

**PATRONAGE TO BUDDHISM IN
NORTH INDIA (c. B.C. 200 - c. A.D. 300) :
An Epigraphical Study**

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of the Degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

YUN JEUNG LEE

**CENTRE FOR HISTORICAL STUDIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI - 110067**

1996



जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI - 110067

CENTRE FOR HISTORICAL STUDIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Certificate

Certified that the dissertation entitled **PATRONAGE TO BUDDHISM IN NORTH INDIA(c. B.C. 200 – c. A.D. 300): AN EPIGRAPHICAL STUDY**, submitted by **YUN JEUNG LEE** is in partial fulfilment of the **Master of Philosophy** degree of this University. This is an original work and has not been submitted for any other degree to this or any other University to the best of our knowledge.

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

B. D. Chattopadhyaya

(Supervisor)

B. D. Chattopadhyaya

(Chairperson)

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	i - ii
ABBREVIATIONS	iii
CHAPTER I	1-17
INTRODUCTION	
CHAPTER II	18-38
THE BACKGROUND	
CHAPTER III	39-81
PATRONAGE	
CHAPTER IV	82-135
COMPOSITION OF THE PATRONS AND THE NATURE OF SOCIETY : A Site-Wise and Chronological Survey	
CHAPTER V	136-143
CONCLUSION	
APPENDICES	144-157
BIBLIOGRAPHY	158-163

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Growing up hearing the legend of the fairy tale wedding of an Indian princess with an ancient Korean king, inculcated in me a curiosity for the faraway land, India. As a result of this interest I enrolled myself in a graduation course at the Centre for Indian Languages in Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, and familiarity with the language spoken by majority of the Indians led me to understand India better. The knowledge I acquired while at the centre enchanted me and I was lured by the land of milk and honey. I am grateful to the professors who had aroused in me the curiosity about India and who converted the interest into a serious academic endeavour.

Being a foreign student, settling down in Jawaharlal Nehru University(J.N.U.), I had thought, would be a Herculean task. But once I was here I found no barriers to my desire to get to know India and Indians better. Since J.N.U. houses students from various parts of India, it gave me the opportunity to learn about the diverse cultures that co-exist in the country. As a student of Centre for Historical Studies(C.H.S.), I was able to satisfy my curiosity about India, acquiring an indepth knowledge of the growth of Indian culture. Words will not suffice to express my gratitude for the faculty, the students and the staff of the C.H.S. who have always willingly lent a helping hand to me. They have successfully provided a home away from home for me.

This academic work would not have been possible without the invaluable help provided by Prof. B.D. Chattopadhyaya to me. His supreme patience in dealing with any inadequacies and his ability to make all my insurmountable problems seem like none at all, deserve special mention.

My friends have been the pillars of support all through my academic endeavour. I have gained much from the perceptive suggestions and comments made by Sanjeev. His indepth knowledge of Indian history has been a ready encyclopedia for me. Emotional support provided by Anjana and technical help given by Dong-Min Kim, Yong-Joo Lee, Chang-Ho Lee and Kyoung-Hee Koh were invaluable.

Last but definitely not the least I would take this opportunity to thank my parents who have been a perennial source of encouragement and an inexhaustible fountain of affection. My husband Hee-Kyoung Kim has been the very epitome of understanding and no words can express my feelings for his ability to comprehend my passionate desire to pursue an academic career. Yoo-Hee who is learning to live her first year in this world without the maternal affection that is due to her, has provided me with the inspiration that only an offspring can provide to his/her mother.



YUN JEUNG LEE

ABBREVIATIONS

- BI - Bharhut Inscriptions:
in Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
Vol. II, Part. II.
- CII - Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
- EI - Epigraphia Indica
- IAR - Indian Archaeology-A Review
- IA - The Indian Antiquary
- IESHR - Indian Economic and Social History Review
- JAIH - Journal of Ancient Indian History
- MI - Mathurā Inscriptions:
compiled by Lüders Heinrich
- SI - Sanchi Inscriptions
in John Marshall and A Foucher, eds.,
The Monuments of Sanchi

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I

The Indian historiography till the 19th century was largely confined to political history dealing with kings, their dynastic rule, administration and geographical expansions. Socio-economic history became a major discipline only in the 20th century. It was urgently felt that history cannot exclude socio-economic study, and it was as important as any other aspect of history. Another shift witnessed in the present century was the study of the popular base of history which focussed on the role of the common people in the past eras. The horizon of history extended from dynastic history to include the history of the common people, consisting mainly of the non-royal and non-elite sections of the society.

