CHAPTER V

Religious Life

Section (i): Saivism

Through the centuries, it is Religion which has moulded the lives of the people of this vast subcontinent. That all thought and activity of the ancient Indians revolved around this religious axis, is perhaps why, so many religious systems flourished on one soil leaving behind an unfathomable reservoir of religious and semi-religious literature. The value of this enormous store-house of information cannot be measured whether in its spiritual or material aspect. The Jain didactic and narrative literature of our period, likewise, provide ample evidence as to the religious condition of India at that time.

Fortunately, most of these works are dated and their testimonies, therefore, are of great value to the historian. The Brahmanical texts of this period on the other hand, being mostly undated, their evidence often tends to be unauthentic. In spite of this shortcoming their importance should not be wholly minimised and it is best to compare the statements of both the Jain and non-Jain writers to form a proper idea of the religious condition of early medieval India. We may now
turn to see what picture, of the popular Brahmanical religious systems, such as Saivism, Vaishnavism, Saktaism and other minor cults, is portrayed by the Jain authors of our period.

As it is well-known, Saivism was popular in India from the days of the Harappan civilisation. In the early Vedic literature we have the figure of Rudra, who is primarily conceived as an atmospheric deity, closely associated with the Maruts, the Storm-gods. By the time the two great epics were composed, Šiva emerged as one of the three important deities of the Indian pantheon, the other two being Brahma and Vishnu. Several colourful legends have been woven around Šiva in the vast epico-Purānic literature, which undoubtedly indicates his tremendous popularity. Panini knows Šiva as Rudra, Bhang, and Sarva. Patañjali, for whom we have a definite date, (2nd century B.C.), mentions Šiva icons along with the images of Skanda and Vāsakha, Kautilya, Bhāsa, Vātsyāyana, (all pre-Gupta literature, appear to be quite familiar with Šiva and his different forms.

The canonical texts of the Buddhists devote a fair amount of attention to Šiva, but a better account regarding this deity and Saivism is to be found in the Ārañga Sūtra.
which is one of the oldest canonical works of the Śvetāmbara Jains, we find clear reference to the festival honouring Rudra, which is reminiscent of the festival venerating Pasupati (a popular form of Rudra) described in the Mahābhārata. Some of the other Jain canonical texts, also, give the impression that the worship of Śiva was quite common in those days. The Bhagavati depicts as Śaṅkara and Vṛṣabhacāya. In their hour of peril, people prayed to Śiva and other popular gods such as Skanda, Durgā, Kubera etc.

The Angavijaya, another Śvetāmbara Jain text, composed in the early centuries of the Christian era, represents Śiva as a pastoral deity, a characteristic often mentioned in the earlier epico-Purānic literature. Texts like the Paumacarīvam (of Viśṇu) and the Vasudevahandi also refer to Śiva and his various forms. An important passage of the Paumacarīvam moreover, suggests the popularity of the Līṅga cult in pre-Christian times.

The cult associated with Śiva has also been extensively treated by both the Śvetāmbara-Digambara writers of our period (600 A.D. - 1000 A.D.). One of the earliest Jain literary works of this period is the Varānīcārīta, a beautiful narrative verse written by Jātasiśvanandi. His work has been assigned to the 7th century A.D. by the eminent historian A.N. Upadhye. Almost all the Jain writers including the
author of the Jain Harivamsa and Udyanasuri, both of whom flourished in the 8th century A.D., have mentioned the above poem of Jatisimhanandi with deference. From this poem, it appears, that Siva was regarded as a popular god especially in South India in the 7th century A.D. This fact is strikingly corroborated by the inscriptions of this period, both of the South and North. The brightest star in the firmament of North Indian politics at this time, viz., Harsha-Varman is described in his inscriptions as well as the in his as a devotee of Mahesvara, a common appellation of Siva. Harsha-Varman’s contemporary and rival potentate in Eastern India, Sasa, was also a staunch Siva. A few South Indian inscriptions of this period, belonging to the Western Calukyas, prove the popularity of Saivism in that region. The Pallavas, too, were devoted followers of this cult. In his poem, however, Jatisimhanandi denounces Siva and other Brähmanical deities. This outburst, of course, is natural on the part of a Jain author advocating the efficacy of his own religious tenets. Nevertheless, Jatisimhanandi is quite familiar with the popular legends associated with Siva, including the story of the relation with the river Ganges.

Several Jain texts of the 8th century clearly reflect the contemporary religious life of the people of the sub-continent. The most vivid picture
is sketched by the noted Jain writer Udyotanasuri in his Kuvalavamala, a unique composition in Prakrit. The author, a resident of Jvalipura i.e. Jalor in Rajasthan, writing in Saka 700, corresponding to 779 A.D., also gives a detailed account of the Siva cult prevailing in that region. In the Kuvalavamala Siva is represented as a god with three eyes and there is a distinct reference to his Ardhanarisvara form. The allusion to Siva's three eyes, which form an important iconographic feature of the god, and to his androgynous form also found in the Brhatasamhita of Varahamihira, who flourished a few centuries earlier, proves that the author of the Kuvalavamala possessed a discerning eye for detail. Several popular names of Siva such as Hara, Dhavaladeha, Sankara, and Trinayana also appear in the Kuvalavamala. Udyotanasuri even represents Siva in his Yogisvara aspect. In several contemporary sculptures of India, this characteristic of Siva has been beautifully illustrated.

This learned Jain writer has also given us some idea regarding the Rudra aspect of Siva. In fact, he has represented Rudra almost as a separate deity. There is a distinct reference in the Kuvalavamala to the Bhavanas (temples) of Rudra and this is reminiscent of the description of a Siva temple given in the Kadambarti of Bana, a work composed in the first half of the 7th century A.D. It should be remembered that, like his patron, Bana himself was a devout Saiva and his panegyric
of Harsha (i.e. Haracarita) opens with an invocation to Lord Siva. A 7th century Jain work viz., the Maithya Gurukrama of Jinadasa also refers to temples dedicated to Rudra (Budragrha), but in conjunction with the term Mahadevavatana which shows that these were undoubtedly popular names of Siva. In the same text, we come across another very well known epithet of this god i.e. Pasupati.

The worship of Siva with all its ceremonial paraphernalia evoked utmost devotion amongst people of all classes. Brahmana priests as well as low-caste Pulindas are depicted as ardent devotees of Siva. A story in the Maithya Gurukrama shows a Brahmana and a Pulinda, both paying homage to the image of Siva, through the latter is said to have acquired an exalted status due to his sincere devotion. That Siva was a popular deity amongst the common people, is further emphasized by the testimony of another Jain work viz., the Samacarita of Haribhadra. Since Haribhadra was the teacher of Udyotana in the science of logic, he has to be assigned to the first half of the 8th century. In this work, we find Rudra associated with Skanda giving us the composite figure of Skanda-Rudra, who is represented as a god worshipped by thieves. We are further enlightened that this particular deity was the inventor of a thief's pill called paradrātimahā.
(charmer of other's sight). It is interesting to note that the god Skanda in the Mrcohakatika is depicted as the presiding deity of thieves. Both Śiva and his son Skanda-Karttikeya were associated from quite early times with non-Aryan and other forest tribes and thus it is not surprising to find them pictured as the god of thieves. Even Dūrśa, Śiva's consort, is represented in several texts as a goddess revered by thieves and robbers. It is therefore, quite evident that Lord Śiva was universally worshipped during this period.

Bana, in his Harśacarita mentions the evening worship of Śiva as a general feature of the time. In the Malatimadhava, Bhavabhūti shows Mālatī going to the temple of Śiva on the fourteenth day of the dark half of the month.

The famous temple dedicated to Śiva, namely, the Mahākāla shrine of Ujjayinī has been mentioned by several Jain writers of this time. Vidyotanasūri gives a vivid account of the bloody offering and sacrifices and the use of wine and the skill of human beings and Vetalasādhana carried on in this temple. The earliest reference to this shrine and the adjoining cemetery in Jain canonical literature is to be found in the Antagadāsāsā, the eighth Anga text. Bana, the noted bard of king Harśa's court, has also shown his acquaintance.
with this prominent centre of Śaivism. This renowned shrine is even repeatedly alluded to in the Kāthasarītśāra, the Sanskrit translation of the lost Brhadākathā of Gunaḍhya, composed in the Satavahana period. However, it is clearly evident from the Kavalaśāmali that this well-known temple was regarded as the foremost tīrtha of Śaiva pilgrimage in India. It is interesting to note that the destruction of this famous shrine by the iconoclastic Muslims is mentioned by their own historians.

Not much importance is given to Śiva in the texts like the Harivamśa (783 A.D.) or the Dhurtakhyana written by Haribhadra. In the Harivamśa, Śiva is represented once as the presiding deity of two hills situated in Lavanasanāmdra. The author Jinasena II nonetheless refers to the Mahakāla temple of Ujjayinī.

The Jain text of our period which provides the most exhaustive details regarding Śiva and the cult evolving from his is the Yaśastikāla, written by the celebrated author Somadeva in the third quarter of the tenth century, during the reign of the renowned Rastrakūta emperor Kṛṣṇa III. It has been argued that Somadeva originally hailed from Gauda Janapada (West Bengal), afterwards sojourned at Kanyakūbja for a brief period, before finally settling in the south. He was
undoubtedly a man of encyclopedic knowledge and this work reveals his deep understanding of all the major religious systems of India.

Somadeva not only shows close acquaintance with Śaiva religious practices and beliefs but also with their metaphysical doctrines. In Book V of the Yasastilaka we are confronted with a Śaiva ascetic called Haraprabodha who gives a discourse on the Dakṣāṇa and Vāṃmārgas of Śaivism. The righthand path, according to him, is meant for the general people. Śaivas, it seems from a verse quoted by Somadeva, believed in non-duality. They further were of the opinion that Śiva without Śakti is powerless. As Handiqui shown, Somadeva was quite familiar with all the major Śaiva texts, including the Śiva and Lingapurāṇas. The author of the Yasastilaka even quotes a verse which he attributes to Bhāsa, to illustrate the Vāṃmārga. This verse, however, occurs in the Matsyāvataprabhāsana of Mahendravarman, as pointed out by Prof. Handiqui. Somadeva also quotes a verse praising the glory of Śiva which he assigns to Grahila of whom nothing is yet known. Our learned author is also familiar with the popular legend concerning the origin of the Vaiśēṣika philosophy, according to which, Śiva in the form of an owl revealed the knowledge of the six categories to the sage Kanada at Varanasi. This story is also quoted in Śrīharṣa.
despised the followers of this sect whom they compared with Sudras. The Pandaramga ascetics are depicted assembling at a place during the Indra festival (Indamaha). It is interesting to note in this connection that the famous Chinese traveller, I-tsin, also refers to a class of ascetics who anointed their bodies with ashes and tied up their locks of hair. The Pasupatas were even indirectly referred to by the illustrious Varahamihira in his Brhatasamhita while dealing with the installation of images, Varahamihira states that the image of Sambhu must be consecrated by the ashbesmearing Brahmanas (Sambhuh sabhaashadviyan) whom the commentator identifies with the followers of the Pasupata sect. Yuan Chwang, the learned Chinese pilgrim who visited the country in the 7th century A.D., refers to the Pasupatas as ashbesmearing tirthikas. It is known that Mathura was an important centre of the Pasupata school in the Gupta period. Under the Kalacuri kings, the Pasupatas received immense patronage. Krishnaraja and Anantamahayar, queen of Buddharaaja, were ardent followers of this sect. Yuan Chwang found large bodies of the Pasupatas at Jalandhara, Ngo-hi-chita-lo (Ahichatra) Malakuta (Tamil country), Malva, Mahesvarapura, Lang-kie (ka)-lo, Bannu and Khot. Kalhana tells us in Ratitaranjini that the king of Kashmir, Cakravarman (935 A.D.), constructed a lodge for the Pasupatas called the Cakravatara, which was
mentions this sect, which utterly scorned by Jaina monks and society. They are described as besmeared with ashes and residing at despicable places, and their presence was disgusting because of their extreme uncleanness. The Kapalikas were even regarded as untouchable (ashurya). They are described by Jinadāsa as keeping ashes (bhava) and other fragrant substances like guggula in a particular object called sikasta - nentaga as a part of their ritualistic appurtenances. Another similar sect mentioned in this work is the Haddesarjakas who may be identified with the Kālamukhas, whose practices were akin to that of the Kapalikas.

The Kapalikas were prominently associated with the practice of human sacrifices, a fact which is illustrated by the well-known description in Bhavabhuti's Malatimadhava, Act. V, wherein the Kapalika Aghoraghanta tries to sacrifice Malati before the goddess Karala or Gomundā. In the Yasastilaka, Varadatta at the instance of a Kulācarīya orders a human sacrifice in the Mahābhairava temple. Somadeva further states that certain devotees in that temple sought to please Śiva by drinking their own blood.

