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JAINA NARRATIVE LITERATURE AND ART

Jaina literature, canonical as well as non-canonical, and especially the narrative or Kathā-literature, in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramśa or old Gujarati, Kannada, etc., contains a rich mine of references regarding arts and crafts, and various other aspects of the life of contemporary society to an extent not easily available in other branches of Indian literature. Jagdish Chandra Jain's famous work on Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain Canons 1, has ably demonstrated the importance of Jaina canonical literature in reconstructing the history of ancient Indian material culture. Sandesara pointed out some of the cultural data in the Vasudevahindi², a work of circa fourth century A.D., based upon the lost Brhatkathā of Gunādhya, and falling into the category of narrative or Kathā-literature. Moti Chandra wrote on the Architectural Data in the Rāyapasenaiya sutta3, a canonical work, and U.P. Shah, in his Studies in Jaina Art 4 and other papers, discussed relevant data from Jaina Canonical, cosmographical and other texts, including some of the Jaina Purānas. The Jaina Purāna literature would also serve as narrative literature along with some theological texts like the Upadeśamālā commentaries, etc. In an article, entitled Cattanam Madham - A gleaning from the Kuvalayamālā Kathā, U.P. Shah pointed out the valuable description of a contemporary big Matha (madham), a sort of residential University or college in the Vijayapuri, probably situated in Kerala⁵. Gustav Roth utilised the art data in the Rāyapasenaiya etc. in his paper

^{1.} J. C. Jain, Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain Canons, Bombay, 1947.

^{2.} B. J. SANDESARA, Cultural Data in the Vasudevahindi, in JOIB, 10 (1961). pp. 7-17.

3. MOTI CHANDRA, Architectural Data in the Jain Canonical Literature, in JUPHS, 22 (1949). pp. 64-80.

^{4.} U. P. Shah, Studies in Jaina Art, Banaras, 1955 (Jaina Cultural Research Society VIII). Cf. Jyoti Prasad Jain, The Jaina Sources of the History of Ancient India, Delhi. 1964.

^{5.} Published in ABORI, « Golden Jubilee Volume » (1968), pp. 247 ff.

on The Woman and Tree Motif - $S\bar{a}labhanjik\bar{a}^6$. He also pointed out this importance of the Jaina literature in a paper, What the Jaina Sources can teach us 7. The importance of the Jaina Kathā-literature can never be overestimated by a student of the cultural history of India. This is amply demonstrated in K. K. Handiqui's Critical Study of the Yaśastilaka-Campū 8 , composed in 959 A.D. by Somadeva.

The $Angavijj\bar{a}^{\,9}$, an early Prakrit text of about the fourth century A.D., is a work on omens and divination. But very few works in Indian literature can compete with it as a source of information regarding the various aspects of the life of contemporary Indian society.

A few references to art evidence, gleaned from Jaina narrative literature, are detailed here, just to demonstrate the value of Jaina narrative literature for students of Indian art.

Nemicandra sūri composed an $\bar{A}khy\bar{a}nakamanikośa$, the treasure-house of jewels of stories, between c. 1073 and 1083 A.D., in only 53 verses, but in 1134 A.D., \bar{A} maradeva sūri completed his big Vrtti of 14000 granthas, on the above work, in the city of Dhavalakka-pura, modern Dholka in Gujarat, elaborately giving the stories referred to in the main work. The commentator was thus contemporary of ācārya Hemacandra. A few references from AMKV may be noted here 10 .

Amongst the various vinodas (pastimes) of the prince Meghakumāra 11, one finds arts like naṭṭa-vihi (dance-drama), cittayamma-vihi (painting) and gīya-vihi (music, singing). Princes were trained in several sciences and arts, and it is said that they were given training in 72 arts, a stock list of which is known to different Jaina texts. We need not believe that in this period or in any other period the princes became trained in all the 72 arts, but we can presume that the princes took training in a few of them according to their taste and capacity. The training given to Naravāhana included training in arts like gandharva-kalā (music), paṭṭaccheya, gandhānga-jutti (perfumery), cittayamma (painting), etc. 12.

The royal palace (with its compound, etc.) was called $r\bar{a}ya$ -duv $\bar{a}ra$, $r\bar{a}ya$ -kula, $r\bar{a}ya$ -bhavana. The palace-royal or $pr\bar{a}s\bar{a}da$ had a harem (an-

^{6.} Published in JASB(L), 23 (Calcutta, 1957), no. 1, «Meghnad Saha Number», pp. 91-116, plates I-VI.

