ācārya Dhruva Commemoration volume, III, Ahmedabad, 1946, pp 67-84., "A peep into the Early History of Tantra in Jaina Literature", Bhārata Kaumudi, II, Allahabad, 1947, pp.839-863.

Apart from U.P. Shah, there have been other important, some even earlier contributions on Iconography. These include Burgess's "Digamabara Jaina Iconography"<sup>18</sup> based on canarese dhyāna ślokas and D.R. Bhandarkar's article on Jaina Iconography<sup>19</sup> where for the first time he discusses the Jaina concept of Samavasaraṇa<sup>20</sup> based on the Samavasaraṇa Stavana of Dharmaghoṣa Sūri. B.C. Bhattacharya's Jaina Iconography<sup>21</sup> was the pioneering work on the subject and presented the iconography of various Jaina deities on the basis of literary and archaeological data. But as later works indicate some of his inferences were incorrect. For instance he regarded Yakṣīs as the leaders of the female disciples representing the merchant class<sup>22</sup> but there is no reference in our sources to indicate the same. Other notable works on Jaina Iconography include those by Jyotindra Jain and Eberhard Fischer<sup>23</sup> and M.N. P. Tiwari<sup>24</sup>. In the context of South India a valuable contribution has been made by Settari in his articles on Jvālāmālīnī<sup>25</sup> and Cakreśvarī<sup>26</sup>, wherein he has indicated how Jvālāmālīnī came to acquire an independent cult.

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<sup>18</sup> Indian Antiquary (henceforth IA), Vol. 32, 1903-04.

<sup>19</sup> IA, Vol. 40, 1911. pp.125-130 and 153-161.

<sup>20</sup> Samavasaraṇa is a structure constructed by the Gods and intended for the delivering of a religious sermon by a Jina immediately after he attains the state of a Kevalin.

<sup>21</sup> Delhi, (Second Rev. ed.) 1974.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p.86.

<sup>23</sup> Jaina Iconography, Parts I and II, Leiden, 1978.

<sup>24</sup> Elements of Jaina Iconography, Varanasi, 1983.

<sup>25</sup> "The cult of Jvālāmālīnī and the earliest images of Jvālā and Śyāma", in Artibus Asiae, vol. XXXI, 4, 1968, pp.309-320.

<sup>26</sup> "Chakreśvarī in Karnatak literature and Art", in Oriental Art, Vol. 17, 1971, pp.63-69.

All these works are extremely pertinent to our study as they provide us with useful information on the iconographic evolution and characteristic traits of goddesses worshipped in Jainism. Except for J. Cort's recent article<sup>27</sup>, not much attention has been paid to issues such as the attitude of the Jainas to the female at the divine level, the greater visibility of the goddesses in the early medieval period and the reasons for this popularity, the role played by these goddesses, their place in the Jaina mythology and in the eyes of the devotees. J. Cort has for the first time drawn attention, to the Jaina goddess traditions as a distinct tradition but he has largely depended on myths and legends. Iconography has not been given much importance. Moreover Western India has not been allotted any special attention in these works when temples located at sites such as Osian, Kumbharia, Abu and Girnar depict a large number of goddesses with specific traits and attributes. We propose to supplement the extant works by studying this depiction of the divine feminine with the help of iconography as well as myths, legends and epigraphs.

In order to highlight the greater visibility of goddesses in early medieval Jainism at the above stated sites, we have made use of the data available in architectural works such as Burgess's reports for the Archaeological survey entitled Report on the Antiquities of Kaccha and Kathiawad<sup>28</sup>, List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency<sup>29</sup>, and Architectural Antiquities of North Gujarat<sup>30</sup>, (with Cousens) in which he has noticed various Jaina shrines and images. Amongst other works, we may include Harihar Singh's Jaina Temples of

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<sup>27</sup> "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions," Numen, Vol XXXIV, Fasc.2, 1987, pp. 234-255.

<sup>28</sup> (Henceforth AKK), (1874-75), Varanasi, 1971.

<sup>29</sup> (Henceforth ARBP), Bombay, 1885.

<sup>30</sup> Archaeological Survey Western India (ASWI), IX, London, 1903.

Western India<sup>31</sup> and "The Jaina Temples of Kumbharia"<sup>32</sup>, Devendra Handa's Osian<sup>33</sup>, Dhaky<sup>34</sup>, "Chronology of the Solañkī Temples of Gujarat", and "Some Early Jaina Temples in Western India"<sup>35</sup>. A. Ghosh (ed.) Jaina Art and Architecture<sup>36</sup> (three volumes) and P.O. Sompura. Structural Temples of Gujarat<sup>37</sup>. One must also mention Jayantavijaya's exhaustive work on Abu, available in five volumes<sup>38</sup> (all in Gujarati except the first which has been translated into English by U.P. Shah). This work is indispensable for a student conducting research on Abu. Jayantavijaya has collected inscriptions from the temples of Abu as well as surrounding villages which although they don't give us much information on goddesses, do give important details about the patrons who installed images at Abu. They contain a mine of information about various subjects and castes. The first volume gives us a detailed account of the shrines of

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<sup>31</sup> New Delhi, 1986.

<sup>32</sup> Dhaky and Shah (ed)., Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, Ahmedabad, 1975, PP.299-318.

<sup>33</sup> Osian: History, Archaeology, Art and Architecture, Delhi, 1984.

<sup>34</sup> Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihas Parishad, No. 3, 1961, PPI -83.

<sup>35</sup> Shri Mahāvīra vidyālaya golden jubilee volume, Bombay, 1968, PP.290-347.

<sup>36</sup> New Delhi, 1975.

<sup>37</sup> Ahmedabad, 1968.

<sup>38a</sup> Holy Abu, Tourist's Guide to Mount Abu and its Jaina Shrines (Henceforth HA), Tr. from Gujarati by U.P. Shah, Bhavnagar, 1954.

<sup>b</sup> Arbuda Prācīna Jaina Lekha Samdoha, Abu, Vol. II, 1938.

<sup>c</sup> Achalgaḍh, Abu, Vol. III, 1946.

<sup>d</sup> Arbudāchala Pradakṣiṇā Varnanām, Abu, Vol. IV, 1947.

<sup>e</sup> Arbudāchala Pradakṣiṇā Jaina Lekha Samdoha, Abu, Vol. V, Bhavnagar, 1948.

Vimalavasahī and Luṇavasahī. Though it is more of a guide book for tourists than a scientific work on art, it gives us an insight into the goddesses depicted at Abu and is the only work of its kind. As stated earlier, these works follow an architectural approach and refer to goddesses in passing as part of architectural details of temples. Thus an intensive study of the Jaina understanding and attitude towards the female, both at the divine and the human level has not been made.

Our research runs into five chapters, inclusive of the Introduction and Conclusion. In chapter II, we have studied the concept and antiquity of goddess worship in Jainism, its growth and the development of various goddesses, their role and place in Jaina Mythology.

Chapter III highlights the greater visibility of goddesses at the Early Medieval Jaina temples of western India. For this purpose we have taken up as case studies the temples situated at Osian, Kumbharia, Abu and Girnar, the placement of goddesses in these temples, the frequency of occurrence, their iconographic traits, the popular goddesses at these temples and the myths surrounding them. We have also taken into account the pattern that emerges regarding the iconography and distribution of the female deities worshipped in Jainism, analyzed the reasons for their popularity on account of the role they play in the lives of the Jainas, indicating the resurgence of the female at the divine level.

Chapter IV discusses the hierarchical organisation of the female monastic order, the role played by the women ascetics in the monastic organisation as well as in society, their position vis-a-vis monks and the lay society, the possible reasons for renunciation, their social background and finally the austerities practised by them and their ability to achieve salvation. This is followed by a conclusion where we have summarised our findings.

Our Primary Sources for this study include literary, epigraphic as well as Archaeological. Our literary sources for this study are the Kharataragacchabṛhadguruvāvalī<sup>39</sup>, Kharataragacchapattāvalīsaṅgraha<sup>40</sup>, Merutuṅga's Prabandhacintāmaṇi<sup>41</sup>. We have also taken into account manuscripts preserved in the Jaina Pustaka Praśasti Saṅgraha<sup>42</sup> and the Purātana Prabandha Saṅgraha.<sup>43</sup>

Our major source for the study of the female ascetic order in Western India is the Kharataragacha Bṛhadguruvāvalī. Pattāvalīs and Guruvāvalīs are genealogical lists of teachers and heads of schools and contain useful chronological data. But many times the dates in various lists do not correlate and at times external evidence also contradicts the data preserved in these lists. Nevertheless, if handled continuously, these lists contain useful information about historical personages, events in history, sects and subsects of a particular gaccha etc. The KGBG written originally by Jinapala, the disciple of Jinapatisuri, in c.V.S. 1305, (A.D. 1248) describes the activities of the chief pontiffs of the Kharataragaccha upto V.S. 1305 i.e. c. A.D. 1248 (Yugapradhānācārya Guruvāvalī). Thereafter the activities of the Kharataragaccha upto V.S. 1393 (A.D. 1336) have been described by some unknown authors of this gaccha.

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- <sup>39</sup> Jinavijaya Muni ed., Jinapāla Upādhyāya and others, Kharataragacchabṛhadguruvāvalī, (henceforth KGBG) . Bombay , 1956.
- <sup>40</sup> Jinavijaya ed., Kharataragacchapattāvalīsaṅgraha Calcutta, 1956. (Henceforth **KGPS**).
- <sup>41</sup> C.H. Tawney tr., Merutuṅga's Prabandhacintāmaṇi or Wishing Stone of Narratives, Calcutta, 1901.
- <sup>42</sup> Jinavijaya Muni ed., Jaina Pustaka Praśasti Saṅgraha, Pt.1 Bombay, 1943. (Henceforth JPPS.)
- <sup>43</sup> Jinavijaya Muni ed., Purātana Prabandha saṅgraha, Calcutta, 1936. (Henceforth PPS).

Jinapāla's account contains details about the life and activities of acaryas from Vardhamānācārya to Jinapatisūri, their initiation, appointment as ācārya, areas visited by them, propagation of the faith and initiation of monks and nuns, their debates with rival sects, fission of the gaccha, political and social patronage received etc. It gives information about the residents of Gujarat, Mewad, Marwar, Sind, Bagad, Punjab and Bihar. It also gives us valuable information on the rituals and festivals of the Jainas. For our purpose the Guruvāvalī contains a mine of information on the female monastic order prevalent at the time. It gives a detailed account of the hierarchy developing in the female monastic order and points to the large numbers in which women were initiated into the order. It also contains some indications of the role played by the female ascetics in the monastic organization. We have also utilized the KGPS which provides us with some legends associated with the preceptors that have references to goddesses granting boons, or to monks resorting to magical practices to accomplish great feats.

JPPS preserves a number of manuscripts written by, copied by, or caused to be copied by members of the female mendicant order. These manuscripts are dated and contain valuable information on the social background of the nuns, their reasons for renunciation, austerities undertaken by them and their role in the propagation of the faith.

We have utilized the Vimalavasatī Prabandha<sup>44</sup>, Luṅigavasatī Prabandha<sup>45</sup>, Śrīmātā Prabandha<sup>46</sup>, Devī Ambā Prabandha<sup>47</sup> and the Haribhadrāsūri Prabandha<sup>48</sup> preserved in the PPS. These Prabandhas are especially useful in the

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<sup>44</sup> PPS, pp.51-52.

<sup>45</sup> PPS, pp.52-53.

<sup>46</sup> PPS, p.84.

<sup>47</sup> PPS, p.26.

<sup>48</sup> PPS, p. 103.

context of Abu as they supply us with details regarding the residing deities at Abu. However, it has to be kept in mind that most of these texts were composed with a view to edify the Jaina community and to convince them of the glory and power of the Jaina religion, in itself and over others, in a way legitimising the faith. Thus these sources need to be looked at with a critical eye.

The Prabandhacintāmaṇi of Merutuṅga was completed in V.S. 1361 (A.D. 1304-05) according to the author himself. It relates a general history of Gujarat from V.S. 940 (A.D. 883) to V.S. 1250 (A.D. 1193). It is a semi-historical work replete with stories, myths and legends associated with historical and literary personages. Various scholars have shown that a number of dates and events related in the Prabandhacintāmaṇi are inaccurate, nevertheless it does provide glimpses of local traditions and historical developments. But keeping in mind the above stated fact the information supplied by the Prabandhacintāmaṇi needs to be handled cautiously and it cannot be relied upon as a major source until corroborated by other sources. For our purpose it relates myths and stories associated with goddesses which add to our knowledge of the divine feminine in Jainism.

Our Epigraphic sources include inscriptions from Western India, datable between 900-1300 A.D. These inscriptions may be divided into categories such as land grants by Kings, land grants by chiefs, grants of money to a temple or a particular deity, prasastis, inscriptions to record certain events and inscriptions found on pedestals, at the back of images, shrine walls and pillars. We have made specific use of land grants to Jaina monasteries, praśastis and inscriptions giving details of donor families at our centres of study, inscriptions recording the dates of construction of temples or specific devakulikās and inscriptions on images referring to donors. These inscriptions do not give us a great deal of historical information on goddesses, the ones being usually mentioned include Ambikā, Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī. Unfortunately, the evidence preserved in the inscriptions regarding nuns is also meagre whereby we have to depend on the Guruvavāli to a great extent.



Although inscriptions do not give us much information, sculptures prove to be a very rich source as far as the depiction of the female at the divine level is concerned. We have made extensive use of sculptures in the Śvetāmbara temples at Jaina centres Osian, Kumbharia, Abu and Girnar, and these testify to the popularity of goddesses in Jainism. Taking into account their placement, proximity to the Tīrthaṅkara, frequency of occurrence and attributes, we have tried to analyse the place of the female in the Jaina Mythology and society.

## Chapter II

### **JAINA CONCEPT OF GODDESSES : BEGINNINGS AND DEVELOPMENT**

The religious orientation of a human being is governed to a great extent by the contemporary socio-economic milieu, his needs and aspirations. Thus ever since Pre-historic times, woman being the actual producer of life and symbol of generation, her organs and attributes were regarded as endowed with generative power and there was a gradual evolution of the Mother Goddess cult. In Primitive Agricultural societies, the fertility of the soil was linked to the fertility of the female and thus the symbol of abundance and fertility at the divine level also was conceived as female. However, with the development of a patriarchal society, the production process was controlled by men and the female was given a subordinate status. The goddesses however continued to play a major role amongst the lower strata of society. In the post - Gupta period one notices the resurgence of the female; when she was placed by the side of the male as his consort. This was also the period of resurgence of female divinities particularly in Śāktism wherein the concept of a Great Goddess in the form of Devī gradually absorbed within itself innumerable goddesses representing different streams. The reasons behind the development of this pan-Indian phenomenon varied from region to region, be it the integration of tribal culture or the influence of tantricism from above. Even Jainism could not remain impervious to this trend as is evident from the large number of female deities which make an appearance within the Jaina Pantheon specially between the Tenth and the thirteenth centuries A.D. . This was a remarkable phenomenon considering the atheistic nature of Jainism and the Jaina attitude towards the female so much so that the Digambaras deny salvation to women on account of their bio-physical and psychological make-up.

Atheism is an inherent basic characteristic of Jainism in the sense that it does not impart any place to God as the creator. The Jaina motto of life is ascetic and

it aims at destruction of all Kārmic particles and final liberation of the soul. This however does not absolve Jainism of the phenomenon of image worship and its natural corollary, expansion of the Pantheon, as in Jainism it is the Tīrthāṅkara who has been raised to the status of God.

The origin of image worship in Jainism, may on the basis of available archaeological evidence be assigned to the Mauryan age, c. Third century B.C.<sup>1</sup> The earliest Jaina images featured only the male i.e. the tīrthāṅkara and had for their model or prototype ancient yakṣa statues.<sup>2</sup> Coomaraswamy has shown that the term Yakṣa was originally practically synonymous with devās (tree spirits) and he has emphasized their close connection with the waters. He thus regards the yakṣas as vegetation spirits, directly controlling and bestowing upon their bhaktas, fertility and wealth.<sup>3</sup> Yakṣa sculptures are also the earliest Known Indian iconic representations. R.N.Misra<sup>4</sup> has shown that the Yakṣa cult was a relic of non-aryan popular worship and the concepts of primitive religions including nature worship, animism and ancestor worship, along with a borrowing of traits from Rākshasas, Kinnaras, Guhyakas, Piśācas, Devās, Gandharvas etc, helped in its evolution. Yakṣa cult was also connected with the worship of the mother goddesses. Later by the post-sūtra period Yakṣas were absorbed into the bhakti cult and relegated to lower ranks. Buddhism and Jainism could not remain oblivious to this element of popular worship. In fact Mahāvīra is always reported to have stayed in Yakṣa-āyātānās, yakṣa-caityās like the Pūrṇabhadra caityā etc. Yakṣas also figure prominently in early texts such as Bhagavati-Sūtra, Tattvārthabhāṣya, Kalpa sūtra, etc. The Aupapātika sūtra describes the scene of Mahāvīra's first sermon on the outskirts of the city of Campa at the Shrine (Caityā) of a tree - Spirit (Yakṣa) called

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<sup>1</sup> U. P. Shah, " Beginnings of Jaina Iconography", BMAUP, No.9, 1972, pl.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp2-3.

<sup>3</sup> A. K. Coomaraswamy, Yakṣas, Part II, New Delhi, (Reprint) 1971, p.13.

<sup>4</sup> R.N. Mishra, Yaksha Cult and Iconography, New Delhi, 1981.

Pūrṇabhadra which is suggestive of an early Jaina strategy of incorporation of local cults.<sup>5</sup> This also goes to explain the fact that the earliest Jina images were influenced by Yakṣa sculptures. Extant evidence of image worship including the worship of the Stūpa, Caitya-tree, Dharmacakra, Āyagapattas, Aṣṭamaṅgalas (8 auspicious symbols), Svastika, Śrivatsa mark, Mīna-yugala (pair of fishes), Padma (full-blown lotus), Mirror etc, dated second century B.C. is available from Mathura which was a Jaina stronghold at that time.<sup>6</sup> It was only later that cognizances, attendant deities and a full parikara was evolved for the Tirthankara images. The Tirthankaras remained the supreme object of veneration (Devādhidevās). Also enjoying high reverence were the Pañcaparameṣṭhins (5 Exalted beings) viz. Arhat, Sīdha, ācārya, upādhyāya and sādhu. But these great beings could not grant the mundane desires of worshippers like desire for success, wealth, children, etc, as the worship of the divine being i.e. the perfect being was meant to remove all obstacles in the path of the faith and the worshipper meditated on the qualities and virtues of the divinity so that they may manifest in the worshipper himself. Thus appeared the need for minor deities who could cater to the needs and aspirations of the laity and gradually a pantheon was created to include various deities who were in some way or the other involved in serving the tīrthaṅkaras.

The earlier Jaina canonical texts like Sthānāṅga and the Uttarādhyāna sūtra classify deities into 4 classes on the basis of their abode, characteristics, role in the pantheon etc. These are the Bhavanavāsīs, Vyantaras or Vāṇamantaras, Jyotiṣkas and the Vimānavāsīs. These are again subdivided into several groups with their Indras, Lokpālas, queens etc.<sup>7</sup> The Bhavana vāsīs live in the Ratnaprabha Earth and are divided into 10 classes each with their own recognising marks viz. AsuraKumāras, NāgaKumāras, Suparna Kumāras, Dvīpa Kumāras, Udadhi Kumāras,

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<sup>5</sup> Paul Dundas, The Jains, London, 1992, p.30.

<sup>6</sup> U. P. Shah, "Beginnings of Jaina Iconography", B M A U P, No. 9, 1972, p.4.

<sup>7</sup> U. P. Shah, JRM, Vol, New Delhi, 1987, p.57.

Stanita Kumāras, Vidyut Kumāras, Dik Kumāras, Agni Kumāras, Vāyu Kumāras. The Vyantarās also living in the Ratnaprabha earth are divided into 8 chief classes by both Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras. They are Pisācas, Bhūtas, Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Kinnaras, Kimpuruṣas, Mahoragas, Gandharvas. The Jyotiṣkas are divided into 5 classes- suns, moons, planets, asterisms, and miscellaneous stars. The Vaimānika gods live in Kalpa and Kalpātika heavens and are divided into Saudharma, Īsāna, Santakumāra, Māhendra, Brahmaloka, Lāntaka, Mahāśukra, Sahasrāra, Ānata, Prāṇata, Āraṇa, and Accyuta.<sup>8</sup> These lists are mainly concerned with male deities. It was only in later works like the Caturvīṃśatikā, Pratiṣṭhāsārōdhāra, Nirvāṇakalikā and Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita that goddesses were mentioned in detail.

Jaina cosmology distinguishes the various goddesses as residing in three realms, the upper (ūrdhvaloka), middle (tiryāgloka), and lower (adhloka). In the upper realm are two goddesses, common to Hindus and Jains, Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī. In the middle realm are tantric Vidyādevīs, a group of sixteen goddesses who generally appear together. In the lower realm are the Yakṣī attendants of the Twenty-Four Tīrthaṅkaras.<sup>9</sup> Apart from these there are a host of minor female divinities which have not been assigned any specific place but which do seem to have had an antiquity in Jaina worship. We shall now take up the Jaina conception and understanding of each of these.

### SARASVATĪ

As far as the antiquity of goddess worship in Jainism is concerned, both literature as well as art testify to the fact that Sarasvatī was worshipped as the goddess of learning at least since the Kuśāṇa period. In Jainism, unlike

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., pp57-60.

<sup>9</sup> John Cort, " Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions", Numen, Vol. XXXIV, Fasc.2, 1987, p.236.

brahmanism, Sarasvatī is known as the goddess of learning and is not connected with fine arts till the tenth century A.D. She is named variously as Sarasvatī, Śrutadevatā, Śāradā, Bhārati, Bhāṣā, Vāk-devatā, Vagīṣvari, Vāgvādinī, Vanī, Brāhmī.<sup>10</sup> As Śrutadevatā she presides over the śruta or preaching of the Tīrthānkaras and Kevalins.<sup>11</sup> The Dvādaśaṅgam i.e. the Twelve āṅgas are described as the different limbs of the Srutadevata, while the Fourteen Pūrva texts are said to be her ornaments. She is regarded as the bestower of knowledge and purity and all relevant attributes i.e. white complexion, lotus, swan are associated with her.<sup>12</sup> Her antiquity in Jainism is established on the basis of literary evidence in Vyākhyā prajñāptī (second-third centuries A.D.), Paksikāsūtra of Śivaśarma (Fifth century A.d.), Haribhadra Sūri's Pancakasa (A.D.775) and Bappabhatti sūri's Saradastotra (C.A.D.775).<sup>13</sup> Dhyānas available in literature describe three varieties of forms - Two armed, Four armed, multi armed. Art provides two more varieties i.e. six armed and Eight armed. Her chief distinguishing symbols are book, swan vehicle (or peacock in the case of Diḡambaras), lotus, etc.<sup>14</sup> Archaeological evidence for

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<sup>10</sup> U. P. Shah, "Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Sarasvatī," JUB, Vol.X, 1941-42, p.195.

<sup>11</sup> David Kinsley, Hindu Goddesses: Vision of the Divine Feminine in the Hindu Goddess Tradition, New Delhi, 1987, p.56 -"The religions quest in all three native Indian religions - Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism is expressed by the metaphor of fording or crossing a wide stream. THE river in this metaphor represents the state of transition, the period of rebirth, in which the spiritual sojourn undergoes a crucial metamorphosis. The river represents a great purifying power in which the Pilgrim drowns his old self and is born anew, free and enlightened. This imagery is not used expressly in connection with Sarasvatī in the vedas, but it may have been understood implicitly and may help to explain the association of Sarasvatī with inspiration, speech and wisdom in her later history."

<sup>12</sup> M. N. P Tiwari, " Sarasvatī in Jaina Art," in S. K. Jain and K. C. Sogani ed., Perspectives in Jaina Philosophy and Culture, New Delhi, 1985, pp.66-71.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> U. P. Shah, " Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Sarasvatī", JUB, Vol X, 1941-42, pp. 195-218.

the worship of Sarasvatī in the Jaina tradition comes from the Kankālī Tīlā at Mathura where the inscription on the pedestal of the image gives the date 132 A.D.<sup>15</sup> This Jaina Sarasvatī, which is also the oldest extant Sarasvatī image of any tradition, is depicted squatting in the same position in which Mahavira attained enlightenment, with a sacred book in her hand, indicative even at that early stage, of her position as the goddess who is invoked to help dispel the darkness of knowledge-concealing karma.<sup>16</sup> The depiction of Sarasvatī in the above stated pose is significant and demonstrates the veneration shown to her by the Jainas.

The specific attributes of Sarasvatī in Western India shall be discussed in the next section but mention must be made of the two most exquisite sculptures of Sarasvatī discovered from Pallu (Bikaner), one of which is now preserved in the National museum, New Delhi (Acc No. 1/6/278) while the other is in the Ganga, Golden Jubilee museum, Bikaner. These figures belonging to the mid Eleventh century, show the four armed goddess as standing in Tribhāṅga on a lotus pedestal with a small figure of a swan. She shows varadākṣa, lotus, manuscript and water vessel and is bedecked with ornaments and Karaṇḍa mukuṭā. There is a figure of a tīrthaṅkara carved on her crown and she is accompanied by two female figures playing on viṇā, topped by another two figures playing flute.<sup>17</sup> This is as yet one of the most beautiful sculptures of Sarasvatī.

### ŚRĪ

Like Sarasvatī, Śrī, the goddess of wealth has also enjoyed an important place

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<sup>15</sup> Vincent. A. Smith, The Jaina Stupa and other Antiquities at Mathura, Allahabad, 1901, pp.56-57.

<sup>16</sup> Paul Dundas, op.cit., p.183.

<sup>17</sup> Tiwari, op.cit., pp 66-71., B.N. Sharma, " Some Medieval Sculptures from Rajasthan in the National Museum, New Delhi," Roopa Lekha, Vol.XXV, p. 31.

in the life of Jainas, most of whom are merchants. Early texts like the Kalpasūtra describe Śrī as one of Triśāla's Sixteen dreams emphasizing the depiction of her maternal organs, thus drawing attention to the fertility aspect.<sup>18</sup> Śrī and Lakṣmī also occur as Hrada devīs who are assigned the function of nursing the Jina's mother before his birth. Although treated separately in texts, they occur in art as Śrī-Lakṣmī. Archaeological evidence to prove antiquity of Śrī worship in Jainism is available from Orissa where Śrī figures on an arch of a doorway in the Ananta, Gumpha dated between 150-50 B.C.<sup>19</sup> Thus the worship of Śrī-Lakṣmī was prevalent in Jainism since early days and she seems to have been primarily regarded as a goddess of abundance and fertility. In fact the worship of Lakṣmī was a pan-Indian phenomenon indicating the absorption of a non-aryan mother goddess associated with vegetation and fertility, into the mainstreams of leading religions.<sup>20</sup>

### VIDYĀ DEVĪS

The vidyā devīs constitute a group of tantric goddesses generally occurring together, Jaina traditions speak of the existence of as many as 48000 vidyās but out of these sixteen are supposed to be chief or Mahāvidyās. Jaina tantra distinguishes

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<sup>18</sup> Hermann Jacobi "Kalpa Sūtra" in Max Muller (ed.), Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXII, New Delhi (Reprint) 1968, pp 232-233. "The she with the face of the full moon saw the goddess of famous beauty Śrī, on the lotus lake, anointed with water from the strong and large trunks of the guardian elephants... her fleshy thighs resembled the proboscis of an excellent elephant, and her lovely hips were encircled by a golden zone. Her large and beautiful belly was adorned by a circular navel, and contained a lovely row of hairs ... the pure pair of her breasts, sparkled, encircled by a garland of kunda flowers, in which glittered a string of pearls..." This appears to be the Gajalākṣmī form of Śrī.

<sup>19</sup> U.P. Shah, JRM, p 62., V.S. Agrawala, "Some Brahmanical Deities in Jaina Religious Art," Jaina Antiquary, Vol III, No.IV, 1928, pp 84-85.

<sup>20</sup> For details See, Suvira Jaiswal, Origin and Development of Vaiṣṇavism, Vaiṣṇavism from 200 B.C to 500 A.D., New Delhi, (Second Rev. ed.), 1981, pp 95-96.



between mantras constituted of letters like OM, Hrim, Svāhā, etc, and presided over by male deities, and mastered by repetition, and Vidyās presided over by female deities and mastered only by the prescribed rite.<sup>21</sup> Belief in Vidyās appears to be an ancient tradition amongst the Jainas as vidyās are mentioned in a number of early texts representing magical powers which could be obtained through meditation and ascetic practice. The Sūtrakṛtāṅga Sūtra (2.2.15) refers to Antādhānī Vijiā, while. The Nāyadhammakahāo (Vaidya's ed, XVI, 129, P189., XVIII, 141, P209., XIV,104,P152) refers to utpātāvidya.<sup>22</sup> Aupapātika Sūtra says that the 'therās' following Mahavira know both the 'Vijiā' and 'manta'. Although denounced and disapproved of as pāpaśruta or sinful sciences up till the early centuries of the christian era, with the growing influence of tantric traditions upon Jainism, the attaining of Vidyās for worldly ends became a part of Jaina practice. There was a growing belief in the miraculous potency of occult practices. The Sūtrakṛtāṅga mentions a number of occult sciences which people acquired for attaining success such as the art to make one happy or miserable, art of casting people to sleep, of opening doors, conjuring etc.<sup>23</sup> The Niryuktis ( c. Fourth century A.D) speak of Jaina monks who got alms by conjuring, employing incantations, tricks, and distributing roots and bulbs to cure diseases.<sup>24</sup> Vimala Sūri's Paumacariam provides the most valuable evidence of the growth of Jaina Tantra in the early centuries of the christian era. The text deals with Rama's story and describes the vidyādhara vaṁśa as including Prajñāpti, Kaumārī, Aṇimā, Laghimā, Vajrodarī,

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<sup>21</sup> U.P. Shah, " A Peep into the Early History of Tantra in Jain literature," Bhārata Kaumudi, II, Allahabad, 1947, p. 850.

<sup>22</sup> U. P. Shah, "Iconography of the Sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās". JISOA, Vol XV, 1947, p.114. Also see p.115 where U.P. Shah quotes similar references from 8 texts.

<sup>23</sup> Shanta Sharma, Social and Cultural Patterns in Rajasthan (A.D 700-900) as depicted in Contemporary Prakrit works, (unpublished thesis), Department of History, Delhi University, 1992, p.254.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p 255.



Varuṇī, Aiśānī, Vijayā, Jayā, Kauberī, Caṇḍālī, Yogesvarī etc.<sup>25</sup> Thus the seeds of Tantricism were already sown in Jainism of the early centuries of the christian era. The early medieval period saw the growing influence of tantricism on all the major religions. In Jainism also this period saw the composition of a number of Tantric texts such as the Samarāicchakahā by Haribhadrasūri (Eighth century), Jvālīnī Kalpa by Indramani (939A.D) and Mallisena's Bhairava Padmāvati Kalpa (1047 A.D).<sup>26</sup> The Samarāicchakahā is complete with tantric ideas and practies, and even refers to the use of beautiful girls for attaining supernatural powers.<sup>27</sup> The Jvālīnī Kalpa and Bhairava Padmāvati Kalpa also testify to the fact that the magico-religious worship of mother goddesses was a distinctive characteristic of Jaina liturgical practices during the early medieval period. Subjects treated in these texts include the rituals of Vaśīkarana (hypnotism), Śānti (peace-making), Yantra (mystic diagrams), mandala (magic circle), mudrā (various bodily postures connected with the invocation of goddesses), nyāsa (ritually placing the deity or deities in different parts of the worshipper's body) etc.<sup>28</sup>

It was also in the early medieval period, when the influence of Tantricism was being felt strongly, that there was a transition in the nature of vidyās. From words of feminine gender, they now became goddesses. Although the early texts described Vidyās as occult powers, texts like Vasudevahinḍī (c. 500-700CE) invoked them as goddesses.<sup>29</sup> The potential link between vidyādevīs, the goddesses, and their antecedent vidyās, the spells and incantations, was maintained nevertheless and accounts for the tantric nature of the vidyādevīs.



- <sup>25</sup> U.P. Shah, "A Peep into the Early history of Tantra in Jaina literature," Bharata Kaumudi, II p. 849.
- <sup>26</sup> R. S. Sharma, "Material Milieu of Tantricism", in R. S. Sharma (ed.), Indian Society: Historical Probings, Delhi, 1974, p.186.
- <sup>27</sup> R. N. Nandi, Social Roots of Religion in Ancient India, Calcutta, 1986, p.126.
- <sup>28</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>29</sup> J. Cort, op. cit., p 239.

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The earliest though brief account of the origin and worship of vidyādevīs is available in the Paumacariyu (Fifth-Eight centuries A.D). Detailed versions can be obtained in the Vasudevahindī of Saṅghadāsa Gani (c.500A.D) Jinadāsa Mahattara's Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi (c. 677A.D), Jinasena's Harivaṃśa Purāṇa (783 A.D), and Hemacandra's Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita (C. Twelfth century A.D).<sup>30</sup> Hemacandra's version relates how Nami and Vinami approached Ṛṣabhanātha, seeking his blessings to acquire worldly prosperity. But since Ṛṣabhanātha was engaged in meditation he remained unconcerned. Lest people start considering the worship of the Jina as fruitless and start doubting the efficacy of the religion, Dharanendra, the king of Nāgas, granted Nami and Vinami lordship over the vidyādharas. Nami founded 50 cities on the southern slope of Mount Vaitādhyā and Vinami 60 on the Northern slope. Each of them took control over eight of the sixteen classes of vidyās and established deities to preside over them.<sup>31</sup> This legend clearly demonstrates the association of vidyādevīs with temporal issues such as prosperity, fame, happiness etc. Also, the association of Dharanendra the Nāga king, with Ṛṣabha and not Pārśvanātha indicates an early attempt on the part of the Jainas to incorporate the nāga element of popular culture.

Interestingly the Harivaṃśa Purāṇa of Jinasena also reveals another classification of Mahāvidyās into 8 āryās and 8 daityās, āryās belonging to the class of Gandharvas (celestial musicians) and daityās belonging to the class of Pannagās (Serpent deities).<sup>32</sup> Not only does this classification reveal the connection of vidyās with nāgas but it also indicates a distinction into the heaven underworld and noble-demonic. Another inference that may be drawn from the above facts is that vidyādevīs were worshipped both in their benevolent and malefic forms. The

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid, p.239.

<sup>31</sup> U.P. Shah, "Iconography of the Sixteen Jaina Mahavidyas", JISOA, Vol XV, pp. 114-115.

<sup>32</sup> J. Cort, Op. cit., p.240.

association of vidyādevīs, the goddesses, with occult practices is also evident from references in the Kuvalayamālā, one of which narrates the incidence of vidyādhara maidens summoning the Prajñāptī vidyā, which was personified as well as deified and helped them to gain knowledge of things at a distance.<sup>33</sup> Thus vidyā devīs seem to have bestowed upon their devotees special powers which were atypical of a human being. A significant fact, to be noted is that it was female deities who granted these magical powers and not Male Gods.

The Harivaṃśa Purāṇa presents the earliest Digambara tradition of sixteen Mahāvidyās. Although the śvetāmbaras enumerated only Four Mahāvidyās namely Gaurī, Rohiṇī, Gāndhārī and Prajñāptī, but eventually they also adopted sixteen as the standard number. Thus the list of Sixteen Vidyādevīs seems to have been crystallized around Ninth century A.D.<sup>34</sup> and these deities henceforth appeared in art. Some of the Vidyādevīs share similar names and characteristics with Yakṣīs, thus making it difficult to draw a line of distinction between them. Though vidyādevīs are known to belong to an earlier tradition,<sup>35</sup> in art it is the yakṣīs who make an earlier appearance. The earliest depiction of vidyādevīs is seen at the Mahāvīra temple at Osian, although they do not occur in a set of sixteen here, as is the general tradition. A beautiful set is preserved in the ceilings of the Raṅgamaṇḍapas of the vimala vasahī and Luṇa vasahī temples at Abu. The Digambaras do not have representations of these deities in art.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Shanta Sharma, op. cit., p.256.

<sup>34</sup> J.Cort, op.cit., p. 239-240.

<sup>35</sup> U.P. Shah, " Beginnings of Jaina Iconography" in B M A U P, Vol IX, p.13.

<sup>36</sup> For details on the characteristic traits and attributes of the Sixteen Mahāvidyās as depicted in literature as well as art, refer to Table 1.

TABLE I<sup>1</sup>

## Vidyādevīs

NAME	ŚVETĀMBARA TRADITIONS		DIGAMBARA TRADITIONS		VARIETIES AVAILABLE IN ART (SCULPTURES)	
	TEXTUAL REFERENCE	ATTRIBUTES	TEXTUAL REFERENCE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACE	ATTRIBUTES
1. Rohiṇī	<u>Caturvīṃśatikā</u> (743-838 A.D.) of Bappabhaṭṭisūri	Four armed. Mount cow. arrow, rosary, bow and conch	<u>Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṃgraha</u> (c. 12 <sup>th</sup> century A.D.) of Vasunandi	Four armed Mount lotus. <u>kalāśa</u> , conch, lotus, fruit	Vimala Vasahī, Abu Kumbharia	Four armed, Mount cow. <u>varada</u> , conch, arrow, X
	<u>Nirvānakalikā</u> (c. 10 <sup>th</sup> Century AD) of Pādaliptasūri	Four armed . Mount cow. arrow, rosary, bow and conch and multiarmed holding conch, bow, etc.	<u>Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra</u> of Āśadhara (13 <sup>th</sup> century A.D.)	Four armed Mount lotus. <u>kalāśa</u> , conch, lotus, fruit	Vimala Vasahī, Abu	Six armed, Mount cow. bow, arrow, X, X, X, X
					Śāntinātha temple, Cambay	Eight armed, Mount cow. noose, X, Bow, citron, disc, arrow, <u>varada mudrā</u>
2. Prajñāpti	<u>Caturvīṃśatikā</u>	Four armed . Mount peacock. Holds <u>Śakti</u>	<u>Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra</u>	X, Mt. Horse, <u>Khṛḍga</u> , Disc.	Vimala Vasahī, Abu	Four armed Mt. Peacock. <u>Śakti</u> , <u>Kukkuṭā</u> , X, X
	<u>Caturvīṃśatistotra</u> of Śobhana Muni (c. 10 <sup>th</sup> century A.D.)	Calls her <u>Śakti Karā</u>	<u>Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṃgraha</u>	X X <u>Khṛḍga</u>		or <u>Varada</u> , <u>Śakti</u> , <u>Abhaya</u> , <u>Kukkuṭa</u>

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The data for this table has been collected from M.N.P. Tiwari, Elements of Jaina iconography, Varanasai, 1983, pp. 93-96, U.P. Shah, "Iconography of the Sixteen Jaina Mahavidyas", Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental art, vol. XV, 1947, pp.114-177.

NAME	SVETĀMBARA TRADITIONS		DIGAMBARA TRADITIONS		VARIETIES AVAILABLE IN ART (SCULPTURES)	
	TEXTUAL REFERENCE	ATTRIBUTES	TEXTUAL REFERENCE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACE	ATTRIBUTES
		<u>Nirvāṇakalikā</u>	Four armed. Mount - peacock, <u>varada</u> , <u>Śakti</u> , Citron, <u>Śakti</u>			Vimala Vasahī, Abu
3. Vajraśṛṅkhālā	<u>Caturvīṃśatikā</u> and <u>Caturvīṃśatistotra</u>	Two armed . Mt. lotus. Chain in one or both hands.	<u>Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṃgraha</u>	Two armed . X Chain .	Vimala Vasahī, Abu	Four armed, Mt. lotus. Chain in two upper, Rosary and Mace or Chian, Chain, <u>Varada</u> , X
	<u>Nirvāṇakalikā</u>	Two armed . Mt. lotus. <u>Varada</u> , Chain, Lotus, Chain and multi-armed .	<u>Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra</u>	Two armed, Mt. lotus. Chain in one, or both hands .	Vimala Vasahī, Abu	Six armed, Sitting on stool, Chain-2, X, X, <u>Varada</u> , Mace
					Vimala Vasahī, Abu	Sixteen armed, Mt. horse. Chain, Chain, Mace, <u>Kalaśa</u> , Mutilated .
4. Vajrāṅkuśī	<u>Caturvīṃśatikā</u> and <u>Caturvīṃśatistotra</u>	Two armed . Mt. Elephant. Thunderbolt, Goad	<u>Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṃgraha</u>	Refers only to <u>Āṅkuśa</u> symbol	Vimala Vasahī, Abu Lūnavasahī, Abu	Four armed . Mt. Elephant. Goad, Rosary, <u>vajra</u> , Citron (or water pot)

NAME	SVETĀMBARA TRADITIONS		DIGAMBARA TRADITIONS		VARIETIES AVAILABLE IN ART (SCULPTURES)	
	TEXTUAL REFERENCE	ATTRIBUTES	TEXTUAL REFERENCE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACE	ATTRIBUTES
		<u>Nirvānakalikā</u>	Four armed . Mt. Elephant. <u>Varada</u> , <u>Vajra</u> , Citron, <u>Aṅkuśa</u> .	<u>Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra</u>	Two armed . Mt. Puspayana. Goad, <u>Viṇā</u> .	Vimala Vasahī, Abu
5. Apraticakrā or Cakreśvari or Cakradharā	<u>Caturvīṣātika</u> <u>Caturvīṣānistotra</u>	X Mt. Garuda. Discs in all hands .	<u>Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra</u>	Two armed . Mt. Peacock. Sword, spear.	Vimala Vasahī, Abu	Four armed Mt. Eagle. Disc-2, Citron, X
Digambara Jāmbunadā	<u>Nirvānakalikā</u>	Four armed . X Discs in all hands .	<u>Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṃgraha</u>	Sword	Pāṭan, N. Gujarat	Four armed X <u>Cakra</u> -4. Jina on top . (could be Yakṣi)
					Vimala Vasahī, Abu	Six armed X Disc-2, <u>Jñāna mudrā</u> -2 <u>Varada</u> , Conch
6. Naradattā or Puruśadattā	<u>Caturvīṣātika</u>	X Mt. Buffalo. Sword	<u>Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṃgraha</u>	Vajra	Vimala Vasahī Lūṇa Vasahī, Abu	Four armed Mt. Buffalo. Lotus-2, Rosary, pot
	<u>Caturvīṣānistotra</u>	X Mt. Buffalo. Sword, Shield .	<u>Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra</u>	X Mt. Cakravāka (ruddy goose). <u>Vajra</u> , Lotus	Vimala Vasahī, Abu	Multi armed, Mt. Buffalo. Shield, Noose, Citron, Rosary, sword, Mace, Pot etc.