Such barbaric practices naturally filled the Ahimsā-preaching Jaina monks with revulsion against these Śaivite sects and their contemptuous attitude is openly expressed by Somadeva, who prescribed a bath for Jaina monks.
when they happen to come in contact with a Kapālika.

Several literary works of this period also attribute certain magical powers to the followers of this sect. The Nāṣītha Cūpya alludes to the practice of sorcery amongst the Kapālikas and Hadad-sarākhas. It adds that these sects were versed in the art of divining the treasure-troves (nihi) by using certain spells like the Mahākāla-mantā. In the Samarūcacakṣa of Haribhadra, the gambler Mahāvaradatta becomes a Kapālika, and an expert in garuda-mantra, the mystic formula for curing snake bites. A story in the Kathāsarītāgaṇa relates how a Kapālika entices a married woman named Madanamanjari to the cremation ground for an evil purpose under the influence of magic formulas. The Yaḍavastilaka also depicts the Saiva Haraprabodha as an expert in divining hidden treasures. In Rājaśekhara's play Karpuramārī, the Kaula Bhairavānanda is described as a master magician. The Kapālika of Prabodhacandrāda also claims miraculous powers. One of the avowed objects of the Kapālika cult, as well-known, is the attainment of supernatural Yogic powers called Siddhis. Kṣemiśvara's Candakauṇika, composed in the first half of the 10th century, shows Dharma appearing in the garb of a Kapālika, armed with a club, and carrying a skull in his hand, and decorated with ashes and human bones. He declares that he is about to acquire certain magical powers.
Scattered references to the Kapālikas are also found in the Kuvalayavāla of Udyotanasūri. In one passage, we come across the expression Kapāliniva whereas, elsewhere, it is mentioned as a means for the expiation of sin. The Kapālikas were known also as Mahāvarātins. The Yaśastilaka further refers to the gruesome practice of selling human flesh to goblins to achieve some desired object. Bhaṭa, too, alludes to this practice in the Harshacarita whilst referring to the rites performed for the recovery of Prabhākarāvardhana, as well as during the festival of Mahākāla Śiva. From the combined testimony of contemporary literary and archaeological records it may be inferred that the Kapālika sect had already come into existence by the 7th century. The practice of bearing a skull and a club is mentioned among the religious customs of non-Buddhist sects enumerated in the Lalitavistara. This is an obvious reference to the Kapālika sect in an important work of Buddhist Sanskrit literature composed before the 9th century. It is evident from Bhavabhūti's comments in his Malātīmadhava that during his time (8th century) Śrīparvata, a holy mountain in Kurnool District (Madrās Presidency) on the Kṛṣṇā river, was a centre of the Kapālika cult. There is a reference to a Matha of the Mahāvarātins in an inscription from Ramnad District (Madrās Presidency) of the reign of Vīra Pāṇḍya, showing that the Kapālikas were well-assimilated in that
part of South India in the second half of the 10th century. Another record issued by a chieftain named Vikramakesari, a contemporary of Vira Pandya, that the former presented a big Matha to a certain Mallikarjuna of Madura who was the chief ascetic of the Kalāmukha sect.

We have already pointed out that the temple of Candamarā, as described by Somadeva, was also connected with Śiva worship. The name of the temple at Rajapura, the capital of the Yaudheyas, was Mahābhairava and it was guarded, according to the author, by the attendants of Śiva. There is also an indirect reference to the Mahākāla temple.

There are reasons to believe that along with stone Lingas, wooden icons of Śiva were worshipped in the early medieval period. The Brhatkalpa Bhagavata, written by Sanghadāsagari, who flourished in the 8th century, pointedly mentions wooden images of this deity.

Śiva worship, however, was not only confined to the ascetics but embraced a large portion of the laity. Devoted householders (gīthathas) carrying 'food' and other offerings to the temple of Śiva is pictured in the Nāṭaka Cūrṇi of Jinadasa. That the temples of this deity (Śivagrhas) afforded shelter to monks of other religious as well, is beautifully illustrated by an ancient story, cited in the above work, which
depicts Ajja Subatthi, the famous Jain Ācārya living in a Sivaghara in the country of Saurashtra. Various terms such as Ruddaghara, Ruddanikavana, Mahādevavatana, Sivaghara etc., clearly point to the abundance of Śiva temples in the early medieval period and the immense popularity of Śaivism. Today, architectural remains bear mute testimony to the richness of a bygone era and the religions which flourished under the auspices of those towering royal personalities who spanned it. Several temples of Śiva, built by the early Calukyas and the Rashtrakutas, the Kāḷīśa and the cave temples of Ellora, according to Prof. Bhandarkar, show the popularity of Śiva worship in Maharashtra from the 7th century A.D. Under the Maitrakas of Valabhi, who styled themselves as in unbroken descent from the most devout worshipper of the god, viz., Mahādeva or Parama-Mahādeva, Śaivism flourished as a state-religion.

Thus in the early medieval period Śaivism emerged as a powerful religious force bringing within its fold large parts of Northern and Southern India. The chief rival of Jainism during the period, the frequent reference to Śaivism in contemporary Jain texts merely emphasize the vast popularity, this religious system enjoyed, throughout the country. Although, its tenets and practices have been much maligned by its heretical opponents, their scathing criticism seem to conceal a struggle for self-preservation. Undoubtedly, Śaivism was one of the foremost religions of India from 600 A.D. to 1000 A.D.
The worship of Śakti or the mother goddess has carved a niche in the hearts of the Indian people, practically from the days of the Indus culture. This adoration reached its peak with the emergence of Durgā in the later Vedic pantheon, whose various aspects even today are worshipped with profound devotion.

The Jain texts contain a wealth of information regarding the worship of Śakti and her various forms. In the canonical literature we come across a particular goddess called Kottdārīvā, who is represented as a popular deity in several texts. She is generally identified with Durgā. A few other aspects of this goddess were also known to the Jain canonical writers which show that she was a favoured deity even in the pre-Christian period. According to the Jain commentary of the Jnātadharmaśāstra, Kottdārīvā is identical with Mahādeva. This fact is also supported by external evidence, as we have several references to her worship in the later Vedic literature and also in the works of early classical writers. In texts like the two epics, the Dvēṣaśāstra, and the compositions of Baṇabhatta, there are details regarding Durgā-worship as well as of icons of this goddess.

Subandhu in his Vānavadatta refers to the shrine of Kātyāyani, and the compositions of Baṇabhatta, there are details regarding Durgā-worship as well as of icons of this goddess.

Yuan Chwang, also refers to her popularity. The non-Jain writers of this period, too, have left valuable
accounts about the worship of Durga. In the Puranas, numerous facts on the Mother-goddess cult are available.

In this respect, the Jain authors of our period do not lag far behind. Allusions to the worship of some aspect of the Mother Goddess occur frequently in their works, emphasizing the popularity of this cult at that time. In Chapter forty-nine of the Harivamsapurana of Jinasena II (783 A.D), contains a minute description of Vindhyavasini Durga. Her association with forests and the non-Aryans, first indicated in the Vaishnava Harivamsa, are also mentioned in this chapter. She is represented as the killer of Mahishasura and as drinking the blood of various animals. In much earlier texts, Durga is depicted as the killer of demon Mahishasura. Elsewhere in the Harivamsapurana, Jinasena II refers to the goddess Ambika of Girnar who is moreover, given the interesting appellation Ghimhavahini by him. Ambika, as well-known, is one of the various names of Durga, who is always depicted astride a ferocious lion (sikhatahini).

The Samarupadakaka of Haribhadra, aptly designated as a religious novel by Winternitz, also gives a true picture of the Mother goddess cult prevalent during the 8th century A.D. There is a detailed description of the temple of Katyayani, in the sixth Book of this prose-romance and the deity is shown possessing four-arms holding respectively,
a kodanda, a phanta, a khadga and the tail of Mahishśasura. This suggests that Katyayani was regarded as the killer of Mahishśasura, a concept which was known to Sana. The Matsya Purana, it is interesting to note, represents Katyayani as a ten-armed goddess. We are further enlightened that Katyayani must always be depicted in the Mahishśasurādevī aspect and here in the Samaraśeṣakāhī, also, she is described as the slayer of Mahisha. There is little doubt that the description of Katyayani in the Matsya Purana influenced later image-makers and literary folk. However, in the present text, Katyayani is shown having four-armed and several four-armed icons of this goddess have been unearthed from various parts of India. It is probable that the worship of the ten-armed Katyayani at a later period gained popularity in Bengal and this particular type of Durga image is still worshipped in that region during the Durga-Puja festival. In the connection, we should mention another Jain text called Pasanaḥgaṭhīya written by Gunaśīlendra in 1111 A.D. This author significantly refers to the worship of Katyayani in the Janapada of Vaṅga. Undoubtedly, this may be regarded as the earliest reference to the worship of Durgā in Bengal and it seems that the adoration of ten-armed Katyayani by the people of Bengal began prior to this date. Katyayani also seems to have fascinated the author of the Kavalacakrama. Written in
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Saka 700 (corresponding to 779 A.D.), Udyotanasuri's narrative work refers to this particular aspect of the Mother goddess most conspicuously. In one passage of the text the goddess is described as holding a trisula and standing on mahisha, which tallies with her portrayal in the Matsya Purana and Haribhadra's Samsaricoaksha. It should be remembered that in the relevant passage of the Matsya Purana, one of the implements borne by the deity is a trisula. In the Kuvalamala, the king is prepared to offer his head to goddess Kasyayani in order to obtain a son. Another passage of the same work mentions the worship of Candika, which was accompanied by bloody sacrifices according to Udyotana. It may be inferred from both these references that animal and even human sacrifices were a common feature of the Mother goddess cult during this period. Perhaps, it would not be amiss to recall here, the incident related in Bhavabhuti's Mahabharata wherein the heroine Malati was abducted by the Kapalika Aghora to be sacrificed before the Mother Goddess, Camunda.

However, the most interesting reference in the Kuvalamala is the shrine of Kottai, who probably is identical with Kottakiriva of the canonical texts. According to the late V.S. Agrawala, Kottavai was the most ancient goddess of the Tamil country whose worship spread to many parts of North India up to the Himalayas, where, at Kottal Garh in Almor District, there is a shrine
dedicated to her. Later she became identified with Parvati. Kottajja, is also called by the following names Ambā, Arya, Candikā, Durgā, and Katyayani in other sections of the Kuvalayamala. Pena refers to her icon as that of madwoman.

The temples and sculptures of Durgā at Mahallapuram, present Mahabalipuram, prove the popularity of this cult during the rule of the Pallavas in the South from the seventh century onwards. The Pallavas were later supplanted by the Colas, and it is noteworthy that Vijayalaya, the founder of the line of imperial Colas, built a Durgā temple at Tanjore after his conquest of that city about the middle of the ninth century A.D.

Epigraphic references suggest, that about this time, in Northern India, also, Durgā or Bhagavati found ardent followers in the renowned Gurjara Pratihara monarchs. The great Pratihara kings Nāghatādī, Bhoja I, and Mahendrapāla I, whose effulgence in the political firmament of the country in the ninth century, shines undimmed through the pages of history, professed their deep devotion to Durgā or the Mother goddess styling themselves parambhagavati-bhakta in their inscriptions. The discovery of hundreds of devi icons from different parts of the country belonging to the early Christian Gupta and also the early medieval period undoubtedly proves
the tremendous popularity enjoyed by the Mother goddess cult throughout India. The iconographic descriptions coupled with actual epigraphic references openly suggest that this cult received imperial patronage for many centuries.

In the early tenth century work of Siddhārṣa entitled Upamitiṣṭhavapranāṃśakāthā (906 A.D.; we are told about the worship of Gandikā with wine and the author speaks of drinking bouts and revelry in the forecourt of the temple of that goddess.

A few decades later, Devasena (933 A.D) in his Bhavasamgraha (verse 76) refers to the killing of goats at the altar of Gandikā.

The next Jain writer to draw our attention to the worship of the Mother Goddess is none other than the redoubtable Hariśṭha, the author of the Brhatkathakosa composed in (931 A.D) during the reign of Pratihāra Vīnayakapāla. A shrine of Durgā situated near Nasik has been mentioned in story No. 71, entitled Chelaka-Kathānakam. From the detailed description of this temple given by Hariśṭha, it appears, that it was a temple-complex of this locality and in all probability Hariśṭha personally had visited this place. The poet further elaborates that it was a place of bloody sacrifices. Various animals were slaughtered before the idol of Durgā, the relevant verse is quoted below:
An individual called Sudāsa, who was a devoted worshipper of Durgā, is mentioned in this context. Harivamśa also recounts the story of the origin of Vindhavāsinī—Durgā, which is likewise mentioned in other texts.