^{7.} Published in JOIB, 24 (1974), pp. 175-86.

^{8.} K. K. Handiqui, Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture, Sholapur, 1949 (Jīvarāja Jain Granthamālā 2), reprint 1968.

^{9.} Angavijjā (Science of Divination through Physical Signs and Symbols), edited by Muni Śrī Puṇyavijayajī, Banaras, 1957 (Prakrit Text Society series 1). Introduction pp. 35-55 by Moti Chandra.

^{10.} Cf. ĀCĀRYA NEMICANDRA'S Ākhyānakamaṇikośa, with Āc. ĀMRADEVA'S commentary, edited by Muni Shri Punyavijayji, Varanasi, 1962 (Prakrit Text Society series 5). We will henceforth refer to the main work as AMK and to the commentary as AMKV (references are to page and verse of this edition).

^{11.} AMKV 232, 126 ff.

^{12.} AMKV 293, 126 ff.

teura), living halls and bed-chambers (vāsa-bhavaṇa) and an atthāṇa-maṇḍava or rāya-atthāṇa (or simply atthāṇa) which later was the audience-hall which could not be entered without permission of the king through the door-keeper. The bards chanted verses of praise of the ruler who visited it in the morning and the evening. Perhaps there were more than one āsthāna-maṇḍapa. In the Harṣacarita of Bāṇa we hear about a bhuktāsthāna-maṇḍapa. The āsthānamaṇḍapa in the palace seems to be a hall or an open pavilion. In the temple built by Tejapala at Abu are two panels in one of the ceilings of the bhamatī showing scenes from the life of Kṛṣṇa at Gokula and Kaṃsa's palace 13. Here we find a king sitting on a raised seat, in front of whom are attendants, warriors and others, some sitting, others standing. In the AMKV we are told that ministers, feudatories, warriors, leaders of citizens, guilds, etc. visited the āsthānamaṇḍapa.

The foreground or court-yard of a $r\bar{a}ja$ -sabh \bar{a} is said to have been adorned with pearls, etc. $r\bar{a}ja$ -sabh $\bar{a}e$ patto mutt \bar{a} manimandie caukke ¹⁴. Another reference shows that square designs (caukka) of pearls were made on the ground, which reminds us of a Gujarati usage motin \bar{a} coka purav \bar{a} .

Kings had their special residential quarters (*dhavala-gṛha*) with apartments for queens (*anteura*). They had their halls for dressing (*sin-gāra-giha*) and the hall of mirrors (*āyarisa-giha*). Sleeping chambers, royal or otherwise, were known as *vāsa-giha vāsa-bhavana*.

Mattavāraṇa as a part of palace architecture could be well understood with the help of references in the AMKV. Rohiṇī, the wife of Dhanavāha Śreṣṭhī, was seen, by king Nanda, standing or sitting in the mattavāraṇa of her dhavalaprāsāda ¹⁵. Madanasenā, queen of Makaradhvaja, sits in the mattavāraṇa of her palace with her husband and dresses the hair of the king ¹⁶. Another queen goes stealthily at night into mattavāraṇa under which her paramour, the king's keeper of elephants, is waiting with the elephant. The elephant, goaded by the rider, raises its trunk and brings down the queen. It is, therefore, quite clear that mattavāraṇa is a balcony-like projection in front of a palace or a mansion in which queens or ladies of high families sat and was probably not far from ladies' apartment ¹⁷.

Palaces had vātâyaṇas (windows), harems had jāla-gavakkha, latticed windows; an oloyaṇa or a small window for looking out is also mentioned. A palace resting on one pillar. pāsāyaṃ egathambhaṃ, is men-

^{13.} Muni Shri Jayantavijayaji, *Holy Abu*, translated from Gujarati by U.P. Shah, Bhavnagar, 1954¹ (Shri Yashovijaya Jain Granthamālā), plate 38. For reference see Kl. Fischer, *Schöpfungen indischer Kunst*, Köln, 1959, no. 1346.

^{14.} AMKV 42, 143.

^{15.} AMKV 62, 20-26.

^{16.} AMKV 200, 244.