NAME	ŚVETĀMBARA TRADITIONS		DIGAMBARA TRADITIONS		VARIETIES AVAILABLE IN ART (SCULPTURES)	
	TEXTUAL REFERENCE	ATTRIBUTES	TEXTUAL REFERENCE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACE	ATTRIBUTES
		<u>Nirvānakalikā</u>	Four armed . Mt. Buffalo. <u>Varada</u> , Sword, Shield, Citron .			
7. Kālī	<u>Caturvīṣatikā</u>	Mt. Lotus. Club, Rosary .	<u>Pratiṣṭhāsārodhāra</u>	Mt. Deer. Pestle, sword .		
	<u>Nirvānakalikā</u>	Four armed, X Rosary, Male, <u>Vajra</u> , <u>Abhaya</u> .	<u>Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṃgraha</u>	Four armed. <u>Muṣala</u>	Vimala Vasahī Lūpavasahī, Abu	Four Armed . Mr. Lotus. Book, Book, <u>Gadā</u> , X or Book, Lotus, Mace, Pot
8. Mahākālī	<u>Caturvīṣatikā</u>	Four Armed . Mt. Man. <u>Vajra</u> , Fruit, Bell, Rosary	<u>Pratiṣṭhāsārodhāra</u>	Four Armed Mt. <u>Sarabha</u> (?). Bow, Arrow, Sword Fruit	Kumbharia (Mahāvīra Temple)	Four Armed Mt. Man. <u>Vajra</u> - 2, <u>Ghaṇṭā</u> , <u>Varada Mudrā</u> , Citron
	<u>Nirvānakalikā</u>					
			Four Armed X Rosary, <u>Vajra</u> , <u>Abhaya</u> , Bell .	<u>Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṃgraha</u>	Four Armed X Vajra	Vimala Vasahī
9. Gaurī	<u>Caturvīṣatikā</u> <u>Caturvīṣatistotra</u>	Two Armed . X Lotus .	<u>Pratiṣṭhāsārodhāra</u>	All texts envisage Lotus as symbol and Alligator as <u>vāhana</u> .	Vimalavasahī Abu	Four Armed Mt. Buffalo. Lotus -2, Rosary, <u>Kalaśa</u>



NAME	SVETĀMBARA TRADITIONS		DIGAMBARA TRADITIONS		VARIETIES AVAILABLE IN ART (SCULPTURES)	
	TEXTUAL REFERENCE	ATTRIBUTES	TEXTUAL REFERENCE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACE	ATTRIBUTES
		<u>Nirvāṇakalikā</u>	Four armed . Mt. <u>Goḍhā</u> . <u>Varada</u> , Pestle, Rosary, Lotus	<u>Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṃgraha</u>		Lūṇavasahī, Abu
10. Gāndhārī	<u>Caturvīṃśatikā</u> <u>Caturvīṃśatistotra</u>	Two armed . Mt. lotus. <u>Vajra</u> , Pestle.	<u>Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra</u>	Two armed . Mt. Tortoise. Disc, Sword .	Vimala Vasahī Abu  Kumbharia	Four Armed . Mt. Ram. Rosary, Citron, <u>Vajra</u> - 2.  Four Armed . Mt. Lotus, <u>Vajra</u> , Pestle Leaf, <u>Varada</u> .
	<u>Nirvāṇakalikā</u>	Four armed . Mt. Lotus. <u>Varada</u> , Pestle, <u>Abhaya</u> , <u>Varada</u> .	<u>Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṃgrah</u>	Four Armed . X Disc	Vimala Vasahī Abu	Six Armed .
11. Sarvastrā, Mahājvalā, or Jvalāmālīnī	<u>Nirvāṅkalikā</u>	Multi armed . Mt. Boar. Innumerable weapons	<u>Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṃgrah</u>  <u>Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra</u>	Eight Armed . X Bow, Sword Shield  X Mt. Buffalo. Bow, Shield, Sword, Disc	Vimala Vasahī Abu	Four Armed Mt. Cat-like. Fire, Rosary, X, X.

NAME	SVETĀMBARA TRADITIONS		DIGAMBARA TRADITIONS		VARIETIES AVAILABLE IN ART (SCULPTURES)	
	TEXTUAL REFERENCE	ATTRIBUTES	TEXTUAL REFERENCE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACE	ATTRIBUTES
12. Mānavī	<u>Caturvīṃśatikā</u> <u>Caturvīṃśatistotra</u>	X Mt. Lotus. Fine tree, full of fruits and foliage.	<u>Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra</u>	X Mt. Hog. Fish, Trident.	Lūnavasahī Vimalavasahī	Four armed Mt. Lotus. Lotus - 2 <u>Abhaya Mudra</u> And Rosary, <u>Kalaśa</u> Or Rosary, Trident X, X.
	<u>Nirvānakalikā</u>	Four armed. Mt. Lotus. <u>Varada</u> , Noose, Rosary, Tree.	<u>Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra</u>	Refers to Trident Only.		
13. Vairoṭyā or Vairoṭi	<u>Caturvīṃśatikā</u> <u>Caturvīṃśatistotra</u>	X X Snake, Sword X Mt. Cobra. Sword	<u>Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṃgraha</u>	Four Armed X Snake	Vimala Vasahī Lūnavasahī, Abu And Kumbharia	Four Armed X Snake, Shield, Sword, Snake, or Citron, <u>Varada</u> . Rosary etc.
	<u>Nirvānakalikā</u>	X Mt. Cobra. Snake, Shield, Sword, Snake Also Multi armed, deadly serpents various Weapons	<u>Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra</u>	X Mt. Lion. Snake		
14. Acchuptā or Acyutā	<u>Caturvīṃśatikā</u>	X Mt. Horse. Sword, Bow	<u>Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṃgraha</u>	Four Armed X Only Vajra	Vimala Vasahī, Abu Kumbharia .	Four Armed Mt. Horse. Bow, Arrow, Citron, <u>Varada</u>
	<u>Caturvīṃśatistotra</u>	X Mt. Horse Bow, Shield, Sword, Arrow	<u>Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṃgraha</u>	Mt. Horse. White Sword		

NAME	ŚVETĀMBARA TRADITIONS		DIGAMBARA TRADITIONS		VARIETIES AVAILABLE IN ART (SCULPTURES)	
	TEXTUAL REFERENCE	ATTRIBUTES	TEXTUAL REFERENCE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACE	ATTRIBUTES
15. Mānasi	<u>Caturvīṣatikā</u> <u>Caturvīṣatistotra</u>	Holds Burning Heti Bears <u>Vajra</u> alone	All works Unanimous	Visualized here with hands folded in <u>Namaskāra mudra</u> .	Vimala Vasahī	Four Armed Mt. Swan. Thunder Bolt, <u>Vajraghaṇṭā</u> , Rosary, X.
	<u>Nirvānakalikā</u>	Four Armed Mt. Swan. <u>Varada</u> , <u>Vajra</u> , Rosary, Vajra			Vimala Vasahī	Six Armed.
16. Mahāmānasi	<u>Caturvīṣatikā</u>	Four Armed Mt. Lion. Sword, Shield, Jewel, <u>Kuṇḍikā</u> ...	<u>Pratiṣṭhāsāraoddhāra</u>	Mt. Swan. <u>Varada</u> , Rosary, Goad, Garland.  <u>Pranāma mudrā</u>	Vimala Vasahī Lūna Vasahī Abu	Four Armed X Sword Shield, <u>Abhaya</u> X Or Sword, Shield, <u>Abhaya</u> , <u>Abhaya</u> .
	<u>Caturvīṣatistotra</u>	X Mt. Lion. Sword				
	<u>Nirvānakalikā</u>	X Mt. Lion. <u>Varada</u> , Sword, Pitcher, Shield				

YAKŚĪS

In Jainism, yakṣīs were introduced as the female consorts of the yakṣas belonging to the vyantara class of Gods, and appeared along with them as tutelary deities or Śāsanadevīs of Tīrthānkaras, the śvetāmbara and Digambara tradition being different, each having her own yāhana and attributes. Yakṣīs were regarded as protectors of the tīrthas of their respective tīrthānkaras and also helpers in the practice of Dharma.<sup>37</sup> As our discussion will indicate Yakṣīs came to mean much more than mere consorts of yakṣas and some of them developed an independent cult around them, although they did not embody purely Jaina elements.

The importance and popularity of the yakṣa cult and its influence on Jainism has already been mentioned. Yakṣas figure prominently in the early texts but yakṣīs appear by the side of the yakṣas only in the post Gupta period. Coomaraswamy is of the opinion that inspite of scanty references, yakṣīs were extensively worshipped, as benevolent as well as malevolent beings, in the latter aspect not differing essentially from their modern descendents such as Olābibī goddess of cholera, or the Bengali Śītalā, goddess of small pox. Coomaraswamy also equates the Matrakas, Sixty-four Yoginīs, Dākinīs and some forms of the Devī in medieval and modern cults with yakṣinīs.<sup>38</sup> The worship of yakṣīs needs to be seen in the context of the wide acceptance and popularity of the mother goddess cult. Just as Yakṣas were associated with vegetation, fertility and abundance, so also the earliest depictions of

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<sup>37</sup> Nathuram Premi, Jaina Sāhitya Aur Itihāsa, (Second edition) Bombay, 1956, pp.469 and 473-74 describes instances in which Śāsanadevatās presiding over the tīrthas of Tīrthānkaras were called upon to resolve whether the tīrtha belonged to the Digambaras or Śvetāmbaras., James Burgess (ed.), Weber tr., "The Satruñjaya mähātmyam, Indian Antiquary, Vol 30, 1901, pp.305-06 states that the tīrtha of śatruñjaya was re-established by Javada Seth after he worshipped Cakreśvarī to disclose to him the location of the image of Ṛṣabha initially established there by Bāhubalī and subsequently lost. Burgess assigns the date 11th century A.D. to the event.

<sup>38</sup> A. K. Coomaraswamy, op.cit., p 9.

yaksis at Bharhut, Bodhgaya, Panni, Moosanagar, Kausambi, all belonging to the post Maurya period indicate their close connection with fertility. Even in Sculptures belonging to the Sātvāhana, Kuśāṇa phase from Sanchi, Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda and Mathura, the female figures are generally associated with vegetation and fishtailed vehicles. They are scantily clothed, decked with ornaments and with maternal organs emphasized. The deity is shown with either her leg resting against the trunk of a tree or entwining it, and sometimes she is accompanied by a child.<sup>39</sup> All these features emphasize the fact that yakṣīs were semidivine beings, worshipped for their association with fertility, probably having a precedence to yakṣas. It was the popular mother goddess element that was sought to be absorbed in Jainism. This also occurred at the time when the mass strength of the female principle had placed the goddess by the side of their consorts in every religion and there was the emergence of an entirely female dominated religion, namely śāktism and the śāktā devī gradually absorbed within herself innumerable goddesses representing different streams.<sup>40</sup>

In Jaina Iconography as depicted in literature and art one does not come across yakṣīs until the sixth century A.D. The earliest literary evidence is from an unpublished sixth century A.D. autocommentary by Kśamaśramaṇa on the Viśeṣavāśyakā Bhāṣya.<sup>41</sup> The earliest iconographic evidence is also of the same date. A standing image of Rṣabha flanked by a yakṣa and Yakṣī dated 550 A.D, from Akota, is the earliest image representing śāsanadevatās.<sup>42</sup> U.P. Shah has traced the antiquity and evolution of yakṣī worship in Jainism showing that till the Ninth Century A.D it was the two-armed Ambikā and Two armed Kubera-like yakṣa

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<sup>39</sup> R. N. Misra, op. cit., pp.104-131.

<sup>40</sup> N. N. Bhattacharya, History of Tantric Religion, New Delhi, 1982, p.206.

<sup>41</sup> U. P. shah, " Beginnings of Jaina Iconography, " B M A U P, Vol.9, p12.

<sup>42</sup> U. P. Shah, Akota Bronzes, pp.28-29, figs. 10a, 10b, 11

who accompanied all the Tirthankaras as their śāsanadevatās.<sup>43</sup> Around 900 A.D the Yakṣīs attending upon tīrthāṅkaras begin to acquire separate identities. This process is evident from the data available at Deogarh (Jhansi district, U.P.). In the earliest temples Ambikā is the yakṣī for all the tīrthāṅkaras. Later Ambikā is replaced for all the Tīrthāṅkaras with the exception of Neminātha with differently named two-armed yakṣīs. Nevertheless their iconography remains the same, each of them holding a pot or citron and showing the Abhaya mudrā. Finally Yakṣīs with different names and iconography are depicted in temple No.12 at Deogarh.<sup>44</sup> In fact the only early sets of different yakṣīs known hitherto come from the Navamuni caves, Orissa, dated Ninth century A.D and Temple No.12 at Deogarh dated 9th to 10th century A.D. Thus the earliest known archaeological evidence for the Twenty Four different Yakṣīs does not date prior to the Ninth century A.D. Literary traditions of both the sects show that the lists of twenty four yakṣīs and yakṣas were finalised by the Twelfth century A.D. In fact the earliest lists are available from Hemacandra's (Twelfth Century) Abhidhāṇacintamaṇī and Trisastīśalākāpuruṣacarita.<sup>45</sup> By this time the yakṣīs ceased to be mere attendants of the Tīrthāṅkaras and some of them were even given an independent status. This progressive evolution of the yakṣīs can be discerned from changes in the iconic features. For instance, according to the conventional Jaina tradition, the Yakṣī Ambikā should always be depicted with two children in her lap and waiting upon a Tīrthāṅkara. But the depiction of the same yakṣī at the Meguṭi temple, Aihole (7th century A.D.) shows her as an independent mother goddess with two female attendants each with a child in her lap, waiting upon the yakṣī.<sup>46</sup> The changes in

<sup>43</sup> U. P. Shah, "Introduction of Śāsanadevatās in Jaina worship", PAIOC, Vol. II, Part 1, 1959, pp.143-151., JRM, pp212-218.

<sup>44</sup> J.Cort, op.cit., p.242.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid. For a detailed list of the names and attributes of the Twenty four Yakṣīs refer to Table II, p. 34.

<sup>46</sup> R. N. Nandi, op.cit., p.128.

TABLE II<sup>1</sup>

## Yakṣis

TĪRTHĀNKARA	ŚVETĀMBARA TRADITION				DIGAMBARA TRADITION			
	YAKṢĪ	VĀHANA	ARMS	ATTRIBUTES	YAKṢĪ	VĀHANA	ARMS	ATTRIBUTES
1. Rṣabhanātha	Apraticakrā Or Cakresvari	<u>Garuda</u>	8	<u>Varada Mudrā</u> , <u>Bāṇa</u> , <u>Cakra</u> , <u>Pāśa</u> , <u>Dhaṇuśa</u> , <u>Vajra</u> , <u>Cakra</u> , <u>Aṅkuśa</u>	Cakreśvari	<u>Garuda</u>	4	<u>Cakra</u> , <u>Cakra</u> , <u>Varada Mudrā</u> , <u>Matūliṅga</u>
2. Ajitanātha	Ajitā	<u>Lohāsana</u> or cow	4	<u>Varada Mudrā</u> , <u>Pāśa</u> , <u>Aṅkuśa</u> , Fruit	Rohiṇi	<u>Lohāsana</u> or <u>Āsana</u> (Stool)	4	<u>Varada Mudrā</u> , <u>Abhaya Mudrā</u> , <u>Śankha</u> , <u>Cakra</u> or <u>Vajra</u> , <u>Aṅkuśa</u> , Dagger and Lotus
3. Sambhavanātha	Duritāri	<u>Meśa</u> ( <u>Mayūra</u> or <u>Mahiṣa</u> )	4	<u>Varada Mudrā</u> , <u>Akṣamālā</u> , Fruit or snake <u>Abhaya Mudrā</u>	Prajñapti	<u>Pakṣi</u>	6	<u>Ardhendu</u> , <u>Paraśu</u> , Fruit, <u>Vardamudrā</u> , <u>Khadga</u> , <u>Idhī</u>
4. Abhinandana	Kālīkā	<u>Padma</u>	4	<u>Varada Mudrā</u> , <u>Pāśa</u> , <u>Sarpa</u> , <u>Aṅkuśa</u>	Vajrasṅkhalā	<u>Hamśa</u>	4	<u>Varada Mudrā</u> , <u>Nāga</u> - <u>Pāśa</u> , <u>Akṣamālā</u> , Fruit
5. Sumatinātha	Mahākālī	<u>Padma</u>	4	<u>Varada Mudra</u> <u>Pāśa</u> , <u>Matūliṅga</u> , <u>Aṅkuśa</u>	Naradattā or Puruṣadattā	<u>Gaja</u>	4	<u>Varada Mudrā</u> , <u>Cakra</u> , <u>Vajra</u> , Fruit .

<sup>1</sup> The data for this table has been collected from M.N.P. Tiwari, Elements of Jaina Iconography, Varanasai, 1983, pp. 133-137., S.Settar, "The classical Kannada literature and the Digambara Jaina Iconography", U.P. Shah and M.A. Dhaky (eds.), Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, Ahmedabad, 1975, pp. 26-48.

TĪRTHĀNKARA	ŚVĒTĀMBARA TRADITION				DIGAMBARA TRADITION			
	YAKṢĪ	VĀHANA	ARMS	ATTRIBUTES	YAKṢĪ	VĀHANA	ARMS	ATTRIBUTES
6. Padmaprabha	Acyutā or Mānāsī	<u>Nara</u>	4	<u>Varada Mudrā, Viṇā (Pāśa or Bāṇa), Dhanuśa, (Mātulingā), Abhaya Mudrā (or- Aṅkuśa)</u>	Mānovegā	<u>Aśva</u>	4	<u>Varada Mudrā, Khetakā, Khaḍga, Mātulingā</u>
7. Suparśvanātha	Śāntā	<u>Gaja</u>	4	<u>Varada Mudrā, Akṣamālā, Śūla (Trisūla), Abhaya Mudrā</u>	Kālī	<u>Vṛṣabha</u>	4	<u>Ghaṅṭā, Trisūla, Fruit, Varada Mudrā.</u>
8. Chandraprabha	Bhṛkuṭī or Jvālā	<u>Varāha (or Varāla or Marāla or Hamisa)</u>	4	<u>Khaḍga, Mudgarā, Phālakā (or Mātulingā) Paraśu.</u>	Jvālāmālīnī or Jvālīnī	<u>Mahīśā</u>	8	<u>Cakra, Śūla, Bāṇa, Dhanuśa, Flag, Sparkling Whip, Khaḍga, Shield.</u>
9. Suvidhinātha	Sutara or Chaṇḍālikā	<u>Vṛṣabha</u>	4	<u>Varada Mudrā Akṣamālā, Kalāśa, Aṅkuśa</u>	Mahākālī	<u>Kūrmā</u>	4	<u>Vajra, Phala, Muḍgara (Gadā), Varada Mudrā,</u>
10. Sitalanātha	Aśholā or Gomedhikā	<u>Padma</u>	4	<u>Varada Mudrā, Pāśa, Fruit, Aṅkuśa</u>	Mānavī	<u>Śukarā (Nāga)</u>	4	<u>Phala (Fruit), Varada Mudrā, Jhaśa, Pāśa.</u>
11. Śreyamsanātha	Mānavī or Śrīvatsa	<u>Simha</u>	4	<u>Varada Mudrā, Mudgarā (or Pāśa), Kalāśa (or Vajra), Aṅkuśa (Akṣasuhā)</u>	Gaurī	<u>Mṛgā</u>	4	<u>Mudgarā (or Pāśā), Abjā, Kalāśa, (Aṅkuśa), Varada Mudrā.</u>
12. Vasūpūjya	Caṇḍā or Ajitā or Pracaṇḍā or Caṇḍrā	<u>Aśva</u>	4	<u>Varada Mudrā, Śakti, Puṣpa (Pāśa) Gadā.</u>	Gāndhārī	<u>Padma or Makarā</u>	4 or 2	<u>Muśala, Padma, Varada Mudrā, Padma</u> <u>Padma, Fruit</u>



TĪRTHĀNKARA	ŚVETĀMBARA TRADITION				DIGAMBARA TRADITION			
	YAKṢĪ	VĀHANA	ARMS	ATTRIBUTES	YAKṢĪ	VĀHANA	ARMS	ATTRIBUTES
13. Vimalanātha	Viditā	<u>Padma</u>	4	<u>Bāna, Pāśa, Dhanuṣa,</u> <u>Sarpa</u>	Vairotī	<u>Sarpa</u>	4	<u>Sarpa, Sarpa,</u> <u>Dhanuṣa, Bāna</u> or <u>Varada Mudrā - 2,</u> <u>Khadga, Khetaka</u> <u>Kārmukha, Bāna</u>
14. Anantanātha	Aṅkuśā	<u>Padma</u>	2 or 4	<u>Phalaka, Aṅkuśa</u> <u>Khadga, Pāśa,</u> <u>Khetaka, Aṅkuśa</u>	Anantamatī	<u>Hamsa</u>	4	<u>Varada Mudrā,</u> <u>Phala, Dhanuṣa,</u> <u>Bāna.</u>
15. Dharmanātha	Kandarpā Or Pannagā	<u>Matsya</u>	4	<u>Utpala, Aṅkuśa,</u> <u>Padma, Abhaya-</u> <u>Mudrā</u>	Mānasi	<u>Vyāghra</u>	6	<u>Padma-2, Dhanuṣa,</u> <u>Varada Mudra,</u> <u>Aṅkuśa, Bāna, or</u> <u>Triśūla, Pāśa, Cakra,</u> <u>Damaru, Fruit, Varada</u> <u>Mudrā.</u>
16. Śāntinātha	Nirvāni	<u>Padma</u>	4	<u>Pustaka, Utpala</u> <u>Kamaṇḍalu, Padma or</u> <u>Varada Mudrā.</u>	Mahāmānasi	<u>Mayūra</u> Or <u>Garuḍa</u>	4	<u>Fruit, Sarpa, Cakra,</u> <u>Varada Mudrā</u> Or <u>Bāna, Dhanuṣa, Vajra</u> <u>Cakra.</u>
17. Kunthunātha	Balā, or Acyutā or Gandhārini	<u>Mayūra</u>	4	<u>Bijapūraka, Śūla (or</u> <u>Triśūla), Musundhi</u> <u>(Or Padma) Padma.</u>	Jayā	<u>Śukra</u>	4 or 6	<u>Śankha, Khadga</u> <u>Cakra, Varada-Mudrā</u> <u>Vajra, Cakra, Pāśa,</u> <u>Aṅkuśa, Fruit, Varada</u> <u>Mudrā</u>
18. Aranātha	Dhārīṇī	<u>Padma</u>	4	<u>Mātulinga, Uptala</u> <u>Pāśa (or Padma)</u> <u>Akṣasūtra.</u>	Tārāvati	<u>Hamsa</u> (or <u>Simha</u> )	4	<u>Sarpa, Vajra, Mrga (or</u> <u>Cakra), Varada Mudrā</u> (or Fruit).

TĪRTHĀNKARA	ŚVE TĀMBARA TRADITION				DIGAMBARA TRADITION			
	YAKṢĪ	VĀHANA	ARMS	ATTRIBUTES	YAKṢĪ	VĀHANA	ARMS	ATTRIBUTES
19. Mallinātha	Vairoṭyā or Dharanapriyā	<u>Padma</u>	4	<u>Varada Mudrā,</u> <u>Akṣasūtra</u> <u>Mātulingā, Śakti</u>	Aparajitā	<u>Śārabhā</u> or Mythical Lion	4	<u>Fruit, Khadga,</u> <u>Kheṭakā, Varada</u> <u>Mudrā</u>
20. Munisuvrata	Naradattā Or Varadattā	<u>Bhadrāsana</u> (or <u>Simha</u> )	4	<u>Varada mudrā</u> <u>Akṣa-Sūtra,</u> <u>Bijapūraka,</u> <u>Kumbha</u>	Bahurūpiṇī	<u>Kālanāga</u>	4 or 2	<u>Kheṭaka, Khadga,</u> <u>Fruit or Varada</u> <u>Mudrā</u>  <u>Khadga, Kheṭaka</u>
21. Naminātha	Gāndhāri	<u>Hansa</u>	4 or 8	<u>Varada Mudrā</u> <u>Khadga, Bijapūraka</u> <u>Kumbhā</u>  <u>Akṣamālā,</u> <u>Vajra paraśū,</u> <u>Nakulā,</u> <u>Varada mudrā,</u> <u>Khadga, Kheṭakā,</u> <u>Mātulingā.</u>	Cāmuṇḍā or Kusumamāliṇī	<u>Makara</u> Or <u>Markata</u>	4 or 8	<u>Daṇḍa, Kheṭaka,</u> <u>Akṣamālā, Khadga</u>  <u>Śūla, Khadga,</u> <u>Mudgarā, Pāśa, Vajra,</u> <u>Cakra, Damaru,</u> <u>Akṣamālā.</u>
22. Neminātha	Ambikā or Kuṣmāṇḍī	<u>Simha</u>	4	<u>Mātulingā, (or</u> <u>Amralumbī) Pāśa,</u> Son, <u>Ankuśa,</u> Second son standing nearby	Ambikā or Kuṣmaṇḍī	<u>Simha</u>	2	<u>Amralumbī, Son.</u> or <u>Fruit, Varada, Second</u> <u>Son nearby under</u> <u>Mango tree</u>

TĪRTHĀNKARA	ŚVĒTĀMBARA TRADITION				DIGAMBARA TRADITION			
	YAKṢĪ	VĀHANA	ARMS	ATTRIBUTES	YAKṢĪ	VĀHANA	ARMS	ATTRIBUTES
23. Paś vanātha	Padmāvati	<u>Kukkuta</u> <u>Sarpa</u> Or <u>kukkuta</u>	4	<u>Padma</u> , <u>Pāśa</u> , Fruit <u>Aṅkuśa</u> and three hooded Snake canopy overhead	Padmāvati	<u>Padma</u> or <u>Kukkuta</u> <u>Sarpa</u> or <u>Kukkuta</u>	4 or 6 or 24	<u>Phala</u> , <u>Pāśa</u> (Noose), <u>Vaira-Aṅkuśa</u> , <u>Padma</u>  <u>Pāśa</u> , <u>Khadga</u> , <u>Śūla</u> , <u>Ardhachandra</u> , <u>Gadā</u> , <u>Muśala</u> .  <u>Śaṅkha</u> , <u>Khadga</u> , <u>Cakra</u> , <u>Ardhacandra</u> , <u>Padma</u> , <u>Utpala</u> , <u>Dhanuśa</u> , <u>Śakti</u> , <u>Pāśa</u> , <u>Aṅkuśa</u> , <u>Bāṇa</u> , <u>Ghantā</u> , <u>Muśala</u> , <u>Khetaka</u> , <u>Triṣūla</u> , <u>Paraśu</u> , <u>Kuṅṭā</u> , <u>Bhinda</u> , <u>Mālā</u> , Fruit, <u>Gadā</u> , <u>Pātra</u> , <u>Pallava</u> , <u>Varada Mudrā</u> .
24. Mahāvira	Siddhāyikā	<u>Simha</u> or <u>Gaja</u>	4 or 6	<u>Pustaka</u> , <u>Abhaya</u> <u>Mudrā</u> <u>Mātulingā</u> (or <u>Pasa</u> ) <u>Bāṇa</u> (or <u>Viṇā</u> or <u>Padma</u> )  <u>Pustaka</u> , <u>Abhaya</u> <u>Mudrā</u> , <u>Varada</u> <u>Mudrā</u> , <u>Khārayudha</u> , <u>Viṇā</u> , Fruit.	Siddhāyikā or Siddhāyini	<u>Bhadrāsana</u> or <u>Simha</u>	2	<u>Varada Mudrā</u> (or <u>Abhaya Mudrā</u> ) and Book (or <u>Lolā</u> <u>Hastās</u> ).

the usual position of the yakṣīs, who were invariably placed on the left side of the Jina also attests to their elevated status. This is evident from the Anandamangalam sculptures in the Tamil region (9th-10th centuries), which place the yakṣiṇī Siddhāyikā on the right side of the Twenty fourth Jina Mahāvīra.<sup>47</sup>

References in the Samarāicchakahā indicate that tantric rites were associated with the worship of yakṣīs also. The text gives a detailed account of the propitiation of goddess Ajṭabalā, the yakṣī of Ajitanātha, for the acquisition of a spell and the significant place occupied by mantra, mudrā and maṇḍala.<sup>48</sup> Evidence from South India also reveals the development of yakṣīs into tantric goddesses. This is especially true in the case of Jvālāmālinī and Padmāvātī, to whom are also dedicated the tantric texts, Jvālīnī Kalpa and Bhairava Padmāvātī Kalpa respectively. The Jvālīnī Kalpa mentions the cure of snake-bites, mouse-bites, epilepsy and lunacy.<sup>49</sup> Both these texts speak of women who were associated with practising priests as their lady associates. The priests also pledged to placate malevolent planets, cure sterility in women, destroy adversaries and hypnotize hostile persons and bestow health, peace and prosperity on faithful clients.<sup>49</sup> Thus one sees the gradual evolution of yakṣīs from guardian deities of tīrthānkaras, to mother goddesses with specific identities worshipped for the attainment of worldly benefits. In some cases the tantric element seems to have given an impetus to the worship of goddesses, which in turn was used effectively by the votaries of the faith to popularise it further.

### MINOR FEMALE DEITIES

The early medieval period, therefore saw a considerable expansion of the Jaina pantheon to include vidyādevīs and yakṣīs but mention must also be made of

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<sup>47</sup> R.B.P. Singh, Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka, Delhi, 1976, p.52.

<sup>48</sup> Shanta Sharma, op. cit., pp.257-258.

<sup>49</sup> R.N. Nandi, Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan, Delhi, 1973, p.115, and p.161.

a host of minor female deities who are described in the Jaina literary tradition but do not seem to belong to the above mentioned classes.

We will first of all take up the case of a group of Four goddesses which seems to have been accorded a place in Jainism since ancient times although their representations in art have not been traced as yet. These are Jayā, Vijayā, Ajitā or Jayantā, and Aparājitā. Sometimes they are accompanied by four more but less popular goddesses, Jambhā, Mōhā, Stambhā and Stambhini.<sup>50</sup> These are worshipped as door keepers or dvārpālas by the Jinas. Hemacandra in his Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita (Gos, VolI, P 192) speaks of them as door keepers of the second rampart of the Samavasaraṇa and gives them the same symbols as the Niravāṇakalikā (10th century A.D). All of them are described as carrying abhaya, pāśa, goad and mudgara (mace) in their four hands thus highlighting their role as protectors. These goddesses are also included among the parivāra devatās of Śrī and Saravatī and are meant to bestow peace and prosperity. In their role as doorkeepers they are meant to bestow victory upon their worshippers and to protect the Jaina faith. They are also included in the Vardhamāna vidyā which is used as a mantra by different types of monks especially the upādhyāyas and vācakās. Their association with Śrī, Sarasvatī and vardhamāna vidyā suggest that their antiquity can be pushed back to first-second century A.D. Their names are also included in the list of 8 Dik-Kumārīs of the Jaina pantheon<sup>51</sup> according to the Jambudvīpa Prajñāpti. Vijayā, Vaijayantī, Jayantā and Aparājitā are four well known doorkeepers of the Jagatī<sup>52</sup>

<sup>50</sup> The factual information on these goddesses has been borrowed from U.P. Shah, "Jayā Group of Goddesses", Ācārya Vijay Vallabha Sūri Commemoration Volume, Bombay, 1956, pp.124-127.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., Their names are - Nandā, Nandottarā, Ānandā, Nandivardhamā, Vijayā, Vaijayantī, Jayantī and Aparājitā.

<sup>52</sup> The term Jagatī implies corridor of a shrine on the Four sides of its open court, also called Bhamatī vide, U.P. Shah, HA, p200. It may also mean a vast oblong platform on which lies the focus of the sacred complex i.e. the mūlaprāsāda or main shrine vide Dhaky, "The western Indian Jaina Temple",

of the Jambudvīpa. It is possible that the Jainas evolved their female counterparts as protectors of the Samavasaraṇa. A passage in Kautilyā's Arthaśāstra also mentions four male deities of the same name to be installed in a fortified tower in the centre which may also show that the male deities bearing those names were worshipped even in Mauryan times. All this indicates that the Jayā group of goddess had probably been evolved by the Jainas as the female consorts of deities already popular in ancient times.

Other deities mentioned include the Adhivāsana devī<sup>53</sup> and Tribhuvanasvāminī devī<sup>54</sup> who appear to be tantric deities. The former is invoked for consecration of every object with the help of mantras to ensure its permanence and efficiency. Tribhuvanasvāminī is the presiding deity of the second pīṭhā of the tantric maṇḍala of the Sūrimantra. She is described as thousand armed and residing on the Mānusottara mountain of Jaina cosmography, meditating on the lotus feet of the Ganadhara Śrī Gautama.<sup>55</sup> She is also the presiding deity of the Devimaṇḍala which includes eight goddesses.<sup>56</sup> This exemplifies the fact that however powerful a goddess might be, she was always to remain subordinate to the tīrthānkara and even to the pañcaparameṣṭhins. Thus, her role was to fulfil the worldly desires of the devotees for which purpose the perfect being was too remote to be approached. Although more approachable the goddesses were subordinate to the tīrthānkara and were not liberated souls like him.

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in Shah & Dhaky (eds) Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, Ahmedabad, 1975, p323. In any case it is an important part of a complex sacred to the Jainas.

<sup>53</sup> U.P. Shah, "Minor Jaina Deities", JOI, vol 31, No. 4, p375, quoting Nirvāṇakalikā (10<sup>th</sup> century A.D) and Ācāra Dinākara (1412 A.D).

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p 377.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p 377.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p 378.

There was also the concept of a group of six goddesses called Hradā devīs, Mahādevīs or Varṣadharadevīs, residing on islands in lakes on six mountains which divide the Jambudvīpa. Their names are Śrī, Hri, Dhṛtī, Kirtī, Buddhī and Lakṣmī.<sup>57</sup> These goddesses along with Śāntī and Puṣṭī are assigned the task of nursing the mother of a Jina before his birth, by the Digambaras.<sup>58</sup> Their representations except Śrī-Lakṣmi are not available in art but the texts supply us with their iconographic traits (water vessel, lotus, Citron etc.) and most of them appear to symbolise wealth, fertility, abundance and as pointed out by U.P. Shah they encompass within themselves all the vital and desirable essentials of life.

The early medieval tantric texts such as the Bhairava Padmāvati Kalpa, Jvālīnī Kalpa, Ambikā devī Kalpa also refer to the worship of a number of deities like Hidimbavāsini for the purpose of Vasi-Karma, Bheruṇḍadevī against poisoning, Ucchiṣṭā for fulfilling all desire except that of gold, Karṇapīśāciṇī for foretelling the future of the devotee etc.<sup>59</sup>

The cult of the Sixty four yoginīs was also absorbed by the Jainas. Of their names found in the Jaina works the following may be noted-Mahāyoginī, Siddhayoginī, Yugeśvarī, Pretākṣī, Dākinī, Kālī, Kālarātri, Nisācarī, Klimkārī, Baṭṭālī, Bhūṭadāmārī, Kumārika, Caṇḍikā, Varāhī, Karṇakālī, Bhuvaneśvarī, Kuṇḍalī, Lakṣmī, Karālī, Visatī, Divyayogī, Gaṇeśvarī, Hṛmkārī, Siddhi, Vitalā, Phakari, Virabhadraṁsī, Dhṛmākṣī, Kalahapriyā, Rājasi, Ghoraraketāsī, Virupakṣī, Bhayaṁkārī, Bairī, Jālakī, Yamaditī, Karatapānī, Kosakībhakṣinī, Yakṣai, Kumārī, Yantravāhini, Kāmakī, etc.<sup>60</sup> In the opinion of N.N. Bhattacharya, most of these goddesses appear to

<sup>57</sup> U.P. Shah, "Minor Jaina Deities", JOI, vol 32, No. 1, pp 82-85.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., pp 94-95.

<sup>60</sup> N.N. Bhattacharyya, The Indian Mother Goddess, (Revised ed.) Delhi, 1971, p110.

have been assimilated into Jainism from local, tribal or popular cults. The Jaina literary works which deal with the iconological characteristics of these goddesses include Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇī, and Trisāṣṭīśalākāpuruśacarita, Vasunandi's Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṅgraha, Jinasena's Mahāpurāṇa, and other works such as Nirvānakalikā, Catuṣṣṭyoginī nāmāṇī, Ācāradinākara etc.<sup>61</sup> As evident in the Jaina context there doesn't appear to be any emphasis on the individual personality of these goddesses. It is the number sixtyfour which appears to be more significant and it should be kept in mind that the number sixty four was a well established part of tantric lore. Thus the tantric element seems to have played an important role in the Jaina incorporation of the yoginī cult.

That the concept of group worship of goddesses was extremely popular in Jainism is also evident from the incorporation of the concept of 56 dik-kumārīs and also of Mātrkāṣ. Dik-Kumārīs appear as attendants of Jina mothers.<sup>62</sup> Barren women in order to bear children worshipped the mother of Jainas known as Viśveśvarīs.<sup>63</sup> Mātrkāṣ, Dik-Kumārīs as well as Viśveśvarīs have also found a place in Jaina art.

Thus by the medieval period, an enormous number of goddesses had been visualized in the Jaina pantheon. This is shown by the fact that the Ācāradinākara (1412 A.D) divides goddesses into three classes<sup>64</sup> - Prāsāda devīs or installed images, Kulādevīs or goddesses worshipped according to mantras from preceptors. For instance Saccikā is the kuladevī of all the oswāl baniyas and Camunda of the Prāgvāta baniyas. Scholars like R.C. Agrawal and Devendra Handa have shown that

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p.111.

<sup>62</sup> U.P. Shah, JRM, p.60.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, p.65.

<sup>64</sup> B.C. Bhattacharyya, The Jaina Iconography, Delhi, (2<sup>nd</sup> rev. ed.), 1974, pp. 15-16.



Saccikā was the nonviolent, vegetarian version of the brahmanical Mahiṣāmardīnī.<sup>65</sup> The third category is Sampradaya devis or class goddesses. The author describes the goddesses as on dais, on field, installed in a cave or in a palatial temple, either as a symbol or self-created or created by man.<sup>66</sup>

Thus as our references indicate, by about 1300 A.D, a host of goddesses had been introduced into the Jaina pantheon, each of them having been assigned a specific function and attributes in keeping with the assigned role. Although early texts mention a few goddesses these appear to be incidental references. Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī can be regarded as non-sectarian goddesses which were worshipped by all the major religions. But Jainism could not ignore the wide acceptance and popularity of mother goddesses nor the needs and aspirations of its adherents. Thus towards the early medieval period a number of goddesses made an appearance in Jainism, all concerned with bestowing worldly benefits on their devotees but having specific traits and characteristics, some of which reveal tantric influences. The goddesses depicted in art were mainly Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī, Vidyādevīs, Yakṣīs, Mātṛkās, mothers of Jinās etc. This is quite evident from a study of the representations of goddesses and female figure in the early medieval Jaina temples such as<sup>a</sup> Osian, Kumbharia, Abu and Girnar. Also a task to which we turn now.

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<sup>65</sup> Discussed in detail in next chapter.

<sup>66</sup> B.C. Bhattacharyya, op. cit., p. 16.

## Chapter III

### GODDESSES IN JAINA TEMPLES OF WESTERN INDIA

The Jaina texts abound in references to the human female depicting her as the cause of misery, source of all sin, impediment in the path of salvation, temptress etc, thus reflecting a typical ascetic attitude towards women and also the universally held dogma's about women's ability and morality.<sup>1</sup> At the same time the Jainas have offered a viable alternative to women by opening their monastic orders to them. But inspite of this we find the Jainas doubting the capacity of the female at the spiritual and intellectual level, so much so that this has become the subject of a vehement debate amongst the Jainas. This ambivalence towards the female is evident not just at the human level but at the divine level as well where we find the female principle extremely well represented. As evident from the discussion in the previous chapter, the divine feminine makes an overwhelming appearance in early medieval Jaina literature. A study of the Jaina temples at Osian, Kumbharia, Abu and Girnar reveals the greater visibility of goddesses in early medieval Jainism. In order to highlight this resurgence of the female at the divine level we have taken into account the myths and legends surrounding the female divinities worshipped at these sites, their placement in the temples and their attributes. We have taken up each case separately, beginning with Osian.

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<sup>1</sup> H. Johnson tr, Hemacandra's Triṣaṣṭiśalākā Puruṣacarita, Gaekwad oriental Series, Baroda, 1931-62, Vol1, p35 - "Persons engaged in the embraces of women as if afflicted by bhūtās, do not know themselves completely ruined," ., Vol 2, p 23 - "Thoughts about women are the mud of whose association is hard to remove," (Women are) bolts to the door of emancipation, " who " if thought about (they) serve for the destruction of dharma", quoted by Anupama Singh, (unpublished dissertation), Women in Early Medieval Jaina Society - A study based on Hemacandra's works, Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 1994, pp.71-72.

## OSIAN

The village of Osiā is situated thirty two miles North West of Jodhpur. It's early names as evident from epigraphs were Uvasiśal and Upakeśā.<sup>2</sup> According to the Upakeśa gaccha pattāvalī this town was founded by a prince from Bhinmal.<sup>3</sup> We have no source to corroborate this account but memorial stones found in the compound of Harihara Temple No. 2 of Osian are the earliest records referring to the Dharkaṭa jati which belongs to the Śrimāl gotra of the Oswāls. These records are dated V.S. 812, 8(4)0, 885, 891, 895 etc. and lend some support to the tradition that a sizeable part of the Bhīnmal population had settled at Osian around the latter half of the 8th century A.D.<sup>4</sup> However the discovery of Five large storage jars bearing small inscriptions in the Brāhmī script of c. 3rd-4th centuries A.D. from a low mound to the north west of the Mahāvīra temple, has been regarded as enough proof of its existence during the Gupta period.<sup>5</sup> But we have not come across any other evidence to lend Credence to this argument. On the other hand the Mahāvīra temple inscription dated V.S 1013 (A.D.956) states that a shrine dedicated to sun existed here during the reign of Pratihāra King Vaṭsarāja<sup>6</sup> who is placed in the latter half of the eight century. Some other temples of Osian also belong to the

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<sup>2</sup> K.C. Jain, " History of Osia," Journal of the Uttar Pradesh Historical Society, Vol 8, 1960, p27.

<sup>3</sup> A.F.R. Hoernle tr, " The pattavali or list of Pontiffs of the Upakesa \_Gachcha", IA, XIX, pp. 235-236. (henceforth UGP).

<sup>4</sup> Devendra Handa, Osian, pp.11-12

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p.12.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p11., D.R. Bhandarkar, " The Temples of osiā", Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India (henceforth ARASI), 1908-09, p.108 Also mentions the same inscription but believes that it refers to the Mahavira temple itself. Handa has however proven otherwise. Fortext of the Inscription See, P.C. Nahar, Jaina Inscriptions, Part I, (2nd rev. ed.), Delhi, 1983, No. 788, pp.192-194.

eight century.<sup>7</sup> Therefore it may safely be assumed that osian was in existence around the seventh - eighth centuries A.D.