Buddhism which evolved in the sixth century B.C. had a definite socio-economic background to its development which coincided with the second urbanisation of the Indian sub-continent. The propagation and expansion of Buddhism was mainly attributed to Aśoka and Kaṅishka. But the active support extended by the general masses did not find much expression in the writings of history. Recent writings, however, have tried to view the act of patronage from various angles. The large-scale endowments, in different forms, provided by the different sections of society to Buddhist religious institutions at various sites of *viḥāras*,

stūpas, caityas, etc. have attracted the attention of the historians.

The act of gift-giving(*dāna*) is traced back to the tribal times in which it formed a form of distribution and exchange. Anthropologists have studied this voluntary or obligatory act in their own perspective. Karl Polanyi has discussed different patterns of economies in terms of reciprocity, redistribution and market exchange.¹⁾ Another anthropologist has commented : 'The economies of egalitarian societies are primarily organised through reciprocity, those of rank societies through redistribution, and those of stratified societies through market exchange.'²⁾ The post-Buddha period witnessed the breakup of the tribal oligarchies, that is, *gaṇa-saṅghas*, and there emerged full-fledged monarchies characterised by a stratified society marked by the presence of composite social groups. The gift-giving in the period of our study was given to religious institutions and cannot be viewed in terms of redistribution and market exchange as it was not entirely an economic act only. It had a socio-religious dimension to it, and it can be viewed as a reciprocal act in which 'tangible' goods or services were exchanged for 'intangible' returns. The recipient was not a political authority but the *saṅgha* or the monks who represented the religious domain. Thus, the analysis of the patronage and the patrons laying emphasis on its social background and

-
1. For a detailed discussion on this, refer to Karl Polanyi(ed), Trade and Market In The Early Empires : Economics In History and Theory, Glencoe, Free Press, 1957., cited in George Dalton, Economic Anthropology and Development, New York, 1971, p.131. Also refer Karl Polanyi, The Great Transformation, Beacon Paperback edition, U.S.A., 1957, pp.47ff.
 2. Serene Nanda, Cultural Anthropology, New York, 1980, p.176.

the material culture will provide an interesting study. The mass participation of people who belonged to different occupational groups projects an impression of popular support to Buddhism, especially at Sanchi and Bharhut. This study of patronage will shed light on the social forces working behind the construction and embellishment of the Buddhist religious institutions which led to the emergence of popular art and culture. The non-royal and non-elite patronage, as compared to the royal patronage, has not been much highlighted by scholars. Some of the works done on social groups and the act of gift-giving are discussed below.

Uma Chakravarti's book Social Dimensions of Early Buddhism, published in 1987 analyses the nature of society in which Buddhism originated and tries to find a relationship between the two. She examines the principles on which the Buddhist system of social stratification was based. She devotes a full chapter on the *gahapatis* and analyses their social position, irrespective of caste affiliation. The ideal socio-political system conceptualised in Buddhism is also dealt with. Chakravarti's work is mainly based on Buddhist Pāli texts, supplemented by contemporary Brahmanical and Jain literatures. The inscriptions belonging to the period 200 B.C. to 200 A.D. are also used to substantiate her conclusion on social stratification. She deals with the political, economic, social and religious milieu at the time of Buddha and analyses in depth the social category of *gahapati*. The problems of social background and social stratification have been dealt with mainly on the

basis of Buddhist texts. This book is a welcome addition to the researches on Buddhism but it does not deal with patronage and patrons in the contexts of different Buddhist centres.

A work which examines the act of gift-giving or donation in a socio-economic perspective is by Ms. Vijay Nath, titled Dāna : Gift System In Ancient India, published in 1987. She deals in great detail with the institution of *dāna* and examines its development vis-à-vis the material changes in the society, its relevance to the ancient society, its role in exchange and redistribution and how it affected the social and economic order in any significant manner. She deals in a separate chapter the various motives and causes for gift-giving and, in other chapters, focuses on kings, merchants, artisans and other donors. This work is not confined to any particular religion but covers all the principal religions like Buddhism, Jainism, Brahmanism prevailing at that time. She uses the literary sources exhaustively, occasionally supplemented by epigraphical evidences.