Pushpadanta, a contemporary of the Rastrakūta king Īśvarasena III, and the celebrated author of the Nāyikavimāna, also recounts the origin of Vindhavāsinī—Durgā, which is likewise mentioned in other texts. His reference to the Ambikā temple atop Urjayanta (Girnar) hill is of utmost importance. A later authority, Anaprabha in his Vividhatīrthakalpa mentions the same shrine. The relevant passage of this text indicates that it was regarded as one of the Saktapithas and the goddess was worshipped as a Brāhmaṇī there. The Jāṣṭikārācaritā, another work assigned to Pushpadanta, contains a graphic description of the temple and idol of Candamāri, who in the South of Rājpura. The deity is pictured as four-armed and in each hand she holds respectively a cakra, śūle, snake and khadga. The image is represented in the form of a skeleton. Elsewhere, in the same work, Candamāri is shown holding a trīdāla. Human sacrifice in the temple is mentioned which was frequented by Saiva Kapālikas. It is interesting to note that Candamāri is also called Gamunda, a popular nomenclature of Durgā, which exists.
even to this day. A similar account is given in the Yasastilaka of Somadeva, based on the exploits of the legendary prince Yasodhara. A contemporary of poet Pushpadanta, the author of the Yasastilaka vividly portrays the Mother Goddess cult as it existed in the mid-tenth century.

The Yasastilaka opens with a sombre description of the temple of Candamari at the town of Rajapura belonging to the Yaudheyas. It is not certain whether this Rajapura is identical with the town mentioned by Yuan Chwang, (7th century). There is another Rajapura near Patiala. In any case, we must place the Rajapura of Somadeva and Pushpadanta somewhere in the North. However, it does not seem likely that the ancient Yaudheya tribe survived as a separate nation upto the tenth century.

The shrine of Candamari depicted in the Yasastilaka was frequented by Mahayoginis and a group of fanatical votaries, who were always involved in abominable forms of self-torture. It was also the haunt of Kapalikas. Moreover, Somadeva tells us that the Mahanavami festival was celebrated with great pageantry in the temple of this dreaded goddess. Along with other creatures, even human beings were sacrificed in this temple. Amongst the animals offered to the goddess were, according to Somadeva, sheep, buffaloes, camels, elephants, horses, and also birds and
acquatic creatures.

The Mahanavami festival mentioned by Somadeva in this section of his work has been referred to in several texts, some of which are earlier than his time. The first authority to mention this festival appears to be Bana, who wrote his Harshacarita in the early years of the 7th century. It deserves to be noted that Bana speaks of the sacrifice of buffaloes (Mahisha) during the Mahanavami festival. Quite a number of Puranas such as the Devi, Garuda, and a few other Jain writers recount in detail the celebration of Mahanavami. According to some authorities, this festival was observed on the 9th day of the bright half of Shravana. A few others opine that it was also celebrated on the ninth day of the month of Caitra. It should not be overlooked that Al-Biruni, the eminent Muslim historian, of 1030 A.D., refers to this festival, which according to him was held on the 8th of the bright fortnight of the month of Shravana. Al-Biruni further comments that Mahanavami was the sister of Mahadeva and informs us that an image of Bhagavati is worshipped on that auspicious day. That it was a horrendous rite is also proved by the evidence of Al-Biruni, who records the fact that even human beings were killed on this occasion.

The Devinurana passage quoted by Prof. Handiqui associates Skanda and Visakha with the worship of
Mahānavami, which undoubtedly was one of the fearful aspects of the Devī or Bhagavatī. We are told that the chief patron of this festival was the king, himself, and usually images were made of gold, silver, earth or wood. It was also possible to worship the goddess in a symbolic form by using a consecrated sword or spear. The Devīpurāṇa emphasizes the fact that animals were offered before the deity. The relation of Skanda and Visākhā, who are the commanders of the Deva army, with the Mahānavami festival is perhaps somewhat significant. It indirectly proves that the sovereign took special interest in this event.

The Garuda Purāṇa refers to the eighteen-armed image of the goddess and also connects it with animal sacrifice. Various other texts also refer to the worship of some form of Devī in the bright half of Āśvina and associate the king with its worship. A passage of the Devīpurāṇa, quoted by Prof. Handiqui, seems to suggest that the Mahānavami rite was a substitute for the Ādvarmedha sacrifice.

Somadeva also refers to the worship of the goddess Aparājitā an aspect of the Mother goddess. The benediction of this goddess was sought for the victory of the king on the battlefield. The translation of this passage runs as follows: "May Aparājitā contribute to why victory oft and anon, O King! In the sword of kings, she is incarnate as a sword, and in their bow, she assures the shape of Bow. She is incarnate as Arrow in their arrows and as
Arm in their arms and assumes the form of an armour round their bodies. She is as a wishing Gem in fulfilling their desire for triumph in battles. Her name occurs also in the Devimahatmya section of the Markandeya Purāṇa, where she is represented as one of the aspects of Durga along with Ambika, Kārāvāṇi, Gaurī etc. In this connection it should be mentioned that the earliest reference to the goddess Aparajīta is to be found in the Arthasastra of Kautilya, which definitely proves the antiquity of this particular form of the Indian Mother goddess. Kautilya has remarked that the temple (grha) of this deity should be built, along with those of several other gods like Jayanta, Vaijayanta, Śiva, Vaiśravana and others, within the town (muraṣadhye kāryat).

The collective testimony of the Jain narrative works, of our period, therefore, conclusively proves that Śakti or the Mother goddess was universally worshipped in early medieval India, in various forms.

Section (iii) : Vaishnavism

Like Śiva, Viṣṇu gradually became one of the popular gods of the early Indian pantheon after the post-Vedic period. Both these deities, although mentioned a number of times in the Vedic literature, were of little consequence amongst the early Vedic gods. However, after
the Vedic period, gods like Indra, Agni, Soma, Varuna etc., gradually lost their importance and the two theistic gods, viz., Śiva and Viṣṇu emerged into the limelight, a position they have held through the centuries even to this day. Viṣṇu - worship in the epico-Purānic literature somehow merged with the cult of Viśuṣṭeva-Kṛṣṇa and with the amalgamation of Viśuṣṭeva with Viṣṇu, a new religious system called Bhagavatism was created.

By the time of Panini, Viśuṣṭeva was regarded as a god, which surely proves that Bhagavatism is as old a religious system as Jainism and Buddhism. Patanjali's (2nd century B.C.) evidence shows that Bhagavatism was extremely popular in the pre-Christian period and contemporary epigraphs such as the Besnagar Pillar Inscription of Heliodorus and other records also fully support the evidence of the literary texts.

The Śvetāmbara Jain canonical texts like the Sutrakṛtāṅga, Śīlaṅga, Sanevāyāṅga and Nāvādharmakāla prove that the Jains from the very beginning had a penchant for Kṛṣṇa and some of his compatriots. It is also interesting to note, that in the Jain literature, epic heroes such as Rama, Lakṣmana, Kṛṣṇa, Pāladeva etc., are represented as great men (Salākā-puruṣas). Furthermore, the twenty-second Tīrthaṁkara viz., Arishtanemi is depicted as a scion of the Yadava family of Dvārakā. All these facts tend to show the proclivity of Jainism to
the cult of Vasudeva-Krishna. Perhaps, an answer for this unusual sympathy of the Jains for a Brahmanical religious system (we have already noticed their animosity towards Saivism and Sakti worship) may be sought within the tenets of Vaishnavism itself. Like Jainism, the followers of Vasudeva-Krishna are avid vegetarians and believers in the principle of Ahimsa. Their aversion to sacrifice, especially of animals, is as profound as that of the Jains. Therefore, it may be conjectured that Ahimsa formed a bond which enabled these two religious systems to draw closer and elevate Vaishnavism in the eyes of the Jain monks and scholars.

In the non-canonical Jain texts written before the 6th century A.D., like the Paumcarivaṇam (of Vimala) and Vasudevahindi (Sanghadasa) we get the Jain versions of the Brahmanical epico-Puranic texts. The hero of the first work is Rama (called Pauma or Padma by Vimala) and that of the second is Vasudeva, the father of Krishna. In the later period also a large number of Jain texts were written in imitation of the two Indian epics.

One of the earliest literary works of our period is the Pañcarāja of Ravisena written in the 7th century A.D. This text is a close Sanskrit translation of Vimala's Paumcarivaṇam. The very existence of this work indirectly proves the popularity of the Vishnu cult in this period. We should not forget that Bhagavatism was the
official religion of the Imperial Guptas and even in the past-Gupta period it did not cease to enjoy royal patronage. Several dynasties, such as the Galukyas of Badami and the rulers of Valabhi, openly favoured Vaishnavism. Apart from the Padma Purana, many other works were written dealing with the story of Rama. So far as Krishna and his close associates are concerned, there are several works including the Hariyamāṣa of Jinasena and Pushpadanta and the Salakamrushecaturas.

The Jain Hariyamāṣa which was completed by Jinasena, according to his own statement in the Saka year 705, corresponding to 783 A.D., is obviously indebted for many of its details to the Brāhmaṇical Hariyamāṣa and a few Vaishnava Puranas. Copious details on Vasudeva-Krishna are furnished by Jinasena, much of which have been clearly obtained from earlier Vaishnava devotional literature. A colourful description of the wrestling bout, between Krishna and his brother Baladeva and the two famous wrestlers Gaṅga and Mushtika is given. Even some of the minor details are drawn from the original Hariyamāṣa. Several achievements of Vasudeva-Krishna viz., his successful participation in the Bharata war, on behalf of the Pāṇḍavas, his victory over Jarasandha etc., have been described minutely in the text. However, regarding Krishna's domestic life, especially his affiar deccor and conjugal quarrels with Satyabhama, Bukmini and others have been extensively portrayed by Jinasena. Krishna's
early life viz., his childhood at the residence of Nandagopa and
some of the deeds of his adolescence described in this work,
are similar in context to that given in the Vishnu Purâna,
Harivaâsa, and the Bhagavata. Other details regarding the
later period of Krâëna's life are also faithfully preserved
by this Jain author. Jinasena, however, gives an interesting
sidelight on Krâëna's activities by stating that he became
disgusted with the Pandavas and compelled them to reside at
Southern Mathurâ. Such facts are now incorporated in the
Vaishnava texts dealing with Vasudeva -Krâëna.

The Jain Harivaâsa, however, narrates
stories on the adventures of Vasudeva, the father of Krâëna,
some of which are obviously influenced by the Brhatkatha
tradition regarding the love-exploits of Naravâhana-Datta. Jinasena's
work, further portrays Krâëna's slayer Jara (called Jaratkumâra)
as his brother and an offspring of Vasudeva.

It should also be noted that everywhere
Jinasena represents Neminâtha or Arishtanemi as superior to
Krâëna. We should not forget that the details regarding this
Jain Tirthâkara are found for the first time in the sixth Jain
Agamic text viz., the Jayadrâshâmakâthâ (Navâdhamagâthâ), and
in that text Neminâtha is described as much superior to the
Krâëna brothers, although he was closely related to them. It
should be remembered that some of the details regarding the
family of Arishtanemi and Krâëna given by Jinasena and subsequent
Jain writers are taken from this particular Āgamic text, which in turn was indebted to the Vaishnava works.

According to the seventh-century canonical commentator Jinadasagani (Śaka 598 is one of the definite dates for him), Mahāvīra had visited the shrines of Vasudeva and Baladeva, and both of them were apparently in Bihar. Since nothing has been said regarding these shrines in the original texts, dealing with the life of the twenty-fourth Tīrthānkara (viz., Kalpasūtra and Aśāṅga) the authenticity of Jināda's statement cannot be ascertained. We should not forget that Jināda was separated from Mahāvīra by a gap of nearly 1200 years and thus his evidence must be accepted with circumspection.

However, since Vasudeva was worshipped, according to Panini before 5th century B.C., it is not unlikely that shrines dedicated to him existed in different parts of India. Further, it should be remembered that in the earliest canonical texts of both the Jain and the Buddhists, there are references to devakulas and deva-grhas and the epics also speak of temples dedicated to gods.

Jināda Gani's Mśītha Carṇī, though not as vociferous as regards Saivism, is not altogether silent about the Vaishnava faith. In one passage, mention is
made of the image of Narayana (Narayanādī padima), which shows that images of Narayana were worshipped by devotees. Moreover, Sirigharas or temple dedicated to the goddess Śrī, are alluded to in this text. Apparently, the worship of Vishnu and his consort Śrī or Lakṣmī was in vogue and temples dedicated to these deities were very much in existence. Amongst, the various forms of Vishnu, the Nāśitha Cūrṇī refers to Vasudeva and to the story of his escape from Kaśyapa's prison while it was heavily guarded. The tale of the origin of the Bhallī Tīrtha, the place where Kṛṣṇa was slain, has also been narrated in the text. Among Vasudeva's kins, Jinadāsa mentions Baladeva, also-known-as Mūkunda, and we get the very interesting reference to the festival held in honour of Mūkunda, i.e. Mūkundaśākta.