Osian is regarded as 'the Cradle of the class of banias called oswals'.<sup>8</sup> According to legends preserved in the Upakeśa gaccha pattāvalī, a Jaina pontiff Ratnaprabha Sūri converted the people of Ukeśa to Jainism in Vīra Nivāṇa Saṃvat 70 (c.457 B.C.)<sup>9</sup>. Bardic traditions place the event in S.222 (165 A.D.)<sup>9a</sup>. But according to Jaina sources Ratnaprabhasūri flourished in the Twelfth century A.D. which is also the date for the works composed by him viz. Neminātha Carita (A.D. 1177) and Upadeśamālāvṛitti (A.D.1182).<sup>10</sup> It has already ben pointed out that the earliest references to Oswāls do not date prior to the 8th century A.D.<sup>11</sup> The Paramāra prince Upala Devā of Bhīnmāl who is said to have founded or refounded Osian also flourished during the 10th century A.D. He is said to have founded Osian with the help of a Pratihāra King of Maṇḍor. But there is no evidence of the contemporaneity of any of the Pratihāra Kings of Mandor and Paramāra Upala Devā of Bhinmal. The tradition probably originated after the Tenth century.<sup>12</sup> That Jainism was already flourishing in Osian in the 8th century A.D. is proved by the existence of the Sanctuary of Mahāvīra, which is the oldest extant Jaina temple

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<sup>7</sup> Devendra Handa, op.cit., p.11.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p.12.

<sup>9</sup> Hoernle tr, "UGP", IA, Vol XIX, pp.236-237.

<sup>9a</sup> Devendra handa, op. cit., p.10.

<sup>10</sup> M.A. Dhaky, "The Iconography of Sacciya Devi," Babu Chotey Lal Jaina Smriti Grantha, Calcutta, 1976. p.86.

<sup>11</sup> See also, K.C. Jain, Jainism in Rajasthan, p.94.

<sup>12</sup> Devendra Handa, op.cit., p.11.

in western India.<sup>13</sup> Thus it is possible that Ratnapraba Sūri either converted the people of Osian to Jainism<sup>14</sup> or he contributed to increasing the popularity of Jainism in Osian in the Twelfth century A.D.<sup>15</sup>

That Osian was an important centre of brahmanical and Jaina religious activities during the Pratihāra times as well as in the later Chāhamāna period is attested to by the presence in this town of at least thirteen temples belonging to the Pratihāra period. To the Jainas it is of triple significance because it is the centre of nativity of the ukeśavāla baniās, a town from which the ukeśavāla gaccha emanated, and thirdly it houses the oldest Jaina temple now extant in Western India i.e. the temple dedicated to Mahāvīra.<sup>16</sup> It is also sacred to the Jainas because of the shrine of Sacciyā Mātā who is the family deity of the Oswāls. It is these two temples which fall within the purview of our research. On stylistic grounds it has been shown by Dhaky and Handa that the Mahāvīra temple embodies an art tradition ranging from the eighth till the end of the eleventh century. The Jagatī with its eastern ubhayamukhī, Mukhacatuṣkī, Valānaka, main temple with Mukhamandapa and southern part of Bhramāntikā have been assigned to the last quarter of the 8th century A.D. The Devakulikās 5, 1 and 2 are dated 10th century A.D. and 4 and 3, early and mid 11th century respectively. Devakulikās 6 and 7 along with Bhramāntikā on East and West have been assigned to the third quarter of the 11th century A.D.<sup>17</sup> A number of goddesses are depicted in this temple. For the sake

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<sup>13</sup> M.A. Dhaky, " Some Early Jaina Temples in Western India," Shri Mahāvīra Jaina vidyālaya Golden Jubilee volume, p.312.

<sup>14</sup> Devendra Handa, op.cit., p.13.

<sup>15</sup> M.A. Dhaky, " The Iconography of Sacciya Devi", Babu Chotey Lal Jaina Smriti Grantha, p.69.

<sup>16</sup> M.A. Dhaky, " Some Early Jaina Temples of western India." Shri Mahāvīra Jaina Golden Jubilee Vol., p312.

<sup>17</sup> Devendra Handa, op.cit., pp68-69.

of convenience we have tabulated the data available (For details refer to Table No. I). As far as the Sacciyā Mātā temple is concerned, Handa opines that the temple originally belonged to a period anterior to the Mahāvīra temple. However the subsidiary shrines range from the late Tenth till the Twelfth centuries A.D.<sup>18</sup>

An extremely interesting feature revealed at Osian is the Jaina worship of the goddess Sacciyā, also known as Sacchikā. According to local traditions, as recorded by Bhandarkar,<sup>19</sup> Osian was first known as Melpur Pattan where lived an ascetic named Dhundli Mall.<sup>20</sup> Once, when his pupil could not obtain alms from the village folk, the ascetic became enraged and cursed the village. Thus Melpur Pattan became dattam i.e. buried underground. The same place was later repopled by Uppal De, a Paramāra prince with the help of a Pratihāra king. The village was also called Osia because uppala deva took refuge there (oslā). He also built here the temple of Sacciyamata, who was the tutelary deity of the Samikhla-Paramaras. The legend goes on to narrate that the same place was visited a few years later by a Jaina Jāti, Ratan Prabhu, who failing to convert the residents resorted to unfair means to accomplish the same. However the adoption of the Jaina faith by the king and his subjects enraged Sacciyā Mātā as she could no longer obtain live victims. Thereby she cursed the people and the Oswāls, i.e. the original residents had to flee in all directions. Nevertheless, they propitiated the goddess to the extent of allowing them to present offerings to her after the performance of marriage rites. No oswāl now passes at Osia the night on which he pays his homage to the Mātā for fear of being over taken by some calamity or the other.

According to the Jaina legend preserved in Upakeśā Gaccha Paṭṭāvalī (UGP)

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., pp.67-69.

<sup>19</sup> D.R. Bhandarkar, " The Temples of Osia", ARASI, 1908-09, p100.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p.100 - About 1.5 miles to the North-West of the place is shown a tumulus with foot prints carved on the top and containing the relics of the ascetic.

No. 1,<sup>21</sup> the tutelary deity of the people of Osian was Caṇḍikā or Cāmuṇḍā and animal sacrifices to her were stopped by Ratnaprabha Sūri who exhorted her to be non-violent wherein she agreed to her worship with saffron, flowers, etc. True to her vow she was named Satyakā and in course of time, the name 'satyaka' changed to Saccikā and Saciyā.<sup>22</sup>

According to the manuscript of the UGP translated by Hoernle, Ratnaprabha Sūri, after having converted the residents of Osian in 457 B.C.,<sup>23</sup> said to them "O ye faithful, ye should not go to the temple of Sachchika-devī; she is merciless, and incessantly delights in hearing the sound of the breaking of bones and the killing of buffalos, goats, and other animals; the floor of the temple is stained with blood, and it is hung about with festoons of fresh skins; the teachers of her devotion, rites, and service, are cruel men; she is altogether disgusting and horrible". The Ācārya promised to protect the people whereupon they stopped going to the temple. The Devi, enraged at this ignorance, caused an eyesore to the Ācārya and appearing before him, she promised to remove the pain if he offered her a live sacrifice. Then Ratnaprabha proceeded to Sacchikā's temple with Sweetmeats, saffron etc, and worshipped the goddess. These offerings were however not accepted by her but hearing the religious sermon of Ratnaprabha, she was converted and became a follower of Mahāvīra. She even refused to accept a red flower, let alone flesh. She promised to deliver from evil, all those who worshipped Mahāvīra and were the disciples of Ratnaprabha.<sup>24</sup> This particular account does not indicate any change of name and simply mentions Sacchikā as the tutelary deity of the Oswāls.

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<sup>21</sup> Devendra Handa, op. cit., p.15, quoting from M.D. Desai (ed), Jaina Gurjara Kavi (Gujarati) Vol III, Part 2, Bombay, 1943, pp.2254-55.

<sup>22</sup> Devendra handa, op.cit., p.15.

<sup>23</sup> The date confirms the legendary nature of the account, as Ratnaprabhasuri is known to have flourished in the 12th century A.D. Also the earliest references to Oswal, do not date prior to the 8th century A.D.

<sup>24</sup> Hoernle, op.cit., pp.237-238.

A study of these legends points towards one common factor and that is the acceptance by the Jainas of a local tradition too strong to be ignored. The myths regarding the conversion of a ferocious non-vegetarian goddess into a benign vegetarian goddess probably sought to legitimise the continuance of a tradition by the Oswals even after their adoption of Jainism.

Scholars like Devendra Handa and R.C. Agrawal, on the basis of iconographic and epigraphic evidence have shown the close resemblance between Saccikā and Maḥiṣāmardīnī. An inscription in the North-East corner of the shrine of the Sacciyā māṭā temple, dated V.S. 1234 (A.D. 1117)<sup>25</sup> records the decoration of the sanctum of this sanctuary by a banker (sadhu) Gayapala of the Ghorbadamsu family with the images of Candika, Sitala, Saccika, Ksemankari and Ksetrapala. The niches of the temple contain all the images referred to in the above stated inscription in the same order. The main back niche houses the image of Saccika who has been portrayed as Maḥiṣāmardīnī. Caṇḍikā and Śīṭalā exist on the Northern wall and Kṣemaṅkarī and Kṣetrapāla (nude Bhairava) on the Southern wall.<sup>26</sup> Dhaky has suggested that the shrine could have originally been a Vaiṣṇava shrine dedicated to Kṣemaṅkarī<sup>27</sup> and that the cult image was replaced by that of Maḥiṣāmardīnī<sup>28</sup>. The cult image at present is also of Maḥiṣasuramardīnī. It is of black stone (dated c.16th century A.D.), the goddess holding sword and shield in her two hands and standing triumphantly on the vanquished buffalo demon.<sup>29</sup> In

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<sup>25</sup> P.C. Nahar, op.cit., No. 805, p198.

<sup>26</sup> Devendra Handa, op. cit., p15. Handa has not however specified the iconographic features.

<sup>27</sup> M.A. Dhaky, "Iconography of Sacciya Devi", Babu Chotey Lal Jaina Smriti Grantha, p66.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p68.

<sup>29</sup> B.N. Sharma, "Some interesting Sculptures at Osian", Roopa Lekha, Vol XL, p.101, pl VIII.



order to explain Saccikā's earlier names Caṇḍikā or Cāmūṇḍā, Devendra Handa has drawn upon literary and iconographic evidence. He has brought to light the fact that Book V (20) of the Devībhāgavatā Purāṇa mentions Caṇḍikā as having killed Mahiṣāsura. A unique image of the emaciated goddess Cāmūṇḍā is carved as killing the demon Mahiṣā with a trident, on the southern wall of a subsidiary shrine of Harihara Temple No. 1 at Osian.<sup>30</sup> Thus according to Handa, Caṇḍikā and Cāmūṇḍā are different forms of Mahiṣāmardīnī whom he has identified with Saccikā.

R.C. Agrawal has brought to light an image of Saccikā from the village Ravada in the Jaswantpura Pargana of Marwar, bearing an inscription of V.S. 1237 (A.D. 1180). This inscription names the deity as Saccikā but she has been portrayed as Mahiṣāmardīnī.<sup>31</sup> The Jodhpur museum also preserves a Twelfth century image inscribed in the year V.S. 1237. It mentions the name Saccikā and also records that it was installed by the chief of the Jaina nuns.<sup>32</sup> Here also her iconographic features are similar to those of Mahiṣāmardīnī. Another image of the Twelve-armed Saccikā is found in association with the image of a Tīrthāṅkara at Śatruṅjaya. It is a marble sculpture in bold relief, the back showing a trefoil like arch, surmounting 2 pillars and thus suggesting that the goddess is placed in a miniature shrine. On top of the sculpture, in the central part of the arch is a miniature shrine with a Jina sitting in it. In her right hands, the goddess shows the sword, the disc, the trident, the arrow and the Varada mudrā, while in the left one she holds the shield, the Vajraghaṇṭā (thunderbolt and bell), mace, conch, and the head of a personified demon. Her one foot is trampling the buffalo demon pierced by her long trident. The inscription on the pedestal shows that this image of Saccikādevī was set up by Saṃghapātī Sadū Desalā, elder brother of Luṇasīmha and younger brother of

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<sup>30</sup> Devendra Handa, op.cit., p16.

<sup>31</sup> M.A. Dhaky, "Iconography of Sacciya Devi", Babu Chotey Lal Jaina Smriti Grantha, p64.

<sup>32</sup> A. Ghosh (ed), Jaina Art and Architecture, Vol III, New Delhi, 1975, p. 572.

Āśadhāra. He was son of Ājaḍa and grandson of Salakṣana and belonged to the Veśāta gotra of Ukeśa lineage. He along with other members of the family and his sons Sahajapāla, Sāhaṇapāla, Sāmantā and Sāṅgevā, set up this image of the family deity Saccikā devī in the year 1371 V.S. (A.D. 1314). There is also a small figure of a female worshipper on the lower end of the left pillar.<sup>33</sup>

Thus the close resemblance of Saccikā and Maḥiṣāmardīnī form of Durga cannot be denied. Devendra Handa citing the Padma Purāṇa highlights the fact that Durga is described in her triple manifestations symbolizing the sattva, rajas and tamasa gunas. In her Sāttvikī (Sāttvikā) form she is described as Maḥiṣāmardīnī. Sāttvikā Mahisamardini seems to have abbreviated as Sattvikā only, a name which degenerated later as Saccikā.<sup>34</sup> But the legends associated with Saccikā also reveal strong local roots. Hence this could also be the case of assimilation of a fierce tribal goddess having strong local roots both in Jainism as well as brahmanism. Hence even when the community adopted Jainism, the worship of the mother goddess continued. This continuance of a strong tradition is also evident from the fact that even though the legends indicate conversion of the goddess from a fierce non-vegetarian deity to a vegetarian one, her iconography continues to manifest her as a ferocious deity. As pointed out by Dhaky, even today many Jaina families have brahmanical goddesses as their Kulamba and not Jaina Yaksis.<sup>35</sup> These may not necessarily be later adoptions and could be continuation of traditions prior to adoption of Jainism.

<sup>33</sup> Ambalal Premchand Shah, "Some Inscriptons and Images on Mount Śatruñjaya", in Shri Mahāvira Jaina Vidyālaya Golden Jubilee Volume, Bombay, 1968, pp.165-166.

<sup>34</sup> Devendra Handa, op.cit., p17, quoting Padma Purāṇa, Srṣṭi-Khaṇḍa, ch. 30, vv, 176-77.

<sup>35</sup> M.A. Dhaky, "Iconography of Sacciya Devi", Babu Chotey Lal Jaina Smriti Grantha, p.69.

An important fact that emerges from the above discussion is that the Twelfth century A.D. saw the association of goddesses as family deities with particular communities of the Jainas e.g Saccikā with the Oswāls. A Songīra Chauhān inscription from Bārlūt,<sup>36</sup> belonging to the reign of Chāchigadevā, dated V.S. 1330 (A.D 1274) mentions Śreṣṭhin Padmasimha devoted to Śāntinātha, belonging to Ambāī gotra, Nasala Santāna and Prāgvāta community. The same inscription also refers to Jasu, wife of Jasara who was a Śrāvaka of the Brihadgaccha, Cakresari gotra and Oswāl community. This shows that as early as A.D 1274, gotras associated with the two most popular goddesses had come into existence. K.C. Jain is also of the opinion that Ambika gotra of the Śrīmālīs originated from the deity Ambikā.

Coming to the popular Jaina goddesses at Osian, apart from Saccika, our evidence reveals that the Mahāvira temple had <sup>an</sup> art tradition dating from the 8th to the 11th centuries. Here also, as is the case with other centres, we find vidyādevīs more popular than yakṣīs.<sup>37</sup> Osian provides the earliest representation of śvetāmbara Jaina Mahāvidyādevīs in art as temple decorations.<sup>38</sup> These representations, however do not occur in groups as in the case of Abu and Kumbharia which preserve the complete set of Sixteen Vidyādevīs. Depiction of sixteen vidyādevīs as a group therefore appears to be a later tradition. According to Tiwari, Prajñapti, Naradattā, Gāndhārī, Mahājvalā and Mānavī are not represented at the temple while Rohiṇī, Apraticakrā, Vairotyā and Mahāmānasī enjoyed a more favoured position.<sup>39</sup> However as our references indicate, with the exception of Mahājvalā vidyā, all the other Mahāvidyās seem to have secured a depiction. The cases of Kālī and cakreśvarī remain uncertain as the attributes of Kālī are not sufficiently clear and Cakreśvarī Yakṣī and Vidyādevī and Vaiṣṇavī

<sup>36</sup> Epigraphia Indica (henceforth EI), vol XXXVI No. 2, pp,33-38.

<sup>37</sup> Please refer to Table I at the end of this chapter.

<sup>38</sup> M.N.P. Tiwari, Elements of Jaina Iconography, p.79.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p.79.

Mātrkā, all three have very similar cognizances because of which it becomes difficult to distinguish between them. Most of the representations of the vidyadevis correspond to Bappabhaṭṭī Sūri's Caturvīṃśatikā (743-838) except for Acchuptā the 14th mahāvidyā and Mānāsī, the 15th Mahāvidyā which correspond more to the prescriptions of the Caturvīṃśatistotra (latter half of 10th century A.D) and the Nirvāṇakalikā (C. 10th century A.D) respectively. Generally the vidyādevīs depicted are two armed. Even the Fourarmed depictions. e.g. Acchuptā; the 14th Mahāvidyā correspond exactly to the Caturvīṃśatistotra. She is shown four armed, holding sword, shield, bow and arrow. The Abu set of 16 Vidyādevīs depicted in the Raṅgamaṇḍapa, Vimala Vasahī, c. 11th century A.D. shows the goddess carrying bow, arrow, citron and varada which is a tradition that does not correspond to the literary texts completely.

As stated earlier, it is extremely difficult to distinguish between Cakreśvārī or Apraticakrā the yakṣī and the vidyā devī of the same name. A rare image of standing cakreśvārī holding discs in all the four hands, with an anthropomorphic winged figure of Garuda beside her is available from the gūḍhamaṇḍapa in the Mahāvīra temple.<sup>40</sup> Devendra Handa has identified her as a Śāsanadevī as it corresponds exactly with the description of the Śāsanadevī in the Śvetāmbara Jaina texts.<sup>41</sup> This depiction is also in accordance with that of Apraticakrā vidyā in the Caturvīṃśatika which mentions the goddess riding Garuda, and holding discs in all hands, the number of arms not being specified. Cakreśvārī is also depicted as four armed riding the Garuda, holding discs in upper two hands and showing varada, rosary and Kamaṇḍalu in lower two hands. There is also a two armed form of Cakreśvārī riding a flying anthropomorphic Garuda and holding discs in both the

<sup>40</sup> Refer to Table I, Entry No. 1 under Cakresvari.

<sup>41</sup> Handa, op. cit., p200, quoting from the Mantrādhirāja Kalpa, U.P. Shah however points out that no dhyāna for the four armed form is available in the Śvetāmbara texts, though such images are available in art, U.P. Shah, JOI, Vol XX, 3, (1971) p280.

hands. A two armed form of cakreśvarī Yakṣī is worshipped amongst Digambaras but no dhyānas for this form are found in literature and the images of two-armed Cakreśvarī found at Deogarh show her carrying cakra and Kamaṇḍalu or pot and abhaya mudrā (c. 12th. A.D.).<sup>42</sup> Probably both Cakesvarī Yakṣī and vidyādevī were popular at Osian.

Rohiṇī was probably one of the most popular vidyādevīs at Osian as her depictions indicate. Her depiction corresponds exactly with the Caturviṃśatika which prescribes for her a four armed form carrying bow, arrow, rosary and conch, riding the cow. The 11<sup>th</sup> century A.D. depictions at vimala Vasahī show her as four armed riding a cow, but holding Varada (pose), conch, rosary, broken. The vimala Vasahī also depicts a six armed form of the goddess. Prajñapti, the 2nd Mahāvidyādevī is also depicted as two armed at Osian, although texts describe her as four armed Her sculptures at Osian range from (10<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D.). At Vimala Vasahī the same vidyā is described as four armed and six armed. Vajrasṅkhalā and vajrāṅkuśī are also depicted as vidyādevī's corresponding completely with their descriptions in the Caturviṃśatikā. Puruṣadattā has also been identified as the 6th Mahāvidyādevī on the basis of her mount, the buffalo. She is depicted at Osian in her two armed form and conforms to her description in the Caturviṃśati stotra which represents the early tradition of the 10<sup>th</sup> century A.D. Her depictions also range from the 8<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D. Vairoṭyā also seems to have been extremely popular at Osian as evident from her depictions. A beautiful image of Vairoṭyā corresponding to her description in the Nirvāṇakalikā, exists in the central panel on the north face of the phāmsanā of the mukhāmaṇḍapa of the Mahāvira temple. She is shown seated in Sukhāsana on the coils of 2 serpents whose anthropomorphic upper halves canopied by serpent hoods are depicted in adoration on the sides. She holds two cobras in her rear hands, a sword and a scutcheon in the front right and left hands respectively.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> U.P. Shah, "Iconography of cakreśvarī the Yakṣī of Rṣabhanātha", Jol, Vol XX, Part 3, 171, pp.289-290.

<sup>43</sup> Handa op.cit., p. 202, pl.146.

Her depictions showing her holding snakes in two hands and varada and pot in the other two, are similar to those at Abu, Vimala vasahi, but in Abu, She is depicted in her multi-armed variety as well.

Apart from Cakreśvarī yakṣī the other important yakṣīs depicted at Osian include Nirvāṇī, Ambikā and Padmāvati. Compared to the other centres where Ambikā is worshipped on a large scale, Osian has comparatively few depictions of Ambikā. Here she is depicted in her earliest, i.e. two armed variety carrying mango and a child. The depiction of Nirvāṇī and Padmāvati shows that the traditions of the specific Yakṣīs was known at Osian around 10<sup>th</sup> century A.D. but depictions of the twentyfour Yakṣī as a group are not known here. Thus Osian largely represents an earlier tradition of vidyādevīs, corresponding to 8<sup>th</sup> - 9<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D, although there are later depictions also showing a gradual transformation from the two armed to the four armed variety. Here also vidyādevīs seem to be more popular than yakṣīs who have been accorded very few depictions. Ambikā also does not seem to be very popular at Osian. It is the local tutelary deity Saciyā and Vidyādevīs that predominate. Osian also presents the earliest stone plaque representing the 24 mothers of the Jinas sitting in arddhāparyāṅkāśana pose, supporting a child with their left arms and holding an indistinct object (fruit?) in their right hands. This is preserved in the nalamaṇḍapa of the Mahāvīra temple and there is also an inscription below this dated V.S. 1075 (A.D. 1018).<sup>44</sup>

### KUMBHARIA

Kumbharia is an important centre of the Jinas situated 14 miles south-east of the Abu road and one and a half miles from Ambāji in the Banaskantha district of Gujarat. In medieval times the entire area between Ambāji and Kumbharia was called Arāsāna. The antiquity of Arāsāna as a Jaina site does not go beyond the

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<sup>44</sup> U.P. Shah, Studies in Jaina Art, pp. 18-19., Asha Kalia, Art of the Osian Temples, New Delhi, 1982, pp. 146-147.

medieval period and the Jainas associate it with Vimalasāha who was appointed dandanāyaka in the area by the Solankī ruler Bhima I.<sup>45</sup> According to a Jaina legend Ambikā becoming pleased with Vimalasāha gave him enough wealth to construct 360 temples dedicated to Pārśvanātha but later Vimalasāha seems to have offended Ambā mātā as she is said to have destroyed all the temples except five.<sup>46</sup> There are still five Jaina temples extant at Kumbharia but none of the inscriptions, although 3 belong to Vimala's time, refer to him as the builder of the temples.<sup>47</sup> On the basis of later literary traditions and the three inscriptions mentioned above, the possibility of temples existing in Vimalasāha's time cannot be ruled out. Kumbharia's existence as a brahmanical tīrtha is also evident from a legend which relates that infant Kṛṣṇa's hair was offered in sacrifice here and also that it was from here that he rescued his bride Rukmiṇī from Śisupāla when she came to worship Ambā devī.<sup>48</sup> The interesting point to be noticed is that both the legends connect the site with the goddess Ambikā.<sup>49</sup> Along with the Jaina temples there also exists a temple dedicated to Kumbheśvara which has been placed in the reign of Kumārpāla on stylistic grounds<sup>50</sup> (1144-1174 A.D). The five Jaina temples at Kumbharia are dedicated to Mahāvīra, Śāntinātha, Pārśvanātha, Neminātha and Sambhavanātha.

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<sup>45</sup> Harihar Singh, Jaina Temples of Western India, pp.11,34.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p34 quoting Visala Vijaya, Arasana Tirtha Aparanama Kumbhariaji Tirtha, pp. 138-140, Nos. 121-123.

<sup>48</sup> A.K. Forbes, RasMala, London, Vol 1, 1856, p. 323.

<sup>49</sup> A temple dedicated to Ambikā also known as the temple of Ambāji, Ambā Bhavānī or Arāsūri still exists in Banaskantha district near Abu. There is an image of the goddess, a black stone, roughly hewn into the semblance of a human figure and some of the pillars bear writing approximately of 16th century A.D-Vide P.O. Sompura, Structural Temples of Gujarat, p. 229.

<sup>50</sup> M.A.Dhaky, "The chronology of the Solanki Temples of Gujarat," Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihāsa Parishad, (henceforth JMPPI), No. 3, Bhopal, 1961, p.57.

On the basis of inscriptional and iconographic evidence there is no doubt about the dedication of the temples of Neminātha, Pārsvanātha and Mahāvīra and it seems that the temple of Śāntinātha was originally dedicated to Ādinātha.<sup>51</sup> The Sambhavanātha temple does not reveal any inscriptions but a tradition preserved in the Tīrthamālā (1442 A.D.) shows that it was originally dedicated to Santinatha.<sup>52</sup> The approximate time period to which these temples belong is Mahāvīra 1062 A.D.,<sup>53</sup> Śāntinātha 1082 A.D.<sup>54</sup> (originally dedicated to Ādinātha), Pārsvanātha First half of 12th century A.D.,<sup>55</sup> Neminātha 1137-1150 A.D.,<sup>56</sup> and Sambhavanātha 13th century A.D.<sup>57</sup> (originally dedicated to Śāntinātha.<sup>58</sup> We

<sup>51</sup> Harihar Singh, op.cit., p.108 quoting Visalavijaya, Arāsāna tīrtha aparānāmā Kumbhariājī tīrtha Nos 26 and 30. Apart from these inscriptions, that the temple was dedicated to Rsabhanatha is evident from an image of cakresvari, the Yaksi of Rsabhanatha, carved on the mukhāmandapa ceiling in front of the gūḍhamandapa door. This image faces the mūlanāyaka in the Sanctum.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p.108.

<sup>53</sup> Harihar Singh, "The Jaina Temples of Kumbharia," in Dhaky and Shah (eds.), Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, p.305., M.A Dhaky and J.M. Nanavati, "The ceilings in the temples of Gujarat," Bulletin of the Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda, Vols XVI-XVII, p 14., P.O. Sompura, op.cit., p.127.

<sup>54</sup> Harihar Singh, "The Jaina Temples of Kumbharia", Dhaky and Shah (eds), Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, p.38 and Dhaky and Nanavati, op.cit., p.14 date it as 1082 A.D. But Sompura, op.cit., p.129 on the basis of Four inscriptions gives the date as V.S. 1133 (A.D. 1077)., M.N.P. Tiwari, Elements of Jaina Iconography, p.117 and p.123, FNI, has pointed out to an inscription from cell No.9 dated V.S. 1110 i.e A.D. 1054. But we would consider the date 1082 A.D as most plausible as it occurs in most of the inscriptions.

<sup>55</sup> Harihar Singh, "Jaina Temples of Kumbharia," Dhaky and Shah (eds), Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, p.308., Dhaky, "Chronology of the Solanki temples of Gujarat," JMPIP, p.14., Dhaky and Nanavati, op.cit., p.44.

<sup>56</sup> Dhaky, "Chronology of the Solanki Temples of Gujarat," JMPIP, p.14., Harihar Singh, "Jaina Temples of Kumbharia," Dhaky and Shah(eds), Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, p 314.

<sup>57</sup> Harihar Singh, "Jaina Temples of Kumbharia," Dhaky and Shah (eds), Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, p.316., Sompura, op.cit., p.147.



have also taken into account some other interesting Jaina sculptures from Banaskantha district.

It is evident from our references that the most popular goddesses in Kumbharia appear to be Ambikā, Cakreśvarī, Vajrāṅkuśī, Vairoṭyā, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Vajrasṅkhalā, Kālī etc. That goddesses were assigned a subordinate position is evident from their placement in the temple basically on shrine walls, doors, pillars and ceilings. Yakṣī of the Mūlanāyaka was generally depicted on the door frame, wall or ceiling of the central shrine in such a manner that she faced the mūlanāyaka. For instance we find Siddhāyikā, the Yakṣī of Mahāvīra carved in the ceiling of the Mukhāmaṇḍapa of the Mahāvīra temple, facing the shrine in the centre. Yakṣīs have been accorded a more important position as they are depicted on the door frames or walls of the central shrine and are thus more closely linked to the main deity, the tīrthankara.

That the worship of Mātrkās was prevalent and also represented in Jaina art as early as the 8th century A.D. is also evident from the sculpture of Vaiṣṇavī discovered in the Pārśvanathā temple hoard from Tharad.<sup>59</sup> According to the brahmanical tradition the Sapta-Mātrkās were Śaktīs of various Gods sent by them to help Siva combat the demon Andhakasura and to prevent his blood from falling to the earth. Thus they are the female consorts of the male Gods and are armed with the same weapons, wear same ornaments and ride the same vāhana.<sup>60</sup> They are Brahmāṇī, Maheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Varāhī, Indrāṇī, and Chāmuṇḍā. The Varāha Purāna includes Yogeśvarī as the eighth.<sup>61</sup> In the Suprabhedāgama it is

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<sup>58</sup> For the goddesses depicted in these temples refer to Table II at the end of this chapter.

<sup>59</sup> Refer to Table II, entry under Mātrkās.

<sup>60</sup> T.A.G. Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, Delhi, (2nd ed.) 1968, Vol I, Part 2, pp.379-381.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p.381.

stated that all the Mātrkās are to be seated images and should have two of their hands in the Varada and Abhaya poses, while the other two should carry weapons appropriate to the male counter parts of the female powers.<sup>62</sup> Vaiṣṇavī is usually depicted as carrying chakra in her right hand, śaṅkha in her corresponding left and holding the other two hands in Abhaya and Varada mudrā respectively. Her vāhana is the Garuḍa.<sup>63</sup> The Jaina Vaiṣṇavī embodies a slightly different tradition. She is shown standing. The vāhana remains the same i.e. Garuḍa. In three hands she holds gadā (mace), cakra (disc), child and the fourth is also engaged in restraining the child. This depiction of Vaisnavi is closer to that of the Devī Purāṇa where she is depicted as possessing four arms and holding śaṅkha (conch), cakra, gadā and padma (lotus).<sup>64</sup>

The same hoard has revealed a rare depiction of Ambikā identified as Mātrkā by R.T.Parikh.<sup>65</sup> Ambikā, the Yakṣī of the 22nd Tirthānkara Neminātha is an extremely popular deity amongst the Jains. Her name itself signifies her identity as a mother. Her iconography as a Yakṣī also reveals her association with fertility. As a Yakṣī she is depicted riding a lion, holding a bunch of mangoes and two children, one in her lap and one standing by her side. However in this particular depiction her vāhana remains the same but she is shown carrying lotus in two arms, citron in one and child in another. She is flanked by one attendant on the right side. A two armed bronze sculpture of Ambikā also from the same hoard shows her carrying a lotus in one arm and child in another. The vāhana is again the lion. These are the only representations that we have come across so far, of Ambikā where she

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid., pp.382-383.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p.384.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., p.385.

<sup>65</sup> R.T. Parikh, "Two Newly Discovered bronzes of Matrka Ambika devi from Bhoral, dist. Banaskantha, North Gujarat," Journal of the MS University of Baroda, Vol XIX, pp41-43, figs.1 and 2. Also see Table II, entry under Mātrkās.

is shown without a Mango tree or a bunch of mangoes, which is her characteristic symbol in Jaina Iconography. Thus it may be possible that these bronzes represent a different form of Ambikā viz. the Mātrkā. At the same time it has to be pointed out that since these bronzes were discovered in a hoard, we do not know where they were placed and whether they were accompanied by images of other Mātrkās and Gaṇeśa.

Another interesting feature to be noticed is that with a few rare exceptions, all the goddesses are four armed. The two armed figure of Ambikā which occurs near the Śikhara of mūlaprasāda of the Śāntinātha temple shows her carrying a sword and an āmralumbī in the right hand and a child in the left.<sup>66</sup> This is rare depiction in the sense that Ambikā is shown carrying a sword. This seems to have been guided by an earlier text on Jaina Iconography, Bappabāṭṭī's Caturvimsatikā.<sup>67</sup> As has been pointed out by J.N.Banerjea, the idea of symbolising the manifold activities of the deity, in however imperfect a manner, undoubtedly lies at the root of placing a variety of objects in their hands. This phenomenon is also related to particular activities associated with specific deities or the mythology at the root of varieties of divinities.<sup>67a</sup> Myths and legends associated with Ambika usually identify her as a benevolent goddess associated with fertility and her symbols likewise are a bunch of mangoes and at a later stage citron. She is always accompanied by children. Therefore her depiction holding a sword appears to be peculiar. In the same temple Ambikā and Sarvānubhūti are shown accompanying the images of Tīrthankaras in all the sixteen cells<sup>68</sup>, thus indicating that the tradition of specific

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<sup>66</sup> M.N.P. Tiwari, Elements of Jaina Iconography, p. 117.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p.123, FN 2.

<sup>67a</sup> J.N. Banerjea, Development of Hindu Iconography, (3rd ed.), New Delhi, 1974, p.305.

<sup>68</sup> M.N.P. Tiwari, Elements of Jaina Iconography, p. 118.

Yakṣis for each Tīrthānkara had not really taken root till the later half of the 11th century A.D. Even though other Yakṣis are depicted in the temple, Ambikā occurs with every Tīrthānkara. Even in the Mahāvīra temple, the Yakṣa and Yakṣī figures accompanying Pārśvanātha and Suparśvanātha are Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā. In the Neminātha temple, two images of Pārśvanātha and Suparśvanātha dated 1158 A.D, preserved in the gūḍhamandapa are accompanied by Sarvānubhūti Yakṣa and Ambikā Yakṣī. However two images of Ṛṣabhanātha, inscribed V.S. 1314 (A.D 1258) installed in the gūḍhamandapa show Sarvānubhūti as Yakṣa and Cakreśvarī as Yakṣī.<sup>68a</sup> Thus Ambikā and Sarvānubhūti were the most popular Yakṣa-Yakṣī pair at Kumbharia .

However the sixteen Mahāvidyādevī's seem to have enjoyed the most favoured position at Kumbharia, the more popular amongst them being Rohiṇī, Cakreśvarī, Vajrāṅkuṣī, Vajrasṅkhalā, Mahākālī, Acchuptā, Vairotyā, Mahamānāsī and Sarvastivā Mahājvalā. According to Harihar Singh the set of sixteen vidyādevīs represented in the ceiling of the East wing of Sāntinātha temple is one of the earliest depictions in Gujarat.<sup>69</sup> The ceiling containing the figures of the sixteen Vidyādevīs is close to the Raṅgamandapa on the East. All the vidyādevīs are depicted as seated in Lalitāsana and four armed. Their vehicles have not been carved. Their attributes identified by Tiwari in the order of occurrence are as follows<sup>70</sup> - Apraticakra/~~Cakreśvarī~~, the fifth Mahāvidyā carries Cakra, Śankha and shows Varada mudrā, Mahākālī, the eighth Mahāvidyā bears Varadākṣa (Varada cum rosary), Vajra (thunderbolt) ghaṅṭā (bell) and Mātuliṅga, Naradattā the sixth Mahāvidyā is represented as carrying Khadga (sword), Kārmukhā, Khetaka (shield), and fruit. Mānavī the twelfth Mahāvidyā carries Varadākṣa, Pāśa (noose), tree plant

<sup>68a</sup> Ibid., p.121.

<sup>69</sup> Harihar Singh, "The Jaina Temples of Kumarbharia," Dhaky and Shah (ed.) Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, pp.306-07.

<sup>70</sup> M.N.P. Tiwari, Elements of Jaina Iconography, pp.80-83.

and fruit. Prajñapti, the second Mahāvidyā bears Varadākṣa, Śakti (spear), Kukkuṭa (cock), and fruit. Acchuptā, the fourteenth Mahāvidyā holds Khadga, Śara (arrow), Dhanuṣa (Bow). Gaurī the ninth Mahāvidyā is depicted with Varadākṣa, gadā (mace), Sanāla padma (long stalked lotus), and a fruit in her four hands. Gāndhārī, the Tenth Mahāvidyā is shown carrying Varadākṣa, Vajra, muṣala (pestle), and fruit. Vairoṭyā the thirteenth Mahāvidyā bears sword, snake, shield and snake. Kālī the seventh Mahavidya bears Varadākṣa, Pāśa, Khatvāṅga (a curious sort of club, made up of the bone of the forearm or the leg, to the end of which a human skull is attached through its foramen)<sup>71</sup>, and fruit. No other vidyādevī is associated with the Khatvāṅga which is a characteristic feature of Cāmuṇḍā, and thus suggests brahmanic influence. Rohiṇī, the eighteenth Mahāvidyā carries Varadākṣa, bāṇa (arrow), Dhanuṣa and fruit. Vajrāṅkuṣā the fourth Mahāvidyā is depicted as possessing Varadākṣa, aṅkuṣa (goad), Vajra and fruit. Mahājvālā, the eleventh Mahāvidyā is shown carrying Varadākṣa, Jvālā-pātra, Jvālā-pātra and mātulingā (citron). Mānasī, the fifteenth Mahāvidyā bears Varadākṣa, Śūla (trident), Śūla, fruit. Mahāmānasī the sixteenth vidyādevī shows Varadākṣa, longstalked lotus and fruit. Vajraśṅkhalā the third Mahāvidyā is depicted as carrying varada, chain in two upper hands and fruit.

The above description indicates that most of these goddesses were depicted as carrying varadākṣa and a variety of weapons characteristic of each goddess. These depictions signify the benign as well as the destructive nature of these deities indicating that they were boon bestowing powerful goddesses. The tantric nature of these deities has already been alluded to in the previous chapter. On comparing with Table 1 in chapter II, it becomes evident that the depictions do not conform wholly to the textual prescriptions and it is possible that since this is the earliest depiction of Mahāvidyādevīs in art, probably the attributes of all the sixteen Mahāvidyādevīs had not yet been crystallized.

<sup>71</sup> J.N. Banerjea, *op.cit.*, p302. He has also recorded that this weapon is peculiar to the awe - inspiring forms of the Devī and her consort Śiva, such as Cāmuṇḍā and Bhairava.

Thus on the whole, Kumbharia depicts sculptures ranging from the 11th till the 13th centuries A.D. Over these two centuries one sees the female principle well represented and the gradual evolution of the divine feminine from the two-armed to the four-armed form, Ambikā and Cakreśvarī being the most popular amongst Yakṣīs though Siddhāyikā, Padmāvati and Jvālāmālīnī also make an appearance in the late 11th, 12th and 13th centuries respectively. Vidyādevīs seem to have occupied the most favoured position after Yakṣīs Ambikā and Cakreśvarī. Ambikā still accompanied Tīrthānkaras other than Neminātha though the tradition of separate Yakṣīs for each Tīrthānkara was known. Evidence from Kumbharia also attests to the worship of Mātṛkās by the Jainas as early as the ninth century A.D. as well as mothers of the Jainas.

#### ABU

Abu, one of the most celebrated sites of the Jainas, is situated eighteen miles north west of Abu Road in the Sirohi district of Rajasthan, The Abu mount and Arāsoor nearby occupy the north and northeast corners of Gujarat respectively. Though geologically a part of the Aravali range Abu is detached from it by a narrow valley of about 7 miles across, through which flows the river Banas.<sup>72</sup> Literary traditions as well as archaeological evidence points to the fact that Abu was a brahmanical site with Vaishnava and Śaiva shrines flourishing for about 6 centuries from at least the fifth to the eleventh centuries A.D.<sup>73</sup>

It has been pointed out by Dr. Sten Konow that some of the oldest hymns of the Rgveda refer to Arbudā as the strong hold of Shambara and other dāsyūs or dāsās, who descending the hill-top harassed the Aryans.<sup>74</sup> The Skanda Purāna,

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<sup>72</sup> Jayantavijayaji, HA, p.2.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., pp3-6, 9-14.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., p.3, quoting Sten Konow, Aryan Gods of the Mitani People, Kristiania, p25.

Prabhāsakhaṇḍa states that Abu was formerly a level plain inhabited by aboriginal cruel tribes like that of the Bhīllās. Once the snake king Takshaka carried off the ear ornaments of Uṭṭānkā and concealed himself underground. Indra helped Uṭṭānkā dig the spot and in the process created an unfathomable chasm into which fell the famous cow of Vaśiṣṭhā, Nandīnī. At this Vaśiṣṭhā invoked the aid of Sarasvatī who filled it with her water and delivered the cow. Next day Vaśiṣṭhā requested Himālaya to fill it up. Himālaya deputed his son Nandīvardhana to do this job and the latter was carried there on the back of a serpent named Arbudā, and thus the chasm was filled. The sage Vaśiṣṭhā pleased with the services of Arbudā, gave a boon that the Nandīvardhana mount would henceforth be known as Arbudā and that near its peak, a Nāgatīrtha, i.e. a place sacred to Nāgas, would be famous.<sup>75</sup> It is also stated that Nāgas ran away to this mountain at the time of Janamejaya's snake sacrifice and worshipped Durgā for protection. The spot was known as Nāgahrādā.<sup>76</sup> According to U.P. Shah, this Purāṇic account suggests that Mount Abu was largely inhabited by the Nāga tribe.<sup>77</sup> Jinaprabhasūri also states that Abu was formerly called Nandīvardhana, and later it was named Arbudā, being the habitat of the Nāga Arbudā.<sup>78</sup> The Mahābhārata also refers to a chasm or a great volcano at Abu. This is also suggested by the name Arbudā, which means swelling, tremor<sup>79</sup> etc.

It is difficult to ascertain when Abu came to be known as a Jaina centre. The Br̥hatkalpa Bhāṣya (c. 6th century A.D.) refers to a festival or picnic which people used to enjoy in Yātra at Prabhāsa Pattana or Mount Abbūya (Arbudā).

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid., pp3-4.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., p4.

<sup>78</sup> Harihar Singh, Jaina Temples of Western India, p. 35.

<sup>79</sup> Jayanta Vijayaji, HA, p.5.