^{17.} See also U.P. Shah's Introduction to AMKV, pp. 1-30; U.P. Shah and B.J. Sandesara, A Further Note on Mattavāraņa, in JOIB, 10 (1961), pp. 438-41; M.A. Dhaky, Mattavāraņa in Vāstuśāstra, in JOIB, 16 (1966), pp. 70-8.

tioned 18. A variously decorated (cittarūva) palace of lac (jaupasāyam

pāhānakhambhajuyam) is mentioned 19.

In the Kuvalayamālā ²⁰, composed in 779 A.D., by Uddyotana sūri, we find reference to abbhamtarovatthāṇa-maṇḍava, Hall of Private Audience, and a bāhirovatthāṇa-maṇḍava ²¹. There is also a reference to āpāṇaya-bhūmī where the king took wines of various qualities, and a description of aṇāha-maṇḍava, or home for the poor and ill and mendicants, etc., in the city of Mathura ²².

Elsewhere 23, Kuvalayamālā, describes a citra-pata depicting the samsāra-cakra, and then another painted scroll depicting bhavāntaras or various births. The first scroll, described elaborately, depicted the miseries, inequalities, futilities, etc., of human life, the condition of lower animals, etc., and of heavenly beings. The samsāra-cakra illustrated the three worlds of hell, human world and the world of gods. It may be noted that the samsāra-cakra was also painted by the Buddhists at Ajanta. It is stated in the Divyāvadāna that the bhavacakra was painted in the dvāra-prakostha or entrance of a palace 24. The long description of the scroll painting shows that painting on large scales, giving narration of stories through a chain of events depicted in succession, was practised. The whole account makes it quite clear that the efficiency of a painter lay in successfully depicting the different rasas (sentiments) and bhāvas (moods, passions) with clear outlines and appropriate use of pigments. Bhānu, the prince of Bārayāurī (Dvārikāpurī) in the Lāta-deśa, who was shown this pata, himself was a painter and knew appreciation of painting as well. It is said that he knew citta-kamma which was accomplished with proper lines (rekhā), composition (thāna), and portrayal of bhāvas with appropriate selection and application of colours (varna). The citra-pata looked as if it was a celestial painting, extraordinary, inspired; it very vividly represented all incidents, and it was atisamkula, i.e., crowded with a large number of figures, scenes, compositions, etc. Thus excellent workmanship lay in making the painting true to life, inspired and successful in the proper depiction of various scenes and figures on one canvass (divva-lihiyayam piva aisamkulam savva-vuttanta-paccakkhi-karanam).

The Samarāicca-kahā speaks of a painting of Vidyādhara-yugala done with bright colours appropriately used (highlights), and made up of sharp fine lines drawn with very fine brush (gulikā). People also

^{18.} AMKV 5, 35.

^{19.} AMKV 331, 58.

^{20.} I. *Uddyotana Sūri's Kuvalayamālā...*, critically edited... by A. N. Upadhye, Bombay, 1959 (Singhi Jain Series 45); II. *The Kuvalayamālā.* Introduction, notes etc... along with a Cultural Note on the Kuvalayamālā of Uddyotana by The Late Dr. V. S. Agrawala, 1969 (Singhi Jain Series 46).

^{21.} Kuvalayamālā I, p. 9, § 20; 11, 15; cf. Kuvalayamālā II, p. 115.

^{22.} Kuvalayamālā I, 20, 28; 55, 11 f.

^{23.} Ibid., 185, §§ 291 ss.

^{24.} Kuvalayamālā II, p. 125.

excelled in portrait painting. The word used for lifelike portraits is padicchandaya (praticchandaka). In later texts we find the term viddhacitra, but it seems that in the days of Bhāsa, praticchandaka was used for portraits. Haribhadra sūri has used the term in this sense in his Samarāiccakahā 25.

The act of painting was *ālekhana* or *lekhana*, as we also find in other texts like the *Pādatāḍitakam*. In *Samarāiccakahā*, chapter viii, we find that a portrait of a princess Ratnāvatī was drawn on a canvass (*ālikhito abhimatapaṭaḥ*). This was shown by the artists to a prince Guṇacandra who, on seeing it, remarks:

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amhehi adiṭṭhauvvo annehi vi nūṇam ettha loehim / evaṇviho surūvo rehāṇāso na diṭṭho tti // jai vi ya rehāṇāso patteyaṇ hoi sundaro kaha vi / taha vī samudayasohā na erisī hoi annassa // 26
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It will be seen that here while appreciating the portrait, emphasis is laid on the skill in drawing the outlines (*rekhā-nyāsa*). Did this emphasis on the line later develop into what we know as «linear conception» of painting, almost invariably seen in Western Indian miniatures?