From the above details it may be inferred that the worship of Vishnu in various forms was quite popular during the last quarter of the 7th century A.D., and Vasudeva-Kṛṣṇa as well as his close associate Baladeva were apotheosized by the people.

The eighth century prakrit work, the Kuvalāyamāla, also contains several references to the Vaishnava or Bhāgavata religion. An extremely interesting allusion to the Bhagavadvāsti occurs in this text. We are informed that this work was part of the school curriculum, and was recited by students. Elsewhere in the Kuvalāyamāla there are references to Cakrīn, meaning Narayana, and his well-known vāhana Garuda.

Another popular nomenclature of Vishnu (Govinda) has been
used at least four times in this work. In this context it should be noted that in this text Govinda is moreover connected with Dvārakā, Narayana, too, seems to have been quite popular. He was invoked in times of distress. In two passages Kṛṣṇa has been identified with Narayana.

His brother Baladeva was an equally popular figure from early times, as is apparent from the numerous images of him discovered from different parts of India. The Brhatsamhitā describes the mode of fashioning Baladeva images and Jinadāsa in his Āvasāvyā Sūrī, written in the second half of the 7th century, has mentioned both the icon and shrine of this deity. Even more interesting, however, is the reference to the festival of Baladeva (Baladevotsava) in the Kuvalayamalā, which is described as being held after the rainy season.

The worship of Kālī, was also quite popular and as in Vaishnava Purāṇa, in the Kuvalayamalā she is associated with the god Hari, a common name for Viṣṇu. Her connection with the lotus has also been emphasized.

Udyotana's predecessor, Haribhadra also indirectly refers to Viṣṇu in his works. The Samaraśekakākha uses terms such as Paramasvā, Narayana, suggesting Viṣṇu's all-pervasive character. His Dhurtakhyāna identifies Kesava
and Krishna with Vishnu showing thereby that by the middle of the eighth century, Krishna's position as an *avatar* was firmly established in Hindu mythology. In fact, the appellations Keśava and Krishna occur amongst the list of names of Vishnu enumerated by Varahamihira in his *Bṛhatśāmhitā*, which unquestionably proves that the synthesis of the Vedic and cosmic god Nārāyaṇa with the historic-figure of Vasudeva-Krishna happened even prior to the time of this great astrologer.

Other Jain texts also treat the Vaishnava gods with a degree of favouritism. We have noted that from the very beginning the Jains shared a harmonious relation with the Bhāgavatas and Vaishnavas, because of Neminātha's close connection with the Vṛṣṇi family. Raivataka, the mountain connected with the *nirvāṇa* of Arishtanemi was regarded as a holy mountain and in the Jain canonical texts its sanctity has been recognised. In almost all the Jain texts of our period, Raivataka, otherwise called Urjayanta, has been mentioned with deference, and Dvārakā also is looked upon as a sacred city in the early medieval Jain literature.

Scattered references to Vishnu and his *avatars* are also to be found in very other Jain works of this period. One such book is the *Varāṇga-caritā* of the seventh-century writer Jatasimhanandi; Vishnu is described as *sathatma* in a passage of this work. The well-known *Adi-parāṇa* of
Jinasena I, begun after the author had passed his prime, contains some stray references to the cult of Vishnu. Jinasena I mentions in one place the ten avatars of Vishnu. Elsewhere in the same text, Jain temples are shown decorated with flags bearing emblems of lion, Garuda, cow, mayura, garland, lotus, hamsa, elephant cakra, etc. Of these, the Garuda and the cakra are exclusively Vaishnava symbols closely associated with the god-king Vishnu. That the Jains used such popular Vaishnava devices to adorn their temples clearly indicates the religious accord they shared with the Bhagavata sect. The Adipurana, moreover, identifies Rishabha, the first Jain Tirthankara, with Vishnu. In both the Uttarapurana (9th century) and Paumacarirya, we have some details regarding Krishna and his family, but they do not yield any new information. The Dharma-padasamala Rivarna of Jayasimhasuri, written in V.S. 915, corresponding to 829 A.D., refers to Krishna also as Govinda, one of the names of Vishnu, included in Varahamihira’s list. Another work of this time, viz., the Gaupannamahapurushacarirya of Silaka, dated V.S. 925, corresponding 867 A.D., mentions the Narasimha incarnation of Vishnu.

The tenth century writer, Pushpadanta appears to be well-versed in Vaishnava lore, as is evident from his Navakumaracarita. In one passage, Pushpadanta refers to the story of Govinda lifting the Govardhana mountain. Krishna (Simharu) and Baladeva (Halabaru) are mentioned elsewhere in
this work. The poet's references to the tenth incarnation of Vishnu and to Kṛṣṇa's romantic exploits are reminiscent of his Vaishnava background.

The Yasastilaka contains references to terms and names connected with the Vaishnava or Bhāgavata religion. One Bhāgavata called Asuri is mentioned in Book V of this text. In another passage there is an interesting reference to Rādha's relations with Narāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇa's love for cowherd maidens. The ten incarnations of Vishnu were also known to Somadeva.

In the Candraprabhācaritam of Viranandi, whose date is approximately the last quarter of the tenth century, the hero is compared to Garuḍa, the famous mount of Vishnu.

However, as regards epigraphic and other references, the Jain literature of our period do not elicit much information.

However, as evident from epigraphic and other sources, the Jain literature of this period do not shed much light on the actual state of Vaishnavism at that time. Perhaps, it would be too optimistic to except the Jain literatures to furnish details about contemporary Vishnu or Kṛṣṇa temples.
Most of the references to Vaishnavism are mythological in character.

Vaishnavism or Bhagavatism, nonetheless enjoyed immense popularity during this period, the tide continuing unabated from the time of the Imperial Gupta rulers, who styled themselves parama-bhagavatas in their inscriptions and coin-legends. Such royal patronage was extended to Vaishnavism by the mighty Pratihāra kings during whose reign temples dedicated to Vishnu abounded at Pehoa, Ahar, Gwalior, Ghotarsi, Ratnagāra, and Kanauj. Several images of Vishnu and his incarnations like Varāha, Narasiṃha, etc., and inscriptions referring to Krishna legends of this period, have been unearthed testifying to the flourishing condition of Vaishnavism. The Adityahadrammas of Bhoja I and his grandson Vināyakapāla, discovered from Kanauj, reveal that the cult of Vishnu was firmly entrenched in the Pratihāra empire. Let us not forget in this context the reference to the god Cakrāyavatī of Thanesār by the Muslim historian Al-Ruṣūlī.

Section (iv): Minor Cults.

Among the minor gods worshipped in ancient India, Sūrya or Sun occupies the position of most importance. Quite a number of the Vedic gods were nothing but different manifestations of the Sun. In the epics, Sūrya plays a prominent
role and he is chiefly invoked there to rescue people from
distress. The Purānic and other classical texts also refer to
the worship of this deity.

In a few Purānas like the Bhavishya, etc., the sun god’s association with Persians
are repeatedly mentioned. Yuan Chwang, that intrepid Chinese
traveller, had seen the famous Sun temple of Mulaśthāna in
the second quarter of the 7th century A.D. An earlier authority,
Varahamihira, speaks of the Sun’s close connection with Saka-dvīpi
Brahmanas, meaning immigrants from Persia. The well-known
temple of Mulaśthāna has been referred to by almost all Muslim
writers from the 9th century A.D.

In the Jain literature there are some
interesting references to the Mulaśthāna temple. The earliest
Jain authority to refer to this shrine is Udyotana, the author
of the Kuvalavāmala (779 A.D.). He mentions it as Mulaśthāna
Bhattaraka and further refers to the fact that people afflicted
with leprosy, flocked to this temple. Thus, Udyotana’s remark
fully supports the tradition recorded in the above mentioned
Purānas, that it was the god of this temple, who had cured Samba
of leprosy. The beautiful and vivid description, left by Yuan
Chwang, shows that it was built centuries before his time. We
are told that everyday 1,000 pilgrims used to visit this temple
and kings from all parts of India used to shower costly gifts on this shrine. "All round the temple were tanks and flowery woods making a delightful resort". It is interesting to note that at the time of Yuan Chwang's visit the main idol was built of gold, but a little before Al-Ḥūrūnī's time the same idol was made of wood. Apparently, the Muslims, after the occupation of this city took away the gold idol and replaced it with a wooden one. Sometime before Mahmūd's invasion of India, it was destroyed by a Muslim iconoclast named Jālam I Im Shāiban. It should be noted here that the Muslims, in spite of their iconoclastic zeal, did not destroy, in the first two hundred years of their occupation, the temple of Mūlaštāna, as it yielded a very high revenue. Several Muslim writers of the 9th century A.D. have described the opulence of this temple.

About one hundred and fifty years after the composition of the Kuvalavamāla, Hariśena, writing in 931 A.D., has mentioned the Aḍītyabhāvana of Mūlaštāna. Two other prominent places, connected with the Sun-god, namely Mūndira and Kālapriya are mentioned in both the Brhatkatākāsā and the Kathakāsā of Prabhācandra. These three places were looked upon as the three great tīrthas connected with the Sun god.
In the epigraphic records, from the Gupta period down to the end of the Hindu rule, references to Sun-temples are abundant. A famous Sun-temple dedicated to the god Martanda (a popular name of Surya) was built in Kashmir in the first half of the 8th century, which afterwards also became a target of Muslim vandalism.

In the canonical Jain texts, Skanda-Karttikeya is quite frequently mentioned as one of the popular deities. He was invoked by people in times of distress along with other gods. There are also references to the festival associated with this god in the earliest Jain canon. In the *Abhavagītā*, a Jain work written sometime before the Gupta period, there is an allusion to Karttikeya worship. Jinadasa, writing in the 7th century has also mentioned the icon of Skanda, which according to him was seen by Mahāvīra. All these references prove the popularity of Skanda-cult in earlier times. We learn from the *Āvasāvaka Ārya* (p. 315) that the festival in honour of Karttikeya was held in the month of Karttika. In the narrative works of our period, there are several interesting references to the cult of Skanda-Karttikeya. The *Kuvalayamala* contains references to a temple of Skanda. Here, too, as in the Jain canonical texts people are depicted as invoking this god in the hour of misery and peril. The author was also acquainted with the six-headed image of Skanda. He is also called Śrīāśaka, a name
applied to Skanda especially in South India. The above work also refers to the fact that Skanda was a handsome god, which is corroborated by the evidence of the \textit{Brihatashahita}. We are further told that animals were sacrificed before the idol of this god. There are, moreover, several references to the worship of Skanda in contemporary epigraphs, although by the 10th century he was absorbed in the Siva-Parvati family. According to the \textit{Samarangana Sutradhara} the temple of Skanda and Visakha, should be built towards the northern side of a city. In the \textit{Brhatkathakosa} (931 A.D) there is a very interesting allusion to the Karttikeya worship at Rohitaka, which was a famous tirtha of Karttikeya from a much earlier period. In the \textit{Mahabharata} and the Buddhist Sanskrit text \textit{Mahamayuri}, Karttikeya's connection with Rohitaka have been mentioned.

Like Karttikeya, Ganapati or Ganesa was an important god of the Brahmanical pantheon from quite early times. Although, epigraphic references to Ganesa are difficult to find in the Gupta records, he appears on a first century coin of Hermaeus and is also mentioned as Lambodara in a Jain Agamic text. According to Bhoja's (circa 1000 A.D.) \textit{Samarangana Sutradhara} the temple of Ganesa should be built towards the southern direction of the city. The evidence of \textit{Amarakosa} proves his popularity in the Gupta period. Several Gupta icons of this god are now known.
Earibhadra's *Dharmakhyana* notes the Purānic story of his birth from the dirt on Parvati's body.

The *Kuvalayamalikā* shows acquaintance with Gāpāsā or Vīnāyaka worship, who was, like Kārttikeya, invoked during moments of distress. This characteristic of Gānapātī is referred to in somewhat later inscriptions. Somadeva, in his *Yasastilaka*, mentions Vīnāyaka.

Eṇḍotana, moreover, is familiar with the names Gajendrā and Ganāṭhipa, two popular appellations of Gānapātī during whose worship animals were sacrificed. Siddhārā (p.1) in his *Uparatibhyavprapancakathā* calls Gāpēśa Ṣāntavichāravīnāyaka.