Jinaprabhasuri in his Vividhatīrthakalpa says that Āchārya Sūsthitā Sūri went on a pilgrimage from Arbudāchala to Aṣṭapāda. According to Jaina traditions Sūsthitā Sūri lived around 236 B.C., but this is a late tradition and needs to be corroborated. According to the Jaina Pattāvalīs, Udyotanaśūri came on a pilgrimage to Abu in V.S. 994<sup>80</sup> (A.D. 937-938). An inscription from Muṅgathalā (a village 4 miles west of Abu) dated 1370 A.D. states that Mahāvīra visited Abu during his tours as a monk.<sup>81</sup> These references do indicate the importance of Abu as a sacred Jaina site.

At present there exist five temples of the Śvetāmbara sect of the Jainas. these include (1) The Vimala vasahī (A.D. > 1031), (2) The Lūṇa Vasahī (A.D. 1230), (3) Pittalahara temple (A.D. 1318-1432)<sup>82</sup>, (4) Chaumukha or Kharataravasahī (c.15th Century A.D.)<sup>83</sup>, (5) Temple of Mahāvīra Svāmī (200-300 years old). There is also a Digambara Jaina Shrine (c.15th century A.D.)<sup>84</sup> situated outside this complex. Under a pīppalā tree close to the Digambara temple is a mutilated sculpture of the Jaina goddess Ambikā and beyond that are four cells containing three idols of tīrthaṅkaras and one of Ambikā. These are known amongst the Jainas as Four Tunks of Girnar.<sup>85</sup> Since there were many Hindu and Jaina shrines in this area the place was known in ancient times as Devakulapātaka or

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid., p8.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., p8 and Jayantavijaya, Arbudachala Pradaskhina Jaina Lekha Samdoha, Abu, V, Bhavnagar, 1948, p17, No. 48. But as pointed out by U.P. Shah, this is a very late inscription and Mahavira's itinerary in the Kalpasūtra, Niryuktīs or Churnīs does not support it.

<sup>82</sup> R.V. Somani, Jain Inscriptions of Rajasthan, Jaipur, 1982, p.142.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., pp. 142-143.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., p.143.

<sup>85</sup> Jayantavijaya, HA, p16.



Devalapātaka (a city or group of Temple).<sup>86</sup> The Hindu sites at Dīlwāra, Abu include Shrīmātā (Kanyākumārī) shrine, Rāsiyō vālama, Arbudā or Adhara-devī (Ambikā-devī), cell of Maunibāva, Śāntasarovara, Nalaguphā, Pandavaguphā etc.

The two Jaina temples that fall within our purview on account of their antiquity and which are outstanding extant remains of Jaina architecture and sculpture are the Vimāla Vasahī constructed by Vimāla in 1031 A.D., dedicated to Ādinātha and the Lūṇavasahī constructed by Tejahpāla in 1231 A.D. dedicated to Neminātha. Legends surrounding the building of the Vimāla vasahī shrine also show that the site was a brahmanical stronghold. According to this legend<sup>87</sup>, Vimāla Sāha had to purchase land from the Śaivite Mahants of this site. U.P. Shah has shown that this story does have some historical basis by bringing to light the ruins of an old Śaiva Shrine close to the Vimāla Vasahī. The area behind Vimāla Vasahī is also the site of the Kanyākumārī, Rāsiō vālam and Vishṇu shrines. In the Vishṇu shrine there are post-gupta sculptures of 3 Mātṛkās (c.7th century A.D. or earlier), Sūrya and Seshashāyī viṣṇu of an even earlier date. The Shrīmātā shrine also reveals another Mātṛkā of the same age and a figure of standing Pārvatī (c.9th-10th century A.D.). There is also a worn-out figure of a 3-headed form of Durgā with Two lions as her Vāhana placed beside the sculpture of RāsiōVālama assignable to C.7th century A.D.<sup>88</sup> These references reveal that it was a flourishing brahmanical site before the establishment of Jaina temples. U.P. Shah has also pointed out that Nāga worship existed in the 6th century A.D. at VaṣiṣṭhāshCrama at Abu as is evident from a sculpture of a Two-armed deity sitting with 3-headed cobra over his head found at the same shrine.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid., p15.

<sup>87</sup> Muni Jinavijaya (ed.), PPS, pp. 51-52.

<sup>88</sup> Jayantavijaya, HA, pp IX-XI., See also U.P. Shah, Sculptures from Śāmalāji and Roḍā." Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery, XIII, p13.

<sup>89</sup> Jayantavijaya, HA, p. XIII.

Although the Vimala Vasahī shrine was built by Daṇḍanāyaka Vimala on Mount Abu in 1032 A.D., the only portions originally of the early 11th century are the garbhāgrhā, the gūḍha maṇḍapa and the Navachauki.<sup>90</sup> Nanavati and Dhaky have suggested the date 1150-1189 A.D. for the Rangamaṇḍapa and surrounding cloisters at Vimala Vasahī.<sup>91</sup> An inscription of the wall of cell No. 14 of Vimala Vasahī states that Prthvīpāla (the brother of Vimala Sāha and minister of Kumārpāla) son of Ananda did the tirthōddhāra (repairs and conservation) of this shrine in V.S. 1206 (c. 1150 A.D.)<sup>92</sup>. This is also supported by literary evidence preserved in the Praśastis of three unpublished works of Haribhadra Sūri who was patronised by Prithvīpāla.<sup>93</sup> Thus sculptures depicted in the Vimala Vasahī, Abu range from the 11th century to the end of the 13th century A.D.<sup>94</sup> Similarly the Lūṇavasahī was constructed by Tejahapāla in V.S. 1287 (A.D.1231)<sup>95</sup> but some of the sculptures seem to belong to a later tradition.

As our references in the adjoining table<sup>96</sup> indicate the goddesses most popular at Abu seem to have been Ambikā, Cakreśvari, Lakṣmī, Vajrasṛṅkhalā, Vajrāṅkuṣī, Vairoṭyā, Apratikcakrā, Rohiṇī, Naradattā, Prajñapti, Mānaśī, Mahā:mānaśī and Sarasvatī. As the case with other centres, at Abu also Vidyādevīs

<sup>90</sup> M.A. Dhaky, "Chronology of the Solanki Temples of Gujarat", JMPIP, No. 3, 1961, p.30.

<sup>91</sup> Dhaky and Nanavati, "The ceilings in the Temples of Gujarat", Bulletin of the Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda, Vols XVI- XVII, p.14.

<sup>92</sup> Jayantavijaya, Arbudā Prācina Jaina Lekha Saṁdoha, Abu, II, Bhavnagar, 1938, p.39, No. 72.

<sup>93</sup> Jayantavijaya, HA, pp. IV- VI.

<sup>94</sup> In fact an inscription from the Vimala temple dated V.S. 1378 (A.D. 1322) records that Lālīga and vījaḍa of the Upakesa Vamśa repaired the temple of Rṣabhanātha on Abu for the spiritual welfare of their parents.

<sup>95</sup> EI, Vol VIII, No. 1, pp.200-204.

<sup>96</sup> Please Refer to Table III at the end of this chapter.

seem to have occupied a favoured position. This is indicated by their number and variety of depictions.<sup>97</sup> Apart from the goddesses that have been identified there are a host of female divinities depicted on the pillars, door frames etc, testifying to the large scale acceptance and popularity of the divine feminine. However as in the case of Vidyādevīs, one does not come across a set of the twenty four Yakṣīs, on the other hand here again it is Ambikā who is shown accompanying a number of Tīrthānkaras in the Vimala Vasahī temple dedicated to Ādinātha. A majority of these sculptures belong to the late 11th century or 12th century. Some even belong to the beginning of the 14th century, indicating that even as late as the thirteenth century, the iconographic traits of the Twenty four Yakṣīs had not really crystallized in the sculptural art of Abu. This however does not mean that the concept of Twenty four Yakṣīs had not yet developed, because one does find representations of different Yakṣīs like Siddhāyikā, the Yakṣī of Mahāvīra, Cakreśvarī the Yakṣī of Rṣabhanāth, etc. It merely shows that Ambikā still reigned supreme over all other Yakṣīs.

The wide popularity of Ambikā is also evident from the fact that there are subsidiary shrines in both the temples dedicated solely to Ambikā.<sup>98</sup> The main image in Cell No.21 in Vimala Vasahī is dated V.S.1394 (A.D.1338)<sup>99</sup> and bears a miniature figure of a Jina on the crown. This shows that even independent images had some association with the supreme Jina. It seems that from the middle of the 11th century till the end of the 13th century the four armed sculptures of Ambikā were popular at Abu. With the exceptions of a two armed sculpture of Ambikā Yakṣī at Śāntinātha temple, Kumbharia, where she is shown carrying Sword and amralumbī in one hand and a child in another, all the other depictions of Ambikā

<sup>97</sup> For detailed description of Vidyādevīs at Abu. See U.P.Shah, "Iconography of the sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās", JISOA, XV, 1947, pp.114-170.

<sup>98</sup> Cell No. 21. in Vimalavasahī and Cell No. 24 in Luṇa-Vasahī.

<sup>99</sup> Jayantavijaya, Arbudā Pracīna Jaina Lekha Saṁdoha, Abu, II, P 45, No. 92.

show her carrying mango bunches and a child. However the four armed sculptures of the goddess, at Abu portray Ambikā with an additional attribute i.e. Citron. In a number of 11th and 12th century sculptures at Vimala-Vasahī, in which Ambikā is the Yakṣī of various Tīrthankaras, she is depicted carrying mangoes in Two hands and child and citron in the other two. At the same time there are also multiarmed sculptures in which the earlier symbols have been multiplied. For instance a six armed sculpture of Ambikā, from Lūṇa-Vasahī dated 1230 A.D shows her holding āmralumbī in five hands, child with one hand and riding a lion. No dhyāna is available for this form. Another peculiar feature noticed at Abu is that the two-armed depictions on the architrave panels in one of the corridors of Lūṇa Vasahī show her with only one child.<sup>100</sup> Thus the sculptures of Ambikā at Abu do show some characteristic traits.

The inscriptions from the temple at Abu also show the high veneration accorded to Ambikā. An inscription from the Neminātha temple at Mount Abu invokes the blessings of Ambikā who is referred to as residing on Abu.<sup>101</sup> A similar reference is found in an inscription from the Vimala temple at Abu, dated V.S.1378 (A.D.1322).<sup>102</sup> These inscriptions also point to the similarity between the Jaina Ambikā and Pārvatī who is also known as Vindhyāvāsini or daughter of the mountains and whose various names include Ambā, Ambālika etc. In the latter inscription Ambikā is also said to have inspired Vimala to construct the temple.<sup>103</sup>

Apart from Ambikā another goddess who is given an important position is Lakṣmī, the goddess of wealth and prosperity. The Jaina temples at Abu depict a

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<sup>100</sup> U.P.Shah, JRM, p.256.

<sup>101</sup> EI, vol VIII, No.1, pp.200-204.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid, vol IX, p.148 ff.

<sup>103</sup> See Also Jayantavijaya, HA, p25, FNI., "Vimala-Vasatī Prabandha", in Jinavijaya (ed.), PPS, pp.51-52.

number of sculptures of Gajalakṣmī. A beautiful sculpture of four armed Lakṣmī, seated in Padmāsana, holding lotus in upper two hands and showing dhyama mudra in the lower two, is found on the ceiling portico on the southern side of the Rangamandapa, Vimala-Vasahī, Abu<sup>104</sup> (dated C.1150 A.D.). The Lūṇa Vasahī temple also depicts Lakṣmī in her Eight armed form. An interesting sculpture of Lakṣmī found on the second ceiling in front of Cell No.14, Lūṇa-Vasahī, shows her lustrated by elephants. On one side of the goddess are a heap of jewels and Surya riding on a horse with seven heads. On the other side is an elephant with the moon above and heavenly car or place on one side followed by an auspicious pitcher.<sup>105</sup> A number of Jaina inscriptions also end with a salutation to Śrī.

Sarasvatī being the goddess of learning was also accorded a respectable position in the pantheon as evident from her depictions at Abu. The two armed image of the goddess from Mathura probably represents the earliest tradition and shows the goddess holding a book in her left hand and a lotus in the other hand.<sup>106</sup> The Lūṇavaśhī also depicts the six armed variety of Sarasvatī for which no dhyāna is available. She is shown riding the swan, holding Padma, Cymbal, Varadākṣa, vinā, Cymbal and manuscript.<sup>107</sup> Bhāva 32, cell No.44 of Vimala-Vasahī also shows a sixteen armed form of Sarasvatī with dancing male attendants on each side.<sup>108</sup> She is shown seated in Bhadrāsana carrying lotus, conch, varada in the right hands and lotus, book and Kamaṇḍalu in the three left ones. All the other hands are mutilated and there is the figure of a swan on the pedestal. A

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<sup>104</sup> Jayantavijaya, HA, Fig. 24.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., p. 123.

<sup>106</sup> U.P.Shah, "Iconography of the Jain Goddess Sarasvati", JUB, vol. X, 1941-42, pp. 198-199.

<sup>107</sup> Harihar Singh, Jaina Temples of Western India, p. 97.

<sup>108</sup> Jayantavijaya, HA, p.76.

Tīrthānkara is shown seated on the crown.<sup>109</sup> This is the distinguishing characteristic of the Jaina Sarasvatī.

The Nirvānakalikā supports a multiarmed form of Sarasvatī and states that the Devādhidevatā of the Dvādaśāṅgasūtra, is of white colour and holds the book, the rosary, the lotus, the varaḍa and various other symbols in her numerous hands. Later tantric works of the Jainas enjoined her worship in all the tantric works such as Śāntika, Paustikā, Stambhana etc. While the Śrī Sarasvatī Kalpa of Bappabhaṭṭī Sūri describes only the propitiatory rites leaving aside the cruel ones.<sup>110</sup> The yantra-vidhi prescribed in the Śrī-Sarasvatī Kalpa shows that Mohā, Nandā, Bhadrā, Jayā, Vijayā, Aparājitā, Jambhā, Stambhā, sixteen Vidyādevīs, eight Dikpālas were worshipped in the maṇḍala of Sarasvatī. But it needs to be pointed out that Sarasvatī is the goddess of learning and is in no way connected with the Sixteen Vidyādevīs of the Jaina pantheon as suggested by B.C. Bhattacharya.<sup>111</sup>

The Jaina Sarasvatī cannot altogether be dissassociated from the Hindu Sarasvatī. The Ācāradinākara gives the same symbols for both the Śrutadevatā and Brahmāṇī with identical forms and thus establishes a close connection between some of the Hindu and Jaina forms of Sarasvatī.<sup>112</sup> A reason for the popularity of Sarasvatī amongst the Jainas was the importance given by them to learning. Copying of manuscripts was considered an act of merit or punya amongst the Jainas and this also accounts for the numerous well-preserved manuscripts available in the Jaina bhaṇḍāras. Apart from sculptures some inscriptions from Abu also open with a

<sup>109</sup> U.P.Shah, "Iconography of Jaina Goddess Sarasvatī", JUB, vol. X, pp. 195-218.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid, p.212, B.C.Bhattacharya, Jaina Iconography p.163.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid, p.214.

salutation to Sarasvatī.<sup>113</sup>

Although, by the age of Lūṇa-vasahī, twenty four yakṣīs had evolved but here also one notices Ambikā accompanying Tīrthāṅkaras other than Neminātha. Thus the tradition of associating Ambikā with all Tīrthāṅkaras remained popular till 13th century A.D. Because of this factor and also similar symbols, in some cases it becomes difficult to differentiate between the Yakṣīs and Vidyādevīs depicted in these temples. On the whole Vidyādevīs seem to have been more profusely represented. The four armed, six armed as well as multi-armed varieties of the Vidyādevīs were known at Abu. The Lūṇavasahī which represents a later tradition, differs in some cases from Vimalavasahī. e.g. Vajrāṅkuśī depicted in the main ceiling, Vimala-Vasahī depicts goad, rosary, Vajra and citron whereas Lūṇavasahī which represents a different tradition reveals water pot instead of citron.<sup>114</sup> The vāhana remains the same i.e. elephant. However Puruṣadattā is shown carrying similar symbols in Vimala Vasahī as well as Lūṇavasahī i.e., lotus, lotus, pot, rosary and buffalo as vāhana.<sup>115</sup> But no dhyāna for this form is available. This is a rare depiction of Puruṣadattā in her benign form as she is generally represented as holding sword, shield, citron and showing varada.<sup>116</sup> The Mahāvīra temple at Osian depicts a two-armed form of Puruṣadattā (8th century A.D) riding a buffalo and holding a sword and shield.<sup>117</sup> The Śāntinātha temple, Kumbharia also

<sup>113</sup> EI, VIII, No.1, 200-204 and Jayantavijaya, Arbudācala Pradakṣiṇā Jaina lekha saṁdoha Abu V, p.148, No. 420 refers to the installation of an image of Sarasvatī by Padmasiha and his brother of the Sanderaka gaccha, in V.S. 1269 (A.D.1213), at a village near Abu called Ajarigramasthala. Ajari is a village situated five Kms from Pindwara, Sirohi state. (R.V. Somani, op. cit., p.150).

<sup>114</sup> U.P.Shah, "Iconography of the sixteen Jaina Mahavidyas", JISOA, XV, p 131, Pl XIII, No. 4.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid. p.138.

<sup>116</sup> See Table 1, chapter II.

<sup>117</sup> Devendra Handa, op. cit., p.201.

preserves a four armed image of Puruṣadattā (1082 A.D) bearing a sword, shield, fruit and Kārmukha.<sup>118</sup> Thus the image at Abu seems to be unique in assigning her lotus, rosary and pot. The ceiling of Cell No.11, Vimala-Vasahī (1148-50 A.D.) also preserves a sixteen armed sculpture of Puruṣadattā sitting in lalitā pose on a cow or buffalo and holding noose, sword, citron, rosary, pestle, shield, mace, pot of nectar etc.<sup>119</sup> An extremely significant fact is that she is shown surrounded by Eight Mātrkāś, Gaṇeśa and Bhairava. We are not aware of the specific relation between Puruṣadattā and the Mātrkāś but in this case Mātrkāś, Gaṇeśa and Bhairava seem to be deities attending upon Puruṣadattā. This exemplifies the exalted position of Puruṣadattā and also the fact that Vidyādevīs were accorded much more importance than Mātrkāś and related deities like Gaṇeśa. Even within Vimala Vasahī we have different traditions. Apraticakrā, the fifth Mahavidya is depicted in the ceiling of the Raṅgamaṇḍapa (1150-89 A.D) as carrying discs in the upper two hands, Citron in the left lower and right lower mutilated. Her Vāhana is the eagle. But the ceiling in front of Cell No.41 depicts her as six armed and carrying discs in the upper two arms, the middle two showing pravacana or jñāna mudrā and the lower two showing Varada pose and conch. This depiction belongs to a later age.<sup>120</sup> It seems that the six armed and multiarmed forms of Vidyādevīs were later developments and it was only the four armed variety that was known till the 11th century. The popular Vidyādevīs have already been referred to earlier Rohiṇī, the first Mahāvidyā seems to have been specially related to the Śānderaka gaccha as an inscription from Ajari Village near Abu dated V.S.1307 (A.D.1251) refers to Dīshū, the daughter of Yashobhadra Sūri, alongwith other women of the Śānderaka gaccha causing an image of Rohiṇī to be installed by Śrī Bhadreśvar Sūri.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> M.N.P.Tiwari, Elements of Jaina Iconography, pp. 80-83.

<sup>119</sup> U.P.Shah, "Iconography of the sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās", JISOA, XV, p. 140.

<sup>120</sup> U.P.Shah, "Iconography of the sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās", JISOA, XV, p. 136.

<sup>121</sup> Jayantavijaya, Arbudācala Pradakṣhiṇā Jaina Lekha Saṁdoha, Abu V, pp. 250-51, No. 426.



As far as Yakṣīs are concerned it is Cakreśvarī who appears to be most popular after Ambikā. Although the śvetāmbara texts only prescribe the eight armed form for Cakreśvarī, her images are available in the four armed as well as eight armed forms.<sup>122</sup> A four armed form of Cakreśvarī is seen on a ceiling corner in Cell No.53 of the Vimala-Vasahī, Abu where the goddess is shown bearing discs in the upper two hands and Varada and conch in the lower two hands.<sup>123</sup> It becomes difficult to distinguish between the Vidyādevī and the yakṣī Cakreśvarī since both have disc as the chief recognition symbol and both have eagle as the Vāhana. In the Vimala Vasahī on the pillars in the mandapa facing the central shrine are available two standing figures of Cakreśvarī. One of them shows the goddess standing in tribhanga with discs in the upper two hands and pot in the left lower one; the right lower is mutilated. The other figure also shows the goddess in a similar posture but with the left lower hand mutilated and the right showing the Varada Mudrā.<sup>124</sup> There is a lotus symbol near the right leg of each of the two figures. In such cases one can't determine whether this is a Vidyā or Yakṣī.<sup>125</sup> In one of the temples in Kumbharia, there occurs a figure of Cakreśvarī (on a pillar) with two discs, the Varada and conch and having lotus as her symbol. But in the case of Cakresvari showing two discs, Varada and pot, she occurs with the Vidyādevīs, Vairoṭyā, Vajrāṅkuṣī, Rohini suggesting that Cakreśvarī here represents a Vidyadevi. U.P.Shah has suggested that some of the early figures might have represented the Cakresvarī Yakṣī even though the form may have been later borrowed for the Vidyādevī at Kumbharia.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> U.P. Shah, "Iconography of Cakreśvarī, the Yakṣī of Rṣabhanātha", JOI, Baroda, XX, 1-2, 1971, p.280.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., p.281.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., p.284 (figs. 12 and 13).

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., p.284.

Apart from Yakṣīs, Vidyādevīs, Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī, the Abu temples reveal that Jaina ritual and sculpture was also familiar with the Mātrkās. The Ācāra Dinākara invokes eight Mātrkās in the Ṣaṣṭhisamās-kāravidhi. They are Brahmānī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Varāhi, Indrānī, Cāmuṇḍā, and Tripurā. Bappabhaṭṭīsūrī's Sārasvata Kalpa gives Brahmānī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Varāhi, Vaiṣṇavī, Cāmuṇḍā, Candikā and Mahālakṣmī.<sup>127</sup> We have already referred to the lists of Mātrkās in the brahmanical pantheon. Unlike the brahmanical pantheon the Jaina lists also mention Tripurā and Mahālakṣmī. The Vimala Vasahī shows figures of Brahmānī, Kaumārī, and Māheśvarī in the ceiling facing Cell No.23 and in the ceiling facing Cell No.24 are preserved figures of Aindrī and Vaiṣṇavī.<sup>128</sup> The first ceiling of Cell No.11 at Vimala-Vasahī, Abu depicts a multi-armed goddess with cow or bull as vāhana (referred to earlier). She has been identified as Naradattā and holds noose, sword, citron, rosary, shield, mace, water jar etc. She is surrounded on three sides by a figural band depicting Gaṇeśa, Vīrabhadra, Bhairava and the eight Mātrkās, all having four arms and sitting in latitāsana.<sup>129</sup> This indicates a borrowing from the brahmanical pantheon. Cakreśvarī Yakṣī also bears a close similarity with Vaiṣṇavī mātrkā who is also depicted in art as riding the Garuḍa and showing Cakra, Śaṅkha, Abhaya and Varada mudrā.<sup>130</sup> Sculptural evidence also testifies to the worship of the fifty-six Dikkumārīs and also the mothers of the Jinas along with their infants.

Another deity which seems to have been venerated by the Jainas at Abu as evident from literary traditions and epigraphs, is Śrī Mātā. Although no sculptures of the goddess have been found from the temples at Abu, an inscription from the

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<sup>127</sup> Ibid., p.286 and FNI.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> U.P.Shah, "Iconography of the Sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās", JISOA, XV, p.140.

<sup>130</sup> T.A.G.Gopinath Rao, op. cit., p.384. We have already highlighted the case of the Jaina Vaisnavi at Parsvantha temple, Tharad, Banaskantha dist.

Vimala-Vasahī at Abu dated V.S.1378 (A.D.1322) mentions Śrī-Mātā alongwith Ambikā as the residing deity at Abu.<sup>131</sup> Just behind the Vimala-Vasahī at Abu, amongst a group of ruined brahmanical shrines at Abu there exists the shrine of Śrī Mātā or Kanyā Kumari having her image. According to a legend current amongst the people at Abu, Rāsio Vālama, a magician at Abu fell in love with the princess of a chief at Abu but the chief placed a seemingly impossible condition to the effect that if Rāsio Vālama was able to construct twelve different roads before dawn when the cock crows, the lady would be given in marriage to Rasiyā. The mother of the princess, who did not desire that such a union should take place, made an artificial sound of a cock crow before daybreak and Rasiyā left his work in despair. He realised soon afterwards that he had been cheated and cursed both the mother and daughter. The princess turned into stone and is worshipped as Śrīmātā. Vālama took poison and died. Just opposite the shrine of Śrī Mātā there is a figure of a standing male carrying a cup in his left hand and a trident in his right hand U.P.Shah believes that this is the figure of Vālīnaha who was a Śaiva monk. He is believed to have obstructed the construction of the Vimala Vasahī. There is also an inscription dated V.S.1497 (A.D.1441) at the shrine.<sup>132</sup> This account is however an oral tradition and needs to be handled cautiously.

A different version of the same legend is preserved in the Jaina Prabandhas and other literary texts.<sup>133</sup> According to the Jaina version available in the above stated texts, Śrīmātā was the daughter of King Śrī Puñja, son of Ratnaśekhara of Ratnāvati (Śrīmātā prabandha mentions the name as Lakhaṇasena of Lakhaṇāvati). She was born with the face of a monkey and body of a female. In her previous birth

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<sup>131</sup> F. Kielhorn (ed.), "Mount Abu Vimala Temple Inscription", EI, Vol IX, p. 148 ff.

<sup>132</sup> Jayantavijaya, HA, pp.170-174.

<sup>133</sup> Tawney tr. Merutunga's Prabandhacintamani, pp.176-178., Jinavijaya (ed.) PPS, p .84 ('Srimata Prabandha'), pp .54-55 ('Sangrahagatam Srimata Vratam'), pp.52-53 ('Luniga Vasahi Prabandha').

she resided at Arbudā. Once while passing from one bough to another she was killed by an archer. Her body fell into the holy wishing pool (Kamiktīrtha in Śrīmātā prabandha) below but her head remained on the branch. This was the reason for her having the head of a monkey. Hearing this the king sent somebody to throw the monkey's head into the pool and as soon as this was done Srimata acquired a beautiful human face. Taking leave of her parents she went to Arbudā and started performing ansterities. There she met a magician (Prabandha Ciṅtāmaṇi) or an ascetic Rāsio (Śrīmātā Prabandha). She asked him to construct twelve roads on Abu before the night passed in order to acquire her hand for marriage. According to the Prabandhacīṅtāmaṇi she made the artificial sound of a cock crow but was not believed by Rāsio. Then she struck him with his own trident and he was killed. For the rest of her life she performed austerities and when she died her father constructed a temple for her at Abu. According to the Śrīmātā Prabandha hearing the cock crow, Rāsio died of heartbreak.

The Luṅigavasahī Prabandha also refers to Śrīmātā, Pārsva and their brahmin attendants (aboti) as already residing at Abu. It seems that the shrine of Śrī Mātā was regarded as almost the proprietor of the whole of Mount Abu. To its shrine were passed over the dues payable by the managers of the Jaina temples of Dīlwāra.<sup>134</sup> Our references indicate that Śrīmātā was probably a popular local female deity worshipped by the Hindus as well as Jainas. The legends indicate that she was probably a local goddess who was incorporated into the Jaina legends because of her popularity. Similarly the Dvyāshrāya Kāvya of Hemacandra mentions that the goddess Saindhavī was worshipped on a grand scale on Mount Abu but no temple of the said goddess exists on Mt.Abu.<sup>135</sup> The same goddess however is described as a heretical goddess in Merutuṅga's Prabandhacīṅtāmaṇi and the

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<sup>134</sup> D.Sharma, Early Chauhan Dynasties, Delhi, (2nd Rev. Ed.) 1975, p. 263, quoting Jayantavijaya, Sri Arbudalekha-Sāndoha.

<sup>135</sup> P.O. Sompura, op.cit., p.153, quoting Dvyāśraya, (XVI, 54).

account narrates how she was subdued by Hemacandra.<sup>136</sup> This may be a clear attempt at projecting the superiority of the Jaina faith over the contemporary religious traditions. A similar instance is also narrated in 11th century Svetambara author Devacandra's commentary on Pradyumna Sūri's Mūlashuddhiprakaraṇa. It relates how a Jaina layman who had been converted from Hinduism by a monk was persecuted by the goddess whom he had previously worshipped in an attempt to get him to revert to his previous religious practices. The layman however refused to worship the goddess as before. Persuaded of his strong resolve the goddess asked him to show a modicum of faith towards her which the layman agreed to do if she would undertake to stand beneath the image of the fordmaker in the temple. The goddess agreed to this and was thus converted.<sup>137</sup> The above stated instance also points towards an attempt by the Jainas to legitimise a practice that had made its way into early medieval Jainism namely the worship of goddesses. Establishing links with the tīrthankaras made sure of their inherent subordinate character, while at the same time it allowed the infusion of worldly values into Jainism and answered the mundane desires of the lay followers. Thus our study of the goddesses depicted at the Jaina site of Abu also confirms the wide acceptance of the divine feminine by the Jainas in the early medieval period. Our references testify to the wide popularity of the Yakṣīs Ambikā and Cakreśvarī along with Vidyādevīs, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī and Śrī Mātā. Jaina inscriptions refer to Ambikā and Śrī Mātā as the residing deities at Abu. Some of the Yakṣīs are also known to preside over tīrthas e.g. Ambikā at Girnar, Cakreśvarī at Śatruñjaya and Padmāvatī at Śravaṇa Beḷgolā. Thus J.Cort is of the opinion that Yakṣī cults may well have been associated with the rise of pilgrimage in Jainism, as pilgrims brought home with them the cult of the respective Yakṣī from a pilgrimage.<sup>138</sup> This could be a possibility, as the early medieval period saw a spurt in pilgrim activity. Pilgrimage was an important means of

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<sup>136</sup> Tawney tr., Merutuṅga's Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p.137.

<sup>137</sup> Paul Dundas, The Jains, p.182.

<sup>138</sup> J.Cort, op. cit., p.241.

propagating the faith and it also offered to the laymen a viable means of earning religious merit or pun̄ya.<sup>139</sup>

### GIRNAR

Girnar is one of the most sacred centres or tīrthas of the Jainas. It falls in the category of Siddhākṣetrās as Neminātha, the Twenty second Tīrthankara is said to have achieved salvation here.<sup>140</sup> Girnar lies 4 miles east of Junagadh, Gujarat and has been known by various names such as ujjayantā, ujjantā, udayantā, Raivātakā, urjayat, Girīnagarā etc, in literary traditions and inscriptions.<sup>141</sup> Girnar has been a sacred site for the Hindus, Buddhists and Jainas alike.

About Thirty chapters of the Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa called the Girnāra Māhātmya are devoted to the account of the sanctity of Girnar and its neighbourhood and it is stated that Prabhāsa Kṣhetra or Somanātha Pattan and its vicinity on the sea shore, the South coast of Sorath is the holiest of all places of Hindu Sanctity, but Girnar or Vastrapatha (as it is called since Siva shed his clothes here) is holier still by some infinitesimal amount. Many Gods are said to have consented to reside here permanently. Parvati is mentioned as the residing deity on Ujjayantā which was one of the peaks of Girnar. She is also referred to as Ambā.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> That pilgrimage had become an important facet of Jainism in the early medieval period is also evident from the Vimal Vasahi inscription of Sāraṅgadeva of V.S. 1350 (A.D. 1293) issued by Vīśaladeva. It prohibits the state officers of Abu from demanding any tax from the pilgrims to the two Jaina temples at Abu. Encouraging more pilgrims to come to a sacred centre was also a means of popularising the faith. For further details Refer to Diskalkar, "Some unpublished Inscriptions of the chaulukyās of Gujarat", Poona Orientalist, vol III, pp.69-74.

<sup>140</sup> H.Jacobi, 'Kalpasutra', in F.Max Muller (ed.), Sacred Books of the East, vol XXII, pp. 277 and 279.

<sup>141</sup> Harihar Singh, Jaina Temples of Western India, p. 36.

<sup>142</sup> Ramchandra G.Angal, "The Girnār Māhātmya", IA, vol II, 1875, p 239.

The Jainas also have the Raivatachala Māhātmya, forming the tenth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth sargas of the Śatruñjaya Māhātmya attributed to Dhaneṣvara Sūri. It deals more with the history of the Pandavas and Kṛṣṇa who is shown to be Nemināthas' cousin.<sup>143</sup> The Raivatachala māhātmya also mentions Ambika (the Śāsanadevī of Neminātha) as an important deity at Girnar who bestowed wealth and happiness upon her devotees.<sup>144</sup> It is also stated that the only way to liberate oneself from Karman was by devout devotion to Raivatādri.<sup>145</sup> Thus as in the case of Kumbharia, both the brahmanical and Jaina legends have their respective traditions and both associate Ambikā in some way or another with Girnar.

There is a certain amount of controversy regarding the number of Jaina temples that exist at this site. According to Burgess there are about Sixteen in all.<sup>146</sup> However Harihar Singh maintains that there is a group of five Jaina temples at Girnar<sup>147</sup> for our purpose, however the only two temples that have been reasonably preserved are the temple of Neminātha and the temple of Ādinātha (Vastupālavihāra). The temple of Neminātha is the largest in the Girnar group and there is an inscription on one of the pillars of the mandapa stating that it was repaired in A.D 1278.<sup>148</sup> Two pillars of the mandapa also bear inscriptions dated 1275, 1281 and 1278, relating to donations of wealthy śrāvaks for the daily worship of the Jina.<sup>149</sup> The temple is generally ascribed to Sajjana, the daṇḍanāyaka of

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<sup>143</sup> James Burgess (ed), "The Satrunjaya Mahatmyam", IA, vol XXX, pp.288-308. In this case Mahavira is relating the story of Girnar at the behest of Indra. In the brahmanical account Siva is shown answering Parvati's queries.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., p. 290-291.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., p.290.

<sup>146</sup> James Burgess, AKK, p.166.

<sup>147</sup> Harihar Singh, op. cit., p.37.

<sup>148</sup> James Burgess, AKK, p.166., P.O. Sompura, op. cit., p.142.

<sup>149</sup> James Burgess, AKK, p.166, note.

Sorath, in Siddharāja's reign (1094-1144 A.D.)<sup>150</sup> The ceilings of the temple are also of the 12th century style.<sup>151</sup> The temple of Ādinātha was built by Vastupāla and from inscriptions it appears that it was built in A.D.1231.<sup>152</sup> Jinaprabhasūri in his Vividhatīrthakalpa mentions the temple of Ambikā at Koḍinār, district Junagadh, as a well known Jaina shrine. Siddharāja was believed to be a devotee of this goddess. This temple however does not exist at present.<sup>153</sup> That a temple dedicated to Ambāji existed at Mt.Girnar is evident from a record in the Jaina Tirtha Sarva Saṅgraha, which states that in A.D.1468 the same temple was restored and renovated by one Shreshthī Samala.<sup>154</sup> These references alongwith the ones found in the Girnāra and Raivatacala Māhātmya indicate that Ambika was widely worshipped by the Jainas as well as Hindus.<sup>155</sup>

As our references indicate, the goddesses popular at Girnar seem to be Ambikā, Vairoṭyā, Cakreśvarī, Vajrāṅkuśī, Vajrāsṛṅkhalā, Mānasī. This is a somewhat incomplete picture because due to absence of Vāhanas, renovations, or damaged images, it is not possible to identify some of the goddesses depicted on the ceilings and pillars. But even though they have not been identified, their presence does testify to the fact that worship of mother goddesses was prevalent in Jainism in the early medieval period. That Ambikā was a very popular deity at Girnar is also proved by the fact that legendary accounts about her Origin also associate her with Girnar. An account preserved in the Ambikā devī kalpa composed by Jinaprabhasūri (14th century A.D) relates that Ambikā fed the food specially prepared for brahmins

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<sup>150</sup> P.O. Sompura, op. cit., p.142.

<sup>151</sup> M.A.Dhaky, "The Chronology of the Solanki temples of Gujarat", in JMPIP, 1961, No.3, pp.54-55.

<sup>152</sup> James Burgess, AKK, p.170.

<sup>153</sup> P.O. Sompura, op. cit., p.152

<sup>154</sup> Ibid, p.215.

<sup>155</sup> For other goddesses worshipped at Girnar, Refer to Table IV at the end of this chapter.



(on the śrāddha ceremony of Soma's ancestors) to an ascetic who had fasted for one full month. Enraged her husband Soma and mother-in-law turned her out of the house alongwith her two sons. However strange miracles occurred as Ambikā went on and on her weary way. Her sons, hungry and exhausted cried for food and water. Instantly a dried mango tree by the roadside offered them ripe mangoes, and a dry lake nearby was filled all at once with water. Similar miracles occurred at home and repenting, Soma set out to find Ambikā. Seeing him approach and misunderstanding his intentions, Ambikā jumped into a nearby well with her two sons and died (according to another account, she jumped from the top of Raivatakā hill) she was born in one of the heavens called Kohaṇḍā vimāṇa, as a yakṣī devoted to the Śāsana of Neminātha. She is otherwise also known as Kohaṇḍī (Kuṣmaṇḍī or Kuṣmaṇḍiṇī) on account of her residence in the Kohaṇḍā Vimāṇa. Her husband too, filled with remorse died after her and was born as a lion and became a Vāhana of Ambikā.<sup>156</sup> The Digambana tradition is supplied by the Yakṣī-Kathā found in a work called Punyaśrama-Kathā, according to which she was the wife of Somasarman, a brahmin of Girīnagarā. Her name was Agnīla and after leaving home, she went to Urjjayant hill where Varadatta the Muni to whom she had given food for breaking his fast, was living.<sup>157</sup> These myths also provide an explanations for her iconography which depicts her riding a lion, carrying a child and a bunch of mangoes. A story in the Prabandhacintāmaṇi also relates that Ambika was called upon to settle a dispute between the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras regarding Girnar. She was made to appear visibly in front of a congregation and declare Girnar as a Śvetāmbara stronghold.<sup>157a</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> U.P.Shah, "Iconography of the Jain Goddess Ambika", JUB, IX, 2, 1940-41, p.147 ff, and also  
B.C.Law, "Studies in the vividha Tīrtha Kalpa", Jaina Antiquary, vol IV, 4, p. 123.

<sup>157</sup> U.P.Shah, " Iconography of the Jain Goddess Ambikā", JUB, Vol.IX, 2, 1940-41, p. 147ff.

<sup>157a</sup> Tawney tr. Merutuṅga's Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p.201.

Ambikā's popularity at Girnar is also evident from some of the inscriptions available at Girnar. An inscription dated V.S.1215 (A.D.1159) from the temple of Neminātha invokes Ambikā as a deity who controls the actions of men.<sup>158</sup>

'In Sam 1215 the Thākuras Sāvadeva and Jasahada completed, out of regard for Thākura Salavahana shrines for all the divinities in the holy Ujjayantā....And in the some year Thākura Pari.....the son of Thākura Puraksha.....and built a small temple of Śrī Ambikā who presides over the actions of men'.<sup>159</sup>

A different version of the same inscription<sup>160</sup> however is as follows -"on anauspicious sunday, the 8th of Chāitra Śudi, Sam 1215.

"Here today on this famous holy place of Ujjayanta a row of all the Jaina God images have been completed by the mason Jasahada and Savadeva with the consent of the Saṅghavī Thākura Sālivāhana, like wise a Nagajhari sīra or an elephant fount has been enclosed (by a wall) by Paṇḍita Sālivāhana, the son of Bharatha in which four ideals have been placed"

"After the above named Kuṇḍā an image of the famous Ambikā upon it and a group of idols have been erected."

This version also indicates the importance of Ambikā as a Jaina deity as only

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<sup>158</sup> James Burgess, AKK, p.167.

<sup>159</sup> G.V.Acharya (ed.), Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat II, Bombay, 1935, p51, reads the date as v.s. 1217 (A.D. 1161).

<sup>160</sup> James Burgers, Memorandum on the Antiquities at Dabhoi Ahmedabad, Than Junagadh Girnar Dhank, Bombay, Archaeological Survey of Western India, No. 2, 1875, pp.310-311., J.Burgess, ARBP, Inscription No. 16, G.V.Acharya op. cit., p.51.

the name of Ambikā amongst other idols has been highlighted.<sup>161</sup> Another inscription dated V.S.1288, found on the west door of the temple of Vastupāla and Tejahpāla on Mount Girnar, invokes the blessings of Ambikā (referred to as Ambā) along with Nemi.<sup>162</sup> The same inscription also makes a reference to Sarasvatī as a goddess of fertility who is said to have blessed Vastupāla with a son. Sarasvatī is also adored in a similar manner in two other inscriptions from the same temple.<sup>163</sup> This is an interesting fact as Jainas regard Sarasvatī as Śrutadevātā or goddess of learning who presides over the teachings of the Jinas. Nevertheless the inscriptions do highlight the importance of Ambikā and Sarasvatī.

Regarding the depiction of female deities in the Neminātha temple at Girnar, one notices certain peculiarities. Here also, like in Kumbharia, the vidyādevīs and yaksis are generally depicted as four armed. Probably, this seems to have been the trend in the 12th century A.D.. The depiction of Vairoṭyā the 13th Mahāvidyā, in the Mūlaprāsāda of the Neminātha temple seems to agree with the textual prescriptions of the Śvetāmbaras as far as the snake vehicle is concerned. Her attributes of snake

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<sup>161</sup> Another interesting inscription, whose date unfortunately is uncertain, has been found at Ambikā's shrine at the door of Neminātha's temple and thus celebrates her praise- "The destroyer of doubts and fears, the accomplisher of all human desires and wishes, who causes to be completed the designs of the devout, such a goddess is Shri Mātā Ambikā, the sole power whereby the prayers of man kind are fulfilled. To her be praise and glory", vide James Burgess, Memorandum on the Antiquities of Dabhoi etc., p.48., AKK, p.161., ARBP, pp.303-304, No.7 gives a different version "I praise that great Ambika who... to kill, the elephants of difficulty and to satisfy the desires of the meritorious, supplies many mango fruits, and has a lap graced by a son, as if to fulfill the wishes of men for 100 sons". Both these versions regard Ambika as a deity who when propitiated fulfils all the desires of men, the latter version emphasising on the fertility aspect. P.O. Som;ura, op. cit., p.142 quoting Burgess, AKK, p.159 states that the inscription is dated V.S. 1176 but to the best of our knowledge this has not been confirmed by Burgess who believes that the inscription belongs to a later date.

<sup>162</sup> Burgess, ARBP, p.283., AKK, pp.170-173.