Later, during the time of *citrakarma-vinoda*, Gunacandra himself draws a painting of *Vidyādhara-yugala*. This is described as follows ²⁷:

ālikhitaḥ kumāreṇa suvibhaktojjvalena varṇakarmaṇā-alakṣyamāṇair gulikāvrajair anurūpayā sūkṣmarekhayā prakaṭadarśanena nimnonnatavibhāgena viśuddhayā vartanayā ucitena bhūṣaṇakalāpena abhinavasnehotsukatvena parasparam hasyotphullabaddhadṛṣṭir ārūḍhaprematvena langhitocitaniveśo (? lakṣitocitaniveśo?) Vidyādharasamghāṭaka iti.

The pigments were properly mixed and the colours appropriately differentiated in various shades (suvibhakta) and were bright or showed proper highlights (ujjvala); the brushes (gulikā-vraja) were extremely fine (almost imperceptible) so as to draw very fine lines; the relievo was shown (heights and depths properly differentiated and suggested clearly), the vartanā or shading and modelling was viśuddha, i.e., faultless, the element of ornamentation (bhūṣaṇā) was appropriately introduced and the element of joy and affection towards each other (bhāva) properly executed.

Siddharsi, another Jaina monk from Western India, who composed his allegorical story *Upamitibhavaprapañcakathā* ²⁸ towards the early tenth century A.D., uses almost the same terms in a passage quoted by C. Shivaramamurti in his *South Indian Paintings* ²⁹.

^{25.} H. Jacobi, editor, Haribhadra, Samarāicca Kahā, A Jaina Prākṛta Work, vol. I: Text and Introduction (Calcutta, 1926) (Bibliotheca Indica, N.S. 139). Saṃskṛta-chāyā-sahita, in two parts, Ahmedabad, 1938, 1942. Further references in Jaina Sāhitya kā Bṛhad Itihās, bhāga 6, Vārāṇasī, 1973, p. 266, n. 1.

^{26.} H. JACOBI, op. cit., p. 608, lines 9-12; see also p. 623 ff.

^{27.} I give here the Sanskrit chāyā of the passage: reference in n. 25.

The painting was drawn on a paṭṭikā, a wooden board. The two painters of the portrait of Ratnāvalī were asked by Guṇacandra to study and criticize the citra-paṭṭikā of Vidyādhara-yugala, executed by himself (Guṇacandra). The technical term used for art-criticism is nirūpaṇa (cf. nirūveha tubbhe sayam eva ti and nirūvīya cittaṃ aibhusaṇehiṃ). The nirūpaṇa of the citra-paṭṭikā done by the artists is noteworthy 30.

Deva apūrvaiṣā citrakarmavicchittiḥ kathayatīva nijabhāvam sphuṭavacanaiḥ citrakarmaṇi deva duṣkaraṃ bhāvārādhanaṃ praśaṃsanti idam evātrācāryāḥ abhinavasnehotsukenāpi parasparaṃ hāsyotphulladṛṣṭitvaṃ tathā-ārūḍhaprematvenāpi ca langi(kṣi)tocitaniveśakaṃ cātrakathitam api deva Citraśāstre paṭhyate, yathā vinā caritādinā adhikāreṇa yathā kathaṃcit kila yādṛśabhāvayuktaṃ citrakarma niṣpādyate tādṛśabhāvaniṣpattir niyamena citrakāriṇaḥ tato devasya priyadarśanena īdṛśo bhāva iti... 31.

It is just possible that here we have a quotation from a lost *Citra-sāstra* in *vinā caritādinā... citrakāriṇaḥ*. It is important to note here that success in suggesting the *bhāvas* in a painting was regarded as a great accomplishment of the artist. The expression *citrakarmavicchittiḥ* is possibly used here in the sense of both proper arrangement (composition) and colouring with suitable pigments.