Sarasvatī was worshipped from the very beginning not only by the Hindus, but also by the Buddhists and Jains. A Mathurā Jain inscription of the early second century A.D. records the dedication of an image of Sarasvatī; this is one of the earliest epigraphic records mentioning this goddess and this proves the intimate connection of Sarasvatī with the Jain religion. An earlier sculpture of Sarasvatī was discovered from Bharhut. In the *Yasastileke* of Somadeva composed in the 10th century A.D., there is some useful information on this particular deity. It should be noted that Sarasvatī was not only a goddess of speech and learning (the Mathurā Sarasvatī significantly holds a manuscript in one of her hands) but a deity associated with drama. She was
invoked before the commencement of a play (rangaprasad). She repels, according to Somadeva, the darkness of ignorance. She is even represented as superior to Brahman, Sripati (i.e. Vishnu) and Sambhu (Siva). To a devout Jain, she is both a Srutheadavata and Vagdevata. Elsewhere also in this text, Somadeva has shown his deep veneration for Sarasvati.

Handiqui has drawn our attention to several Sarasvati temples of the Deccan. It should be remembered that the earliest literary authority to refer to a temple of Sarasvati is Vatayana. Prof. J. N. Banerjea in his well-known work on Iconography has discussed several Sarasvati images.

Section (v) : Condition of Buddhism and Jainism

From the very beginning, Buddhism was the greatest rival of the Jain religion. Although, the canonical texts of the Buddhists often attack the Jains, Buddha and his followers are almost completely ignored in the Jain religious texts. Beyond a few scattered references to the Buddhist doctrine, there is practically no reference to Buddha himself, in the early canonical literature of the Jains. The Sutrakritanga contains the details of discussion between a Jain and the Sakyaputriyas.
In the Cūrti of that work, compiled in the 7th century and also in other Cūrtis of Jinadasa, Buddha is correctly called the son of Suddhodana. However, in the latter narrative literature, there are useful accounts of Buddhism and a number of stories are told about the bitter rivalry of these two heterodox sects.

The Kavalavamala contains a number of references to Buddhist doctrine and shrines. A certain Buddhist temple of Vijayapura where Buddhist metaphysical teachings were discussed is mentioned in a passage of this work. In another section, a particular Buddha image has been mentioned. This work also refers to Buddhist Bhikshus. It also refers to the rivalry between the Jains and the Buddhists. (203, 25)

In a slightly earlier text, the Warangacakrīta, the author Jatila criticises the Buddhist doctrine of Sunyata. But it should not be forgotten that the eminent Jain philosophers themselves wrote commentaries on the Buddhist works of logic. We may refer to Haribhadra's commentary on Dīnāga's Nyāyaśāstra. As a matter of fact, it is because of Haribhadra's commentary that the famous work of that
illustrious Buddhist scholar has survived in Sanskrit.

The most vivid picture of the rivalry between Jainism and Buddhism is to be found in the Brhatkathakosa of Harishena. During the Ashtamika festival in Phalguna, Ashadhya and Karttika, decorated chariots belonging to the Jains were taken out. The Buddhists also used to display the chariots of Buddha (Buddharatha). This was an occasion of extreme rivalry between the followers of either religion, and one such story regarding the clash of the Buddhists and Jains at Mathura is preserved in this particular text of Harishena.

It should be remembered that in much earlier works like the Paumacariyam of Vimala and Silappadharam, the car-festival has been mentioned. That the chariot-festival was also popular amongst the Buddhists from early times is apparent from the reference to a Buddhist chariot procession by Fa-hien. Elsewhere in the Brhatkathakosa there are other vivid details of the rivalry of these two sects. In another story of this text there is a pointed reference to a Buddhist vihara situated in the Andhra country. In this connection we have also an attack on the Buddhist religion, and there is an interesting reference to the three Pitakas. It appears that the poet Harishena here is attacking the Mahayana form of Buddhism, which is based on the doctrine of Sunyata.
tells us the story of the rivalry of the Buddhists and the Jains and we are told how the Buddhists were defeated by the Digambaras. It further appears from story no. 12 of this work that both Jainism and Buddhism were popular in the Mathura region at least up to the 10th century, a fact confirmed by the evidence of the available epigraphs of that region.

In the inscriptions of our period also there are accounts of the rivalry of Buddhism and Jainism. In this connection we may refer to the fragmentary stone inscription of Butuga II (middle of the 10th century) found from the Shimoga district of Karnapssa, which mentions Akalanka's victory over the Buddhists. The king Butuga II himself is represented in one of his records as having defeated the Buddhists. The victory of Akalanka, the great Jain savant, over the Buddhists is also mentioned by a Jain author of the 11th century called Prabhacandra in his Kathakoṣa. The same book, it is interesting to note, contains reference to a Buddhist Vihara of Dhanyakaranagara.
in the Andhra country, the existence of which is disclosed by several inscriptions.

The Cauppanamahapurushacaritram of Silanka written in the 9th century mentions Buddhism as the official religion of Ceylon. In Pushpandanta's Navakumaracaritram (10th century), also, there is severe criticism of Buddhist views. However, such criticisms of Buddhist doctrine is found everywhere in Jain philosophical works.

This hostile attitude of the Jain authors towards the Buddhists is also reflected in the earlier 7th century work, Mitha Cūrṇi of Jinādāsa. We find here Buddhist monks mentioned as enemies (pacalṭhiya, Pratyavātikā) or thugs (Buddhakantaka) towards whom no charity should be shown by householders. The Buddhist doctrine is described as a false belief born out of ignorance (mīthā dṛṣṭi) and its followers as ignorant people who believed in false principles mistaking them for the ultimate truth. Moreover, the Buddhist monks were deemed to be unaware of the true religion even after showing their head and renouncing their home. According to Jinādāsa, the Buddhists, could not be regarded as bhikkhus as they did not observe proper rules in regard to accepting of alms. This laxity regarding food on the part of
the Buddhists has been insinuated by various Jain authors. The
former were highly condemned by the Jainas for flesh-eating
(practised by Mahayanas only). The author of the Nāthaka-Cūrṇi
fiercely attacks this practice of the Buddhists. The same
contemptuous attitude is shown by other Jain authors, regarding
the consumption of meat by the Buddhists.

Somadeva in his Yasastilaka
remarks "Buddhists are the first among the communities which
prescribe eating of flesh". In another passage he says, "How
can a wise man respect the Buddhist who is addicted to flesh
and wine"? Thus, we may deduce that matters of food and drink
the Buddhists were not very rigid which naturally drew censure
from the strictly vegetarian Jain writers of our period. Somadeva
in his work even attacks the Buddhist doctrine. In the
Yasastilaka we are confronted with a Buddhist monk called
SugataKirti, who maintains that Self is nothing but the certain
blindness of a great delusion. It is interesting to note that
Somadeva in this text criticises both the earlier and later
Buddhist philosophical system. He also severely ridicules
the Mahāyāna doctrine of Sunyata.

The Buddhists, on their part, did
not hesitate to retaliate and have also vehemently denounced
Jain practices. In the earlier canonical texts are scattered
very serious condemnation of the Nirgranthas. In somewhat later texts such as the Saddharma-Pundarika, we are told that the Bodhisattva must avoid the precepts of Arhat meaning the Jains. Yuan Chwang (7th century) has also ridiculed the Jain doctrines. Nevertheless, it appears, that the Jain criticism of Buddhist customs is much more harsh. Devasena, who flourished before Somadeva, in his Mahavasagrahā, as noted by Handiqui, has very sternly disapproved of the Buddhist custom of eating flesh and wine. In the Varāngacarita, Buddha is called ferocious (raudra) and merciless, apparently because he sanctioned the eating of meat. In the Brhatkathakobha, Harishena calls Buddhism a heartless doctrine. These references amply prove that the Buddhists were not only disliked for their idealogical differences by the Jains, but also for their way of life.

The Buddhist way of life has not only been the object of reproof by Jain writers of those times, but also by the Hindu authorities. The most serious attack comes from the author of the Mattavijayasapraksana, who paints the Buddhists as affluent, and essentially corrupt.

The author Mahendravarman (early 7th century A.D.) further opines that Buddhist doctrine has unscrupulously taken matters from Vedanta, the Mahabharata and other Hindu Sastras, without acknowledging their debt to...
those Brahmanical works. In almost similar language the 10th-century author of the Prabodhacandrâyana has criticised both Buddhism and Jainism.

However, in spite of the acrimony of our Jain authors regarding the Buddhists and their faith, it may be added that the Buddhists enjoyed a certain amount of respect amongst the nobility and the public. Many of the Hindu kings, though unfavourably disposed towards the Jains, were tolerant towards Buddhism. The sanction given to Jain monks to wear Buddhist apparel where the king was influenced by them or in regions where the Buddhists were held in esteem testify to this fact. Animate debates took place between the two rival faiths in which the Jains are always shown as emerging victorious.

However, it should not be supposed that the Jains had not respect for some of the philosophical views of the Buddhists. We have already stated that in the 8th century Haribhadra had written a commentary on Dīnagā's Nyāyapravāsa. Afterwards Mallavādin wrote a commentary on the Nyāyabindutika of Dharmakīrṣa. A few other Jain commentaries on Buddhist texts of logic are known.

Both the Jain and contemporary Brahmanical writers frequently refer to a class of ascetics called Sakkas or Sakyas. They were none other than Buddhist
monks who were also variously known as Bhikku, Taecaniya
and Rattarada. (Raktapata). Raktapata was a common epithet
of the Buddhist monks of the time. Rāṇa also mentions the
Buddhist monks as clad in red attire. Divākaramitra, the
Buddhist sage, is shown as clad in a soft red attire as if he
were the eastern quarter of the sky bathed in the morning
sun, teaching the other quarters to assume the red
Buddhist attire. Harsha also tells the sage Divākaramitra
that "at the end when I have accomplished the design, she
(Rajyāsri) and I will assume the red garments (Kāśāyana)
together". In the Kadambari also the Buddhist nuns are
described as wearing clothes, red like the skin of the ripe
tala tree. Jinadāsa informs us that the Buddhist monks and
nuns utilized the bark of the Arjuna (teak) and Kandala
(plantain) tree for dyeing their clothes red.

The Raktaratas are also known to
the dramatist Bhāsa. The 9th century work Dharmaśāstraṇī
of Jayasimha is familiar with the Buddhist sect.

Although the Jains have attacked
Buddhist doctrines in their works, we have seen that they
were not only acquainted with Buddhist logic and philosophy,
but actually wrote commentaries on Buddhist works of logic.
These commentaries only prove the respect the Jain philosophers
of our period had for their Buddhist counterparts.
The available narrative Jain texts and commentaries of this period contain a faithful account of the flourishing condition of the religion propagated by Parsva and Mahavira. A few earlier works like the Paumacarivam and the Vasudevahindi have given us some idea about the condition of Jainism in the early Christian period. The Paumacarivam shows that Jainism was not only popular in eastern India but also in Western part of this Sub-Continent. It mentions a shrine of the Tirthankara Suvrata at Saketa and also describes how Jainism was first popularised at Mathura. This work also describes some popular Jain festivals. We are further told the Jain idols were usually set up in the houses of citizens and they were worshipped with performed water, milk, curd and ghee. The Vasudevahindi also gives a good idea of Jainism in the Gupta period.

It should be remembered that after the Gupta period, Jainism was gradually losing its popularity in the places of its origin viz., Bihar and U.P. and by 600 A.D., new regions came under its influence. A large part of western India succumbed to the proselytizing zeal of the Jain monks. The extreme South was probably lost to Jainism for ever as none of the ruling dynasties cared for this religion. In the Eastern Deccan, however, Jainism lingered for a while but the western Deccan remained faithful to the
Jains faith for six centuries more. Till the beginning of the Pala period, Bengal also welcomed the Jain monks. The advent of the Palaś, however, heralded their decline in this region, as the ruling dynasty openly patronised Buddhism. While the Svetāmbaras flourished in Gujarat and Rajasthan, the Digambaras continued to thrive in Maharashtra and Karnataka and some other parts of N. India. The Jains were still firmly entrenched in Mathurā but the paucity of Jain inscriptions here between 600 A.D. - 1000 A.D., seem to indicate that the common people of Mathurā were gradually losing interest in the religion of the Arhat. Nonetheless, the Jain temple-complex of Mathurā used to attract a large number of pilgrims from different parts of the country. We should further remember that most of the Jain texts, including commentaries and original works belonging to both the Digambaras and Svetāmbaras, were produced either in Western India or Western Deccan.

One of the earliest texts of our period viz., the Padma Purāṇa of Ravisāna, in spite of being more or less a fine translation of the Prakrit poem of Vimala, indirectly reflect the popularity of Jainism in the Deccan. Ravisāna and a few of his spiritual predecessors, it appears, belonged to the Western Deccan and more than once, he refers to the beautiful shrines of the south. The Varāngacakrīta, another Jain text of this century, gives a better account of the condition of Jainism in the south. The author sketches the
picture of the magnificent and gorgeous Jain temples in which images of precious stones were erected and worship was conducted on elaborate scale with multifarious rituals. The merit of building temples, erecting images and performing pūjās is highly extolled. We are told that scenes from the Purāṇas (probably both Jain and Brahmanical) were painted or carved on the walls of temples and picture - scrolls are also mentioned in this connection. It is also very significant that the writer has spoken of royal gifts of villages and human services etc., to the temples.