<sup>163</sup> Burgess, ARBP, p.283 ff.

and shield (upper two hands) agree more with the Nirvāṇakalikā of Padalīptāsūri (C.10th Century) but the bhūmisparśa mudrā of the lower two hands appears to be peculiar to this particular depiction. The four armed images of the same goddess in Abu show her carrying snake, shield, sword and snake, sometimes even citron and Varada. There is also a sixteen armed image of this goddess in Vimala Vasahī, Abu indicating that a sixteen armed version, prescribed in the Nirvāṇakalikā, was known at Abu in the 12th century A.D. the image of Cakreśvari, also depicted in the Mūlaprāsāda of the Neminātha temple appears to be closer to the 5th Mahāvidyā Apraticakrā or Cakresvari or Cakradharā who is described as four armed, with Garuda as vāhana and holding discs in all hands. In this case the differing attributes she shows are the abhaya mudrā and the śāṅkha, she may not be the Yakṣī Cakreśvari as the śvetāmbara traditions generally prescribe the eight or twelve armed form for her.<sup>164</sup> As far as the depiction of Mānasī the 15th Mahāvidyā is concerned, She is recognisable because of her swan vehicle, her attributes are not the same as those prescribed in the texts. She is shown carrying Padma, Padma, water pot and one hand in varada mudrā, whereas the Nirvāṇakalikā prescribes varada, vajra, rosary and vajra. Although the yakṣī of the 21st tīrthānkara has swan as her vehicle and is also depicted as four armed, her attributes are entirely different.<sup>165</sup> The depictions of vajrāṅkuśā in the gūḍhamaṇḍapa agree completely with the textual prescriptions, although this is not the case at Abu.

On the basis of the above stated sources it may be said that apart from Ambikā yakṣī it was the Vidyādevī, Cakreśvari, Mānasī, Vajrāṅkuśā, Vairoṭyā, vajrasṅkhalā etc that were more popular at Girnar. The popularity of Ambikā may be due to her association with Neminātha as his tutelary deity. The evidence from Girnar also corroborates the picture obtained from the other sites.

<sup>164</sup> Refer to the Table on Yaksis in Section I, Entry I, also see J.P.Sharma, Jaina Yakshas, Merut, 1989, pp .72-73 (for Hemacandra's version in the Triṣastīśāfākā-puruṣacarita).

<sup>165</sup> Refer to Table II, Chapter II, Entry No. 21.

## ANALYSIS

As our case studies indicate, the temples at Osian represent the earliest tradition in our group ranging from the eight to the Eleventh centuries, followed by the temples at Kumbharia and Abu ranging from the Eleventh till the thirteen centuries, and finally those at Girnar displaying a tradition sprawled over the Twelfth and Thirteen centuries A.D. A common feature at all these sites is the overwhelming appearance of female divinities, no doubt as subsidiary deities, but never the less signifying the wide acceptance and popularity of the same. On the whole Vidyādevīs appear to be better represented at our sites and Osian preserves the earliest representations of Vidyādevīs in art though complete sets of the sixteen Vidyādevīs are preserved at Abu. Our sources indicate that by the Twelfth century A.D. the tradition of representing vidyādevīs in art had evolved to a great extent and that the sculptors at Abu were familiar with various different forms of Vidyādevīs. As far as the Yakṣīs are concerned our study shows that Ambikā was the most popular deity at Kumbharia, Abu and Girnar, followed by Cakreśvarī. As has been shown in the case of each of these individual centres, the tradition of Ambikā and a Two-armed Yakṣa accompanying the images of all the Tīrthaṅkaras as their attendant deities was popular almost till the Thirteenth century A.D., although the tradition of different Yakṣīs accompanying their respective tīrthaṅkaras was also known. The reasons for Ambikā's popularity may be due to her antiquity and assimilation within herself of traits of various popular goddesses like Nandā, Hārītī and the Brahmanical Durgā. It could also be due to her association with Neminātha who was one of the popular tīrthaṅkaras in western India. The other well known deities at all these centres were Cakreśvarī, Vairoṭyā, Vajrāṅkuśī, Vajrasṛṅkhalā, Rohiṇī, Mānasī, Prajñapti Mahāmānasī, Naradattā, Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī, etc. Iconographically the four armed form of goddesses appears of have been in vogue during this time.

The worship of goddesses in Jainism was peculiar to the early medieval period, as we hardly come across any references to goddesses in literature and art prior to this period. It is evident from depictions in art that goddesses were accorded a subordinate status. We hardly find independent shrines dedicated to these goddesses except in the case of Ambikā and Saccikā. At the same time our temples preserve terrific forms of the goddesses also signifying their all powerful character. References in literature and epigraphs indicate that these goddesses had been assigned a specific role. For instance Ambikā was regarded as presiding over the actions of men and protecting the tīrtha (Girnar) of her Tirthankara. She also helped in the propagation of the faith advising ardent devotees to construct magnificent temples and compose texts glorifying the faith of the Jinas. Sarasvatī was not simply a goddess of learning but was also invoked as a fertility deity granting offspring to her faithful devotees. Vidyādevīs were invoked for the fulfilment of a variety of desires like wealth, acquisition of powers like spells and mantras which helped accomplish impossible deeds, victory over one's enemies, dispelling fears and offering protection etc. As evident from their iconographic traits, goddesses were worshipped in their benevolent as well as malevolent character. But benign character and strict Vegetarianism were the usual Jaina characteristic traits. The wide acceptance of the female principle in Jainism is also evident from the fact that this period saw the association of specific goddesses with particular communities of the Jainas indicating the emergence of independent cults. This is extremely well represented in the case of Saccikā who is the family deity of the Oswāl Jainas. In the context of South India Settar has highlighted how the cult of Jvālāmālinī, supposed to be an outcome of tantric influences, rose to importance in Karnataka as early as the Seventh or Eighth centuries and that epigraphical references to independent temples of Jvālāmālinī are as early as the Twelfth or thirteenth century, He has also shown that the iconology of Jvālā was largely derived from the popular brahmanical goddess Mahiṣasuramardīnī. As the latter delivered the gods from the fears of the Buffalo-Titan, Jvālā delivered a disciple of Elācārya from the cruel clutches of a

brahmarākṣasa.<sup>166</sup> The central theme in both the traditions appears to be the same, a fiery energy manifesting itself in the form of a Great Goddess to quell the evil.<sup>167</sup> The Jainas had also incorporated into their pantheon Mātrkās Yoginīs, Dikkumārīs etc. Therefore borrowing from parallel religions traditions was a feature common to every religion and as shall be revealed in the discussion that follows. Jainism also exhibited this feature. Although goddesses were not accorded a very significant place in temples, in fact female figures do seem to be serving a decorative purpose considering their placement, but they did play an important role in the Jaina community.

Taking up the case of Ambikā first, it has already been shown how the myths surrounding her origin explain her iconography. The worship of Ambikā appears to be very old. According to Jinaprabhasuri her temples and images were found at Mathura, Ujjayantagiri, Hastinapura, Ahicchatra, Pratisthanapura and other place in ancient times. She is also said to have guarded the tīrtha of Mathura.<sup>168</sup> The earliest reference to Ambika is obtained in the unpublished commentary of Jinabhadragani Kṣamāṣramāṇa on his own Viśeṣavāśyaka - Bhāṣya (c.500-600 A.D.). Her sculptures also do not date prior to c. 550 A.D.<sup>169</sup> Her characteristic symbols mango tree and children also signify her character as a fertility goddess. This is also indicated by her name which means mother. Ambikā is variously addressed as Ambā, Āmrā, Kuṣmaṇḍinī, Simhāvāhinī etc. In her tantric form she is known as Amra - kuṣmaṇḍinī.<sup>170</sup> U.P. Shah has clearly demonstrated her close association

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<sup>166</sup> S. Settar, "The Cult of Jvālāmālīnī and the Earliest Images of Jvālā and Śyāmā", in Artibus Asiae, Vol XXXI, No. 4, 1969, pp 309-320.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid., p. 309.

<sup>168</sup> U.P. Shah, "Iconography of the Jain Goddess Ambikā", JUB, Vol IX, part 2, 1940-41, p. 162.

<sup>169</sup> U.P. Shah, "Beginnings of Jaina Iconography", BMAUP, No. 9, 1972, p. 12.

<sup>170</sup> U.P. Shah, JRM, p. 257.

with the brahmanical Durgā. According to him the Jaina Ambikā since she is associated usually with one or two sons is a mother goddess, and as such is rightly addressed as Ambikā. In brahmanical mythology Ambikā is generally the name of Pārvatī, the consort of Śiva. In the Ṛgvedic age also Ambikā was a mother goddess and her association with Rudrā is evident from the Vājasāneyī Samhitā where she is mentioned as sister of Rudrā.<sup>171</sup> In one of her images at Mathura Ambikā is also given the symbol of a mirror which is a characteristic of the Hindu Gaurī.<sup>172</sup> In the Yajñavalkya Smṛti, Ambika is known as the mother of Vināyaka.<sup>173</sup> In one of the images preserved in the Mathura museum small figures of Kubera and Gaṇeśa are shown on two sides of Ambikā.<sup>174</sup> Ambika is also known as Kohaṇḍī (Kuṣmaṇḍiṇī) as she was born in one of the heavens known as Kohaṇḍa Vimāna. Even in Brahmanical tradition Āryā or Durgā was known as both Ambikā and Kuṣmaṇḍī.<sup>175</sup> At the same time according to Jaina accounts Kuṣmaṇḍās are a class of Vyantarās or semi-divine beings. According to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa Kuṣmaṇḍās are a class of Śiva ganas.<sup>176</sup> Thus Ambikā riding on a Lion is very similar to the Brahmanical Durgā. Further U.P. Shah also shows Jaina Ambikā's affinities with the Buddhist Hārītī who is also intimately associated with children. According to Buddhist accounts she was the child devouring tutelary goddess of Rajagrha and was called Nandā. She was later converted by the Buddha. Nandā is also one of the names and forms of Gaurī or Parvatī. Thus Nandā, Gaurī, Ambikā, Āryā, Bahūputrikā and Hārītī are all intimately related mother goddesses especially

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<sup>171</sup> Ibid., p. 257.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid., p. 258.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid., p. 259.



associated with children.<sup>177</sup> U.P. Shah has identified Nānā (Ambā), who was worshipped by the Kusāṇa kings Huiṣkā and Vāsudeva, as the ancient mother goddess, on whom the above named goddesses were based. U.P. Shah quotes B.N. Mukherjee who in his monograph "Nāna on the lion" has shown that Nāna was a prototype of Durgā.<sup>178</sup> Thus Ambikā imbibed the conception of the ancient mother goddess through the form Nāna. Also her association with the mango tree and children reminds one of the ancient Yakṣī statues and river goddesses found at Bharhut. Ambikā is therefore the Jaina mother goddess associated with fertility and children and imbibes within herself various facets of popular ancient mother goddesses.

We have already discussed the affinity of Cakreśvarī Vidyā and yakṣī with the Vaiṣṇavī Mātrkā. Next we shall take up the case of Vairoṭyā who was an extremely popular snake deity at all our centres of study. Vairoṭyā is the Thirteenth Jaina Mahāvidyā and Hemacandra explains her name as one who is resorted to for removal of enmity.<sup>179</sup> The Prabhāvākacarita and the Prabandhakōśa give a story of the previous existence of the snake goddess Vairoṭyā.<sup>180</sup> Vairoṭyā was married to Varadatta, the son of Padmatta and Padmayāsa, and was greatly troubled by her mother in law. Once when she was pregnant and was craving to eat 'payaśa' (rice and was milk cooked together), she hid it in a pot and putting it under the shade of a tree went to fetch water. This was eaten by the wife of the snake king Āliṅgāra who from that time helped Vairoṭyā. Ācārya Āryā Nandilā who had come to the city, advised Vairoṭyā to request the Nāga Kumāras to stop hunting human beings and their request was immediately granted. After death Vairoṭyā was reborn as the chief

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<sup>177</sup> Ibid., p 259.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid., 260.

<sup>179</sup> U.P. Shah, "Iconography of the Sixteen Jaina Mahavidyas", JISOA, XV, p. 156.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid., pp.156-157.

queen of the Nāga-king Dharaṇendra and the great saint Ārya Nandilā who belonged to the 2nd century A.D composed a new hymn to Vairoṭyā and whoever recited this hymn was freed from the danger of serpents. Vairoṭyā is generally represented as riding a snake and holding snake, shield, sword and snake. She is believed to be an earlier snake goddess than Padmāvati, the yakṣī of Pārśvanātha.<sup>181</sup> It is believed that Padmāvati replaced Vairoṭyā in popular worship in c.1000 A.D.<sup>182</sup> But this was not the case in western India, as our sources indicate. Although Padmāvati is also depicted in our temple but Vairoṭyā was definitely more popular. It has to be remembered that Nāgas symbolised fertility and were the protectors of wealth. Jainas being a merchant class patronised this deity and it is also possible that in worshipping Vairoṭyā the Jainas were catering to a section of the populace that had faith in the Nāga cult. The Nāga affiliations of Abu have already been alluded to. Such was also the case at Osian. Thus worshipping a snake deity could be a means of imbibing popular traditions. The fact that the Vairoṭyā - stava of Ārya - Anandilā is used for cure from snake bites reminds one of the 'Jāṅgolī - vidyā' of the Jaina Āṅga texts. Possibly Vairoṭyā is another name or a modified form of the ancient Jāṅgolīvidyā. This also reminds one of the Buddhist snake goddess Jāṅgulī.<sup>183</sup>

Similarly Vajrasṛṅkhalā, third Jaina Mahāvidyā is an emanation of Amoghasiddhī in Vajrayāna Buddhism and is named after the 'Vajra - sṛṅkhalā' carried in one of her hands. Vajra means Śūnya in Vajrayāna. Both Vajrasṛṅkhalā and Vajrāṅkuśī of the Jainas seems to have been influenced by Buddhist goddesses of the same name.<sup>184</sup> The symbols of Vajrāṅkuśī resemble those of Rambhā, a form of Gaurī of the brahmanical texts, who according to Rūpamaṇḍana carries the

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<sup>181</sup> U.P.Shah, "Beginnings of Jaina Iconography," BMAUP, No.9, 1972, P. 13.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid., P. 13.

<sup>183</sup> U.P.Shah, "Iconography of the 16 Vidyadevis," JISOA, XV, P.161

<sup>184</sup> Ibid., PP.129-130.

Kamandalu, rosary, Vajra, and goad and the elephant is her vāhana.<sup>185</sup> Prajñapti the Second Mahāvidyā has the peacock as her Vāhana and holds Varada, Śakti, citron and Śakti according to the Nirvāṇa=Kalikā. The Ādipurāṇa refers to Mahāprajñapti vidyā which along with other vidyās, grants the worshipper his desired boons.<sup>186</sup> The Paumacariyam also states that Rāvaṇa propitiated Prajñapti, along with Kaumārī, Candālī, Varāhī, Kauberī, Aīśānī, Śānkārī, Jayā, Vijayā, and other vidyās.<sup>187</sup> Prajñapti bears close resemblance with the Mātṛkā Kaumārī who also has peacock as her Vāhana and carries the Śakti and Kukkuṭa in two Hands, the remaining two being in the Abhaya and the Varada poses.<sup>188</sup> Mahāpuruṣadattā, the 6th Mahāvidyā in her Sixteen armed form can be compared with the brahmanical goddess Durgā who is also associated with the buffalo and Carries numerous weapons like the sword, shield. Durga and Kātyāyanī are also referred to in the Jaina text Anuyoga-dvāra-sūtra.<sup>189</sup> According to B.C. Bhattacharyya Mānasī the fifteenth Jaina Mahāvidyā and Mahāmānasī, the Sixteenth Jaina Mahāvidyā are modelled on the concept of the Buddhist Vagiśvarī, the goddess of learning who also rides a lion.<sup>190</sup> This shows that the Jainas adopted or appropriated the worship of these deities from brahmanical as well as Buddhist sources. At the same time this does not mean that all their traits were borrowed. For instance the concept of Mahāvidyās exists in brahmanism also but the group of Ten Mahāvidyās emerges rather late in the Hindu literary tradition which is not the case with Jaina Mahāvidyās. The Ten Mahāvidyās appear to be a medieval iconographic and

<sup>185</sup> Ibid. p.132., T.A.G. Gopinath Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol.I, Part 2, p.361.

<sup>186</sup> U.P.Shah, "Iconography of Sixteen Jaina Mahavidyas," JISOA, XV, p.126.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid., p.127

<sup>188</sup> Gopinatha Rao, Op.cit., p.387.

<sup>189</sup> U.P.Shah, "Iconography of the Sixteen Gannet Mahavidyas," JISOA, XV, p.141

<sup>190</sup> B.C.Bhattacharyya, op.cit., pp.131-132.

mythological expression of an aspect of Mahādevī theology. They are not revered individually but seem to represent a common way of expressing the idea that the particular goddess who dwells in the temple takes many forms.<sup>191</sup>

That Mātrkā worship was prevalent in Jainism is evident from our references on Kumbharia and Abu. In fact in Vimalavasahī, Abu a 16 armed figure of Puruṣadattā is found surrounded by Gaṇeśa, Bhairava and 8 Mātrkās. This is a clear indication of appropriation from the brahmanical pantheon in which earliest references to Mātrkās (mothers) dates around the first century A.D.<sup>192</sup> Debala Mitra has brought to light a group of 7 Yakṣīs carved below their tīrthaṅkaras and preceded by the figure of Gaṇeśa seated in Mahārājāḷī, holding a bowl of laddukās, hatchet, rosary and radish, in the Navamuṇi gumphā Orissa. There also occurs an inscription dated 11th century A.D., but according to Mitra stylistically these reliefs seem to be earlier in date. According to her they are reminiscent of the brahmanical Sapta-mātrkās as most of them evince characteristics which are not available in the Jaina texts but which occur in the brahmanical prototypes. With their attributes and mounts they disclose unmistakably the assimilation of the brahmanical deities into the Jaina pantheon.<sup>193</sup> Thus the Jaina concept of Mātrkās in Western India could also have been influenced by its brahmanical counterpart. V.S.Agrawala has also shown how the presiding deity of child birth in Jainism, the goat-faced Naigameṣin was similar to the brahmanical Daksha, the guardian of children. He has also shown how the concept of a male deity presiding over child birth gradually gave rise to the iconography of the mother goddess in the form of Trīśāla and her child because in all naturalness only a female deity could understand and sympathise with the aspirations of those who longed for motherhood.<sup>194</sup> In

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<sup>191</sup> David Kinsley, op.cit., p.161

<sup>192</sup> Ibid., p.151

<sup>193</sup> Debala Mitra, "Śāsanadevīs in the Khandagiri caves," Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Vol 1, No.2, (1959), p.128.

<sup>194</sup> V.S.Agrawala, "The Presiding Deity of child birth amongst the Ancient Jains", Jaina Antiquary Vol II, 4 (1937), pp. 75-79.

Western India we also find evidence for worship of mothers of the 24 Jinas depicted on stone plaques holding fruits in one hand and a child in the other. Thus Jainism incorporated a score of goddesses into its pantheon, satisfying the mundane desires of their devotees, while at the same time remaining subordinate to the Tīrthānkara. Scholars like P.S.Jaini have expressed the opinion that the cult of guardian deities may have been incorporated into Jainism in order to prevent the influence of Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva bhakti movements on the Jaina laity. This practice was legitimised by establishing links between these deities and the Tīrthānkaras in which the Tīrthānkara reigned supreme.<sup>195</sup> This may have been one of the means by which the mundane, worldly desires of the laity could be fulfilled without sufficiently changing the character of Jainism. One has to keep in mind the fact that the Jainas had to constantly compete with contemporary religious streams whose deities promised to their devotees salvation as well as worldly benefits. Our references indicate that gradually some of these deities came to acquire independent cults. That some of the Yakṣīs were originally Kuladevīs or lineage goddesses of powerful local families allied with Jainism is evident in the case of Karnataka where Padmāvati the most popular Jaina goddess was the Kuladevī of several local ruling families such as Śilāhāra, Raṭṭas and Śāntaras.<sup>196</sup> The dynamics of the process by which a non Jaina Kuladevi was converted into a Jaina goddess when a caste or lineage became Jaina is clearly seen in the case of Saccika, the Kuladevi of the Oswal Jainas of Rajasthan and Saurashtra.<sup>197</sup> The Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita also reveals an incident where the Jaina layman Bandhudatta converted the Bhīlla tribal goddess Candaseṇa from accepting only living creatures as offerings to accepting flowers, fruits and other vegetarian offerings. By converting the goddess he also incited right belief into the minds of the Bhīllas.<sup>198</sup> This reveals how deities were

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<sup>195</sup> P.S.Jaini, " Is there a popular Jainism? ", in Carrithers and Humphrey (eds), The Assembly of Listeners Jains in Society, Cambridge, 1991, pp. 187-199.

<sup>196</sup> J.Cort, op.cit., p. 243

<sup>197</sup> Ibid., p.243.

<sup>198</sup> Johnson tr. Hemacandra's Trisastisalapakurusacarita, V, Baroda, 1931-62, p 419, quoted by Ibid., p.244.

imparted specific Jaina attributes, ahimsā being most important.

Our study of the goddesses has also revealed a hierarchy amongst them which brings to light the important goddesses discussed above. That differences amongst goddesses existed within the Jaina tradition is evident from the threefold division of goddesses according to the three realms of Jaina cosmology. Regarding the role of the goddesses in Jaina worship, our references indicate, as has been pointed out by Cort also, that goddesses were not approached by an individual for attaining liberation. Rather they were approached to assist the devotee in worldly affairs.<sup>199</sup> Ambikā is said to have aided the 12th century Kumārāpala in his accession to the throne in Gujarat.<sup>200</sup> Padmāvati was invoked to protect the capital of Jayacandra in Gujarat.<sup>201</sup> We have already referred to Ambikā settling a dispute between Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras regarding authority over Girnar. In another instance, in a dispute regarding the right path of salvation, Sarasvatī is made to declare the cause of Jainism stating that one must practice the faith of the Jinas.<sup>202</sup>

Cort has compared Jaina goddesses with Ramanujan's concept of Breast Mothers and Tooth Mothers.<sup>203</sup> He believes that Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī in the

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<sup>199</sup> Ibid., p.248.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., p.248

<sup>201</sup> Tawney, tr.Merutuṅga's Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p.185.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid., p.63

<sup>203</sup> Cort op.cit., p.249 quoting A.K.Ramanujan, "The Relevance of South Asian Folklore," (unpublished paper, 1980), pp.47-48-Breast mothers or Sanskritic consort goddesses are married and subordinate to their husbands, are related to auspicious life-cycle rites, have their temples within the village or city confines, have well sculpted images and faces, and are vegetarian & benevolent in nature. Tooth Mothers or local "mother" goddesses are generally unmarried and independent, are invoked in times of crisis, have temples outside village boundaries, images are rough-hewn and faceless, demand blood sacrifices, are dreaded by devotees and have possession as part of their ritual. |

Jaina pantheon, although unmarried remain Breast mothers. The rest of the Jaina goddesses fall in between the two categories. They are benevolent and vegetarian like Breast mothers and tend to be installed in satellite shrines in temples to tīrthānkaras and are located within the village or city. At the same time they are unmarried and related more to life crises than to life cycle rites. According to Cort Jaina goddesses have developed characteristics similar to Hindu goddesses but are still distinct, being active in the world and assisting their devotees in worldly concerns and furtherance of Jaina teachings. The yakṣīs are not transcendent, universal goddesses, they are prototypical earth goddesses, involved with wealth, fertility and specific locales . They are in the same continuity of being as their human devotees i.e. they are in and of the triple world, while Tīrthānkaras and Siddhas are not. Therefore only goddesses can meet the non-salvational religions needs of their Jaina devotees. They cannot grant the devotee salvation as that is a condition greater than themselves. Cort therefore regards the worship of goddesses in medieval Jainism as falling within the broad spectrum of practices known as Kāmya "motivated by ones wants and needs" and believes that Jaina iconography is clearly indicative of the values within Jainism, for the goddess the fulfiller of aims of Kāmya rituals, is merely a subordinate attendant of the tīrthānkarā, the one who has attained the ultimate goal of liberation.<sup>204</sup>

Thus Jainism could not remain impervious to the mother goddess cult which has always had a wide popularity and mass acceptance. The early medieval period saw the resurgence of the divine feminine in Jainism also and goddesses were assigned an important place and role albeit subordinate.

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<sup>204</sup> Ibid., pp.249 - 252.

TABLE I<sup>1</sup>

## Goddesses in the Mahavira Temple at Osian

S.NO.	NAME	ARMS	VĀHANA	ATTRIBUTES	DATE	PLACEMENT
1.	CAKREŚVARĪ (Yakṣī or Vidyādevī)	Four	Anthropomorphic Garuḍa	Discus, Discus, Discus, Discus.	8th century A.D.	Western ceiling, Mukhamandapa.
2.	CAKREŚVARĪ (Yakṣī or Vidyādevī)	Four	Anthropomorphic Garuḍa	Discus, Discus, Discus, Discus.	10th century A.D.	niche in wall of Gūḍhamandapa.
3.	CAKREŚVARĪ (Yakṣī or Vidyādevī)	Four	Anthropomorphic Garuḍa	Discus, Discus, Discus, Discus.	10th century A.D.	Right side of Doorway of Devakulikā 1.
4.	CAKREŚVARĪ (Yakṣī or Vidyādevī)	Two	Flying Anthropomorphic Garuḍa.	Lalitāsana. disc, disc.	10th century A.D.	Northern Wall of Devakulikā 1.
5.	CAKREŚVARĪ (Yakṣī or Vidyādevī)	Four	-	Sukhāsana. disc, disc, Varada, pot.	10th century A.D.	wall of Devakulikā 2.
6.	CAKREŚVARĪ (Yakṣī or Vidyādevī)	Four	-	Sukhāsana. disc, disc, Varada, pot.	10th century A.D.	Rūpastambha, Devakulikā 2.

<sup>1</sup> The data for this table has been collected from Devendra Handa, Osian: History, Archaeology, Art and Architecture, Delhi, 1984, pp.196-202, Plates 146-150., B.N. Sharma, "Some Interesting Temple Sculptures at Osian," Roopa Lekha, XL, New Delhi, p.100.



S.NO.	NAME	ARMS	VĀHANA	ATTRIBUTES	DATE	PLACEMENT
7.	CAKREŚVARĪ (Yakṣī or Vidyādevī)	Four	Garuḍa	disc, disc, <u>Varada</u> and rosary, <u>Kamaṇḍalu</u> .	Early 11th century A.D..	North Wall, <u>Devakulikā</u> 4.
8.	CAKREŚVARĪ (Yakṣī or Vidyādevī)	Four	—	<u>Sukhāsana</u> , disc, disc, <u>Varada</u> , pot.	Early 11th century A.D..	<u>Kumbha Devakulikā</u> 4.
9.	CAKREŚVARĪ (Yakṣī or Vidyadevi)	Four	—	<u>Sukhāsana</u> . disc, disc, <u>Varada</u> , pot.	Early 11th century A.D..	<u>Uttarāṅga</u> of wall, <u>Devakulikā</u> 4.
10.	CAKREŚVARĪ (Yakṣī or Vidyādevī)	Four	—	<u>Sukhāsana</u> . disc, disc, <u>Varada</u> , pot.	Mid 11th century A.D.	<u>Uttarāṅga</u> , <u>Devakulikā</u> 3.
1.	<u>ROHIṆĪ</u> (Vidyādevī)	Four	Cow	<u>Sukhāsana</u> . Arrow, bow, rosary, conch.	8th century A.D..	West face of <u>Phāmsaṇā</u> of <u>Mukhamandapa</u> .
2.	<u>ROHIṆĪ</u> (Vidyādevī)	—	—	—	8th century A.D..	<u>Gūḍhamandapa</u> .
3.	<u>ROHIṆĪ</u> (Vidyādevī)	Four	Cow	—	10th century A.D..	<u>Kumbha</u> , <u>Devakulikā</u> 1.
4.	<u>ROHIṆĪ</u> (Vidyādevī)	Four	Cow	—	10th-11th century A.D..	<u>Uttarāṅga</u> , <u>Devakulikā</u> 2,3,4.
5.	<u>ROHIṆĪ</u> (Vidyādevī)	Four	Cow	—	Early 11th century A.D..	<u>Kumbha</u> , <u>Devakulikā</u> 3.
6.	<u>ROHIṆĪ</u> (Vidyādevī)	Four	Cow	—	Early 11th century A.D..	<u>Rūpastambha Devakulikā</u> 3.
7.	<u>ROHIṆĪ</u> (Vidyādevī)	Four	Cow	—	Mid 11th century A.D..	<u>Rūpastambha Devakulikā</u> 4.

S.NO.	NAME	ARMS	VĀHANA	ATTRIBUTES	DATE	PLACEMENT
8.	ROHINĪ (Vidyādevī)	Four	Cow	—	Mid 11th century A.D..	<u>Kumbha, Devakulika 4.</u>
1.	<u>SARASVATĪ</u>	Two	Lotus	Lotus, book	—	Niche on wall of <u>Gūḍhamandapa.</u>
2.	VĀGDEVĪ	Two	Lotus borne by two swans	Lotus, book	8th century A.D.	<u>Mukhamandapa.</u>
3.	SARASVATĪ	Two	—	Lotus, book	10th century A.D..	Wall, (S. Face) <u>Devakulika. 5</u>
4.	SARASVATĪ	Four	—	Lotus, book, <u>Kamaṇḍalu, Varada</u> with rosary.	10th century A.D..	Wall, (N. Face) <u>Devakulikā. 5</u>
1.	<u>PRAJÑAPTI</u> (Vidyādevī)	Two	Peacock	<u>Sukhāsana.</u> Lotus, lance.	10th century A.D.	<u>Rūpastambha, Devakulika 2.</u>
2.	<u>PRAJÑAPTI</u> (Vidyādevī)	Two	Peacock	<u>Sukhāsana.</u> Lotus, lance.	Mid 11th century A.D.	Small Panel on <u>Kumbha of Devakulikā 4.</u>
3.	<u>PRAJÑAPTI</u> (Vidyādevī)	Two	Peacock	<u>Sukhāsana.</u> Lotus, lance.	Mid 11th century A.D.	<u>Rūpastambha, Devakulikā 3.</u>
1.	<u>VAJRĀSRŪKHALĀ</u> (Vidyādevī)	Two	Lotus seat	Chain, noose	8th century A.D.	West face of <u>Phāṃsanā</u> of <u>Mukhamandapa.</u>
2.	<u>VAJRĀSRŪKHALĀ</u> (Vidyādevī)	Two	Lotus seat	Chain, noose	10th-11th century A.D.	<u>Kumbha of Devakulikā 2,3,4.</u>

S.NO.	NAME	ARMS	VĀHANA	ATTRIBUTES	DATE	PLACEMENT
3.	VAJRASŔŔKHALĀ (Vidyādevī)	Two	Lotus seat	Chain, noose	10th-11th century A.D.	<u>Rūpastambha</u> of <u>Devakulikā</u> 1,2,3,4.
1.	<u>PURUᅒADATTĀ</u> OR <u>NARADATTĀ</u> (Vidyādevī)	Two	Buffalo	Sword, shield	8th century A.D.	<u>Phāmasana</u> of <u>Mukhamandapa</u> .
2.	PURUᅒADATTĀ (Vidyādevī)	Two	—	<u>Lalitāsana</u> . Sword, scutum.	10th century A.D.	<u>Uttaraᅅga</u> of <u>Devakulikā</u> 1.
3.	PURUᅒADATTĀ (Yakᅒi or Vidyādevī)	-	—	—	10th century A.D.	<u>Kumbha</u> of <u>Devakulikā</u> 2.
1.	<u>VAJRĀŔKUSHĪ</u> (Vidyādevī)	Two	Elephant	<u>Lalitāsana</u> . vajra, x.	8th century A.D..	<u>Phāmasana</u> of <u>Mukhamandapa</u> .
2.	VAJRĀŔKUSHĪ (Vidyādevī)	Two	—	—	10th-11th century A.D.	<u>Kumbha</u> , <u>Devakulikā</u> 3.
3.	VAJRĀŔKUSHĪ (Vidyādevī)	Two	—	—	11th century A.D.	<u>Rūpastambha</u> , <u>Devakulikā</u> 1,2,4
1.	<u>VAIROᅒYĀ</u> (Vidyādevī)	Four	Two Anthropomorphic Serpents	Snake, snake, Sword, Scutcheon.	10th century A.D..	<u>Phāmasana</u> of <u>Mukhamandapa</u>
2.	VAIROᅒYĀ (Vidyādevī)	Four	Two Anthropomorphic Serpents	Snake, snake, Sword, Scutcheon.	—	Perambulatory of Temple.
3.	VAIROᅒYĀ (Vidyādevī)	Four	Snake	<u>Varada</u> , pot, snake, snake.	10th century A.D..	Left of <u>Rūpastmbha</u> <u>Devakulikā</u> 1.

S.NO.	NAME	ARMS	VĀHANA	ATTRIBUTES	DATE	PLACEMENT
4.	VAIROṬYĀ (Vidyādevī)	Four	Snake	Varada, pot, snake, snake.	10th-11th century A.D..	Kumbha, rathikās of Devakulikā 1,2,4.
5.	VAIROṬYĀ (Vidyādevī)	Four	Snake	Varada, pot, snake, snake.	11th century A.D..	Rūpastambha panels of Devakulikā. 2,3,4.
1.	KĀLĪ (Vidyādevī)	—	Lotus seat under which are 2 small birds	—	8th century A.D.	Phāmsanā of Mukhamandapa.
2.	KĀLĪ (Vidyādevī)	—	—	—	10th century A.D.	Rūpastambha and Uttaraṅga. Devakulikā 1.
1.	MAHĀKĀLĪ (Vidyādevī)	Four	Man	Vajra, Bell, x,x.	8th century A.D.	Western Phāmsanā of Mukhamandapa.
2.	MAHĀKĀLĪ (Vidyādevī)	—	—	—	11th century A.D.	Kumbha, Devakulikā 2,4 and Uttaraṅga of Devakulikā 4.
1.	GĀNDHĀRĪ (Vidyādevī)	Two	Lotus	Vajra, staff.	10th century A.D.	Uttaraṅga, Devakulikā 1.
2.	GĀNDHĀRĪ (Vidyādevī)	Two	—	—	11th century A.D.	Kumbha, Devakulikā 3.
1.	MĀNAVĪ (Vidyādevī)	—	Lotus	Sukhāsana, bough, etc.	8th century A.D.	Western Phāmsanā of Mukhamandapa.
2.	MĀNAVĪ (Vidyādevī)	—	Lotus	Sukhāsana, bough, etc.	Early 11th century A.D.	Uttaraṅga, Devakulikā 3.

S.NO.	NAME	ARMS	VĀHANA	ATTRIBUTES	DATE	PLACEMENT
3.	MĀNAVĪ (Vidyādevī)	—	Lotus	Sukhāsana, bough, etc.	Md 11th century A.D.	Kumbha, Devakulikā 4.
1.	ACCHUPTĀ (Vidyādevī)	Four	Horse	Sword, Shield, bow and arrow	8th century A.D.	Entrance of Gūḍhamandapa
2.	ACCHUPTĀ (Vidyādevī)	—	—	—	A,D, 10th century A.D.	Pillar, Devakulikā. 1
1.	GAURĪ	Two	Alligator.	Sukhāsana, bow, citrus	8th century A.D.	Phāmsanā of Mukhamandapa.
1.	MĀNASĪ (Vidyādevī)	Two	Swan	Vajra, citrus (?)	8th century A.D.	North face of Phāmsanā of Mukhamandapa.
2.	MĀNASĪ (Vidyādevī)	—	—	—	11th century A.D.	Kumbha, Devakulikā 4 and Rūpastambha, Devakulikā, 3,4.
1.	MĀHĀMĀNASĪ (Vidyādevī)	Four	Lion	Sword, Scutcheon, Kundikā, Abhaya mudrā.	8th century A.D.	Eastern face of Phāmsanā of Mukhamandapa.
2.	MAHAMANASĪ (Vidyādevī)	Four	—	—	10th-11th century A.D.	Kumbha of Devakulikā 3,4, Uttaraṅga of Uttaraṅga of Devakulikā 3,4, and perambulatory of temple.

S.NO.	NAME	ARMS	VĀHANA	ATTRIBUTES	DATE	PLACEMENT
1.	AMBIKĀ (Yakṣī)	—	Lion	Mango, child, mutilated	8th century A.D.	Phāmsanā of Mukhamandapa.
2.	AMBIKĀ (Yakṣī)	Two	Lion	Bunch of mangoes, child.	10th-11th century A.D..	Karnarathikā of Kumbha of Devakulikā 1,2.
1.	NIRVĀNĪ (Yakṣī)	Four	Lotus	Book, Lotus, Kamandalu, Lotus bud.	10th-11th century A.D.	Niche in Perambulatory, and Rūpastambha of Devakulikā 2,3.
1.	PADMĀVATĪ (Yakṣī)	Two	Lotus pedestal	Lotus, x, Multi-hooded Cobra canopy	—	Both extremes of Architraves of Gūḍhamandapa with Pārśvanātha in the middle.
1.	KĀLĪ, MAHĀMĀNASĪ	—	—	—	—	East ceiling of Mukhamandapa.
2.	VAIROṬYĀ, GAURĪ, MĀNASĪ	—	—	—	—	North ceiling of Mukhamandapa.
3.	MAHĀKĀLĪ, CAKREŚVARĪ VĀḠDEVĪ.	—	—	—	—	West ceiling of Mukhamandapa.
4.	KĀLĪ, MAHĀMĀNASĪ, AMBIKĀ, ROHIṆĪ VAJRASṚṆKHALĀ	—	—	—	—	Ceiling of porch.

S.NO.	NAME	ARMS	VĀHANA	ATTRIBUTES	DATE	PLACEMENT
5.	PRAJÑĀPTI VAJRASŔŔKHALĀ, VAJRĀNKUŚĪ CAKREŚVARI NIRVĀNĪ ACCHUPTĀ-2 VAIROṬYĀ, ROHIṆĪ, MAHĀKĀLĪ	—	—	—	10th century A.D.	Doorframe <u>Devakulikā</u> 2.
6.	VAJARASŔŔKHALĀ, VAJRĀNKUŚĪ, APRATICAKRĀ, ACCHUPTĀ, KĀLĪ	—	—	—	10th century A.D.	Pillar <u>Devakulikā</u> 1.
7.	APARĀJITĀ YAKŚĪ, ROHIṆĪ, PRAJÑĀPTI, VAJRASŔŔKHALĀ, VAJRĀNKUŚĀ, ACCHUPTĀ, VAIROṬYĀ, NIRVĀNĪ.	—	—	—	Mid 11th century A.D.	Door of <u>Devakulikā</u> 3.
8.	NARADATTĀ, GAURĪ, ROHIṆĪ MAHĀMĀNAŚĪ VAJRĀNKUŚĪ VAJRASŔŔKHALĀ GĀNDHĀRI HERĀMBA	—	—	—	Mid 11th century A.D.	Wall of <u>Devakulikā</u> 3.

S.NO.	NAME	ARMS	VAHANA	ATTRIBUTES	DATE	PLACEMENT
9.	<p>MAHĀMĀNASĪ MĀNASĪ, ACCHUPTĀ VAIROṬYĀ MAHĀKĀLĪ, MĀNAVĪ CAKREŚVARĪ, VAJRĀSRĪKHALĀ PRAJŅĀPTI, ROHIṆĪ.</p> <p>SARASVĀTĪ CAKREŚVARĪ.</p> <p>CAKREŚVARĪ ROHIṆĪ MAHĀMĀNASĪ.</p> <p>ROHIṆĪ VAJRĀSRĪKHALĀ VAJRĀṆKUŚĪ VAIROṬYĀ, MĀNASĪ ACCHUPTĀ.</p>	—	—	—	<p>Early 11th century A.D.</p> <p>Early 11th century A.D.</p>	<p>Wall of <u>Devakulikā</u> 4.</p> <p><u>Kumbha</u> of <u>Vedibandha</u>.</p> <p><u>Kapilī</u></p> <p><u>Uttarāṅga</u></p> <p><u>Rūpastambha</u></p>



TABLE II

Goddesses in the Jaina Temples at Kumbharia

S.NO.	TEMPLES	DATE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACEMENT	SOURCE
<u>AMBIKĀ (Yakṣī)</u>					
1.	Mahāvīra	A.D. 1062	Two-Armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Doorframe of the sanctum	Harihar Singh, <u>Jaina Temples of Western India</u> , (henceforth HS) p.109.
2.	Mahāvīra	A.D. 1062	—	Sanctum	HS, p.109.
3.	Mahāvīra	A.D. 1062 A.D.	Four-armed, in <u>Lalitāsana</u> , flanked by 2 female attendants	<u>Uḍumbara</u> in the <u>gūḍhamandapa</u> (niche on the left)	HS, p.110
4.	Mahāvīra	A.D. 1062 A.D.	Four-armed, in <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Projecting niches on the <u>vedikā</u> portion in the <u>Mukhamandapa</u>	HS, p.111
5.	Mahāvīra	A.D. 1062 A.D.	Four armed	Ceiling no 7 in the West Aisle of the <u>Raṅgamandapa</u>	HS, p.115
6.	Mahāvīra	A.D. 1062 A.D.	Four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u> with Sarvānubhūti	Ceiling no 3, East Aisle, <u>Raṅgamandapa</u>	HS, p.115
7.	Śāntinātha	A.D. 1082 A.D.	Two armed, child, Sword and <u>āmrālumbi</u>	Western <u>Rathikā</u> of, <u>Mūlaprāsāda</u> (Śikhara)	HS, p.120 Tiwari, p.117
8.	Śāntinātha	A.D. 1082 A.D.	Four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u> alongwith Sarvānubhūti	Northern door of <u>gūḍhamandapa</u> (niches)	HS, p.121

S.NO.	TEMPLES	DATE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACEMENT	SOURCE
9.	Neminātha	A.D. 1137-1150 A.D.	Four armed, in <u>Lalitāsana</u> alongwith Sarvanubhuti	Door of <u>Devakulikā</u> except 2 Central <u>Devakulikaś</u> in a niche on the <u>Udumbara</u>	HS, p.141
10.	Sambhavanātha	13th Century A.D.	Four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u> with Sarvānubhūti.	<u>Udumbara</u> of the door frame of the sanctum	HS, p.145
11.	Śāntinātha	A.D. 1082 A.D.	With Sarvānubhūti. Two armed and four armed, Vehicle-Lion. <u>āmralumbi</u> child. Found in each of the 16 <u>Devakulikās</u> .	Recessed corners of the throne of seated Jina in each of 16 <u>Devakulikās</u>	Tiwari, <u>Elements of Jaina Iconography</u> , p.117 (henceforth Tiwari)
<b>CAKREŚVARĪ (Yakṣī or Vidyādevī)</b>					
1.	Mahāvīra	A.D.1062	Two armed in <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Door frame of the sanctum	HS, p.109
2.	Mahāvīra	A.D.1062	Four armed, in <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Centre of the pedestal of the cult image.	HS, p.109
3.	Mahāvīra	A.D.1062	—	Northern door of <u>Gūḍhamandapa</u>	HS, p.110
4.	Mahāvīra	A.D.1062	—	<u>Lalātabimba</u> of small chapel showing <u>samavasaraṇa</u> scene on eastern entrance of temple	HS, p.119.
5.	Śāntinātha	A.D. 1082	Two armed	Eastern <u>Rathikā</u> of <u>Mūlaprāsāda</u>	HS, p.119-20.
6.	Śāntinātha	A.D. 1082	Four armed, in <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Ceiling of <u>Mukhamandapa</u> (facing <u>mūlanāyaka</u> )	HS, p.123.