It is worth noting here an interesting reference to a *citrasālā* or Hall of paintings attached to the Jaina shrine Kumāravihāra at Pāṭaṇa, given by Rāmacandra sūri (the pupil of Hemacandrācārya and a contemporary of Kumārapāla who built the shrine) in his work entitled *Kumāravihāra-sataka*. Giving a poetic description of this *citrasālā*, he says that it had paintings of elephants, monkeys, camels, chariots, lives of gods and goddesses, scenes of several *Nāṭyas*, and of wars between gods and demons (*Kumāravihāra-sataka*, v. 110). At another place, paintings of horses, kalpa-vṛkṣas, Moon, Kāmadhenu, Lakṣmī, and the Airāvata elephant are referred to.

Paintings on walls of shrines and halls of paintings were common in Jaina shrines. Jinasena I (c. 830 A.D.) refers to a paṭṭa-śālā in a Jaina temple ³². Earlier still, Jaṭāsimhanandi (c. seventh century A.D.), in his beautiful work Varāngacarita, describing a Jaina temple, also refers to a paṭṭaka-śālā, in a Jaina shrine wherein were paṭṭakās (scrolls or boards

^{28.} For references see M. WINTERNITZ, A History of Indian Literature, vol. II, Buddhist Literature and Jaina Literature (Calcutta, 1933), p. 525 ff.

^{29.} C. Shivaramamurti, South Indian Paintings, National Museum (New Delhi, 1968), p. 27.

^{30.} The Sanskrit chāyā is quoted here.

^{31.} Samarāiccakahā pp. 749-50.

^{32.} Cf. Ādipurāṇa of Ācārya Jinasena, edited by Pannālāl Jain, Varanasi, 1963² (Jñānapīṭha Mūrtidevī Jain Granthamālā, Sanskrit Grantha 8), part I: VI, 188.

or panels) with paintings of the lives of Tīrthaṅkaras, great monks, Cakravartins, and Vidyādharas ³³.

Jaina shrines, āyatanas, devakulas, bhavanas or caityas and caityā-layas are referred to in almost all the Kathās and Purānas. A shrine (bhavana) of Sāntinātha, the sixteenth Tīrthankara, is referred to in the Padmacarita of Raviṣeṇa 34 where it is said that the life of the Jina was painted (svapnacitrārpitam) on the walls of the first (ādya) mandapa. It XL 27 ff., we get a description of caityas of Jinas erected by Rāma. They had big pillars, gavākṣas (windows), valabhīs, big entrances with toraṇas, they had different śālās, were encircled by moats (parikhā), had white banners and were resonant with sound of big bells.

The Varāngacarita of Jaṭāsimhanandi (c. seventh century) describes a caityagṛha erected at Ānartapura by Varānga 35. The long poetic description speaks of the temple having gopura, aṭṭālaka, very high kūṭa, having bells and garlands of pearls, having several kūṭas and rows of harmyas, beautiful lofty śālās. On the door was the goddess Śrī seated on the lotus, and on the sides were figures of Kinnaras, Bhūtas and Yakṣas. In the region of the entrance door (kavāṭadeśa), were figures of horses, elephants, chariots, lions and birds. The pillars were adorned with figures of mithunas (daṃpati). There were prekṣā-sabhās, abhiṣeka-śālā, āvādhyāya-śālā, sangītaka-śālā and paṭṭa-śālā. On the outside of the shrine were step-wells, and a variety of trees.

The Harivamśa of Jinasena ³⁶ describes in detail the Samavasaraṇa constructed by gods for the sermon of the Jina. The Samavasaraṇa is described in various texts, in the Tiloyapaṇṇatti ³⁷, Ādipurāṇa of Jinasena, Padmapurāṇa of Raviṣeṇa, Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita of Hemacandra ³⁸ and so on. I have discussed the Samavasaraṇa in my Studies in Jaina Art ³⁹. Some of the noteworthy elements of a Samavasaraṇa include the stūpas, and the mānastambhas, the gandhakuṭī, etc.

Images of Tīrthaṅkaras are referred to in most of the *Kathā* works. Moreover, these works refer to popular deities of other sects and folk cults, such as the Mahākāla at Ujjain, to temples of Kāma, Dhanadeva, to worship of Indra, Rudra, Skanda, Kātyāyanī, Mahisāsuramardinī, to

^{33.} Varāngacarita XII, 67; 93, ed. A.N. Upadhye, Bombay, 1938 (Māṇika-candra Digambara Jaina Granthamālā). For reference see Jaina Sāhitya kā Bṛhad Itihās, bhāga 6, Vārāṇasī, 1973, pp. 183-90.