It should not be forgotten that the author of the Varānasacākāra flourished at a time when the Western Gālukyas of Vatapi and the Gāndhāras of Kārnātaka were ruling in the south. We definitely know that even before the time of Jāmśimha, the Gālukyas openly patronised the Jains and one of the greatest Jain poets to receive their patronage was Rāviṅūrti, who has left behind an important maṇḍapasti of his benefactor Pulakesin II, the conqueror of the redoubtable Harsha of Uttarāpatha. Before the Western Gālukyas, the Kādambas favoured the Jains, as is evident from a number of Jain epigraphs. Even in the extreme south where Jainism did not receive much royal support, it continued to exist side by side with orthodox religious systems. However, with the accession of Mahendravarman, it seems, that Jainism received a setback as Mahendravarman
himself ridicules both Buddhism and Jainism in his well-known work Mattavīkṣaprabhasa. Another 7th century work, namely the Maṭṭha Gūṇḍa of Jinadaśa proves the great popularity of Jainism in Western India in that century. There are numerous references to Jina temples. It also throws light on the Jain teachers and monks and also Jain festivals etc. Mathura was considered a Jain tīrtha.

A number of Jain texts, written in the 8th century gives us a close and intimate picture of the state of Jainism both in Western India and Deccan. The Praśasti of the Kuvalayamālā greatly helps us in understanding the condition of the Jain religion of Western India. This prāśasti informs us that Bhinnamāla was a great tīrtha (Jalōr), a fact confirmed by some other epigraphs and literary texts. The Praśasti further refers to the temples of Gurjaradesa and those of the towns of Agasana (near Jalor) and Javalipura (Jalor). We further learn from the same prāśasti that the work was composed in the temple of Rshabhanātha at Javalipura, which was built by one Ravibhadra apparently before the time of Udyotana.

Elsewhere in his work also, Udyotana, refers to the thriving condition of Jainism. He has especially mentioned the beautiful icons of Rshabhanātha, the first Jain Tīrthapākara which was studded with costly and rare gems. The
association of Yaksha icons with the images of the Tirthankaras has also been mentioned by Udyotana.

The distinguished scholar, Jain Haribhadra, who had taught Udyotana the science of logic, was originally a resident of Citrakūta (Chitor). It seems that during his time, this particular region of Rajasthan was quite well-known for its Jain temples and buildings. In the Samareiccakha, Haribhadra, as we get details about the life of Jain monks and nuns. The elderly monks used to give lectures on the tenets of Jainism. The Jain nuns also enjoyed a high position in those days. The superior nuns were known as saminī, and they were greatly honoured in those days. The first Tirthankara Rshabha enjoyed a special position among the gods of the Jain pantheon.

The available Jain inscriptions and also the evidence of the Vividhatirthakalpa directly testify to the flourishing condition of the Jain religion in different parts of Rajasthan including Satyapura (Sanchor), Vasantapura (Vasantagadh), Umesa (Osia) etc. That Vasantapura was a great Jain centre is very clear from a close study of the Dharmaprasānamāla written by Jinasimha in V.S. 915, corresponding to 967 A.D., during the time of Pratihara Bhoja at Nagapura (Nagaur, Rajasthan). In this particular work, Vasantapura (Sirohi dist.) is repeatedly mentioned. This particular place, it is
interesting to note, has yielded a 7th century Jain icon.

Jayasimha further significantly refers to the shrine of Muni Suvrata at Bhrgukaccha, which was also popularly known as Sakunikavihara. This particular shrine is frequently mentioned in later records and literary works, and a detailed description of this temple - complex will be found in the Vividhatirthakalpa. Jayasimha has further described the glorious condition of Jainism in Mathura. It is also apparent from this 9th century work of Jayasimha that there was intense rivalry between the Svetambaras and Digambaras in Northern India, at that time. The connection of Ujjaini with the Jain religion has also been emphasized in this work. The holy hill of Satrunjaya, (Kalitana), it seems, was associated with the Jain religion from a much earlier period. It is mentioned for the first time in the 6th Anga text, the Nāyakāṃcakha, and afterwards in the Avadānakūrṇi and in the Jinasena Purāṇa of 783 A.D. This shows that even before the Christian period, Satrunjaya was connected with Jainism. Similarly, Raivatuka or Urjayanta, too, was associated with the Jain religion from a very early period, probably as early as 3rd century B.C.

Jinasena’s Harivamsa Purāṇa indirectly testifies to the popularity of Jainism in Gujarat and the Deccan. We learn from the Prāṣasti of this work that Jinasena originally belonged to the Punnata country, which
meant Karnataka. The work was commenced in the temple of Parsva at Vardhamana. We are informed that it was built by one king Nanna, whose identification with the Kalacuri or Katacucu Nanna (of the 6th century) has been suggested recently by a scholar. We are further told that the work was completed in the Saka year 705, corresponding to 788 A.D., at the temple of Saktinatha at Dostatika (near Girnar). The contents of the Prasasti thus reveal that there were temples dedicated to Jain Tirthankaras in different places of Gujarat much before the 8th century A.D.

Both the Mahapurana and Uttarapurana, written respectively by Jinasena I and Gunabhada in the 9th century also reflect the popularity of the Jain religion at that time. The picture of Jainism in the Deccan has been occasionally delineated by these two poets. The contemporary work of Jayasimha entitled Dharmaapuravivaranam written during the rule of Pratihara Bhoja, as already noticed, refers to magnificent Jina temples of Rajasthan. We have already taken note of the town of Vasantapura (modern Vasantagadh) which obviously was very great centre of Jainism. Elsewhere, the author describes the Sakuntalavibha of Bhrgukasra. According to the Jain tradition, it was built by a princess of Ceylon named Sudarsana. It was apparently built centuries before the time of Jayasimha. The work also refers to the Digambara
temples (Vasāhī) of the South. The author also refers to Jain temples and Jain icons. It is also apparent from the work that there was intense rivalry between the two Jain sects viz., Śvetāmbaras and Dīgambaras, which is corroborated by the Brhatkathakoṣa of Harishena written a century later. The earlier work, namely the Dharmaṇḍesamāla more than once paints the Dīgambaras as inferior monks. On the other hand, the Brhatkathakoṣa depicts the Śvetāmbara monks as impostors. It informs us that they had originated at Valabhi.

We will see in the next chapter that several places of both Northern and Southern India became closely associated with Jainism. There is, therefore, little doubt and as indicated by the available Jain epigraphs, of this period, that the religion of the Jains was quite popular in several parts of India.

Section (vi) : Important Festivals.

Festivals have always formed an integral part of the life of the people of India. From ancient times, festivals connected with seasons and religious observances were
409 quite common. Even in the Vedic literature there are references to festivals and the Vedic word for 'festival' is jgamana, which, however, has been explained in different ways. It is argued that the Vedic festivals had probably no religious bias. The Mahabharata contains references to festivals associated with the worship of gods such as Pasupati (Siva), Brahma and Indra. The term sroaia, in the sense of 'festival', is used for the first time in this great epic and in those early days it was both a religious and secular affair.

The sarnaia related to Draupadi's svavamvara was more a cultural event and naturally different from the sarnaia held in veneration of the god Pasupati, mentioned in the same book (chapter 131) of the Mahabharata. The Buddhist king Asoka disapproved of all types of festivals and this is evident from the first Rock Edict of that illustrious monarch. However, the early Buddhist texts, written both in Pali and Sanskrit contain several references to festivals. Sarnals were popular according to both the Mahayana and Saundarananda. Even at Kapilavastu, the birthplace of the Sakayas, the Jatakas also mention festivals associated with various seasons. The explorations of the Vedas associated with the worship of gods such as Pasupati (Siva), Brahma and Indra have been extended in different ways, and in the Vedas the word 'festivals' has been expanded in different ways. It is evident that the Vedas contain references to festivals. Therefore, the term 'festivals' as expanded in the Vedas is derived from the references

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The Jain Āgamic works refer to festivals in honour of gods such as Indra, Skanda, Rudra, Mukuuda and demons like yakshas, ghosts, goblins etc. One of the earliest Āgamic texts, viz., the Ācārāṅa, alludes to the festivals of these gods and it is apparent from the relevant passage of the work, that such festivals were quite common and the Jain monks are advised to avoid such congregations. It is interesting to note that the first festival mentioned in the Ācārāṅa and apparently repeated in other Āṅga texts, was that glorifying Indra, the most magnificent of the Rgvedic deities, whose festival, according to the Mahābhārata was first celebrated by the powerful Cedi king, Upālīcara Vasu. This Indra festival is mentioned not only by classical writers such as Bhāsa, Sudraka, Kalidasa, Harsha and others, but also by all the Jain creative writers and commentators of the early medieval period.

One of the earliest Jain literary sources of this period viz., the Nisītha Cūrṇi of Jinadasa, composed in the second half of the seventh century, enlightens us that the Indamaha (Indra festival) was celebrated in the Lāḍa (Lata) country on the full-moon day of the month of Śrāvaṇa (July-August). However, the same work also mentions that at Pratishṭhāna, the capital of the Satavahana rulers, the Indra-festival was observed in the month of Bhādra. That
this month was the actual time for the Indra-festival is also confirmed by the extremely valuable testimony of the Brhat Samhita. Varahamihira avers that this festival lasted from the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Bhadra to the full-moon day of that month.

The Brhat Samhita further informs us that a king desirous of victory must observe the Indra festival. It is further evident from the same work that almost every citizen took active part in the celebration of this festival. According to the Harivamsa, Vishnu and Bhagavata Puranas this festival was extremely popular among the gopas of Mathura and Vrindavana. That even Bhasa was acquainted with this tradition is apparent from his Balacarita. The dramatists Sudraka and Sriharsha specifically refer to this festival. Somadeva's Kathasaritsagara also mentions the Indra festival. Kalhana, the author of the Rajatarangini, refers to this festival thrice under the name Indradvadasi. As known from the Brhat Samhita, the actual raising of the fashti or danda of Indra was done on the dvadasi day of Bhadra. The Rajatarangini also tells us that this festival was favoured by a warlike king named Sussala. It is interesting to note that in the Vaishnava Puranas Vasudeva-Krishna is painted as an enemy of Indra and is described as opposed to the holding of this festival.
Even in the Mahabharata, Krishna is a rival of Indra. But there is absolutely no doubt that Krishna's presence could not diminish the enthusiasm of the general people for this festival. The Indra-festival is also frequently mentioned by Udyotanasmiri in his Kuvalayamala. In the opinion of a later writer, the Indra-festival could even be celebrated during spring-time. Abhayatiilaka Gani, the commentator of the Dvayraya of Hemacandra comments that in his time (thirteenth century) Indrapujā began from the eighth of the bright half of Aśvina up to the full-moon day of that month. The Ramayana also upholds this date. This particular festival is also conspicuously mentioned in several other later Jain texts including the voluminous Trisastisalakapurashacaritra of the distinguished Hemacandra as also in the original Dvayraya of that author.

The festival of Skanda, mentioned in the Ācarānga passages shows the popularity of that god in the early days. The Jain works often refer to this deity, who was not only favoured during the Gupta period, but also in post-Gupta times. A temple of Karttikeya (Shanmukha) is mentioned in the Kuvalayamala. The Mukunda festival referred to in the Ācarānga certifies that popularity of Vishnu-Krishna worship.

Vasantotsava or the spring-festival
was celebrated in India from olden days. As old a text as the
Apastamba Dharmasutra preserves the memory of this colourful
festival and according to Haradatta, the commentator of that
text, it was held on the thirteenth of the first half of
Caitra. The festival of spring was also linked with the
festival of the god of love, viz., Kamadeva. This festive
occasion has been mentioned by the two doyens of Sanskrit
literature, Bhasa and Kalidasa in their works Carudatta and
Malavikagnimitram, Sakuntala respectively. A detailed account
of the Vasantotsava will also be found in the Ratnavali of Harsha.

Almost all the Jain texts speak of
the festival of spring. It is mentioned in the Agamic texts
and commentaries and also in the Paumacariryan, probably the
earliest dated non-Agamic Jain work. It is stated in this work
that the festivities involved drinking liquor by both men and
women amidst merriment, to the accompaniment of instrumental
music. According to the commentary of the Navadharmsakabah,
during the spring-festival the god Kamadeva was worshipped
amidst splendour and mirth. Kamadeva, according to the ninth-century
Svetambara writer, Sambata, was worshipped by women desirous
of good husbands. The seventh-century Nalita Gana mentions
the spring-festival or Vasantotsava several times. A much
more detailed account of the spring-festival also called
Madana-Trayodaasi will be found in the eighth-century Jain
text, the Kuvalayamalā. It also associates this festival with the worship of the god Kamadeva.