S.NO.	TEMPLES	DATE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACEMENT	SOURCE
7.	Śāntinātha	A.D. 1082	Four armed, accompanied by Gomukha	Ceiling no 6 of <u>Rangamaṇḍapa</u>	HS, p.124.
8.	Pārśvanātha	1st half of 12th Century A.D.	Four armed, in <u>Lalitāsana</u>	On two central square type pillars of <u>Mukhamaṇḍapa</u> , in the square section of shaft.	HS, p.129.
9.	Pārśvanātha	1st half of 12th Century A.D.	—	Interior of <u>Devakulikā</u> , 2 pillars of square type-Eastwing — on square section of shaft.	HS, p.133.
10.	Pārśvanātha	V.S. 1315 (A.D. 1258)	Four armed in <u>Lalitāsana</u> , with female attendents	Upper register of <u>uttaraṅga</u> of door of central <u>Devakulikā</u> East Wing	HS, p.133.
11.	Pārśvanātha	1st half of 12th Century A.D.	—	Depicted on 1st course of Domical ceiling of Central <u>Devakulikā</u> of West Wing	HS, p.134.
12.	Pārśvanātha	1st half of 12th Century A.D.	Four armed in standing posture	<u>Bhadrā</u> (of architrave supporting ceiling) of Central <u>Devakulikā</u> of West Wing	HS, p.134.
13.	Neminātha	A.D. 1137-1150	Vidyadevi, Four armed Standing in <u>Tribhaṅga</u> posture	<u>Jaṅgha</u> , <u>Mūlaprāsāda</u>	HS, p.137
14.	Neminātha	A.D. 1137-1150	Two images	Door frame of East wing-Central <u>Devakulikā</u>	HS, p.142

S.NO.	TEMPLES	DATE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACEMENT	SOURCE
15.	Neminātha	A.D. 1137-1150	Four armed, standing posture	Rathikā at base of Śikhara of Central Devakulikā	HS, p.143.
16.	Sambhavanātha	13th Century A.D.	Four armed, in Lalitāsana	Kumbha of Vedibandha in Mūlaprāsāda	HS, p.144.
17.	Sambhavanātha	13th Century A.D.	Standing crosslegged in a console carved with lotus plant and is canopied overhead by a hood on a double course udgama	Rathikā- West	HS, p.144-145.
18.	Sambhavanātha	13th Century A.D.	—	Five faceted pilster shaft in Rangamandapa	HS, p.145.
<u>VAJRĀṆKUŚĪ (Vidyādevī)</u>					
1.	Mahāvīra	A.D. 1062	Two armed in Lalitāsana	Door frame of the sanctum	HS, p.109.
2.	Mahāvīra	A.D. 1062	—	Northern door of Gūḍhamandapa	HS, p.110.
3.	Mahāvīra	A.D. 1062	Four armed, in Lalitāsana	Niches of Uttarāṅga of Northern door of Gūḍhamandapa	HS, p.110.
4.	Mahāvīra	A.D. 1062	Four armed, in Lalitāsana	Ceiling no. 7; East Aisle, Rangamandapa	HS, p.116.
5.	Śāntinātha	A.D. 1082	Four armed in Lalitāsana	Body of his shaft of 5 faceted pilasters, mukhamandapa	HS, p.122.

S.NO.	TEMPLES	DATE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACEMENT	SOURCE
6.	Śāntinātha	A.D. 1082	—	On Rathikā, flanking door of <u>Gūḍhamandapa</u>	HS, p.123.
7.	Pārsvanātha	1st half of 12th Century A.D.	—	Northern door of <u>Gudhamandapa</u>	HS, p.128.
8.	Pārsvanātha	1st half of 12th Century A.D.	Four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Square section of shaft of 2 central pillars of <u>Mukhamandapa</u>	HS, p.129.
9.	Pārsvanātha	1st half of 12th Century A.D.	Surrounded by female cauribearer	Exterior wall of Central <u>Devakulikā</u> , either wing	HS, p.132.
10.	Pārsvanātha	1st half of 12th Century A.D.	—	Square section of 2 pillars of Interior <u>devakulikā</u> -East Wing	HS, p.133.
11.	Pārsvanātha	1st half of 12th Century A.D.	Four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Door of <u>Devakulikā</u> , East Wing - 3 successive niches Right side	HS, p.133.
12.	Pārsvanātha	1st half of 12th Century A.D.	Four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Door of <u>Devakulikā</u> , East Wing - 3 successive niches Left side	HS, p.133.
13.	Pārsvanātha	V.S. 1315 (A.D. 1258)	Four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Upper register of <u>Uttaraṅga</u> of door of Central <u>Devakulikā</u> East Wing	HS, p.133.
14.	Neminātha	A.D. 1137-1150	Four armed, standing in <u>Tribhaṅga</u>	<u>Jaṅgha</u> , <u>Mūlaprāsāda</u>	HS, p.137.

S.NO.	TEMPLES	DATE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACEMENT	SOURCE
15.	Sambhavanātha	13th Century A.D.	Four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u>	<u>Kumbha of Vedibandha in Mūlaprāsāda</u>	HS, p.144.
16.	Sambhavanātha	13th Century A.D.	Standing cross legged on a console carved with lotus plant and is canopied overhead by a hood and a double course <u>udgama</u> .	<u>Rathikā</u> - West	HS, p.144-145.
<u>VAIROTYĀ</u> (Yakṣī or Vidyādevī)					
1.	Mahāvīra	A.D. 1062	Two armed in <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Door frame of the sanctum	HS, p.109.
2.	Mahāvīra	A.D. 1062	—	Northern door of <u>Gūḍhamandapa</u>	HS, p.110.
3.	Mahāvīra	A.D. 1062	Four armed	Ceiling no 7, west aisle, <u>Raṇḡamandapa</u>	HS, p.115.
4.	Śāntinātha	A.D. 1082	—	Base of shaft of 5 faceted pilasters, <u>Mukhamandapa</u>	HS, p.122.
5.	Śāntinātha	A.D. 1082	Four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Ceiling of <u>Mukhamandapa</u>	HS, p.123.
6.	Pārśvanātha	1st half of 12th Century A.D.	Four armed	Northern door of <u>Gūḍhamandapa</u>	HS, p.128.
7.	Pārśvanātha	1st half of 12th Century A.D.	—	Northern door of <u>Gūḍhamandapa</u>	HS, p.128.
8.	Pārśvanātha	1st half of 12th Century A.D.	—	On square section of 2 central pillars ( <u>Mukhamandapa</u> )	HS, p.129.

S.NO.	TEMPLES	DATE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACEMENT	SOURCE
9.	Pārśvanātha	1st half of 12th Century A.D.	Four armed- <u>Lalitāsana</u> , one on each pillar	Interior of <u>Devakulikā</u> - Eastwing on square section of the pillars	HS, p.133.
10.	Pārśvanātha	1st half of 12th Century A.D.	Four armed <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Door of <u>Devakulikā</u> ( <u>Rūpastambha</u> ) Eastwing	HS, p.133.
11.	Pārśvanātha	1st half of 12th Century A.D.	—	On first Course of Domical Ceiling of Central <u>Devakulikā</u> of West Wing	HS, p.134.
12.	Neminātha	A.D. 1137-1150	Vidyādevī, Four armed, standing in <u>Tribhāṅga</u>	<u>Jaṅgha</u> , <u>Mūlaprāsāda</u>	HS, p.137.
13.	Neminātha	A.D. 1137-1150	—	Doorframe of West Wing-Central <u>Devakulikā</u>	HS, p.142.
<b>LAKṢMĪ</b>					
1.	Mahāvīra	A.D. 1062	Gajalakṣmī	Cardinal point of 3rd circular course in Domical ceiling of <u>Raṅgaṃḍapa</u>	HS, p.114.
2.	Mahāvīra	A.D. 1062	5 Images of four armed <u>Lalitāsana</u> Lakṣmī. Lotus, Lotus, <u>Varada mudrā</u> , fruit	Ceiling no 4, West Aisle, <u>Raṅgaṃḍapa</u>	HS, p.115.
3.	Mahāvīra	A.D. 1062	Four armed Lakṣmī	Ceiling no. 7, West Aisle, <u>Raṅgaṃḍapa</u>	HS, p.115.
4.	Mahāvīra	A.D. 1062	Four armed <u>Lalitāsana</u> Lakṣmī	Ceiling no. 2, East Aisle, <u>Raṅgaṃḍapa</u>	HS, p.115.

S.NO.	TEMPLES	DATE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACEMENT	SOURCE
5.	Mahāvīra	A.D. 1062	Three images of four armed <u>Lalitāsana</u> Lakṣmī	Ceiling no. 3, East Aisle, <u>Raṅgamaṇḍapa</u>	HS, p.115.
6.	Mahāvīra	A.D. 1062	Four armed <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Western porch	HS, p.118.
7.	Pārśvanātha	1st half 12th Century A.D.	Lakṣmī, <u>Dhyāna Mudrā</u>	Door, east wing, <u>Devakulikā</u>	HS, p.133.
8.	Pārśvanātha	1st half 12th Century A.D.	Four armed <u>Lalitāsana</u> Lakṣmī	<u>Rathikā</u> at base of <u>Śikhara</u> of Central <u>Devakulikā</u> central wing	HS, p.134.
9.	Pārśvanātha	1st half 12th Century A.D.	Lakṣmī, <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Doorway of Western porch	HS, p.135.
10.	Neminātha	A.D. 1137-1150	Lakṣmī, four armed <u>Lalitāsana</u> , along with Ganesa	Wall of <u>Mūlaprāsāda</u>	HS, p.137.
11.	Neminātha	A.D. 1137-1150	Gaja Lakṣmī, sitting crosslegged in <u>Padmāsana</u> , four armed, nine vases carved below and 2 elephants lustrating her at the top.	Four images on domical ceiling of <u>Raṅgamaṇḍapa</u> , 3rd course	Tiwari, p.121 & HS, p.140.
12.	Neminātha	A.D. 1137-1150	Lakṣmī, four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Easter wall of <u>Devakulikās</u>	Tiwari, p.121.
13.	Sambhavanātha	13th Century A.D.	—	On centre of pedestal of cult image in the sanctum	HS, p.145.
<u>SARASVATĪ</u>					
1.	Mahāvīra	A.D. 1062	Two armed in <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Door frame of the Sanctum	HS, p.109



S.NO.	TEMPLES	DATE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACEMENT	SOURCE
2.	Mahāvīra	A.D. 1062	Four armed in <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Projecting niches on the <u>Vedika</u> portion in the <u>Mukhamandapa</u>	HS, p.111.
3.	Mahāvīra	A.D. 1062	Four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Ceiling no. 2 in the East aisle of <u>Rangamandapa</u>	HS, p.115.
4.	Śāntinātha	A.D. 1082	Four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Ceiling of <u>Mukhamandapa</u>	HS, p.123.
5.	Śāntinātha	A.D. 1082	Four armed in <u>Lalitāsana</u> occurs with Gomukha	Ceiling no. 4 of <u>Rangamandapa</u> .	HS, p.125.
6.	Pārsvantha	1st half of 12th century A.D.	Sarasvatī (?) Four armed in <u>Lalitāsana</u>	On the square section of shaft of 2 central pillars, square type ( <u>Mukhamandapa</u> )	HS, p.129.
7.	Pārsvantha	1st half of 12th century A.D.	Two figures of Sarasvatī on separate pillars	On square section of the 2 pillars, square type located in the Interior of <u>Devakulikā</u> East wing.	HS, p.133.
8.	Pārsvantha	1st half of 12th century A.D.	—	On the first course of Domical ceiling of Central <u>Devakulikā</u> of West wing.	HS, p.134.
9.	Neminātha	A.D. 1137 to 1150	Four armed in <u>Lalitāsana</u>	<u>Kumbha</u> of <u>Vedibandha</u> inset with sculptural niches in <u>Mūlaprāsāda</u>	HS, p.137.
10.	Neminātha	A.D. 1137 to 1150	Four armed standing posture	Pillars of <u>Mukhamandapa</u> square section of shaft.	HS, p.138.

S.NO.	TEMPLES	DATE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACEMENT	SOURCE
11.	Neminātha	A.D. 1137 to 1150	Four armed in Lalitasana, showing <u>Varadākṣa</u> , a spiral lotus, a <u>viṇā</u> a manuscript, and riding a peacock	<u>Vedibandha</u> of exterior wall of <u>Devakulikās</u>	HS, p.142 and Tiwari, p.121
12.	Sambhavanātha	13th century A.D.	Standing crosslegged in a console carved with lotus plants and is canopied overhead by a hood and a double course udgama	<u>Rathikā</u> on the west side.	HS, p.144-145.
<u>ROHINI</u> (Vidyādevī)					
1.	Mahāvīra	A.D. 1062	Four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Niches on <u>Uttaraṅga</u> of North Door of <u>Gūḍhamandapa</u>	HS, p.110.
2.	Śāntinātha	A.D. 1082	Four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Ceiling of <u>Mukhamandapa</u>	HS, p.123.
3.	Pārśvanātha	1st half of 12th century A.D.	—	Northern door of <u>Gudhamandapa</u>	HS, p.128.
4.	Pārśvanātha	1st half of 12th century A.D.	Four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Square section of shaft of 2 central pillars ( <u>Mukhamandapa</u> ); in the niches.	HS, p.129.
5.	Pārśvanātha	1st half of 12th century A.D.	Four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Interior of <u>Deva kulikās</u> on the square section of pillars East Wing.	HS, p.133.
6.	Pārśvanātha	1st half of 12th century A.D.	Four armed standing posture.	Door of <u>Devakulikās</u> East wing.	HS, p.133.

S.NO.	TEMPLES	DATE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACEMENT	SOURCE
7.	Pārsvanātha	1st half of 12th century A.D.	—	First course of domical ceiling of Central <u>Devakulikā</u> of West wing	HS, p.134.
8.	Neminātha	A.D. 1137 to 1150	—	Door frame of west wing - central <u>Devakulikā</u>	HS, p.142.
<u>VAJRASRĪKHALĀ</u> (Vidyā devī)					
1.	Mahāvīra	A.D. 1062	Two armed in <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Door frame of the Sanctum	HS, p.109.
2.	Mahāvīra	A.D. 1062	—	Northern door of <u>Gūḍhamandapa</u>	HS, p.110.
3.	Śāntinātha	A.D. 1082	Four armed in <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Body of the shaft of 5 faceted pilasters, <u>Mukhamandapa</u>	HS, p.122.
4.	Pārsvanātha	First half of 12th Century A.D.	Four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Door of <u>Devakulikā</u> (Rupastambha) East wing - 3 successive niches	HS, p.133.
5.	Neminātha	A.D. 1137-1150	Four armed, standing in <u>Tribhaṅga</u>	<u>Jaṅgha, Mūlaprāsāda</u>	HS, p.137.
6.	Neminātha	A.D. 1137-1150	—	Eastern wall of <u>Devakulikā</u>	Tiwari, p.121
<u>KALI</u> (Vidyadevi)					
1.	Mahāvīra	A.D. 1062	Four armed	Ceiling no. 7, West Aisle, <u>Rangamandapa</u>	HS, p.115.

S.NO.	TEMPLES	DATE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACEMENT	SOURCE
2.	Śāntinātha	A.D. 1082	Four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Body of shaft of 5 faceted pilaster, <u>Mukhamandapa</u>	HS, p.122.
3.	Pārsvanātha	A.D. 1258	Four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Upper register of door of central <u>Devakulikā</u> , East wing.	HS, p.133.
4.	Neminātha	A.D. 1137-1150	Four armed, standing in <u>Tribhānga</u>	<u>Jaṅgha</u> , <u>Mūlaprāsāda</u> .	HS, p.137.
5.	Neminātha	A.D. 1137-1150	Four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u>	<u>Vedibandha</u> of exterior Eastern wall of <u>Devakulikās</u> .	Tiwari, p.121.
6.	Neminātha	A.D. 1137-1150	With <u>Dikpāla</u>	<u>Bhadra</u> fo Exterior wall of central devakulika, west wing.	HS, p.142-143.
<u>ACCHUPTĀ</u> (Yakṣī or Vidyādevī)					
1.	Mahāvīra	A.D. 1062	—	Northern door of <u>gūdhamaṇḍapa</u>	HS, p.110.
2.	Śāntinātha	A.D. 1082	Four armed	<u>Mukhamandapa</u> (niches on balustrade)	HS, p.121.
3.	Śāntinātha	A.D. 1082	—	Base of shaft of 5 faceted pilasters, <u>Mukhamandapa</u>	HS, p.122.
4.	Pārsvanātha	1st half of 12th century A.D.	Four armed	Northern door of <u>Gūdhamaṇḍapa</u>	HS, p.128.
5.	Neminātha	A.D. 1137-1150	Vidyādevī, four armed standing in <u>Tribhānga</u>	<u>Jaṅgha</u> , <u>Mūlaprāsāda</u> .	HS, p.137.

S.NO.	TEMPLES	DATE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACEMENT	SOURCE
<u>MAHĀKĀLĪ (Yakṣī or Vidyādevī)</u>					
1.	Śāntinātha	A.D. 1082	Four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Shaft of 5 faceted pilasters, <u>Mukhamanḍapa</u> .	HS, p.122.
2.	Pārsvanātha	1st half of 12th century A.D.	Four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Door, Eastwing, central <u>Devakulikā</u> .	HS, p.133.
3.	Neminātha	A.D. 1137-1150	Vidyādevī, Four armed, <u>Tribhāṅga</u>	<u>Janḡha</u> , <u>Mūlaprāsāda</u> .	HS, p.137.
4.	Neminātha	A.D. 1137-1150	Four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u>	West wall of <u>Devakulikās</u>	Tiwari, p.121.
5.	Neminātha	A.D. 1137-1150	—	<u>Bhadrā</u> , Exterior wall, central <u>Devakulikā</u> , westwing.	HS, p.142-143.
<u>SĀNTĪ DEVĪ</u>					
1.	Neminātha	A.D. 1137-1150	25 figures	Vedibandha of exterior walls of <u>Devakulikās</u> .	Tiwari, p.121
2.	Śāntinātha	A.D. 1082	Carrying lotus and <u>pustaka</u> in two upper hands	Middle of the throne of seated Jina <u>in each of the 16 Devakulikā</u> .	Tiwari, p. 122
<u>MANAVĪ (Yaksi or Vidyadevi)</u>					
1.	Mahāvīra	A.D. 1062	four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Niches or Northern door of <u>Gūḍhamanḍapa</u>	HS, p.110
2.	Mahāvīra	A.D. 1062	Four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Ceiling no. 7, East Aisle, <u>Raṅgamandapa</u>	HS, p.116

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S.NO.	TEMPLES	DATE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACEMENT	SOURCE
3.	Pārsvanātha	1st half 12th century A.D.	Four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Shaft of pillar, <u>Mukhamaṇḍapa</u>	HS, p.124
4.	Neminātha	A.D. 1137 to 1150	Four armed standing in <u>Tribhanga</u>	<u>Jaṅgha</u> , <u>Mūlaprasāda</u>	HS, p.136
<u>NARADATTĀ</u> (Yakṣī or Vidyādevī)					
1.	Mahāvīra	A.D. 1062	Four armed, <u>Lalitasana</u>	Niches on <u>Uttaraṅga</u> of North door of <u>gūḍhamaṇḍapa</u>	HS, p.110.
2.	Pārsvanātha	1st half 12th century A.D.	—	Northern door of <u>gūḍhamaṇḍapa</u>	HS, p.128.
3.	Neminātha	A.D. 1137-1150	Four armed, standing in <u>Tribhanga</u>	<u>Jaṅgha</u> , <u>Mūlaprasāda</u>	HS, p.137.
<u>MAHĀMĀNASĪ</u> (Vidyādevī)					
1	Mahāvīra	A.D. 1062	—	Northern door of <u>gūḍhamaṇḍapa</u>	HS, p.110.
2	Śāntinātha	A.D. 1082	Four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Body of shaft of 5 faceted pilasters, <u>Mukhamaṇḍapa</u> .	HS, p.123.
3	Pārsvanātha	1st half of 12th century A.D.	Four armed, standing posture	Door of <u>Devakulikā</u> (Corner part of <u>Śākhās</u> ), East wing.	HS, p.133.
<u>PADMĀVĀTI</u> (Yakṣī)					
1.	Pārsvanātha	1st half of 12th century A.D.	Four armed, <u>Lalitasana</u> , <u>Vajra</u> , bell, pitcher, pitcher	Northern door of <u>Gūḍhamaṇḍapa</u>	HS, p.128.

S.NO.	TEMPLES	DATE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACEMENT	SOURCE
2.	Neminātha	A.D. 1137-1150	Four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u> , Vehicle-Kukkuta-sarpa. Lotus bud, noose, goad, fruit	West wall of <u>Devakulikās</u> .	Tiwari, p.121.
3.	Neminātha	A.D. 1137-1150	Four armed, <u>Vehicle-Kukkuta</u> -sarpa. Provided with five hooded cobra canopy. <u>Varadākṣa</u> , goad, noose, fruit	West wall of <u>Devakulikās</u> .	Tiwari, p.121.
<u>PRAJNAPTI (Vidyadevi)</u>					
1.	Śāntinātha	A.D. 1082	Four armed <u>lalitāsana</u> .	Shaft of 5 faceted pilaster, <u>Mukhamandapa</u> .	HS, p.123.
2.	Neminātha	A.D. 1137-1150	Four armed <u>lalitāsana</u> .	Bhadra of exterior wall of west wing Central <u>Devakulikā</u>	HS, p.142-143.
<u>SIDDHĀYIKĀ (Yakṣi)</u>					
1.	Mahāvira	A.D. 1062	Four armed <u>lalitasana</u> .	Facing shrine in the centre, Ceiling of <u>Mukhamandapa</u> .	HS, p.112.
2.	Śāntinātha	A.D. 1082	Along with yaksa Matanga	Ceiling no. 6, West Aisle, <u>Raṅgamandapa</u>	HS, p.124
<u>MAHĀJVĀLĀ (Vidyādevī)</u>					
1.	Neminātha	A.D. 1137-1150.	Four armed standing in <u>tribhanga</u> .	<u>Janḡha - Mūlaprasāda</u>	HS, p.137
<u>JVALĀMĀLINĪ (Yakṣi)</u>					

S.NO.	TEMPLES	DATE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACEMENT	SOURCE
1.	Sambhavanātha	13th century A.D.	Four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Wall of <u>Mulaprāsāda</u> (Kumbha)	HS, p.144
<u>MĀNASĪ</u> (Yakṣī or Vidyādevī)					
1.	Pārsvanātha	1st half of 12th century	Two images, four armed <u>Lalitasana</u>	Door of <u>Devakulikā</u> Eastwing.	HS, p.123
<u>MOTHERS OF JINAS</u>					
1.	Mahāvīra Temple	A.D. 1062	24 mothers, seated, each holding child & fruit, names inscribed.	Stone plaque near western access to shrine.	Tiwari, p.118
2.	Pārsvanātha	1st half of 12th century A.D.	Jina mother lying on a cot with child, surrounded by happy laymen and lay women.	Fifth course of circular domical ceiling. <u>Raṅgamaṇḍapa</u>	HS, p.130
<u>MĀTRKĀS</u>					
1.	Pārsvanātha, Tharad, Dst. Baṅskantha	End of 8th century or beginning of 9th.	<u>MĀTRKĀ VAIṢṆAVĪ</u> - Four Armed, standing in <u>Tirbhaṅga</u> . <u>Vāhana</u> - Garuda, HOLDS <u>Cakra</u> , child, <u>gada</u> , restraining child. WEARS <u>Kuṇḍalas</u> , <u>hāra</u> , <u>Keyūra</u> , <u>Kaṅkanas</u> , and <u>Urūsūtra</u> .	Found amongst a hoard of 150 Bronzes belonging to the temple.	'R.T. Parikh, "Newly discovered sculpture of Matrka Vaisnavi from Tharad, Dst Banaskantha North Gujarat", in <u>Journal of the MS University of Baroda</u> , Vol XIX, 1970, pp 39-40.



S.NO.	TEMPLES	DATE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACEMENT	SOURCE
2.	Pārsvanātha Bhoral village, Tharad, Dst. Banskantha	V.S. 1294 (A.D. 1238)	MĀTRAKĀ AMBIKĀ Four Armed. <u>Vāhana</u> - lion, HOLDS Lotus, lotus, child, citron. WEARS <u>Urusūtra</u> , <u>hāra</u> , <u>patra</u> , <u>Kuṇḍalas</u> , girdle.	Also belonged to the hoard discoverd while Pārsvanātha temple was being repaired.	R.T. Parikh, "Two Newly discovered Bronzes of the Matrka Ambika devi from Bhoral district Banaskantha North Gujarat", <u>Journal of the MS University of Baroda</u> , XIX, 1970, pp 41-43.
3.	Pārsvanātha Bhoral village, Tharad, Dst. Banskantha	Mid 13th century A.D.	Two Armed, seated on lion. HOLDS Lotus, child. WEARS conical stepped mukuta, <u>hāra</u> , halo, <u>patra</u> , <u>Kundalas</u> .	Also belonged to the hoard discoverd while Parsvanatha temple was being repaired.	"
<b>VIDYĀ DEVĪS</b>					
1.	Mahāvīra	A.D. 1062.	Four armed standing Vidyadevi's on four faces. 16 sided section, 16 - two armed <u>Lalitasana</u> Vidyadevis.	2 pillars in the Central bay of <u>Mukhamandapa</u> shaft- square section	HS, p.111
2.	—	—	Similar pillars in all temples	—	—
3.	Śāntinātha	A.D. 1082	16 Vidyadevi 4 armed.	Ceiling, East wing.	Tiwari, pp. 80-83
<b>GAURĪ AND GANDHĀRĪ (Vidyādevīs)</b>					
1.	Neminātha	A.D. 1139-1150	Four armed standing in <u>Tribhaṅga</u> .	<u>Jangha</u> , <u>Mūlaprāsāda</u> .	HS, p.137

TABLE III

Goddesses In the Jaina Temples at Abu

S.NO.	TEMPLE	DATE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACEMENT	SOURCE
<u>AMBIKĀ (Yakṣī)</u>					
1.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D.1031	-	<u>Gūḍhamandapa</u>	Jayantavijaya, <u>Holy Abu (HA)</u> p.38.
2.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D.1031	Four Armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u>	Niche on Eastern door of Sanctum.	Harihar Singh, <u>Jaina Temples of Western India (HS)</u> , p.48.
3.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D.1031	Small Sculpture	Cell No.20 dedicated to Ṛṣabhanātha	<u>HA</u> , p.46
4.	Vimala Vasahī	(late)	Big Brass Image	Cell No.20 dedicated to Ṛṣabhanātha	<u>HA</u> , p.46
5.	Vimala Vasahī	V.S.1131 (A.D.1074)	Four Armed, Mango, Mango, Citron, child.	Cell 15 dedicated to Śāntinātha	U.P. Shah, <u>Jaina Rupa Mandana (JRM)</u> , p.219
6.	Vimala Vasahī	V.S.1153 (A.D.1096)	Four Armed, Mango, Mango, Citron, child.	Cell 16 Supārsva	<u>JRM</u> , p.219
7.	Vimala Vasahī	V.S.1186 (A.D.1129)	Four Armed, Mango, Mango, Citron, child	Cell 14 Ṛṣabhanātha	<u>JRM</u> , p.219
8.	Vimalavasahī	V.S.1200 (A.D.1143)	Four Armed, <u>Vāhana</u> lion. mango, mango, citron, child.	Cell 11 Munisuvrata	<u>JRM</u> , p.219

S.NO.	TEMPLE	DATE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACEMENT	SOURCE
9.	Vimala Vasahī	V.S.1202 (A.D.1145)	Four Armed, Mango bunch-3, child	Cell 3 Śāntinātha	JRM, p.219
10.	Vimala Vasahī	V.S.1202 (A.D.1145)	Four Armed, <u>Vāhana</u> lion. Mango, Mango, citron, child.	Cell 5 Kunthunātha	JRM, p.219
11.	Vimala Vasahī	V.S.1202 (A.D.1145)	Four Armed, <u>Vāhana</u> lion. Mango, Mango, citron, child.	Cell 7 Aranātha	JRM, p.219
12.	Vimala Vasahī	V.S.1202 (A.D.1145)	Four Armed, <u>Vāhana</u> lion. Mango, Mango, citron, child.	Cell 9 Ṛṣabhanātha	JRM, p.219
13.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D.1148-50	Ambika with Sarvānubhūti	Inner face, ceiling No.38	HS, p.70
14.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D.1148-50	—	Cell No.49-50	HS, p.74
15.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D.1150-1189	Four Armed, Mangoes- 3, Child.	South West corner of central domical ceiling, <u>Maṇḍapa</u>	HA, p.55, Fig.29 and HS, p.56
16.	Lūṇa Vasahī	V.S.1287 (A.D.1230)	Sitting under mango tree, small Jina figure on top of tree and on top of entire sculpture.	Cell 24 dedicated to Ambikā	HA, p.107
17.	Lūṇa Vasahī	V.S.1287 (A.D.1230)	Ambika alongwith four armed Yakṣa	Niche on left of south entrance of shrine	HA, p.115
18.	Lūṇa Vasahī	V.S.1287 (A.D.1230)	Two Armed, one child.	Architrave panels between <u>Raṅga maṇḍapa</u> and <u>Jagatī</u>	JRM, p.256, HA, p.118
19.	Lūṇa Vasahī	V.S.1287 (A.D.1230)	Two Armed, <u>Āmra lūmbi</u> and child	<u>Bhāva</u> No.18, in front of ceiling No.1	HA, p.120
20.	<u>Lūṇa Vasahī</u>	V.S.1287 (A.D.1230)	2 Images, Six Armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u> , <u>Vāhana</u> lion, <u>Āmralūmbi</u> -5, child.	Ceiling of corridor near main entrance.	HS, p.105

S.NO.	TEMPLE	DATE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACEMENT	SOURCE
			<u>LAKSMĪ</u>		
1.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D.1031.	Being lustrated by Elephants.	Ceiling of the <u>Navachokī</u>	<u>HA</u> , p.54
2.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D. 1148-50	—	<u>Hastishālā</u>	<u>HA</u> , p.52
3.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D. 1148-50	Gajalakshmi	Ceiling of North bay of <u>Navachokī</u> .	HS, p.53
4.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D. 1148-50	Gajalakshmi	Ceiling of cell No.26.	HS, p.67.
5.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D. 1148-50	Gajalakshmi	Second celing, cell NO.39.	<u>HA</u> , p.75
6.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D. 1148-50	Surrounded by eight <u>Dīkpālas</u> .	Second ceiling, cell NO.40.	<u>HA</u> , p.76
7.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D. 1148-50	Lakṣmī lustrated by elephants.	ceiling, cell No.42.	<u>HA</u> , p.76
8.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D. 1148-50	Gaja lakṣmī surrounded by Four male divinities on each side	<u>Bhāva</u> 33, cell 45.	HS, p.73
9.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D. 1148-50	Four-armed, <u>Padmāsana</u> , lotus leaves-2, <u>Dhyānamdrā-2</u>	Door of portico on southern side of <u>Raṅgamaṇḍapa</u>	<u>HA</u> , p.55 (Fig 24) HS, p.57
10.	Lūṇa Vasahī	V.S. 1297 (A.D. 1241)	-	On top of oramental niche in <u>Navachokī</u> .	<u>HA</u> , p.117
11.	Lūṇa Vasahī	A.D. 1230	Eight Armed. (Four figures with six Jinas carved in-between)	Last dome, central bay, <u>Navachokī</u> .	<u>HA</u> , p.117; HS, p.84
12.	Lūṇa Vasahī	A.D. 1230	Lustrated by elephants, surrounded with Nine mythical treasures.	Second ceiling, cell No.14.	<u>HA</u> , p.123

S.NO.	TEMPLE	DATE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACEMENT	SOURCE
<u>CAKREŚVARĪ (Yakṣī or Vidyādevī)</u>					
1.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D. 1031	-	Door of South porch, <u>gūḍhamāṇḍapa.</u>	HS, p.50
2.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D. 1031	-	Door of South porch of <u>gūḍhamāṇḍapa.</u>	HS, p.50
3.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D. 1031	Four Armed	Niche on underside of ceiling, North bay, <u>Navachokī</u>	HS, p.53
4.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D. 1031	Four Images	Four corners of ceiling, west bay.	HS, p.53
5.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D. 1031	Vidyādevī, Four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u> , disc, disc, citron, varada.	Ceiling, cell No. 39.	HS, p.71; <u>JISOA</u> , XV, pp.133-134
6.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D. 1148-50	Yakṣī, Four Armed, Disc, Disc, <u>Varada</u> , conch.	Ceiling corner, cell No.53.	<u>JOI</u> **, XX, 3, p.281
7.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D. 1150-89	Two armed.	Tenth Course of ceiling of <u>Rangamāṇḍapa.</u>	HS, p.55
8.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D. 1150-89	Vidyādevī, Four armed <u>Vāhana</u> , Eagle. disc, disc, citron, X.	Central ceiling of <u>Rangamāṇḍapa.</u>	<u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.133

\* U.P. Shah, "Iconography of the Sixteen Jaina Mahāvīdyās", JISOA, XV, pp.114-170.

\*\* U.P. Shah, "Iconography of Cakreśvarī, the Yakṣī of Ṛṣabhanātha", JOI, XX, 3, pp.281-313.

S.NO.	TEMPLE	DATE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACEMENT	SOURCE
9.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D. 1148-50	Vidyādevī, Four armed, <u>Vāhana</u> -Eagle	Ceiling opposite cell No.24.	<u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.134
10.	Lūṇa Vasahī	A.D. 1230	Yaksi, Eight armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u> , <u>Abhaya Mudrā</u> , disc, <u>Varada mudrā</u> , ring, <u>jñāna mudrā</u> , disc and <u>Mātulinga</u> . U.P. Shah has identified lotus instead of <u>Abhaya Mudrā</u> .	Ceiling of cell No.10	HS, p.197 <u>JRM</u> , p.229
11.	Vimala Vasahī	-	Six Armed, disc-2, <u>Pravacana Mudrā</u> or <u>jñāna mudrā</u> -2, <u>varada</u> , conch.	Ceiling in front of cell NO.41.	<u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.136
<b>VAJRĀṆKUŚĪ (Vidyādevī)</b>					
1.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D. 1031.	Four Armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u> .	Ceiling, North bay of <u>Navachoki</u> .	HS, p.53
2.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D. 1031.	-	Ceiling corners, West Bay	HS, p.53
3.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D. 1031.	Four Armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u> .	Four corners of ceiling, cell No.39.	HS, p.71, <u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.125
4.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D. 1031.	Four Armed, <u>Vāhana</u> -Elephant. goad, <u>vajra</u> , <u>Varada mudrā</u> , <u>Kalasa</u> .	Ceiling opposite cell No. 39.	<u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.131
5.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D. 1150-89	Four Armed. <u>Vāhana</u> -Elephant. Goad, rosary, <u>Vajra</u> , citron.	Central dome, <u>Rangamandapa</u>	<u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.131
6.	Lūṇa Vasahī	A.D. 1230	Four Armed, <u>Vāhana</u> -Elephant. Goad, Rosary, Vajra, water pot.	Centre of dome, <u>Rangamandapa</u>	<u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.131

S.NO.	TEMPLE	DATE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACEMENT	SOURCE
7.	Lūṇa Vasahī	A.D. 1230	Four Armed.	Ceiling in central bay.	HS, p.105
8.	Lūṇa Vasahī	A.D. 1230	Four Armed, <u>Vāhana</u> -Elephant. Goad, chain, Varada, pot.	Pillar in Lūṇavasahī	JISOA, p.132
9.	Vimala-Vasahī	V.S. 1373 (A.D. 1321)	Four Armed, <u>Vāhana</u> -Elephant. <u>Vajra</u> , goad rosary pot.	Door Frame of cell No.40.	JISOA, XV, p.131
10.	Vimala-Vasahī	-	Six Armed, <u>Vajra</u> , goad, <u>jnana mudrā</u> -2, <u>Varada</u> , <u>Abhaya</u> .	Ceiling opposite cell No. 41.	JISOA, XV, p.132
<u>VAJRASRNKHALĀ (Vidyādevī)</u>					
1.	Vimala-Vasahī	A.D. 1031	Four armed, chain, chain, <u>Varada</u> , X.	<u>Bhāva</u> 28, cell No.39.	JISOA, XV, p.128
2.	Vimala-Vasahī	A.D. 114-1150	Four armed, <u>Lalitasana</u> .	Ceiling in Cell No. 39.	HS, p.71, JISOA, XV, p.125
3.	Vimala-Vasahī	A.D. 114-1150	-	Ceiling of cell No 30+31.	HS, p.68
4.	Vimala-Vasahī	A.D. 114-1150	Sixteen Armed, <u>Vāhana</u> -Horse. Chain, mace, <u>Kalasa</u> , rest mutilated. Her mount is usually lotus and this could also be Acyuptā whose mount is horse.	Cell No. 43, <u>Bhāva</u> No. 31.	JISOA, XV, p.129
5.	Vimala-Vasahī	A.D. 1150-89.	Four Armed, chain, chain, rosary, mace.	Central dome, <u>Raṅgamaṇḍapa</u>	JISOA, XV, p.128
6.	Vimala-Vasahī	A.D. 1150-89.	Six Armed, Chain, chain, X, X, <u>Varada</u> , <u>Abhaya</u> .	Ceiling of cell No. 41.	JISOA, XV, p.129

S.NO.	TEMPLE	DATE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACEMENT	SOURCE
7.	Vimala-Vasahī	A.D. 1150-89.	Six Armed, chain, chain, X.X, <u>varada mudra</u> , male.	Corridor ceiling	<u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.129
<u>VAIROTYĀ</u> (Yakṣī or Vidyādevī)					
1.	Vimala-Vasahī	A.D. 1031	—	Eastern Door frame of <u>gūḍhamandapa</u>	HS, p.48
2.	Vimala-Vasahī	A.D. 1031	—	Door of North Porch of <u>gūḍhamandapa</u>	HS, p.50
3.	Vimala-Vasahī	A.D. 1148-50	—	ceiling of cell No.23.	HS, p.66
4.	Vimala-Vasahī	A.D. 1148-50	Vidyādevī, Sixteen Armed, <u>Vāhana</u> cobra	Bhava 33, cell No. 45.	HS, p.76 <u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.159
5.	Vimala-Vasahī	A.D. 1150-89	Vidyadevi, Four Armed, <u>Vāhana</u> -snake. Shield, snake, citron, sword.	central ceiling, <u>Raṅgamandapa</u>	<u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.159.
6.	Vimala-Vasahī	A.D. 1148-50	Vidyadevi, Four Armed, Shield, Snake, <u>Varada mudrā</u> sword.	Door frame cell NO.1.	<u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.159.
7.	Vimala-Vasahī	A.D. 1148-50	Four-Armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u> , Shield, sword, rosary, snake.	Corridor ceiling in front of cell NO.53.	<u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.159.
8.	Vimala-Vasahī	-	Six Armed	ceiling, cell No.41.	<u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.123.
<u>SARASVATĪ</u>					
1.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D. 1148-50	-	Ceiling of cell No. 23.	HS, p.66
2.	Vimala-Vasahī	A.D. 1148-50	Vehicle Swan	Second ceiling, cell No. 39.	<u>HA</u> , p.75
3.	Vimala-Vasahī	A.D. 1148-50	Sixteen armed, <u>Vāhana</u> -Swan	Cell No. 44, <u>Bhāva</u> 32.	<u>HA</u> , p.76



S.NO.	TEMPLE	DATE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACEMENT	SOURCE
4.	Vimala-Vasahī	A.D. 1150-1189.	Sitting on stool in <u>Lalitā</u> pose, Lotus, Book, <u>Varadākṣa</u> , Pitcher. Attended by 2 male devotees whose names are inscribed.	Dome of Portico on Northern side of <u>Rangamaṇḍapa</u> .	<u>HA</u> , p.55 (FN 28), HS, p56
5.	Lūṇa-Vasahī.	A.D. 1230.	Six Armed, <u>Vāhana</u> -Swan. Padma, cymbal, <u>Varadākṣa</u> , <u>vina</u> , X, X.	1st bay in cell 10 and 11.	<u>HA</u> , p.121
<u>ROHINI</u> (Vidyādevī)					
1.	Vimala-Vasahī	A.D. 1031.	Four Armed	Eastern doorframe of <u>Gūḍhamaṇḍapa</u>	HS, p.48
2.	Vimala-Vasahī	A.D. 1031.	-	Door of South porch of <u>Gūḍhamaṇḍapa</u>	HS, p.50
3.	Vimala-Vasahī	-	Six Armed	cell No. 41, ceiling	<u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.123
4.	Vimala-Vasahī	A.D. 1150-89.	Four Armed, <u>Vāhana</u> -cow. Broken arrow, X, <u>varada</u> pose and rosary, conch.	Central dome, <u>Rangamaṇḍapa</u> .	<u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.123
5.	-	-	Four-Armed	Ceiling of cell No. 33.	HS, p.68
<u>PRAJÑAPTI</u> (Yakṣī or Vidyādevī)					
1.	Vimala-Vasahī	A.D. 1031	Four armed	Corner of ceiling in cell No. 39.	HS, p.71 and <u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.125
2.	Vimala-Vasahī	A.D. 1148-50	-	Ceiling of cell NO.23.	HS, p.66