^{34.} Padma Purāṇa of Raviṣeṇācārya, ed. Pannālāl Jain, Varanasi, 1958-59, 3 vols. (Jñānapīṭha Mūrtidevī Jaina Granthamālā, Sanskrit Grantha 20, 24, 26), vol. III, LXXI, 42 ff.

^{35.} XXII, 56 ff.

^{36.} Jinasenasūri, *Harivamsapurāņam*, publisher N. Premī, 2 khaṇḍa, Bombay, 1930 (Māṇika-candra-Digambara-Granthamālā nos. 32, 33).

^{37.} Yatīvṛṣвнācārya, *Tiloya-paṇṇatti*, bhāga 1 (chapters 14), bhāga 2 (chapters 5-9), editors A. N. Upadhye, Hīrālāl Jain, Sholapur, 1943 (1956²), 1951 (Jīvarāja Jaina Granthamālā 1).

^{38.} HEMACANDRA, *Triṣaṣṭiśalākā-puruṣa-caritra*, Jaina-Dharma-Prasāraka-Sabhā (Bhavnagar, 1905-9). English translation: Helen M. Johnson, vols. I-VI, Baroda, 1931-62 (Gaekwad's Oriental series 51, 77, 108, 125, 139, 140).

^{39.} Pp. 85-95 (reference in n. 4 of this article).

temples of Nāga, worship of Vāsudeva and so on. But the texts generally fail to give the iconography.

Jaina narrative literature however refers to the Jaina aṣṭa-mangalas and the aṣṭa-mahā-prātihāryas of a Jina, and sometimes poetically describe the ritual of the worship of the Jina in a shrine.

Descriptions of towns and cities are usually stock descriptions or traditional descriptions and have to be treated with caution before being accepted as contemporary evidence. The description, mixed with poetic fancy or exaggeration, is however, likely to have contained elements which persisted in town-planning from several centuries. For example, meeting of three roads (trika), four (catuska) or more than four, are often described, which is a common sight even to-day. Kautilya has referred to the existence of one or even three moats surrounding the fortification of a city. One most (parikhā) was a common sight of most of the towns and cities even in the mediaeval period. The Adipurana of Jinasena 40 says that that city (pura) was praised, which was adorned with parikhā, gopura, attāla, vapra and prākāra, and various types of bhavanas, and had parks and reservoirs of water. In the same work, we have a general account of the Vidyadhara cities with three moats each. Measurements of moats, gopura, attālaka, vapra, prākāra, indrakośa, etc. are given 41.

M.R. Singh writes: «The fact that the traditional descriptions formed a major part of the Kathā-literature of the early mediaeval times has been aptly pointed out by Prof. G. C. Pande in his note on Uddyotana Sūri's Kuvalayamālā 42. Hence a historian using the Kathā-literature as a source of information and considering it to be purely contemporary and empirical is likely to be misled because more often than not, a major part of the Kathā-literature happens to be a mere paraphrasing of older materials » 43. These remarks, even though they are welcome as a caution against indiscriminately using the cultural data of Jaina Kathāliterature, still should not detract us from utilising this very important source. A comparative study of the Jain Kathās and Purānas of various periods would at once show what is the traditional description and what is contemporary new evidence. And even in these traditional descriptions we cannot say that the whole data has not contemporary value, because in India traditions have persisted for a very long period. The lists of musical instruments obtained in these Kathā works would illustrate what I mean to convey here. The Kuvalayamālā again contains so much of contemporary data that, along with Bana's, Haribhadra's works, the Cūrnis, etc., it is a veritable mine of information for the life in India between the seventh and the eighth centuries A.D.

^{40.} XVI, 169-70.

^{41.} Ibid., XIX, 52-71. M.R. SINGH, in an interesting paper entitled, Jinasena's Portrait of a fortified City: A Critical Analysis, published in « Jaina Art and Architecture » (Jaipur, 1980), pp. 53 ff., has critically compared this account with relevant passages from Kautilya's Arthaśāstra.

^{42.} M. R. SINGH, in Jijñāsā, 2500th Mahavira Anniversary Number (1974).

^{43.} M. R. SINGH, op. cit.