The noted Muslim historian, has mentioned the spring-festival under the name Hindoli-Caitra, in which women played a prominent role and demanded presents from their spouses. The spring-festival dedicated to the god Makaradhwaja (another name of Kamadeva) has been described by Somadeva in his Yaşastilakacampu. This particular festival was held at Ujjayini. The Samañçcañca of Haribhadra, a work slightly earlier than the Kuvalayamalā, contains several references to the Madana-festival. Undoubtedly this festival was extremely popular in Rajasthan in the eighth century as we know that the author, Haribhadra, was originally a resident of Citrakūta or Chitor. Siddharshi, another eminent writer of our period, in his Umapitibhāva-praṇaṇa-kathā, has also referred to the Vasantotsava.

The famous Kaumūḍī festival celebrated on the full-moon day of the autumnal month of Kṛttika, even pre-Buddhist times, was probably the most popular festival of India. It is mentioned in the Madrakṣaṇa and we get a vivid description of this celebration in the Jatakamalā of Āryaśūra. The Jain works of our period, also, frequently refer to this festival in which young boys and girls indulged.
in love-making and the whole town wore a look of gaiety. The Nisitha Curni states that garland-makers brought beautiful flowers and garlands on this festive occasion which fetched a high price amongst the revellers. Udyotanasuri, too, has mentioned this festival in his Kuvalayamale. It is generally distinguished from the festival of Dipavali which was celebrated on the new-moon day of Karttika. Haribhadra, in his Samarccaksha, gives a lucid description of the Kemudimahotsava, which has also been recorded in the Ramayana. The famous Kemangutra of Vatsyayana pointedly refers to this festival as well as the Priyadarsika of Sri Harsha. Al-Biruni, too, has mentioned the festival of the full-moon day of Karttika. The Tilakamaniari of the Jain writer, Dhanapala mentions the Kemudimahotsava which took place on the full-moon day of Karttika.

The Dipavali or the festival of lights, is noticeably mentioned in as early a text as the Kalpasutra, wherein it is stated to have been held on the night of Lord Mahavira's demise. The same festival has also been referred to in the Kuvalayamale. Al-Biruni, too, describes it as being celebrated on the first of Karttika, in his narrative. According to this famous Muslim historian, it was also known as the festival of Bali-rājya. It is said that on this day Lakshmi liberates Bali for one day only.

Apart from the festival of lights,
Apart from the festival of lights, Al-Biruni’s informative compilation has noted several other festivals connected with various gods and goddesses of the Hindus, prevalent in 1050 A.D. Amongst these were some connected with the worship of Durga which were celebrated on the following days: 3rd Vaisakha, 8th Asvayuja (known as Mahanavami festival), 3rd Margasirsha and 3rd Magha. He also refers to a festival observed in Kashmir on the second of Caitra, which according to him, was celebrated in commemoration of king Muttai’s victory over the Turks. It has been suggested that this Muttai was no other than the renowned Lalitaditya Muktapida who according to the Rajatarangini defeated the Turks. Kalhana further elucidates that Lalitaditya Muktapida had actually started a big festival at a place called Paribhasapura. Al-Biruni, moreover, refers to the famous Ashtaka festival (eighth day of the white half of Pausa) mentioned in the Vedic texts and the well-known Sivaratri observed on the 16th of Phalguna.

Some festivals, such as the Ashtatthika or Nandiśvara, Pashupana etc., were exclusively by the Jain community. The famous Nandiśvara festival was celebrated three times in a year, during the week beginning from the lunar eighth in the month of Karttika, Phalguna and Ashādha. As the festival was observed for eight days it was also known
king Salivahana of Paithana as it coincided with the date of the Indra festival in his region. Thereon, this festival acquired the same Samanapuva amongst the people of Mahārāṣṭra. Till today, the Jains observe Paryusana from the twelfth of the dark half of Bhadrapada to the fifth of the bright half of it.

The object of this festival was to free a person from sins committed throughout the year. Hence, an attama fast had to be undertaken by a monk, though a layman could fast according to his individual capacities. An yearly confession of sins was made on this occasion and old enmities were forgotten. The festival of Pajusana also marked the beginning of the monsoon retreat for the monks.

During the Pajusana days, the Pajosavani-kappa was studied by the monks, but its recitation aloud at daytime was not permitted. We are, however, told that in the central Caityagrha of Anandapura, the Pajosavani-kappa was read out before all the people, it was nonetheless recited by a Pasattha. It may be inferred that both monks and laymen spent a great deal of time in the temples or Caityas during Pajusana (Sanskrit Paryushana).
Besides these major Brahmanical and Jain festivals, a few other local ones are mentioned in the literature of our period. The *Dassakumàrasarita* of Dandin, a representative work of this time, alludes to two festivals. One was celebrated in Sravasti and the other at Damalipta in the Suhma country. The festival at Sravasti, according to Dandin, centered around the deity Tryambake (Siva). At Damalipta, (i.e. Tamralipta, modern Tamluk) the festival was known as Kandukotsava and was expressly connected with the Goddess Vindhyavasini, another name of Durga. Dandin gives a vivid account of the celebrations in which the chief participant was the princess of Damalipta herself.

Another festival referred to in Sutra literature as well as Jain texts is the snake festival. The *Kathasaritarasagara* refers to a festival honouring the snake god Vasuki. Kalhana, too, mentions the festival of Nag, which was observed on the 12th of the dark half of Jyashtha. The *Kathasaritarasagara* also refers to Ganesa (Vinayaka) festival and the worship of a golden image (ratna-Vinavaka) of that god. Whilst speaking of the snake-festival the golden image of Vasuki is also mentioned by Somadeva. This tends to suggest that image worship formed an integral part of most religious festivals.
REFERENCES

1. See Vedic Age (ed. Majumdar), p.190
2. See Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 77
7. See Arthaśastra (R. Shastri), p. 54.
8. See Madhyamavyayoga (Chowkamba), 69, 36, 146.
10. See Malalasekera, D.P.P.N. for the necessary entry.
13. Bhagavatī, p. 567
16. See Paumacarīvam, 89, 45 ff; see also Chatterjee, A.K.,
A Comprehensive History of Jainism, p. 45.
18. Ibid, see Upadhye, Introduction, p. 22.
20. Quoted by Upadhye in his Introduction to the Varāhacarīta,
p. 10.
21. See Varāhacarīta, 25, 74, 84.
22. See E.I., IV, p. 211, also E.I., I, p. 72.
24. See Majumdar, R.C., *History of Ancient Bengal*, p. 56
25. See Naik, A.V., *List of Inscriptions of Deccan* (1949), Nos. 6, 15, 22 etc.
26. See *The Classical Age*, pp. 259 ff; also pp. 432 ff.
27. See *Varāṅga-carita* 25, 84.
28. Ibid. 25. 45 ff.
30. Ibid. 26, 8, 9.
32. Brāhmaṇa, XVI, XI, 5; XLVII, 77.
33. Brāhmaṇa, LVII. 45 (vām kārth̄e va girisut̄ ardh̄a).
Several images of Kākana and Gupta period of this
Archanārāśvara aspect from Mathurā have been discovered.
See V.S. Agrawala, *Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art*,
Nos. 362, 800, 874; K. D. Bajpai, *Sagar Through the
Ages*, PI. VI. A partly mutilated life of Ardh
Archanārāśvara image has been found at Sagar.
34. *Kuvalayamala*, 149, 15.
35. Ibid. 82, 32.
38. *Nisītha Cīrni*, I, p. 146, (*kṛddagharam pahādeyak tene pārthah*).
39. Ibid. 1, p. 105.
40. *Nisītha Cīrni*, I, p. 10; also sen M. op. cit., p. 292.
41. See the *prāṣasti* of the *Kuvalayamala* (ed. Upadhye) p. 282.
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42. Samaraicca-kaha, Book VI, s.
43. Vyrochātika (Chowkhamba ed.) p. 162 (III rd Act.)
44. Harivamsa.
45. Harṣacarita, Tr. p. 10.
46. Malatimadhava, Act. III.
47. Antagadassasa, p. 74 (Barnett's trans).
49. See English translation (Tawney), The Ocean of Story,
   I, 125, 156; III, 165-164, VII, p. 162; VIII, p. 120.
   also 55, 18 and V.S. Agrawala, Introd. p. 115.
51. Harivamsa, 5. 461.
52. Ibid, 35. 102 ff.
53. Yasastilaka V. 94 ff.
54. See Chatterjee A.K., "A Comprehensive History of Jainism"
   I, pp. 171 f.
55. Yasastilaka (Vol. II), pp. 154 ff (ed. S.Sastri),
56. See Book VI, I.V. S. 222.
57. See Yasastilaka and India Culture, pp. 206 ff.
58. Yasastilaka, II, p. 251 (Book V, V. S. 71)
60. Handiqui, op. cit., p. 439.
61. See Yasastilaka, II, p. 277 (quoted by Handiqui, p. 231 f. n. 1)
62. See Naṣadāca carita, 22. 58.
63. See in this connection Handiqui's detailed discussion op-cit, pp. 206 ff.
64. Ibid., 199 ff.
65. Handiqui, Yeṣantilaka and India Culture, p. 205.
66. See op-cit, p. 199.
68. Ibid, 2, pp. 119; Nisītha Cūrmi, 3, pp. 123, 414.
71. Anyavogāvāra Cūrmi, p. 12.
73. Ibid, 2, p. 119.
74. Ibid. 3, p.123.
75. Takakusu, op-cit, p.2.
76. Brhatasamhitā, 13 (Chowdhan-ka).
77. Cf. Mathura Pillar Inscription of the time of Gargaregupi-
II, E.I, XXI, pp. 1 ff.
78. C II, IV, No. 12, 1-4; No. 14, 11, 32-35. The Đūbaka
of the Abhona pls. was named Pasupata, vide C II, IV,
No. 12, 1, 54.
79. On Yuan Chwang, I, pp. 296, 335, IX, 229, 242, 251, 262,
287, 296.
80. Brhatasamhitā, LXXVI, 22.


90. Kâlamulas were also a sect akin to the Kapâlikas. Their six distinctive marks were: eating food in skull, besmearing body with ashes of a dead body, eating the ashes, holding a club, keeping a pot of wine and worshipping the god seated therein (Bhandarkar, *op-cit.* p. 181). According to D.R. Sastri, *The Lokyâtikas and the Kapâlikas,* *IHQ.* Vol. I, 7 (1951), pp. 125-35, some Kapâlikas, at a later period, gave up bearing the spull (*Kapâla*), but those who continued the practice were called Kâlamha or Kâlavaâana.

91. *Yajastilaka,* Book-I, See also Handiqui, p. 357.