S.NO.	TEMPLE	DATE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACEMENT	SOURCE
3.	Vimala-Vasahī	A.D. 1150-89	Vidyādevī, Four armed, <u>Vāhana</u> -Peacock. <u>Śakti</u> , <u>Kukkuta</u> , mutilated.	Central dome, <u>Raṅgamaṇḍapa</u>	<u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.125
4.	Vimala-Vasahī	A.D. 1148-50	Vidyādevī, Four armed, <u>Vāhana</u> -Peacock. <u>Varada</u> , <u>Śakti</u> , Citron, <u>Kukkuta</u> .	Doorframe of cell No.43.	<u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.125
5.	Vimala-Vasahī	A.D. 1148-50	Six armed.	Ceiling of cell NO. 41.	<u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.126
<u>MĀNASĪ</u> (Yakṣī or Vidyādevī)					
1.	Vimala-Vasahī	A.D. 1031	Four armed, Lalitasana, <u>Vāhana</u> -lion. <u>Trīśūla</u> , <u>Pāśa</u> , <u>Varada mudrā</u> , fruit.	<u>Lalatabimba</u> of Eastern door, <u>Gūḍhamaṇḍapa</u>	HS, p.48
2.	Vimala-Vasahī	A.D. 1031	-	Door, South Porch, <u>Gūḍhamaṇḍapa</u>	HS, p.50
3.	Vimala-Vasahī	A.D. 1031	-	Door, North Porch, <u>Gūḍhamaṇḍapa</u>	HS, p.50
4.	Vimala-Vasahī	A.D. 1150-89	Vidyādevī, Four Armed, <u>Vāhana</u> -Swan. <u>Vajraghaṇṭā</u> , thunderbolt, X, rosary.	Central dome, <u>Raṅgamaṇḍapa</u>	<u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.164
5.	Lūṇa Vasahī	A.D. 1230	Vidyādevī, Six armed	Second bay in front of cell No.33.	HS, p.101, <u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.155
<u>KĀLĪ</u> (Vidyādevī)					
1.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D. 1150-89	Four armed, <u>Vāhana</u> -lotus. Lotus, Book, <u>Gadā</u> , X.	Central dome of <u>Raṅgamaṇḍapa</u>	<u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.142

S.NO.	TEMPLE	DATE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACEMENT	SOURCE
2.	Lūṇa Vasahī	A.D.1230	Four armed, <u>Vāhana</u> -Lotus. Book, Lotus, Pot, Mace.	Central dome of <u>Raṅgamaṇḍapa</u>	<u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.142
3.	Lūṇa Vasahī	A.D.1230	Fur armed, <u>Vāhana</u> -lotus. Book, Lotus, <u>Abhaya Mudrā</u> , Mace.	Central dome of <u>Raṅgamaṇḍapa</u>	<u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.142
<u>GAURĪ</u> (Yakṣī or Vidyādevī)					
1.	Lūṇa Vasahī	A.D. 1230.	Four Armed, <u>Vāhana</u> - Crocodile. Snake, Noose, <u>Varada Mudrā</u> , fruit.	Door of South porch of <u>Gūḍhamaṇḍapa</u>	HS, p.80
2.	Lūṇa Vasahī	A.D. 1230.	Vidyādevī, Six armed.	Second bay in front of cell No. 33	<u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.164
3.	Lūṇa Vasahī	A.D. 1230.	Four Armed, <u>Vāhana</u> - <u>Makara</u> . Noose, Lily, X, Rosary.	Steps leading to <u>Gūḍhamaṇḍapa</u>	<u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.147
<u>MAHĀMĀNASĪ</u> (Vidyādevī)					
1.	Vimalavasahī	A.D. 1148-1150	Sixteen armed, Sitting on stool, Vahana-lion. <u>Khadga</u> , Sword, <u>Śakti</u> , Snake, Mace, Shield, Axe, <u>Kamaṇḍalu</u> , Lotus, <u>Abhaya</u> .	<u>Bhāva</u> 24-25, cell No. 35.	<u>JISOA</u> , pp. 166, 169, Fig 16
2.	Vimalavasahī	A.D. 1150-89	Four Armed, <u>Vāhana</u> lion. Shield, Sword, <u>Abhaya</u> , Mutilated.	Central ceiling	<u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.165
3.	Lūṇavasahī	A.D. 1230.	Four armed, <u>Vāhana</u> -lion. Shield, <u>Abhaya</u> , <u>Abhaya</u> .	central dome, <u>Raṅgamaṇḍapa</u>	<u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.165

S.NO.	TEMPLE	DATE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACEMENT	SOURCE
<b>PURUSADATTĀ OR NARADATTĀ</b> (Yakṣi or Vidyādevī)					
1.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D. 1148-1150	Vidyādevī, Multiarmed, Noose, Sword, <u>Trisūla</u> , <u>Vajra</u> , <u>Vyākhyāna-mudrā</u> , Fruit <u>Varadamudrā</u> , <u>Danda</u> , Shield, Goad, <u>Vyākhyānamudrā</u> , Bow, Mace, Pitcher and <u>Abhayamudrā</u> , surrounded by eight Mātṛkās and Gaṇeśa and Bhairava.	First ceiling of Cell No.1	<u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.140
2.	Lūnavasahī	A.D.1230	Vidyādevī, Four armed, <u>Vāhana</u> - Buffalo. Lotus, Lotus, Rosary, Pot.	Central dome, <u>Raṅgamaṇḍapa</u>	<u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.139
<b>MĀNAVĪ</b> (Yakṣi or Vidyādevī)					
1.	Vimalā Vasahī	A.D.11150-89	Vidyādevī, Four armed, <u>Vāhana</u> Lotus. Trident, X,X, Rosary	Central dome of <u>Raṅgamaṇḍapa</u>	<u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.155.
2.	Lūnavasahī	A.D.1230	Four armed	2nd bay in front of Cell No.33	<u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.148
<b>ACCHUPTĀ</b> (Vidyādevī)					
1.	Vimala vasahī	A.D.1150-1187	Four armed, <u>Vāhana</u> Horse. Arrow, Bow, Rosary, Waterpot.	Central ceiling <u>Raṅgamaṇḍapa</u>	<u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.162
2.	Vimala vasahī	-	Four armed, <u>Vāhana</u> Horse. Arrow, Bow, Citron, <u>Varada</u>	Pillar of <u>Raṅgamaṇḍapa</u>	<u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.162

S.NO.	TEMPLE	DATE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACEMENT	SOURCE
<u>PADMĀVATI (Yakṣi)</u>					
1.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D.1031	Four armed, <u>Vāhana</u> - Snake. Noose, Lotus, Goad, Citron.	Cell No.4, On pedestal of image of <u>Pārśvanātha</u>	<u>JRM</u> , p.268
<u>SIDDHĀYIKĀ</u>					
1.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D.1150-1189	Standing in <u>Tribhāṅga</u> , <u>Vāhana</u> -Lion. Book, <u>Viṇā</u> , <u>Varada</u> , X,	Pillar in <u>Raṅgamaṇḍapa</u>	<u>JOI</u> ***, XXII, Part 1-2, p.71
<u>MAHĀJVĀLĀ OR JVĀLĀ MĀLINĪ</u> (Vidyādevī)					
1.	Vimala vasahī	A.D.1150-1189	Four armed, <u>Vāhana</u> - cat-like. Flame, X, X, Rosary	Central dome <u>Raṅgamaṇḍapa</u>	<u>JISOA</u> , XV, p.153
<u>DĪKKUMĀRIS</u>					
1.	Vimala Vasahī	A.D.1148-1150	56 dik-Kumārīs performing birth rites of a Jina.	Cell No.47 <u>Bhāva</u> 37	<u>HA</u> , p.76
<u>MĀTRKĀS</u>					
1.	Vimala vasahī	A.D.1148-1150	Eight <u>Mātrkās</u> surrounding <u>Naradatta</u>	ceiling of cell 1	<u>HS</u> , p.64, <u>JISOA</u> XV, p.140
2.	Vimala vasahī	A.D.1148-1150	<u>Brahmāni</u> , <u>Kaumāri</u> , <u>Māhesvarī</u>	Ceiling facing Cell No.23	<u>JOI</u> , XX, 1-2, p.286
3.	Vimala vasahī	A.D.1148-1150	<u>Aindri</u> , <u>Vaiṣṇavi</u>	ceiling opposite cell No.24	<u>JOI</u> , XX, 1-2, p.286

\*\*\* U.P. Shah, "Yakṣiṇī of the twentyfourth Jina Mahāvīra", in JOI, XXII, pp.70-78.

S.NO.	TEMPLE	DATE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACEMENT	SOURCE
<u>VIDYĀDEVĪS</u>					
1.	Vimala vasahī	A.D.1148-50	Group of sixteen, four armed.	ceiling of cell No.33	HS, p.68
2.	Vimala vasahī	A.D.1148-50	Group of sixteen, six armed	celing of cell No.41	HS, p.71
3.	Vimala vasahī	A.D.1150-1189	Group of sixteen, four armed	Central big dome of <u>Raṅgaṃaṇḍapa</u>	<u>HA</u> , pp.54-55
4.	Lūna vasahī	A.D.1230	Group of sixteen, Four-Armed	Central dome of <u>Raṅgaṃaṇḍapa</u> .	<u>HA</u> , p.117

TABLE IV

## Goddesses in Jaina Temples at Girnar

S.NO.	TEMPLE	DATE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACEMENT	SOURCE
<u>AMBIKĀ (Yakṣī)</u>					
1.	Neminātha	V.S. 1215 (A.D. 1158)	—	Independent shrine close is south entrance door.	James Burgess, <u>Antiquities of Kachchha and Kathiawad (AKK)</u> p-167.
2.	Neminātha	12th century A.D.	Ambikā with Sarvānubhūti Yaksha, 4 armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u> .	<u>Udumbara</u> of door of sanctum	Harihar Singh, <u>Jaina Temples of Western India (HS)</u> . p-149.
3.	Neminātha	12th century A.D.	—	Flanking <u>rathikās</u> , <u>Kūṭas</u> , <u>gūḍha maṇḍapa</u>	HS. p-150.
			<u>CAKREŚVARĪ</u> - (Yakṣī or Vidyādevī)		
1.	Neminātha	12th century A.D.	Four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u> , Vehicle- Garuda. Disc, Disc, <u>abhaya mudrā</u> <u>Śaṅkha</u> .	East <u>rathikā mūlaprāsāda</u> .	HS. p-149.
2.	Neminātha	12th century A.D.	—	Flanking <u>Rathikās</u> , <u>Kūṭas</u> , <u>Gūḍhamaṇḍapa</u> .	HS. p-150.
3.	Vastupālavihāra	A.D. 1231	In <u>Lalitāsana</u> .	Ceiling of the porch.	HS. p-154.

S.NO.	TEMPLE	DATE	ATTRIBUTES	PLACEMENT	SOURCE
<u>VAJRĀNKUŚĪ</u> (Vidyādevī)					
1.	Neminātha	12th century A.D.	Four armed, standing, Vehicle-elephant. Vajra, <u>aṅkuṣa</u> , <u>Varada mudrā</u> , fruit	North <u>Rathikā</u> <u>Gūḍhamaṇḍapa</u> .	HS. p-150.
<u>VAJRASRŪKHALĀ</u> (Vidyādevī)					
1.	Neminātha	12th century A.D.	—	Flanking <u>Rathikās</u> , <u>Kūtas</u> , <u>Gūḍhamaṇḍapa</u>	HS. p-150.
<u>VAIROTYĀ</u> (Vidyādevī)					
1.	Neminātha	12th century A.D.	Four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u> . Vehicle-Snake. Snake, shield, <u>bhūmisparśa-mudrā</u> 2.	South <u>Rathikā</u> <u>Mūlaprāsāda</u>	HS. p-149
<u>MĀNASĪ</u> (Vidyādevī)					
1.	Neminātha	12th century A.D.	Four armed, <u>Lalitāsana</u> . Vehicle-Swan. <u>padma</u> , <u>padma</u> <u>Varadamudrā</u> , water pot.	North <u>Rathikā</u> <u>Mūlaprāsāda</u>	HS. p-149.



## Chapter IV

### JAINA NUNS: SOCIAL BACKGROUND AND ROLE

Unlike the Buddhists, amongst whom the male ascetic order preceded that of the female, the antiquity of the female mendicant tradition amongst the Jains goes back at least till the time of the twenty third Tīrthāṅkara Pārśva, though textual references take it right up to the time of Ṛṣabha, the first Tīrthāṅkara. It is a well known fact that the Buddha only reluctantly agreed to the establishment of the Bhikṣuṇī Saṅgha<sup>1</sup>. Although he declared that admittance of women into the order would reduce the life of the saṅgha by half, he acknowledged the ability of women to achieve salvation. However, inspite of the debate amongst the svetambaras and Digambaras regarding Strimokṣa i.e. women's ability to achieve salvation, the male and female ascetic orders appear to have been established together in Jainism from the very beginning. The Ācārāṅga Sūtra which is one of the earliest Jaina texts (dated third century B.C)<sup>2</sup> lays down rules for ascetic conduct both for monks as well as nuns indicating the existence of the order of nuns. The Debate between these two sects was initiated by the Digambara ācārya, Kundakunda in c. Second century A.D.<sup>3</sup>. The Kalpa Sūtra also provides a list of the number of nuns, monks, laymen and lay women which are said to be the four components of the Jaina Sangha or Community, (Caturvidha-Saṅgha) under Rsabha, Neminatha, Parsva and Mahavira.<sup>4</sup> Earliest inscriptional evidence for the existence of an order of nuns comes from Mathura which was a strong centre of Jaisism in the early centuries of the Christian era. Texts like the Antāgaḍḍāsāo and Anuttarovavāiyādaśāo also mention the existence of nunneries at Campā, Mithilā,

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<sup>1</sup> P.S. Jaini, Gender and Salvation, pp xii-xiii.

<sup>2</sup> Hermann Jacobi, tr. "Ācārāṅga Sūtra" in F. Max Muller (ed.) SBE., Vol. XXII, Delhi, (2nd Reprint), 1968, pp xxxvii-xliv.

<sup>3</sup> P.S. Jaini, op. cit., p.xxvi.

<sup>4</sup> H. Jacobi Tr, "Kalpasūtra", SBE., Vol. XXII, Oxford, 1884., Also see Table-I at the end of this chapter.

Rājagrihā, Śrāvastī, Bāravāi (Dwārakā) etc.<sup>5</sup> With the Gradual shift of Jainism from Mathura to Western <sup>India</sup> specially Gujarat and Rajasthan, epigraphic evidence for the existence of the female ascetics from the same becomes available from 5th, Seventh century A.D.<sup>6</sup> Hemacandra in his Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita has preserved the tradition of the four fold assembly for all the Twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras.<sup>7</sup> Thus one notices a consistently existent Jaina female mendicant order right from the early centuries of the christian era or even earlier.

In the context of early medieval western india the Kharatara gaccha emerged as one of the most influential and important gacchas and the chronicles of this gaccha provide an important insight into the religious, socio economic and political conditions of the time. The KGBG, which is our major source for this study, provides an extremely interesting account of the female monastic order. This has been supplemented by references from JPPS and PPS, along with epigraphic evidence.

<sup>5</sup> D.C. Dasgupta, Jaina System of Education, Calcutta, 1942, pp43-48., A Saindhavā Copper Plate inscription of the reign of Ahīvarman, son of Mahāsenāpatī Pushyasena, from Ambālas, district Junagadh dated 6th-7th Century A.D. records a grant made by the king, of some village, lands and gardens to the Buddhist nunnery at Udbedha. The gift was intended for repairs, worship of Buddha and maintenance of Bhikṣuṇīs -IAAR 1970-71, p.47., Siladitya gifted 2 villages in A.D. 606 and A.D. 609 to a Buddhist Vihara for nuns near Yakṣa sūra, Vihāra - U.P. Shah, "Sculptures from Sāmalāji and Roḍā", Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery, XIII, p.23. We have not come across similar references for Jaina nunneries in our sources.

<sup>6</sup> Some inscribed images from Akota and Vasantgarh refer to gifts made by nuns. U.P. Shah, Akota Bronzes, Bombay, 1959, p.34, Image of Sarasvatī gifted by nun Isṭya 600-620 A.D.); p.37, Pārśvanātha alongwith Ambikā gifted by Sāgabhā Āryikā; p.35, Tritīrthikā of Pārśvanātha gifted by Āryikā Khambilī. Also see U.P. Shah, "Bronze Hoard from Vasantgarh", Lalitkala No. 2, 1955-56, p.64.

<sup>7</sup> See Table-II at the end of the Chapter, Borrowed from J.P. Jain, 'The Jinasattvas: Class and Gender in the Social Origins of Jaina heros', unpublished paper, presented at Australian Association of Asian Studies, University of New England, Armidale, Australia, July, 1992.

Regarding the origin of the Kharataragaccha, it is believed that the movement originated with Jineśvarasūri, pupil of Vardhamāna Sūri, who was given the title of Kharatara meaning "Particularly sharpwitted", when he defeated the caityavāsins (temple dwelling monks) at Pāṭan in the court of Durlabharāja in A.D. 1024<sup>8</sup>. Epigraphical mention to this gaccha is available from V.S. 1147 (A.D. 1090)<sup>9</sup>. According to the KGPS<sup>10</sup>, the Kharatara sect arose with Vardhamāna sūri who received the Mantra directly from Dharaṇendra, the Yakṣa of Pārśvañṭha, the twentythird tīrthāṅkara. However the KGPS<sup>11</sup>, portrays him as the main disciple of Uddyotaṇasūri. It is safe to conclude that the Kharatara movement emerged in Gujarat and Rajasthan under Jineśvara Sūri and Abhayadevasūri, the latter famous for having written commentaries on the Jaina aṅgas from A.D. 1063 till 1071, and for having won over numerous people to the new path, the most important being Jinavallabha Sūri.<sup>12</sup>

By the twelfth century, the Kharatara Gaccha had established its stronghold in Gujarat and Rajasthan, the most ardent champions being Jinavallabha sūri and Jinadatta Sūri. In fact it is with Jinavallabha sūri that one of the alternative names of the Kharatara gaccha, the Vidhisaṅgha, the "Assembly based on scriptural injunction" is associated.<sup>13</sup> The Kharatara movement was a reformist movement which arose against the excrescences and malpractices that had developed in the monastic order especially the caityavāsins who regarded temples as their own property and did not follow strictly the rules for ascetic conduct as laid down in the scriptures.

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<sup>8</sup> Paul Dundas, Op. cit., pp.120-121.

<sup>9</sup> S.B. Deo, HJM, p.529.

<sup>10</sup> KGBG, p.1.

<sup>11</sup> KGPS., p20.

<sup>12</sup> Dashratha Sharma, Early Chauhan Dynasties, (Second Revised ed), New Delhi, 1975, p251.

<sup>13</sup> Paul Dundas. op. cit., p121.

A lekha or record, dated V.S. 1298 (A.D. 1242), originally incised on a slab placed on the entrance of a Jaina shrine at Mount Śatruñjaya, belonging to the reign of Tribhuvanapāla sheds important light on the deteriorating condition of the Jaina monastic order. This epigraph records the resolutions of a council of śvetāmbara Jaina monks, including caityavāsī (monks staying in shrines) ācāryas and vasatīvāsī (staying in special abodes for monks) ācāryās, alongwith distinguished Jaina Laymen. According to these resolutions if Ācāryas, upadhyas, and others staying in Caityas on Vasatī broke the vows of celibacy and produced offsprings, then they would not perform or cause to be performed installation ceremonies. Neither could their offspring be initiated as monks or nuns. Whoever transgressed these laws would be ostracized by the Jaina Saṅgha. These resolutions where adopted to increase the glory of the Śāsana or doctrine of the Omniscient one. This record was also entered into the State Record by the Minister Tejahpāla. This record also highlights the significant fact that Caityavāsī had a stronghold in western india even in the thirteenth century.<sup>14</sup>

The KGBG mentions a number of discussions and debates the suris of the gaccha had with the rival sects. Reformed temples called Vidhīcaityas were established at Marukoṭṭa, Narwar, Nagar and Chittor. This movement had a considerable influence on other gacchas also including purnatalla gaccha to which

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<sup>14</sup> A transcript of this epigraph made in the end of the fifteenth century has been brought to light by U.P. Shah in, "A Forgotten Chapter in the History of Svetambara Jaina Church", Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay (N.S), Vol. 30, part 1, 1955, pp.100-113.

The fact that members of the monastic order were not averse to accumulation of wealth and settled life in monasteries and temples is also evident from epigraphs recording donations of land or money to temples and monasteries (mathas) for the benefit of ascetics. For details refer to, EI, XXXIII, pp. 235-237., EI, XI, pp.34-36., EI, XI, pp.42-43., EI, XXXIII, pp. 46-49.

belonged Hemacandra sūri,<sup>15</sup> and it gradually emerged as one of the most influential gacchas of the time.

The KGBG sheds important light on the institution of nuns as prevalent at that time. The terms that have been used to denote women ascetics give us some idea of the contemporary church hierarchy. Within our time frame, there are references to 7 Kṣullikās, 50 Sādhvīs, 27 gaṇinīs, 11 pravartinīs and 11 Mahattarās. Apart from these are stray references to the terms Ārya and Ājji. There are also references to some women being initiated but no rank or title has been attached to them.<sup>16</sup> Most of these names occur in the context of initiation (dīkṣā), pilgrimage or tours being organised to various tīrthas, flag hoisting or dīkṣā ceremonies, literary activities and interaction with the laity etc. As our references indicate, men and women could be initiated together and took the same vows, thus showing that amongst śvetāmbaras men and women were regarded as equal on the spiritual plane. Contrary to this, amongst the Digambaras female mendicants, though called noble or venerable ladies (āryikās and sādhvīs), they are not really regarded as mendicants, but as spiritually advanced laywomen. The reason behind this is that they cannot adopt nudity at the time of initiation or even otherwise.<sup>17</sup> In fact according to an early Digambra text ajji or āryikā means a nun who prepared herself for adopting the life of an ascetic and was in the eleventh stage of the householder's life.<sup>18</sup> We shall first of all deal with the ceremony of initiation as known from our sources.

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<sup>15</sup> B.N.S. Yadava, Society and Culture in Northern India in the Twelfth Century, Allahabad, 1973, p.349.

<sup>16</sup> For details refer to Tables at the end of the Chapter. 17. P.S. Jaini, op. cit., p3.

<sup>17</sup> P.S. Jaini, op. cit., p3.

<sup>18</sup> R.B.P. Singh, op.cit., pp.127-128.

## INITIATION OF NUNS

Our sources do not provide us with details on the actual process of initiation, though there are references to nuns being initiated and the diksa mahotsava being celebrated.<sup>19</sup> Apart from dikṣā mahotsava, another term which occurs is dikṣā-dānotsava<sup>20</sup> Probably signifying the donation of their offspring by parents for the cause of Jindharma. There are also instances of nuns being given a new name after being initiated into the ascetic order,<sup>21</sup> thus signifying a sort of symbolic rebirth of the initiated where, in addition to casting off all lay possessions, she abandons the name by which she had previously been recognised.

Technically, dikṣā (initiation) or Pravrajya (renunciation or going forth) ceremony means formal assumption of the Mahāvratas<sup>22</sup> which Mahavira is said to have laid down in the Bhāvanā section of the Ācārāṅga Sūtra.<sup>23</sup> These five great vows or Pañcamahāvratas were not simply to be adopted but also to be completely integrated with the totally realigned way of life that the monk or nun had to lead after initiation. These five great vows were ahiṃsā (non-violence), Satya (truthfulness), asteya (not taking what is not given), brahmacārya (celibacy), and finally Apārighraha (non-attachment). According to the Kharatara gaccha ritual manual, the Vidhīmārgaprāpa nāma suvihitasamācāri by Jinaprabhasūri, (ed. Jinavijaya, Bombay, 1941, p.39), the presiding ascetic at the ceremony of initiation should read out the scriptural story of Rohiṇī, the girl who, unlike her sisters, planted and reaped the rewards of five rice grains given to her by her father, to

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<sup>19</sup> KGBG, pp.58,64., See Also Table-V at the end of the chapter.

<sup>20</sup> KGBG., p.61.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., pp.44,64 etc., Table-VIII.

<sup>22</sup> P.S. Jaini, The Jaina Path of Purification, Berkeley, 1979, pp.243-244.

<sup>23</sup> H. Jacobi, Tr. Jaina Sūtras, Part-I, SBE, Vol.XXII, pp.194-200.

demonstrate how the 5 great vows should not just be formally acceded to but put to good use.<sup>24</sup>

That nuns performed the pañcamahāvratas is attested to by the Yogaśastravṛttīpustikāpraśasti<sup>25</sup> of Nirmalmatiganī, written in V.S. 1292 (A.D 1235). It refers to the Mahattarā Prabhavati, born in the family of Ganiyaka, of the Dharkata gotra, who performed the pañcamahāvratas under the guidance of Pradyumnasūri, also of the Dharkata Vamṣa. This indicates that the preceptor trained his disciples in the rules of monastic discipline and an important point to be noticed here is that it is a male preceptor and not a female preceptress who guides or initiates a female disciple.

Thus we have no example of Jaina nuns giving initiation to female disciples. Hence the question of man being initiated by a female preceptress does not arise. In either case final initiation could be performed only by the male preceptor. This

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<sup>24</sup> Paul Dundas, op.cit., p136. A slightly different version is found in Nāvā Dhammakāhaṭṭ, BookI, chp7, quoted by Winternitz, "Outlines of Jaina literature", History of Indian Literature, Delhi, Revised edition, 1983, Vol.II, p.429, - "A Merchant had four daughters-in-law. In order to put them to the test, he gives each of them five grains of rice with orders to preserve them carefully until he shall ask for them back again. The first daughter-in-law throws the grains away, and thinks to herself, "there are plenty of grains of rice in the larder, I shall give him others instead". The second thinks in the same manner and eats the grains. The third preserves them carefully in her jewel casket. But the fourth one plants the grains, and reaps, she again sows the harvest and reaps again until at the end of five years she has accumulated a large store of rice. Then the merchant returns and punishes the first two daughters-in-law, assigning them the meanest tasks in the household, he entrusts the third one with the guarding of the entire property, but he gives the entire management of the large household into the hands of the fourth daughter-in-law. These four women represent the monks, some of whom do not keep the five great vows at all, others neglect them, the better ones observe them conscientiously, but the best of whom not content with observing them, but propagate them also."

<sup>25</sup> JPPS, p.27, No.25.

fact is further borne out by references in the KGBG.<sup>26</sup> It is stated that in V.S. 1141 (A.D. 1084) various female ascetic followers of Upādhyāya Dharmadeva, who was a disciple of Jineśvaraśūri went to Dhavalka, (Modern Dholka), for Cāturmāsa (four months monsoon retreat). During this retreat, seeing the qualities of Samacandra, they tried to obtain him from his parents Vācchiga and Bāhaḍa devī. Final initiation however, was performed by the Chief preceptor and Somacandra later became known as Jinadatta Śūri and also became the chief preceptor or yugapradhānācārya of the Kharatara gaccha. A similar reference is found in the Haribhadrasūri Prabandha<sup>27</sup> which narrates how Yākiṇī Mahattarā, a Jaina nun was responsible for Haribhadra Śūri's conversion to Jainism, when he could not interpret a gāthā recited by her and consequently acknowledged her as his spiritual mother, but the account does not mention Yākiṇī as initiating Haribhadra. Rather she takes him to her guru, a male preceptor. Haribhadra Śūri flourished in the eighth century and was a distinguished Jaina scholar and wrote various books on Dharma, logic, ethics, yoga etc.<sup>28</sup> A similar account is also preserved in the Prabhavākacarita<sup>29</sup> These accounts indicate that although nuns may have played an important role in propagating the faith and winning over new converts, they could not initiate new members into the order.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> KGBG, pp.14-15, Table-XI at end of Chapter.

<sup>27</sup> PPS, p.103.

<sup>28</sup> K.C. Jain, Jainism in Rajasthan, p.203.

<sup>29</sup> Shanta Sharma, (Unpublished dissertation) Social and Cultural Patterns in Rajasthan (c.A.D.700-900) as depicted in contemporary Prakrit Works, Department of History Delhi University, 1992, p.162 quoting Prabhavākacarita, IX, vv.4-47.

<sup>30</sup> Although our references indicate that amongst the Jainas a male ascetic could not have a female preceptress but this does not seem to have been the case amongst the Śaivas as is proven by an inscription found at Achalgadh, Mount Abu, dt. V.S. 1265 (A.D., 1209), belonging to Bhīmadeva-II's region. The purpose of the inscription is to record the building operations of Kedararāṣī, who was the superior of a śaiva monastery, belonging to the Chāpaliya sect.



Another aspect of diksa which is unique to the Jainas is the practice of Keśa-Locā i.e. pulling out hair in 5 handfuls. But our sources do not refer to this practice in the case of nuns. Unfortunately we do not have any epigraph from western India, referring to the initiation rite for nuns. This is in contrast to the evidence from South India, especially Karnataka. One epigraph of Tenth century speaks of Pāmabbe, the elder sister of Gaṅga King Būtuga, who is said to have made her head bald and performed penance for thirty years for the attainment of spiritual liberation.<sup>31</sup> Another epigraph from Śravaṇa Beḷgolā informs us that Macikābbe and Śāntikābbe received suitable initiation from the Jaina teacher Bhānukīrti in the twelfth century.<sup>32</sup> The monetary consideration also seems to have influenced the rite of initiation in Karnataka as is evident from another epigraph from Śravaṇa Beḷgolā which informs us that Bhānukīrti of the Mūḷasaṅgha was rewarded for initiating Macikābbe and Śāntikābbe. They entered the monastic order in 1117 A.D. and built a Jaina temple which was endowed with rich gifts for the performance of Jina worship and for providing food to the ascetics. Therefore monetary considerations probably influenced Jaina rite of initiation in Karnataka.<sup>33</sup>

S.B. Deo on the basis of literary texts, Nāyādhammakahāo, Niryāvaliyāo, and Antāgadādasāo, has shown that the ceremony of Keśa-locā did not differ much as far as monks and nuns were concerned and that nuns too had to undergo the "loyā" but before initiation women had to take the permission of those on whom they depended i.e. husband, parents or sons.<sup>34</sup> Thus amongst śvetāmbaras there was no

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while describing the genealogy of the teacher of Kedararāṣī the inscription refers to Yageśvarī a female ascetic, whose disciple was a male called Durvāsarāsi. For details see IA, XI, pp220-223.

<sup>31</sup> R.B. Singh, op. cit., p.71 quoting from Epigraphica Carnatica (EC), vi, kd.I, p1.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, p.72.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid p.74.

<sup>34</sup> S.B.Deo, HJM, p466.

distinction between initiation rites for monks and nuns, although amongst Digambaras, women were not allowed nudity as monks were, and were therefore not considered true mendicants.

Just as various terms appended to the names of women ascetics indicate some sort of hierarchy in the monastic organisation, so also there seem to have been various levels of dīkṣā. This is evident from the fact that there are several references to gaṇinīs being given dīkṣā directly in the sense that no details of their having gone through the sādhvī stage are mentioned.<sup>35</sup> Similar is the case with Mahattarās and Pravartinīs. For instance, KGBG, P5, mentions Kalyāṇamatī being initiated by Jineśvara Sūri I as gaṇinī. Kalyāṇamatī is described as Jineśvara Sūri's sisiter. Either on account of her spiritual advancement, or on account of her association with the Chief Preceptor, probably she was directly initiated as a gaṇinī. It may even be probable that at every level of the hierarchy, the dīkṣā ceremony had to be performed afresh whether it was the rank of sādhvī or gaṇinī.

Regarding Pravajya, we have till now come across only one reference to sadhvis Buddhīsmṛddhī, Riddhīsundarī and Ratnavrsti, taking Pravajya from their preceptor Jineśvarasūri in V.S. 1314 (A.D. 1257) at Prahlādapura.<sup>36</sup> Pravajya means going forth, renouncing the world to lead the life of a solitary wandering ascetic. In our case, this might be the only clear example of a group of wandering nuns. Another point that one may infer is that a small group of three nuns was allowed to lead the life of wandering ascetics.

They were however, accompanied by Rājadarśana Sādhu. Thus even though nuns took up lives of solitary ascetics they had to be accompanied by some male members of the gaccha.

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<sup>35</sup> KGBG, pp.24, 49 etc. Tables VI, VII, VIII at end of chapter.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 51.

## HIERARCHY OF NUNS

For our reconstruction of the monastic organisation of the nuns as it prevailed in early medieval India, we have received a good deal of insight from S.B.Deo's construct of Jaina Monachism which we have tried to supplement with the help of our sources. It is only in late texts such as Chedāsūtras, Niryuktis, and post-canonical commentarial works like Bhāśyas, Cūrnīs, Tīkās etc. that a detailed picture of the female monastic organisation emerges. Nevertheless, an attempt can be made to correlate these with the picture presented in our sources. Thus according to Deo a Jaina nun was known as bhikkhuṇī, nigganthe, sāhuṇī, or ajjā.<sup>37</sup> In our sources too we find the use of such terms as Kṣullikā, Sādhvī, gaṇinī, pravartinī, Mahattarā, ārya, and ajjī, for the nuns.

Starting with Kṣullikā, the term probably stood for a young nun, who was still under probation.<sup>38</sup> This is corroborated by the very few references that we have to Kṣullikās in our texts,<sup>39</sup> showing that initiation of Kṣullikās must have been very rare and done only under special circumstances. In the ancient scriptures, only those who have attained at least young adulthood appear as members of the monastic order and practice of admitting eight or nine year old children seems to have first gained legitimacy during early medieval times.<sup>40</sup> Thus Kṣullikā was probably the junior most member of the church order.

As evident from our sources sādhvī was the general term employed to denote the order of nuns. A point that needs to be stressed at the outset is the fact that the term sādhvī can be understood in two different ways, depending on the context in

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<sup>37</sup> S.B. Deo, HJM, p.467

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. p.471 .

<sup>39</sup> See Table - IV.

<sup>40</sup> P.S. Jaini, The Jaina Path of Purification, p244, FN5.

which it occurs. As stated above, sādhvī denotes the common order of nuns. But Sāhū, the prakrit equivalent of Sādhvī, also means merchant<sup>41</sup>, and sādhvī can sometimes be applied to mean a merchant's wife.<sup>42</sup> However, in our context it can safely be assumed that sādhvī signifies an ascetic, and even if, in some cases, it is understood as a merchant's wife or a laywoman, after initiation she enters the monastic order as an ascetic.

Coming to the various other designations for nuns, our sources mention gaṇinī, pravartinī and Mahattarā, though we do not get details on the exact role played by them in the administration. According to S.B.Deo, gaṇinī was the highest ranking nun in the hierarchy and headed the gaṇa or the group or unit of nuns. She practically did the duties which an acarya did for his group. According to the Gacchāyāra, 127-128, a gaṇinī was to be a person of high moral standard, energetic, fond of study and able to execute stern discipline and having organizational drive. No details about her academic standards are mentioned.<sup>43</sup> The KGBG does not give any details regarding administrative functions of the ganini but it does refer to gaṇinīs leading groups of sādhvīs and visiting various tīrthas, and propagating the Jindharna on the way. They were however in all cases accompanied by male members too.<sup>44</sup>

As far as their academic standard and positions and influence in the lay society were concerned. We have several references to gaṇinīs composing or writing or causing śrāvakas and śrāvikas to compose or at least copy the texts.<sup>45</sup> In fact

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<sup>41</sup> Nathuram Premi, Jaina Sāhitya Aur Itihāsa (Hindi), Bombay, 1942, p.541.

<sup>42</sup> Eg. Arbudācala Pradakshina Jaina Lekha Saṁdoha, Abu, V, p.37, No.117 and P.123, No.347.

<sup>43</sup> S.B. Deo, JMJ, p.28.

<sup>44</sup> KGBG., pp.55,62., See Also Table -XI.

<sup>45</sup> JPPS, p15, No.12, p.22. No.21 .

amongst the Jainas making copies of manuscripts was considered to be an *art* of merit and is one of the reasons that they have been able to preserve innumerable valuable manuscripts in their śāstra bhandāras, many of which lie unexplored. There are also instances of Laymen and Women donating certain books to gaṇinīs and their disciples for their study<sup>46</sup>. For instances JPPS, p.101, No.25 states that in V.S. 1179 (A.D. 1122), in the reign of Jayasimharāja from Anhilapātaka, the śrāvaka Pradyumna and his wife vellikā for the propagation of the faith of Neminātha and for the welfare of the entire clan caused the Uttarādhyāyanā Sūtra to be copied and donated to Marudevī gaṇinī and her disciple vālmāti gaṇinī, for the purpose of study. Similarly in V.S. 1191 (A.D. 1114), in Dhavalakka (Modern Dholka) during Jayasimha's reign, Chief of Khetakadhāra maṇḍala, Śobhanadēva caused to be composed the Pushpāvati Kathā by Pandita Vāmuka, which was worthy of the gaṇinī Devasīri<sup>47</sup>. Not just gaṇinīs but even sādhvīs were involved in literary activities. This is borne out by the example of Guṇasādhvī, who was born in Gujarat and was a student of Siddharṣī Sūri. She composed a sanskrit translation of his text the Upamiti Bhāvaprapañca Kathā in the Tenth Century A.D. This text is still preserved in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.<sup>48</sup> Maladhari Hemacandra, while writing a commentary on Ācārya Jinabhadragani's Viśeṣavaśyakabhāṣya in V.S. 1175 (A.D. 1118) took assistance from seven people including Ānanda Mahattarā and Vīrmati gaṇinī, whom the author acknowledges himself.<sup>49</sup>

Thus gaṇinīs seem to have enjoyed a fairly important role in the saṅgha as well as amongst the laity. They also seem to have contributed towards the

<sup>46</sup> JPPS, p.22, No.21., p.101, No.125., p.103, No.38., pp.104-05, No.49, p.115, No.123., pp.117-118, No.150., p.125, No.208., p.126, No.217.

<sup>47</sup> JPPS, p.103, No.38.

<sup>48</sup> H.Bordia, Jaina Dharma Ki Pramukha Sādhviyan evam Mahilāyen (Hindi), Varanasi, 1991, p.185-186.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, p.193

propagation of Jainism by winning over converts and also inspiring people to make copies of religious texts. There is also an epigraphic reference to a gaṇinī setting up a pillar in V.S. 1142 (A.D. 1085) at Diyana, a village on Mount Abu.<sup>50</sup> This inscription does not give us any information about the purpose of dedication of the pillar, whether it was installed as a mark of honour for a tīrthaṅkara, or to commemorate a distinguished ascetic, or preceptor.

Regarding the question whether gaṇinī was the highest ranking dignitary, we have some doubts, as there are references in the KGBG, where gaṇinīs are imparted the rank of pravartinī and mahattarā. At times this is accompanied by a change of name as well.<sup>51</sup> This indicates that possibly the pravartinī and Mahattarā occupied a higher rank than the gaṇinī, though, the gaṇinī could have been a more important designation compared to the other two. In some cases a nun is given the rank of both gaṇinī and pravartinī signifying that a nun could hold two designations at one time.<sup>52</sup>

According to the Vavahārasūtra (V, 1,2,9,10) a nun aspiring for the rank of Pravartinī was required to have a full knowledge of the "āyarakappa" and also organizational tact and command. But she could never stay alone. With the help of an acarya whose duty it was to let her know the details about transgressions which nuns were not to commit, the pravartinī was the person responsible for the moral discipline of nuns under her care.<sup>53</sup>

The Mahattarā is mentioned in the Gacchāyāra (V,118) and was possibly a nun who was respected on account of her age, learning and moral integrity. Earlier

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<sup>50</sup> Arbudachala Pradakshina Jaina Lekha Samdoha, Abu V, p.169, No.488.

<sup>51</sup> KGBG, pp.20, 24,51,44,49,54,55,64., see also Table-VII.

<sup>52</sup> KGBG, pp55,62., See Also Table -XI.

<sup>53</sup> S.B.Deo, JMJ, p.28

texts do not mention Mahattarā.<sup>54</sup> From our sources also it is difficult to distinguish between the position of Mahattarā and Pravartīnī. There is only a single reference where a pravartīnī is given the rank of Mahattarā.<sup>55</sup> As far as their duties are concerned our sources do not elaborate on them, except for the fact that Pravartīnīs and Mahattarās accompanied groups of sādhvīs on pilgrimage to various tīrthas including Girnar and Śatruñjaya. Ganavācchedīnī, Aāhisega, Thēri are some of the other designations mentioned in the chedāsūtras and post canonical texts but these do not occur in our sources. The Digambara texts like the Mūlācāra and Pravacanasāra and others do not differ much in giving the various designations of the church hierarchy. They also refer to Sāhū, thērā, uvājjhāya, aīriya, ganahara, sūri and Panattā.<sup>56</sup>

Thus the church hierarchy as evident from our sources appears to be ksullikā, sādhvī, gaṇinī, pravartīnī, mahattarā, in the ascending order. Though pravartīnī and mahattarā were senior to the gaṇinīs, the gaṇinīs seem to have played a more influential role in the church organizations, as well as in matters of interaction with the laity. The considerable number of references to ganinis indicate that they were given a lot of importance and respect by the lay members of society as well. On the whole, the position of even the highest ranking nun was subordinate to the chief acarya. A nun could never hope to become the yugapradhānācarya.

### PENANCE, FAST AND WORSHIP

Regarding penances, vratas and austerities practised by women ascetics, there are certain references in our sources. The KGBG brings to light, the case of Ajjā Marudevī gaṇinī who undertook a fast of forty days and finally gave up her life at

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p.29

<sup>55</sup> See Table -VIII.

<sup>56</sup> S.B. Deo, JMJ, p.29

Āshāpalli. During her fast, Jineśvara Suri recited the Sallekhanā (ritual death by fasting) lesson to her.<sup>57</sup> The Gyānarnavapustaka Praśasti written by Jāhini of the Māthur ānwei in V.S. 1284 (A.D. 1207) brings to light how Jahini, a daughter of a Sravaka Nemicandra and his wife Swarna, became interested in the teachings of the Jina and decided to take up the life of an ascetic. She forsake home at an extremely young age and accepted the an extremely young age and accepted the Triratna with purity of mind (samyākjñāna) i.e. right knowledge, Samyāka Darśana i.e. right view, and Samyāka Chāritra i.e. right conduct). She practised Vratas, tapas, control of senses, meditation and reading of scriptures. Due to these Physical austerities her body was completely emaciated. She obtained eternal fame and people wondered if she was Sarasvatī herself or a Śāsanadevatā.<sup>58</sup> This account indicates that female ascetics also undertook severe physical austerities which were considered essential for the path of moksa.

Similarly the Yogaśāstravṛtti pustikapraśasti written by Nirmalmati gaṇinī of the Dharkaṭa family, in V.S. 1292 (A.D. 1215), refers to Mahattarā Prabhāvati, Jagisī, Udayasī and Carisī.<sup>59</sup> Prabhāvati is said to have performed the Pañcamahāvratas, the details of which are not mentioned. The Parīṣṭiparvapustakapraśasti written by Sevāka of the Prāgvāta family in V.S. 1329 (1272 A.D.), gives a genealogy of the family of Sevāka. In this family were born two women who became nuns. One was Naulī, daughter of Candāka, who became a nun called Jinsundari and the other was chandanabala ganini, granddaughter of Candāka, daughter of Pūrṇadeva and Pūrṇasī.<sup>60</sup> This also indicates that women from the same family joined the ascetic order, the example of one probably influencing the other. All these references indicate that nuns did take up penances, though often under the supervision of a male acarya.

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<sup>57</sup> KGBG, p5., Also see Table -X.

<sup>58</sup> JPPS, p74, No.79.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid, p.27, No.25.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid, pp15-17, No.13.