94. Samarācoolahā, Book IV.
95. Kathāsaritsāgaras, 18.2.
96. Yasāstilaka, Book IV; Handiqui, p. 89.
97. Karpuramanāhari by Rajeswarā, 1, 22 ff.
98. The Kaulas were another extreme Śiva sect whose practices were akin to the Kapālikas; Yasāstilaka p. 269; Handiqui, p. 204 defines the system of the Kaulas or Kulācāryas as follows: "According to this system, one should, after indulging in meat and drink, worship Śiva with wife in company with a female partner sitting on one's left during the rites; the worshipper is to play the role of Śiva united with Pārvatī and exhibit the Yonimudrā".
100. Vide Handiqui, p. 357.
102. Ibid. p. 65.I. 22.
103. Yasāstilaka 1, 115. Handiqui, p. 358. In the Kathāsaritsāgaras, 5, 2, 31 a Mahāvratin is described as Karālin, ('furnished with a human skull'), wearing matted hair and white with ashes.
104. Yasāstilaka Book - I, also Handiqui, p. 358.
105. Harshačarita of Bāna, Ch. 5 and Ch. 6
106. Lalitavistara. Ch. 17.
107. Melātīmaṣṭhava, Act. I. for further details on Śrīpārvatā see Handiqui, p. 359, f.3. 6.
109. *Yaśastilaka*, I.
110. Ibid., I.
112. *Maītīka Cinti*, I, p. 146. (Śiddhaḥbhūtaśrīprasāvādīten \*Arhīyakarīkāthād*
113. Ibid., 2, p. 362.
114. Ibid., 1, pp. 146-47
115. Ibid., 2, p. 362.
117. Alina Copper-plate Inscription of Śiśāḍitya VII (766-67) A.D.; also the grants of Dhruvasena II and Kharegrahe II-
119. See *Bhagavatī*, III, p. 573; also Prakrit Proper
121. Ibid., *op-cit.*, p. 450 and also f.n. 2.
122. For *Mahābhārata*, see Sørenson, Index, p. 274 and also
123. *Bṛhatbana*, 57, 37-39 and also A. Mitra Sastri,
124. *Bṛhatbana*, 57, 37-39 and also A. Mitra Sastri,
125. See *Kādambari*, pp. 52, 57, 92, 96 etc. *Harshaśrīta, Book- V*, p. 265; *Book - III*, p. 175; *Book -II* pp. 79-96
126. *Vasavadatta*, *vatra bhagavati kāthayasā candabhīdhāna
svayam nivasati.*
124. See Watters, I, pp. 221, 360.
125. See Mani, Puranic Encyclopedia, p. 254.
127. VSS. 28 ff.
128. Ibid, VS. 35.
129. See for example Subandhu, Vasavadatta (L.H. Gray) p. 77.
130. VSS. 66. 43-44
131. See Samudra-sakha, 6th bhava (trans. Jacoby)
132. See Kadambari, p. 32; also pp. 92, 96, 57, 199 etc.,
133. Matsya Purana, 259. 55 ff.
134. See Chatterjee, A.K., Development of Devi Iconography
    In A. I.H. G. T., pp. 147 ff.
135. See J. C. Jain, Prakrit Sahitya ka Itihasa, p. 547.
137. Matsya Purana, 259. 59.
138. Kuvalavamala, 15. 5 ff.
139. Ibid, 68. 17
140. Malati-madhava, Act. V.
141. Kuvalavamala, 82. 30; see also for detailed discussion,
    A.N. Upadhye, Introd. (part-II) of Kuvalavamala p. 121.
142. See Prakrit Proper Names, I, p. 205
143. For more details see cultural Note by V.S. Agrawala in
    Kuvalavamala ed. by A.N. Upadhye, Bharatiya Vidya
144. Desipanmanala, 2. 55.
145. See the Hindi study on Kuvalayamala by P.S. Jain, pp. 356-57.
146. Harshacarita, p. 200.
147. See Longhurst: Pallava Architecture, part - II.
148. See E.I., 14, pp. 176 ff; see also Rajasthan through the Ages, p. 159.
149. See The Classical Age, pp. 444 ff; see also Development of Hindu Iconography, pp. 491 ff.
151. VS. No. 8 (p. 164)
152. See p. 275 (Story No. 106, VSS. 249 ff.)
153. Navakumaracarita by Pushpadanta, 7. 10.
155a. Ibid. A similar description is given in Bana's Kadambari.
156. Ibid, I. 15.
158. Ibid, I. 16
160. See Watters, op-cit, I, pp. 284 f.
161. See Yasastilaka, Book - I., Asta Book - III, wherein the spy is declared to have communed with the Mahayoginis and acquired supersensuous knowledge. These references
are interesting as they illustrate the fact that the
cults of the Mahayoginis was prevalent in the 10th
century. For details see Handiqui, Yājñastilaka and
Indian Culture, p. 396 ff.

162. Yājñastilaka, Book - I.
163. Harshačarita, Book VIII, p. 416 (Chowkhanba ed.)
164. Devi Purāṇa, Ch. XXII (for details, see Handiqui, op-cit
p. 399).
166. For details and other Jain references, see Handiqui,
op-cit., pp. 398 ff.
167. See Skanda Purāṇa (Prabhava, Ch. 242)
168. See śrutāsāgara's commentary quoted by Handiqui, op-cit.,
p. 399.
170. See op-cit., p. 399 (See also Garuda P. 134. 2).
171. Garuda Purāṇa, 133. 9. ff.
172. See Handiqui op-cit., p. 400 f.n. 2 (see also Devi Purāṇa,
22. 28).
175. See in this connection Handiqui, op-cit., p. 398.
176. See Arthaśāstra, II, 4 (Sankkrit Pustakalaya ed. p. 91),
however in Shama Sastry we have the reading Aparūjita p.54.
177. See Ashtādhvāvī, IV. 3. 98.
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184. Harivamsa Purāṇa of Jināsenā, ch. 36.
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188. Vishnu Purāṇa, ch. V, 1-20
190. Bhagavata Purāṇa, X, chs. 1 ff.
192. Harivamsa Purana, (Jinasena) 54.73
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197. See Ava. Gu., I, pp. 289 and 293 (see also Prakrit Proper Names, II, p. 694.)
199. See Prakrit Dictionary in Hindi by H.B. Seth, p. 478; see also Bhag, Book 18, p. 2759.
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221. Varaneacarita, 25. 84

222. Adipurana, 14. 51.
223. Ibid., 22. 220 ff.
224. Ibid., 25. 67 ff.
227. See Navakumaracariu, 3. 17.
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231. Yagastilaka, p. 18 (Book-I).
234. 3. 204.
235. Book-IV, for the actual passage, see Handiqui, op.-cit., p. 225.
236. Candraprabhaceritam, 6. 54.
238. Al-Biruni's India, p.
239. See in this connection Banerjee, J.M., Development of Hindu Iconography, pp. 450 ff. Also Bhavisya, I, Chs. 139 f.
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243. See Pratapaditya, 59. 19 and also A.Mitra Shastri, op.-cit., pp. 139 ff.
244. See Elliot and Dawson, History of India etc., I, pp. 11, 22, 28, 96, etc.
245. 55. 15-16
246. *Al-Bun"s India, Vol. I, p. 116*
247. See Elliot and Dawson, *op-cit*, I, pp. 23, 28, 96 etc.
248. 96. 110.
248a. See 98. 19, 50, 94.
248b. Story No. 42 (ed. A.N. Upadhye, New Delhi, 1974).
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250. See *Rajatarangini*, IV, 192.
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253. See p. 204 (Prakrit Text Society Edition), where there are references to both Skanda and Visakha.
254. See *Ava. Co.* p. 315; also *Nisitha Curni*, IV, p. 226
255. 23. 2
256. See 2. 29; 14. 4; 68. 19 and 256. 31.
257. Reference to the expression *Samukha* in 83, 2 of *Kuvalayanala*.
258. See 17. 27; 26. 12.
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261. II, Ch. 10, pp. 46 ff.
262. See p. 324 (Story No. 136) Verse No. 13.
263. See *Cred.* II, 29. 4
265. See *Uragakadasa* (ed. N.A. Gore, p. 21)
266. II, Ch. 10, pp. 46 ff.
267. See Svargavarga, I, 39-40 where sixteen names of Skanda are given.

268. See Sharma, D. Rajasthan through the Ages, p. 230.

269. 68.18.


271. (Book - II).

272. 2. 18; 14. 4.

273. See Luders, List etc. No. 54; See also Chatterjee op.cit., Vol. I, p. 62.

274. See the interesting Bengali work entitled Sarasvati p. 80 by A. Vidyabhusan (Calcutta, 1980) where a good description of the image is given; see also the photograph No. 584.

275. Book- III, (the verse is quoted by Handiqui, op.cit., p. 203.

276. p. 401.

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280b. pp. 417, 429.


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290a. 46. 77ff.
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290i. See 90. 22 (pp. 151-52)
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290k. Vol. 3, p. 415
290m. Ibid., Vol. 3, p. 269.
290n. Ibid., Vol. 3, p. 429.
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300. Ibid., Vol. 4, pp. 272-73
301. See Book VI, 2, p. 267; also Handiqui, op. cit., p. 371.
303. See Book V (for details see Handiqui, op. cit., pp. 187ff.)
305. See in this connection Chatterjee, op. cit., 25 f; see also Malalasekera, D.P.P.N. for necessary reference.
308. See JSS. 68-69.
310. See 5. 84.
311. See 156. 17.
312. See p. 31 (Chowkhamba ed., Varanasi, 1966).
313. Loc. cit.
314. See Uttavijpearabhasana, p. 20.
315. See Act III; it is interesting to note that even in a Brahmanical work like Prabodhacandrapava (Act. III), the Buddhists and Jains are represented as arch rivals.
318. See H. D. Velankar’s Jinaratnakola, p. 220.
319. Ibid., pp. 219 ff.
320. No. 1, p. 115, See also M. Sen, op. cit.
321. Ibid., 3, pp. 246, 255, 325. Also M. Sen, op. cit.
326. M.C. 3, p. 160, see also M. Sen, *op. cit.*
328. P. 206.
329. See also Handiqui, *op. cit.*, pp. 242 ff.
330. See 89. 20ff.
331. See Ch. 89.
333. See 89.51; and also 32.78 ff. etc.
335. See pp. 202 ff; and pp. 404 ff for its date see Alsdorf in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, VIII, pp. 319 ff.
336. See Chapters 40, 68, 81, 92 etc.
337. See 15, 136 ff; 22. 57ff., 25. 17 ff.
338. See 22. 46 ff.
339. See 22. 61 ff; 25. 25.
340. See 25. 21.
341. See E.T. 6, pp. 1 ff; see also Kielhorn's *List*, No. 10.
342. See Wattalasapprabandhakshana (Chowkhamba) pp. 99 ff. etc.
343. See III, p. 35, II, p. 113, p. 334; etc.
345. See III, p. 366.
347. See 115. 4; 119. 5 and 128. 6.
348. See 120. 15-16
349. See the prasasti of Kuvalayamalā.
351. See II. p. 118; VII, pp. 719-20, 726
352. VII. p. 609.
353. See VIII, pp. 615, 650, 712, VIII, p. 807 etc.
354. See IX, pp. 843, 949-50 etc.
355. See pp. 85 ff, where a number of Jain tirthas of Rajasthan have been mentioned.
356. See in this connection Chatterjee, op. cit., pp. 236 ff.
357. See in this connection Prakrit Sudamsacariya Book 12 composed in 12th century A.D. and also Jain Sahitya ka Bhrat Itihāsa, 6, pp. 363 f.
358. See pp. 20 f.
360. See pp. 177-79
361. A beautiful history of this tīrtha will be found in the Vividhatīrthakalpa, pp. 1 ff.
362. See para 150; also Antabindasācag, 2.
363. Vol. II, p. 197
364. 65. 18.
365. See Ch. 69.
366. See Chatterjee, op. cit., p. 110.
367. See Adipuraṅa, 6, 24 ff; 6, 179 ff; Uttarapuraṅa, 70, 147 ff; 70, 440; 71, 25 etc.
368. See Vividhatirthakalpa, pp. 20 ff.
369. See pp. 177-79.
370. See pp. 160 f; also pp. 177 ff.
371. See 131. 69.
372. Loc. cit.
375. See Chatterjee, op. cit. I, Obs. IX-X
374. See Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, II, p. 429; see also Cambridge History of India, I, pp. 100 ff.
376. See Critical Edition, I, 131. 3-4
378. I. 57, 1-26
379. I. 131. 3.
381. See Sircar, Select Inscriptions etc. I, p. 16.
384. I. 45
385. See No. 165.
386. See No. 150.
387. See Jacobi's translation in S.B.E., Vol. 22, pp. 32-33
388. Adipurana, Ch. 57, Vs. 1ff.
389. See Balacarita, Act I.
390. See Mrochakatika, Act X.
391. See Raghuvamsha, IV. 3; see in this connection B.S.

392. See Nagananda, Act I.


394. III, p. 131.

395. See Ch. 43, Vss. 23 ff; see also in this connection Prof. Ajay Mitra Shastri's great work entitled *India as seen in the Brhatsamhitā*, Delhi, 1969, pp. 1-9 ff.

396. 43, 55, 68.

397. II, ch. 15.

398. V. 10, 16 ff.


400. Act 1.

401. *Mrchakatika*, Act X.

402. Nagananda, Act I.

403. I. 4, 3.

404. VII, 170, 182, and 495.

405. I. Chs. 225 ff.


407. See *Bhavaprakāśa* (of Saradateneya), p. 137.


409. IV. 16, 37.
411. III, Vs. No. 8.
413. The relevant passage mentioning the Kartikya temple has been quoted in J.C. Jain's Prakrit Sahitva ka itihāsa, p. 420.
414. I, 30. 20; see also S.B.E. II, p. 42.
415. See Chatterjee, op.cit, p. 170.
416. Act I.
417. Acts I and III
418. Act VI.
419. Act I.
420. See Jain J.C., Life in Ancient India etc., p. 253.
421. See 70.50 and also K.R. Chandra, A Cultural Study of the Paumcarivaṇā, Vaisali, 1970; pp. 374 f.
423. See Gaumapemahapuissacarivān, p. 110.
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430. Edited by M.R. Kale, pp. 150, 216.

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436. I, 4. 27 (Chowkhamba ed., p. 141)

437. Act. III.

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444. IV, 166; see also Chatterjee, A.K., *Ancient Indian Literary and Cultural Tradition*, pp. 170 f.

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446. Chapter, 69.


449. 22. 74; 8. 145 etc.

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454. Ibid. 3, p. 147.
455. Ibid. 3, p. 158.
456. Uttarapithaka, 5th Ucchvāsa. See also Chowkhamba edition of that work, p. 301.
457. See Uttarapithaka, 6th Ucchvāsa; see also Chowkhamba edition of that work, pp. 319 ff.