The early texts like Nāyādhammakahāṅ p199, Antāgadādasāo, pp 45-52, etc. refer to various fasts of different durations undertaken by nuns, e.g. āyambilavaddhamānatavokamma (Fourteen years, three months, Twenty days), Khuddāga (type of) Savvabhaddapaḍimā (one year, one month and Ten days).<sup>61</sup> Rules laid down in the Brhatkalpasūtra show that severe mortificatory practices were forbidden in the case of nuns e.g. she may not sit "as a hero" i.e. in Virāsana pose.<sup>62</sup> The Brahmatkalpabhāṣya also lays down a variety of fasts for nuns.

In the context of Western India, it is surprising to note the dearth of epigraphical evidence to support textual references. This is however not the case in South India, especially Karnataka where alongwith textual references, we find epigraphical references to nuns taking up various penances.<sup>63</sup> Several records at Śravaṇa Belgolā Commemorate the death of nuns example Rājimati Anantamati-gaṇṭi, Gunavati anve etc.<sup>64</sup> There are also references to laywomen taking up the vows of samādhi and sanyāsana.<sup>65</sup> We have examples of nuns commemorating the death of their female teacher as in the case of Śrīmatigaṇṭi who terminated her life by observing the rite of Sanyāsana at Śravaṇa Belgolā in A.D. 1119. The event was then commemorated by her disciple Mankabbe-gaṇṭi.<sup>66</sup> But as in Western India so also in Karnataka initiation was given only by male acaryas and nuns were not given the privilege of conducting the aspirant through ritual

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<sup>61</sup> S.B.Deo, HJM, p486.

<sup>62</sup> Walther Schubring tr. "The Kalpasutra", tr. from German by May. S. Burgess in IA, XXXIX, p.266

<sup>63</sup> For textual references See S.Settar, Pursuing Death- Philosophy and Practice of Voluntary Termination of Life, Karnataka University, 1990, pp. 191, 195, 256, 257, 252, 246-247, 315.

<sup>64</sup> R.B.P. Singh, op.cit., p128 (quoting from EC 11,SB 97, P.43., 98, p.43., 112. p45)

<sup>65</sup> S. Settar, op.cit., pp145,146, 276.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid, pp273-275(Quoting ECII,SB 484 of 1119 A.D.)

death.<sup>67</sup> The only plausible explanation, though somewhat far-fetched, for the dearth of epigraphical data in western India as compared to South India can be, that western India being a śvetāmbara stronghold with a less strict code of conduct did not have as strong a tradition of austerities as was prevalent in Karnataka which was a Digambara stronghold. However, textual references do testify to the existence of a nun order in Western India, a fact which can be witnessed even today.

Our sources also highlight instances, though scanty, which indicate that nuns worshipped Tirthaṅkaras and associated deities and even installed their images. That goddesses were worshipped by nuns is evident from an image of Saccikā obtained from Western India, non preserved in the Jodhpur museum. The white marble image bears an inscription dated V.S. 1237 (A.D. 1180) which records that it was installed by the Chief of the Jaina nuns.<sup>68</sup> It may be possible that the Jaina nun hailed from Osian or belonged to the Oswal Branch of Jainas. Another Jaina bronze, dated eleventh century A.D., of an unidentified Jina (Neminatha?) attended upon by Yakṣa Gomedha and Yakṣī Ambikā holding a child in her left lap and a bunch of Mangoes in her right hand, records the name Vasuta gaṇinī.<sup>69</sup> This probably means that it was either installed by or donated by a Jaina nun. An earlier image of Sarasvatī donated by a Jaina nun has already been referred to.<sup>70</sup> It is possible that nuns also worshipped goddesses, either as deities associated with a particular gaccha or kula, or for assistance in the path of learning. In the Haribhadra Sūri Prabandha contained in the Chaturvimsatī Prabandha of Rajaśekhara, we are told that Haribhadra, a learned brahmana, a resident of Chitrakūṭa (modern chittor) was

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p.53.

<sup>68</sup> A Ghosh ed., JAA, III, p.572

<sup>69</sup> Motichandra and Sadashiv Gorakshkar, "Jaina Bronzes from Western India from the late Smt. Amaravati Gupta Collection", Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin, No.11, 1971, p.18.

<sup>70</sup> Refer to FN6, same Chapter.

converted to Jainism and sat at the feet of his guru Jinabhata or Jinabhadra. By favour of the goddesses he obtained certain books (Ambika, according to PPS, P.103) called Rahasya Pustaka and deposited them in the Prāsāda-stambha called Chaturvāsiti which seems to have had images of eighty-four famous Jaina pontiffs. The date given for Haribhadra is Vira Samvat 585(A.D. 115). This shows the legendary nature of the account as Haribhadra is known to have flourished in the eight century A.D.<sup>71</sup> but it does indicate the popular belief that goddesses assisted in the furtherance of Knowledge.

The Early Medieval period also saw a growing influence of tantricism on Jainism as is evident from contemporary works such as the Samarāicchakahā, Jvālinīkalpa and Bhairava Padmāvatīkalpa. The literature of the period also indicates that the ability of a religious preacher to recruit new converts depended to a great extent on his ability to use magical spells and curatives.<sup>72</sup> There are references in our sources which show that monks possessed magical or supernatural powers. An early text like the Nāyādhamma Kahā (XIV, 104, p152) refers to a certain lady named potṭilā who is reported to have requested a group of Jaina nuns to show her some powder, Mantra, rite, Bhūtikarṇa or vāsīkarma whereby she can regain the love of her husband.<sup>73</sup> This indicates that nuns also indulged in occult practices. Thus both monks as well as nuns could have worshipped specific goddesses to acquire certain powers. The canonical texts including the Sūtrakṛtāṅga which is one of the earliest, abound in references prohibiting such practices. But one point that emerges is that magical practices were probably an effective means of influencing the laity and popularising the faith and may have been adopted by some of the female ascetics.

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<sup>71</sup> PRAS(WC), 1904, P.45.

<sup>72</sup> R.N. Nandi, Social Roots of Religion in Ancient India, p.113

<sup>73</sup> U.P.Shah, "A Peep into the early History of Tantra in Jain Literature", Bharata Kaumudi, II, p.845

### CAUSES OF RENUNCIATION

Coming now to the issue of causes of renunciation in the case of women, the KGBG refers to some relations being ordained together e.g. mother and son, sister and brother, or an acarya initiating his own relatives.<sup>74</sup> This indicates that some women could have been inspired by some charismatic religious leader, male or female. This is borne out by the example of Jagśrī, Sarsasvatī and Gunaśrī sādhvīs, who took initiation being inspired by the religious sermon of Hemadevī gaṇinī, who was given the title of Mahattarā by Jinacandrasūri.<sup>75</sup>

The influence exercised by women ascetics on the laity is also evident from the case of śrāvika Padmaśrī of the Oswāl family, who composed or copied the Gyānapañcamipustika Prasāsti in V.S. 1313 (A.D. 1256) at Prahlādanpura at the behest of Jinsundari gaṇinī. The Prasāsti does not give any details about Jinsundari but it does mention that Padmaśrī was for some reason abandoned by her husband because of which she started concentrating on the religious sphere.<sup>76</sup> The members of the monastic order had a constant interaction with the laity as is evident from our sources. Frequent tours to tirthas were organised and members of the saṅgha preached and propogated Jinadharmā on the way. There is reference to Merusundari Mahattarā delivering a sermon at the fort of chitrakūṭa (Modern chittorgadh) inspired by which a layman and his wife donated a book for the purpose of study of Tilakprabha gaṇinī.<sup>77</sup> These references indicate that nuns played an extremely significant role in giving religious orientation to the laity and

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<sup>74</sup> See Table -IX.

<sup>75</sup> H.Bordia, op.cit, pp.196-7, quoting from Agarchand Nahta, Kharatara gaccha Ka Itihasa, p.12. According to KGBG, p.20, she was given the title of Pravartini, not Mahattara.

<sup>76</sup> JPPS, p.15, No.12

<sup>77</sup> Ibid, p.126, No.217.

inspired by them many laymen and women would have joined the monastic order. This in a way they contributed immensely towards the social reproduction of the gaccha and as is evident from our sources, anything from family grievances, personal faith, influence of teachers or relatives, could have led to women taking up asceticism.

### POSITION OF NUNS IN THE LAY SOCIETY AND MONASTIC ORGANIZATION

As is evident from the references quoted above female ascetics occupied an influential and extremely respectable position amongst the laity. As regards their position in the monastic organization, it has already been seen that amongst the svetambaras the female ascetics were considered spiritually equal to the monks but, in terms of temporal power they were subordinate. As pointed out above the nuns were subordinate at all times to the male acarya and did not have the right to initiate new members into the sangha. Even on tours to other places they had to be accompanied by male members of the order.<sup>78</sup> In fact it is clearly stated in the yavahāra Sūtra that the Ācārya, Upādhyāya along with the Pravartīnī were the three protectors of the nuns and at no time were they to remain without them.<sup>79</sup> It was also stated that a nun could reach the rank equal to that of Upādhyāya after thirty years, and that of an ācāropādhyāya only after Sixty years.<sup>80</sup>

Although our references show that nuns engaged in various socio-religious and literary activities and also encouraged laymen to do so, they were not allowed to study certain scriptures such as Dr̥stivāda, Mahāparijñā etc., as they dealt with

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<sup>78</sup> This does indicate that by this time there were no separate orders for nuns and monks. They belonged to the same order, were initiated together and travelled together, see Table- XI.

<sup>79</sup> S.B.Deo, HJM, p.467

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., p.473

magical formulae and women being fickle minded should not read them.<sup>81</sup> According to Jinapāla's commentary on Jinadatta Sūri's Chārchāri Upadeśarāsāyana, the rules laid down by Jinadatta Sūri of the Kharataragaccha, for the welcome of monks and nuns varied considerably. When a Mahattarā entered a city she was received by laywomen only. No conch was sounded and no laymen came. No Māṅgalakalāśa was placed and when she entered a temple there was no signing, no sounding of the conch and nichchāvāra. Karpura was put on her forehead. No blanket was put on her back, but she had two blankets to sit upon. In the case of Pravartīnī there was only one blanket to sit on. This was not the case with the chief ācārya who was received with great pomp and show.<sup>82</sup> Thus even though nuns were regarded as spiritually equivalent to monks in the Śvetāmbara order, in reality they were accorded a much inferior status as compared to monks.

Before we wind off the discussion it is pertinent to mention the question of women's salvation and whether the svetambara admittance of women's capacity to attain salvation contributed to the growth of the śvetāmbara nun order in Western India. Professor P.S. Jaini in his pioneering work Gender and Salvation, has highlighted the major features of this debate between the śvetāmbaras and Digambaras from 2nd Century A.D. till the end of the Seventeenth Century A.D., through a series of texts three belonging to Digambaras, Two to śvetāmbaras and one to Yāpanīyas, the first defenders of women's right to salvation.

The general format of the debate consists of first, the Digambara denial of mokṣa for women, the śvetāmbara affirmation of women's capacity to achieve salvation and finally the digambara rebuttal. With the overriding importance that the Digambaras attached to the feature of nudity, the debate centered on the question

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<sup>81</sup> V.A. Sangave, Jaina Community, a Social Survey, (Revised ed), Bombay, 1980, p.169.

<sup>82</sup> Dashrath Sharma, op.cit., pp.255, FN 32.

of clothes. Women were not allowed to renounce clothes because if they did so they would be more susceptible to attacks by men and moreover the sight of a nude menstruating woman was considered abhorrent. Since they could not give up clothes, they couldn't follow the vow of non-possession, as in their case then clothes became a form of property. Moreover because of their biophysical makeup and monthly processes, women destroy a large number of micro organisms, thus not even adhering to the vow of non-violence which has an overwhelming importance in Jainism. As stated in the Sūtraprābhṛtā of the Digambara Ācārya Kundakunda (A.D.150). "In the genital organs of women, in between their breasts, in their navels, and in the armpits, it is said (in the scriptures that) there are very subtle beings (aparyāpās). How can there be mendicant ordination for them (Since they must violate the vow of Ahimsā)?"<sup>83</sup> It is also believed that the activities of these micro-organisms in the genital organs are perceived by women as a sort of "itching" which can be relieved only by sexual intercourse,<sup>84</sup> which itself is an act involving largescale himsā. The Śvetāmbaras also regard the process of menstruation as involving himsā but consider it unavoidable, thus not obstructing the path of salvation.<sup>85</sup>

Apart from a woman's anatomy being the major cause of her inability to achieve salvation, it is further believed that women are fickle-minded and mentally incapable of participating in debates etc. The Digambaras also regard the śvetāmbaras as pseudo Jainas (on account of their wearing clothes). The svetambaras, while arguing for women's salvation seem to be in a way defending their own position stating that clothes are a necessity and not a possession. Nowhere do we find the śvetāmbaras challenging the misogynist claims of the Digambaras, thus suggesting that women inspite of their shortcomings are capable of achieving salvation. Thus, although spiritually women are considered equal by them, practically

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<sup>83</sup> P.S. Jaini, Gender and Savation, p.35

<sup>84</sup> Ibid, p.xix., Also see FN.31 of 'Foreword'.

<sup>85</sup> For Svetambara views on this see Ibid., pp.178-179, #67-69.

they have been accorded an inferior status. Abhorrence of the female body and its natural processes seems to be a common feature between the two sects. According to an account in the chronicles of the Kharatara gaccha, Jinadatta Suri was given seven boons by Sixty Yogīnīs, One of them being that sādhvīs following the Śīla (Vrata?) continuously would not have their monthly cycles.<sup>86</sup> This indicates that even amongst the śvetāmbaras the phenomenon of menstruation was regarded as impure and dirty. Although women were admitted into the monastic order, there was a subconscious attempt to make them like men, by denying to acknowledge their natural body processes. Thus even though women's salvation is recognised by the śvetāmbaras they (women) are still treated on an inferior basis and this issue continues to be a point of controversy between the two sects.

While dealing with the contemporary relevance of the debate among the Jainas, Jaini has highlighted the ratio of present day nuns to Jaina monks. Accepting the traditional figures, Jaini sees parallels between the monk: nun ratio at the time of death of Mahāvīra (1:2.5) and the present day tally of 2500 monks to as many as 6000 nuns amongst Śvetāmbaras. Whereas amongst the Digambaras there are 100 monks and even fewer nuns.<sup>87</sup> As our references indicate nuns (amongst śvetāmbaras) have always exceeded the number of monks and this may have led to the nuns exercising a greater influence on the laity than monks inspite of their inferior position. Also the śvetāmbara attitude towards women's salvation might have in a way contributed to the growth and continuity of the śvetāmbara nun order.

On the whole, it may be concluded tentatively that Western India of the period 900-1300 A.D. had a strong Jaina female ascetic tradition with an organized church, and a large lay following. Considering the enormous data available in the literary texts and manuscripts of the time, the relative paucity of epigraphical evidence is a puzzling phenomenon and needs to be explored further.

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<sup>86</sup> KGPS, pp. 24-27, 10-17.

<sup>87</sup> Jaini, Gender and Salvation, pp.24-25.



TABLE I

Monks, Nuns and Laity in the Kalpa Sūtra<sup>1</sup>

TĪRTHAṆKARA	NUNS	HEAD	LAY WOMEN	HEAD	REFERENCE <u>Kalpa Sūtra</u>
Ṛṣabha (1)	30,000	Brahmīsundrī	554000	Subhadrā	p. 284
Neminātha (22)	40000	Āryayakṣiṇī	33600	Mahasuvratā	p. 278
Pārśva (23)	38000	Puṣpacūlā	327000	Sunandā	p. 274
Mahāvīra (24)	36000	Chandrabālā	318000	Salasā Revatī	P. 267
TĪRTHAṆKARA	MONKS	HEAD	LAY MEN	HEAD	REFERENCE <u>Kalpa Sutra</u>
Ṛṣabha (1)	54000	Rishabhasena	305,000	Śreyāmsa	p. 287
Neminātha (22)	18000	Varadatta	169,000	Nandā	p. 278
Pārśva (23)	16000	Āryadatta	164,000	Su:vratā	p. 274
Mahāvīra (24)	14000	Indrabhūti	159,000	Śankhaṣatakā	p. 267

<sup>1</sup> "Kalpa Sūtra" of Bhadrabahu tr. by H. Jacobi in F. Max Muller (ed.) Sacred Books of the East, vol. XXII, Oxford, 1884.

TABLE II

Monks, Nuns and Laity in the Triṣaṣṭisālākāpuruṣacarita

S.No.	TĪRTHANĀKARA	MONKS	NUNS	LAYMEN	LAYWOMEN
1.	Rṣabhanātha	84000	300,000	350,000	554,000
2.	Ajitanātha	100000	330,000	298,000	545,000
3.	Sambavanātha	200,000	336,000	293,000	636,000
4.	Abhinandana	300,000	630,000	288,000	527,000
5.	Sumatinātha	320,000	530,000	281,000	516,000
6.	Padmaprabha	336,000	420,000	276,000	505,000
7.	Supārśvanātha	300000	430,000	257,000	493,000
8.	Chandraprabha	250,000	380,000	250,000	491,000
9.	Suvidhinātha	200,000	120,000	229,000	472,000
10.	Śitalanātha	100,000	100,000	289,000	458,000
11.	Śreyamsanātha	84000	103,000	279,000	448,000
12.	Vasūpūjya	72,000	100,000	215,000	436,000
13.	Vimalanātha	68,000	100,800	208,000	430,000
14.	Anantanātha	66,000	62000	206,000	414,000
15.	Dharmanātha	64,000	62,400	240,000	413,000
16.	Śāntinātha	62,000	61,600	290,000	393,000
17.	Kunthunātha	60,000	60,600	100,920	381,000
18.	Aranātha	50,000	60,000	184,000	372,000
19.	Mallinātha	40,000	55,000	183,000	370,000
20.	Munisuvrata	30,000	50,000	172,000	350,000
21.	Naminātha	20,000	41,000	170,000	348,000
22.	Neminātha	18,000	40,000	169,000	339,000
23.	Pārśvanātha	16,000	38,000	164,000	377,000
24.	Mahāvīra	14,000	36,000	159,000	318,000

**Note** A common feature between Tables I and II is that in most cases the number of nuns is much more than the number of monks.

TABLE III

Laywomen Ordained as Nuns

NAME	DATE	PLACE	PRECEPTOR	DIKSA	REFERENCE & REMARKS
Dharmaśrī and Dharmadevī	V.S. 1241 (A.D. 1184)	Phalavardhikā	Jinapatisūri	They wre initiated i.e. given dīkṣā	<u>KGBG</u> p. 34
Sayamśrī Śāntimati Ratnamati	V.S. 1245 (A.D. 1188)	Pushkar	Jinapatisūri	They were initiated i.e. given dīkṣā	<u>KGBG</u> p. 44
Āsmati Sundarmati	V.S. 1265 (A.D. 1208)	Lavaṇakhed	Jinapatisūri	They were initated i.e. given dīkṣā	<u>KGBG</u> p. 44
Gyaṅśrī	V.S. 1266 (A.D. 1209)	Vikrampura (near Ujjain)	Jniapatisūri	They were initated ie. given dīkṣā	<u>KGBG</u> p. 44
Candraśrī Kevalśrī	V.S. 1269 (A.D. 1212)	Jāvalipura (Jalor)	Jinapatisūri	They were intiaded ie. given dīkṣā	<u>KGBG</u> p. 44

NAME	DATE	PLACE	PRECEPTOR	DIKSA	REFERENCE & REMARKS
Jayalakshmi Kalyāṇarīdhī Pramod – Lakshmi Gacchavṛīdhī	V.S. 1313 (A.D. 1256)	Jāvalipura (Jalor)	Jinapatisūri	They were initiated ie. given dīkṣā	<u>KGBG</u> p. 51
Kevalprabha Harsaprabha Jayaprabha Yashaprabha	V.S. 1331 (1274 A.D.)	Jāvalipura (Jalor)	Jinaprabodh sūri	They were initiated ie. given dīkṣā	<u>KGBG</u> p. 54  Since no rank is attached to them, they were probably lay-women who were initiated into the monastic order and may have been kept on probation

TABLE IV

Kṣullikās

NAME	DATE	PLACE	PRECEPTOR	DIKSA & RANK	REMARKS	REFERENCE
Dharmaprabha Devaprabha	V.S. 1341 (A.D. 1284)	Not clear	Jinaprabha Sūri	Initiated as Kṣullikās	Kṣullikā was probably the lowermost rung in the hierarchy and meant a very young girl, or a nun on probation	<u>KGBG</u> , p.58
Jayamanjari Ratnamanjari Shīlamanjari	V.S. 1342 (A.D. 1285)	Jāvalipura (Jalor)	Jinacandra Sūri II	Initiated as Kṣullikās		<u>KGBG</u> , p.59
Padmaśri Vrataśri	V.S. 1367 (A.D. 1310)	Jāvalipura	Jinacandraśri II	Initiated as Kṣullikās while acarya was travelling from Bhimapalli to Pahladanpura via Pattana	Reproduction of the gaccha	<u>KGBG</u> , p.62

TABLE V

## Sādhvis

NAME	DATE	PLACE	PRECEPTOR	DIKSA AND RANK	REFERENCE
Jagśri, Sarasvatī, Gunaśri	V.S. 1218 (A.D. 1161)	Ucchāya (sind)	Jinacandrasūri	Initiated as Sādhvī or Sādhvidīkṣā	<u>KGBG</u> p. 20
Abhayamati, Āsmati Śridevī	V.S. 1230 (A.D. 1173)	Vikrampura	Jinapati Sūri	Initiated as Sādhvī or Sādhvidīkṣā	<u>KGBG</u> p. 24
Viveśri, Mangalmati, Kalyansri	V.S. 1263 (A.D. 1206)	Jāvalipura	Jinapatisūri	Initiated as Sādhvī or Sādhvidīkṣā	<u>KGBG</u> p. 44
**Jagmti, Mangalśri	V.S. 1275 (A.D. 1218)	Jāvalipura	Jinapatisūri	Initiated as Sādhvī or Sādhvidīkṣā	<u>KGBG</u> p. 47
Muktisundari, Budhdhismṛiddhi, Riddhisundari	V.S. 1309 (A.D. 1252)	Prahlādanpura	Jineśvarasūri II	Initiated as Sādhvī or Sādhvidīkṣā	<u>KGBG</u> p. 50
Ratnavrṣṭī	V.S. 1314 (A.D. 1257)	Prahlādanpura	Jineśvarasūri II	Took Pravajya	<u>KGBG</u> p. 51
Chittasamādhi Kṣantinidhi	V.S. 1321 (A.D. 1264)	Prahlādanpura	Jineśvarasūri II	Sādhvidīkṣā ...	<u>KGBG</u> p. 52
Muktivallabha, Nemibhakti, Mangalnidhi, Priyadarshana	V.S. 1322 (A.D. 1265)	Vikrampura	Jineśvarasūri II	Initiated as Sādhvī or Sādhvidīkṣā	<u>KGBG</u> p. 52

\*\* Acc to Bordia, p. 241, these 3 are given Bhagvati diksa but our refernces do not show this.

NAME	DATE	PLACE	PRECEPTOR	DITRS & RANK	REFERENCE
Vīrsundarī	V.S. 1322 (A.D. 1265)	Vikrampura	Jineśvara Sūri II	Sādhvī Kṛta (made Sādhvī)	<u>KGBG</u> p. 52
Vinayasiddhi, Āgamvridhhi	V.S. 1323 (A.D. 1266)	Jāvalipura	Jineśvara Sūri II	Sādhvī Kṛta (made Sādhvī)	<u>KGBG</u> p. 52
Padmāvati	V.S. 1325 (A.D. 1268)	Jāvalipura	Jineśvara Sūri II	Sādhvī Kṛta (made Sādhvī)	<u>KGBG</u> p. 52
Hemprabha	V.S. 1328 (A.D. 1271)	Jāvalipura	Jineśvara Sūri II	Sādhvī Kṛta (made Sādhvī)	<u>KGBG</u> p. 52
Labdhīmālā, Punyamālā	V.S. 1332 (A.D. 1275)	Jāvalipura	Jinprabodhsūri	Initiated as Sādhvī or given Sādhvidīkṣā	<u>KGBG</u> p. 52
Kumudlakṣmī, Bhuvanlakṣmī	V.S. 1340 (A.D. 1283)	Jāvalipura	Jinprabodhsūri	Initiated as Sādhvī or given Sādhvidīkṣā	<u>KGBG</u> p. 58
Puṇyasundarī, Ratṇasundarī, Bhuvanṣundarī, Harshasundarī	V.S. 1340 (A.D. 1283)	Jaisalmer	Jinprabodhsūri	Initiated as Sādhvī & celebrated Dīkṣā Mahotsava	<u>KGBG</u> p. 58

NAME	DATE	PLACE	PRECEPTOR	DIKSA AND RANKS.	REFERNCE
Ratnaśri	V.S. 1346 (A.D. 1289)	Jāvalipura	Jinacandra sūri II.	Initiated as Sādhvī or Sadhvidīkṣā	<u>KGBG</u> p.59
Mukti Lakṣmī, Muḥisri	V.S. 1346 (A.D. 1289)	Jāvalipura	Jinacandra sūri II.	Initiated as Sādhvī or Sādhvidīkṣā	<u>KGBG</u> p.59
Mukticandrika	V.S. 1347 (A.D. 1290)	Vijapura or Bijapura	Jinacandra sūri II.	Initiated as Sādhvī or Sādhvidīkṣā	<u>KGBG</u> p.60
Amritśri Sādhvī	V.S. 1348 (A.D. 1291)	Prahlādanpura	Jinacandra sūri II.	Initiated as Sādhvī or Sādhvidīkṣā	<u>KGBG</u> p.60
Hemalakṣmī	V.S. 1351 (A.D. 1294)	Prahlādanpura	Jinacandra sūri II.	Initiated as Sādhvī or Sādhvidīkṣā	<u>KGBG</u> p.60
Jayasundari.	V.S. 1354 (A.D. 1297)	Jāvalipura	Jinacandra sūri II.	Initiated as Sadhvī or Sadhvidīkṣā and Dīkṣā - Dānotsava	<u>KGBG</u> p.61
Puṇyalakṣmī, Gyaṇlakṣmī, Kamalakṣmī, Muktilaskmi	V.S. 1371 (A.D. 1314)	Jāvalipura	Jinacandra sūri II.	Dīkṣā as Sādhvīs on occasion of Dīkṣā Mālaropanādi - Nandimahotsava	<u>KGBG</u> p.64
Priyadharmā, Ashalakṣmī, Dharmalakṣmī	V.S. 1371 (A.D. 1314)	Bhīmapallī	Jinacandra sūri II.	Dīkṣā as Sadhvīs on occasion of Dīkṣā Mālaropanādi - Nandimahotsava	<u>KGBG</u> p.64



Table VI

## Gaṇinīs

NAME	DATE	PLACE	PRECEPTOR	DIKSA & RANK	REFERENCE
Bhuvansri gaṇinī	V.S. 1275 (A.D. 1218)	Jāvalipura	Jinapatisūri	Initiated as gaṇinī or gaṇinī dikṣā	<u>KGBG</u> p. 47
Caritramālā gaṇinī, Gyanamālā gaṇinī, Satyamālā gaṇinī,	V.S. 1278 (A.D. 1221)	Śrīmālpura	Jineśvarasūri II	Initiated as gaṇinī or gaṇinī dikṣā	<u>KGBG</u> p. 49
Sri gaṇinī, Shīlamālā gaṇinī, Candramālā gaṇinī, Vinayamala gaṇinī.	V.S. 1279. (A.D. 1222)	Jāvalipura	Jineśvarasūri II	Initiated as gaṇinī or gaṇinī dikṣā	<u>KGBG</u> p. 49
Purnaśri gaṇinī, Hemśri gaṇinī	V.S. 1280 (A.D. 1223)	Śrīmāla (Bhīnmāl)	Jineśvarasūri II	Initiated as gaṇinī or gaṇinī dikṣā	<u>KGBG</u> p. 49
Kamalsri gaṇinī	V.S. 1281. (A.D. 1224)	Jāvalipura	Jineśvarasūri II	Initiated as gaṇinī or gaṇinī dikṣā	<u>KGBG</u> p. 49
Cāritra Sundri gaṇinī, Dharmasundari gaṇinī	V.S. 1284 (A.D. 1227)	Bijapura	Jineśvarasūri II	Initiated as gaṇinī or gaṇinī dikṣā	<u>KGBG</u> p. 49
Udayaśri gaṇinī	V.S. 1285 (A.D. 1228)	Bijapura	Jineśvarasūri II	Initiated as gaṇinī or gaṇinī dikṣā	<u>KGBG</u> p. 49

NAME	DATE	PLACE	PRECEPTOR	DIKSA & RANK	REFERENCE
Kulsri gaṇinī, Pramodśri gaṇinī	V.S. 1287 (A.D. 1230)	Prahlādanpura	Jineśvarasūri II	Initiated as gaṇinī or gaṇinī dikṣā	<u>KGBG</u> p. 49
Dharmamati gaṇinī, Vinayamati gaṇinī, Vidyamati gaṇinī, Cāritramati gaṇinī.	V.S. 1288 (A.D. 1231)	Jāvalipura	Jineśvarasūri II	Intiated as gaṇinī or ganini dikṣā	<u>KGBG</u> p. 49
Rājimati, Hemāvali, Kanakāvali, Ratnāvati, Muktāvali gaṇinī	V.S. 1288 (A.D. 1231)	Chitrakūṭa (Chittorgarh)	Jineśvarasūri II	Intiated as gaṇinī or ganini dikṣā	<u>KGBG</u> p. 49
Shīlasundara ganini Candanasundari	V.S. 1291 (A.D. 1234)	Jāvalipura	Jineśvarasūri II	Intiated as gaṇinī or gaṇinī dikṣā	<u>KGBG</u> p. 49

Table VII

## Pravartiniḥ

NAME	DATE	PLACE	PRECEPTORS	DIKSA AND RANK.	REFERENCE
Hemadevi gaṇinī	V.S. 1214 (A.D. 1157)	Tribhuvanagiri (Tahangarh)	Jinacandrasūri	Already initiated as Gaṇinī and now given title of Pravartini	<u>KGBG</u> p. 20
Dharmasundri gaṇinī	V.S. 1216 (A.D. 1219)	Jāvalipura	Jineśvarasūri II	Already initiated as Gaṇinī and now given title of Pravartini	<u>KGBG</u> p. 51
Ratnasri Pravartini	V.S. 1254 (A.D. 1197)	Dhāra (Malva)	Jinapatisūri	Direct Initiation	<u>KGBG</u> p. 44
Dharmadevi	V.S. 1263 (A.D. 1206)	Lavaṅkheḍ	Jinapatisūri	Direct Initiation	<u>KGBG</u> p. 44
Maṅgalmati gaṇinī	V.S. 1283 (A.D. 1226)	Vāhaḍmeru or Bāhaḍmeru	Jineśvara Sūri II	Gaṇinī → pravartini	<u>KGBG</u> p. 49
Gyānmālā gaṇinī	V.S. 1310 (A.D. 1253)	Jāvalipura	Jineśvara Sūri II	Gaṇinī → pravartini.	<u>KGBG</u> p. 49
Kalyaṅriddhī gaṇinī	V.S. 1330 (A.D. 1273)	Jāvalipura	Jineśvara Sūri II	Gaṇinī → pravartini.	<u>KGBG</u> p. 54
Kushalsri gaṇinī	V.S. 1333 (A.D. 1276)	Jāvalipura	Jinprabodh Sūri	Gaṇinī → pravartini.	<u>KGBG</u> p. 55
Buddhismṛiddhī gaṇinī	V.S. 1342 (A.D. 1285)	Jāvalipura	Jinacandra Sūri II	Gaṇinī → pravartini.	<u>KGBG</u> p. 59
Priyadarshaṅa gaṇinī	-	Bhīmapallī	Jinacandra Sūri II	Gaṇinī → pravartini.	<u>KGBG</u> p. 64
Kevalprabha gaṇinī	V.S. 1369 (A.D. 1312)	Pattāṅa	Jinacandra Sūri II	Gaṇinī → pravartini.	<u>KGBG</u> p. 64

TABLE VIII

## Mahattarās

NAME	DATE	PLACE	PRECEPTOR	DIKSA AND RANK	REFERENCE
Ratnamanjari gaṇinī	- -	Bhīmapalli	Jinacandra sūri II	Gaṇinī given rank of Mahattarā and named Śriyārdhi Mahattarā	<u>KGBG</u> p. 64
Arya Ānandsrī	V.S. 1260 (A.D. 1203)	-	Jinapatisūri	Given title of Mahattarā	<u>KGBG</u> p. 44
Dharmadevi Pravartīnī	V.S. 1269 (A.D. 1212)	Jāvalipura	Jinapatisūri	Pravartīnī → Mahattarā	<u>KGBG</u> p. 44
Śrīmatī, Jinmatī, Purnasrī, Jinsrī, Jñānsrī	Later 1/2 of 12th century A.D.	Dhāra	Jinadattasūri	Appointed as Mahattarā directly	<u>KGBG</u> p. 19
Gunāsri gaṇinī	V.S. 1234 (A.D. 1177)	Phalavardhikā	Jinapatisūri	Gaṇinī → Mahattarā	<u>KGBG</u> p. 24
Pramod śri gaṇinī	V.S. 1310 (A.D. 1283)	Jāvalipura	Jinesvarasūri II	Gaṇinī → Mahattarā and later named Lakshminidhī	<u>KGBG</u> p. 49
Candanasundarī gaṇinī	V.S. 1340 (A.D. 1283)	Jāvalipura	Jinaprabodhsūri	Gaṇinī → Mahattarā and later named Candansrī	<u>KGBG</u> p. 58

TABLE IX

Relations Ordained Together

NAME	DATE	PLACE	PRECEPTOR	DIKSA & RANK	REFERENCE
Stanamātā charaṇmātā gaṇini (mother of Jinapatisūri)	V.S. 1235 (A.D. 1178)	Ajay meru (Ajmer)	Jinapatisūri	Initiated as Gaṇini directly	<u>KGBG</u> p. 24
Kalyāṇmatī (Sister of Jinesvarasūri)	-	-	Jineśvarasūri	Given rank of Mahattarā directly	<u>KGBG</u> p. 5
Devabhadra along with his wife	V.S. 1221 (A.D. 1164)	Babbērā	Vāchanācarya Guṇabhadra gani	Initiated	<u>KGBG</u> p. 20
Dharmashīla and his mother Dharma mitra	V.S. 1227 (A.D. 1170)	Ucchāya	Jinapatisūri	They were both given Vratas	<u>KGBG</u> p. 23
Shīlasāgar & his sister Ajitsri gaṇini	V.S. 1227 (A.D. 1170)	Marukoṭṭa	Jinapatisūri	They were both given Vratas	<u>KGBG</u> p. 23

**TABLE X**  
**Nuns and Austerities**

NAME	DATE	PLACE	DIKSA & RANK	REMARKS	REFERENCE
Ajjā Marudevī	A.D. 1010-1022	Āshāpalli (North Gujarat)	Gaṇinī Marudevī undertook fast of 40 days and gave up her life. During her <u>Samādhi Kālā</u> Jinesvara suri recited the Sallekhanā lesson to her	This is up till now the only reference to a nun giving up her life through Sallekhanā and the fact that Jineśvarasūri read out the Sallekhana lesson to her shows that only male acaryas could guide or initiate people into the process of ritual death	<u>KGBG</u> p. 5

TABLE XI

## Nuns - Religious and Literary Activities

NAME	DATE	PLACE	PRECEPTOR	RANK	REMARKS	REFERENCE
Various female ascetic followers of Upādhyāya Dharmadeva who was disciple of Jineśvarasūri, went to Dhavalka for <u>Chāturmāsa</u> . V.S. 1141 (A.D. 1084)	V.S. 1141 (A.D. 1084)	Dhavalka (Dholka)	Upādhyāya Dharmadeva, disciple of Jineśvara Sūri.	Sādhvīs	Seeing the qualities of Somacandra, these female ascetics begged his parents to give him to them for the purpose of initiation. This shows that women couldn't initiate pupils directly. Somacandra later became Jinadatta Suri.	<u>KGBG</u> p. 14-15
Śrīmatī, Jinamati, Purṇasrī (Ajjīs)	-	They were sent to Dhāra for purpose of study	Jinadatta Sūri.	Ajjīs	Even nuns could go to far away places and acquire knowledge.	<u>KGBG</u> p. 18.
Mahattarā Lakṣmīnidhī (Chief Sādhvī) Along with 13 Sādhvīs, 23 Sādhus, Jinaratnacarya and Candratilaka upadhyaya	V.S. 1326 (A.D.1269)	Tirtha's like Śatruṅjaya	Jineśvara Sūri II	Mahattarā	One Mahattara along with Sādhvīs and Sadhus, in the presence of an Ācārya and Upādhyāya went from Prahādanpura till Śatruṅjaya preaching and showing miracles on the way.	<u>KGBG</u> p.52

NAME	DATE	PLACE	PRECEPTOR	RANK	REMARKS	REFERECNE
Pra. Gyānmālā Gaṇinī, Pra. Kusalsrī Pra. Kalyāṇridhī along with 27 Sādhvīs and 21 Sādhus	V.S. 1333 (A.D. 1276)	Śatruñjaya	Jinaprabodh Sūri	A nun holding rank of Gaṇinī as well as Pravartinī	This reference also states that four Sādhvīs were initiated at Śatruñjaya by the Chief Ācārya in front of Adinatha's image, indicating that pilgrimages to <u>Tirthas</u> were also occasions for propagating the faith and expanding the gaccha.	<u>KGBG</u> p. 55
Pra. Ratnasri Gaṇinī and 5 other sādhvīs along with Jayavallabha gani & Hematilaka gani etc. & 10 Sādhus	V.S. 1366 (A.D. 1309)	They went to girnar + Other places.	Jinacandra Sūri II	A nun holding rank of Gaṇinī as well as pravartinī	Our reference indicates that nuns could not travel without the presence of male members esp. Acarya & Upadhyaya and also that a nun could hold 2 ranks at the same time.	<u>KGBG</u> p. 62



## Chapter V

### CONCLUSION

Jainism was no exception to the general trend in the various religions mainstreams of the early medieval period where one finds greater visibility of goddesses albeit in a subordinate role and a more liberal attitude towards women in religious matters.

Perhaps the ambivalence of the Jaina perception of the female is nowhere so evident as in the conception of Jaina goddesses. Common thinking even among Jaina Laymen is that Jainism stresses the worship of male tirthankaras only and has little to do with worship of female deities. This impression is totally belied by our study of the Early Medieval Records which reveals the acceptance and popularity of goddesses in contemporary Jainism. The Jaina temple at Osian, Kumbharia, Abu and Girnar depict a large number of goddesses on pillars, doors ceilings and walls thereby indicating that by the early medieval period, worship of goddesses in Jainism had acquired a certain level of importance.

Although the Jaina literary texts abound in references to a number of goddesses, the ones depicted in art prior to our period of study include Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī and Ambikā. But goddesses mentioned in the early references seem to be mere entities and do not seem to have acquired an important place in Jaina mythology. It is in the early medieval period that one notices a sudden spurt in the visibility of goddesses and goddesses being assigned a specific role and place in Jaina mythology. This is the change that we have tried to highlight through our study of goddesses.

Thus in the early medieval period Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī and Ambikā were accompanied by a number of other female deities like Yakṣīs of Tīrthāṅkaras other than Neminatha, who appeared as deities attendant upon the Tīrthāṅkara but

having specific attributes. The most popular deities appear to have been the group of Sixteen Mahāvidyādevīs who have been visualized in the Jaina Literary traditions as Tantric goddesses. Some of them are even depicted in their terrific multiarmed form as the all-powerful unconquerable goddesses. They do not appear to be specifically related to any Tīrthāṅkara as his attendant, protectors or otherwise, but generally appear in groups of Four or Sixteen and are invoked to acquire particular Vidyās or Siddhis. Alongwith Yakṣīs and Vidyādevīs we also notice direct appropriation of goddesses from contemporary religious streams.

The popularity of goddesses in early Medieval Jainism may be attributed to the role that they played in the lives of the Jaina Community. This may be seen at three levels. At the level of the Laity, these goddesses fulfilled the worldly desires of the Jainas like desire for offsprings, wealth, fame etc. One of the reasons behind this was the easy accessibility of the goddesses to the Laymen and women for whom the Tīrthāṅkara, the perfect being was too remote to approach. This may also be seen in a way that it would be seemingly contradictory for the Tīrthāṅkara, who had renounced the world and attained salvation, to grant worldly benefits to his devotees. Thus in order to overcome this dilemma and to prove the efficacy of the faith, goddesses were introduced to play an extremely important role, but as subservient to the Jinas.

Incorporation of goddesses in Jainism also shows the changing character of Jainism in so far as it was no longer a purely ascetic religion as it was in its initial stages and although asceticism was practised by monks and nuns it had evolved forms in which goddesses do seem to have played an important role. At the level of the female ascetics, goddesses may have been invoked for the furtherance of learning as some goddesses are said to have presided over certain branches of learning. We have come across references to goddesses inspiring men to compose books. There are also references to monks and nuns resorting to magical practices to attract followers or to acquire specific powers.

Finally, as their placement indicates, goddesses also served as decorative figures, aimed at enhancing the magnificence of the temples which were an important means of consolidating and popularising the faith. This period was characterised by temple-building activities on a large scale, to which Jainas contributed in no small measure. Temple building amongst the Jainas was possible because of the changed socio-economic milieu i.e. impetus to trade and commerce which had placed merchant lineages like the Prāgvātas, Śrīmālis, Oswāls and to some extent Moḍhas, at a powerful and prestigious position in state and society. It was this elite, most of whom adhered to the Jaina faith, that gave patronage to the religion.<sup>1</sup>

Just as there were changes in the role of the female at the divine level and greater visibility of goddesses, so also at the monastic level one sees greater visibility of nuns and their participation in the monastic organisation. There was increasing hierarchisation of the female ascetic order with designations such as Kṣullikā, Sādhvī, Gaṇinī, pravartinī, and Mahattarā becoming evident. Our references indicate that nuns played a multifarious role in the Jaina Society. They were propagators of the faith and influenced the people to join the order thus leading to the reproduction of the community. They also propagated the faith by copying manuscript or inspiring the laity to do so indicating that they exercised a considerable influence on the lay society. Although we have not found inscriptions testifying to this fact but our sources indicate that nuns also undertook severe fasts and penances. Images of goddesses donated by nuns indicate that they also formed a part of the devotees though their purpose of worship was different i.e. they sought assistance in the path of liberation and propagation of the faith. The nuns were however, accorded a subordinate position vis-a-vis the monks and were in no case allowed to initiate new members into the order. But inspite of this what needs to be recognised is that

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<sup>1</sup> V.K.Jain, Trade and Traders in Western India, New Delhi, 1991, pp.233-249 and M.A. Dhaky, "Some Early Jaina Temples in Western India", Shri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Vol. Bombay, 1986, p.295.

Jainism is one of the few religions that has an organised female ascetic order with proper rules and regulations and has made serious attempts to grapple with the question of women's ability to achieve salvation. The still extant Svetambara and Digambara female ascetic orders testify to this.

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