Romila Thapar's Cultural Transaction and Early India : Tradition and Patronage, first published in 1987 consists of two chapters on tradition and patronage. They were delivered by her on 22nd and 23th January, 1987 as the I. H. Qureishi Memorial Lectures at St. Stephen's College, Delhi. She discusses the meaning of 'patronage' in the second chapter and views it as a form of exchange between patron and creator, in the course of which the object or institution thus created emerges as an entity of its own and takes on a social role. The author cites several

examples from Buddhist and Hindu religious sites to substantiate her argument. The bard-king relationship is cited as an exchange of man-to-man patronage. The patronage extended to Buddhist religious institution by various social groups, especially professionals, is touched upon. The community patronage is discussed briefly. She has linked the implementation of the patronising act to three cultural categories - the *praśasti* or eulogy, the *stūpa* and the temple. Thus, a link between culture and patronage has been sought. In the second article in the same publication, she has tried to touch on different aspects of patronage. The social groups are not dealt with in detail as the main focus is not on the social background of the patron or the donee, like the monks or the priests.

The Powers Of Art : Patronage in Indian Culture, a book edited by Barbara Stoler Miller and consisting of four sections, was published in 1992. The first section deals with collective and personal patronage in ancient India. The Buddhist patronage has been studied by Romila Thapar, Vidya Dehejia and Janice Wills in three different articles. They all point to collective and popular bases for donations. Romila Thapar in her article 'Patronage and Community' has tried to analyse the patron-recipient relationships in four significant forms, namely the patronage embedded in a society, patronage as a deliberate act of choice, patronage as a service and patronage as a public activity. She has touched upon community patronage and tried to establish relation between the patron, the donee and the intermediary, if any. Reward as the

purpose of gift giving is also highlighted. The different social groups making donations are dealt with one by one and social connotations of the same are stated. For example, the artisans as patrons reveal the process of social mobility. The socio-economic milieu of that period encouraged such patronage. Vidya Dehejia in 'The Collective and Popular Basis of Early Buddhist Patronage : Sacred Monuments, 100B.C.-A.D.250' deals with donations made by individuals and groups at various Buddhist sites mainly on the basis of inscriptional evidence. The sites discussed are Sanchi, Nasik, Kuda, Karle, Bhaja, Mathurā, etc., and she arrives at conclusion that the patrons belonged to a wide social spectrum which included monks, nuns, professionals and guilds. The royal contribution was minimal. Janice D. Wills focuses on female patronage as is evident from the title of her article 'The Female Patronage in Indian Buddhism'. She has based her study on Buddhist literature, reconstructed history of that period and on 'material culture' available for that period. The whole notion of patronage was hinged on the Mahāyāna system's emphasis on '*dāna*'. These three articles have discussed the patronage network in India as embedded in a particular socio-economic system. These works fail to analyze the objects as well as the purposes of donations. The various professional groups which extended patronage to Buddhist religious institutions are not dealt with in detail, or it can be said that it was not possible to do so in the form of one or two articles alone.

II

The period chosen for the present study extends from c.200B.C. to c.300A.D. which corresponds to the post-Aśoka period to the rise of Gupta power. This period of five hundred years witnessed the collapse of the mighty Maurya empire around c.187B.C. which is attributed by some scholars like Pandit H.P. Sastri³⁾ to a Brahmanical revolt led by Pushyamitra Śūṅga. The fall of the Mauryas was marked by the advent of the Śūṅgas and the Kānvas in north India and that of Khāravēla and the Satavahanas in Kalinga and western India respectively. The period under consideration is significant, as the successive inroad by the Yavanas or the Indo-Greeks, the Śakas and the Pahlavas were witnessed from the second century B.C. to the first century A.D. in the north western India. And finally came the Kuṣāṇas in the first century A.D. who held sway over the whole of north India and extended their domain upto Central Asia. Politically, religiously as well as socio-economically, the coming of these foreign tribes in India was significant. They came and settled in India and were gradually assimilated in the mainstream of India's dynamic culture.

The continuous influx of non-aboriginals in India kept the communication link in the west to Kabul to Khotan, Yarkand in Central Asia open. And trade and cultural links between India and Central Asia as well as China were well maintained. Trade and commerce flourished

3. Article in *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1910, p.250 ff.

on a large scale through land routes, and various items were exported as well as imported.

The coming of these foreign powers coincided with the growing strength of Buddhism which had evolved as a major challenge to Brahmanical order and provided social as well as religious rights to women, *sūdras* and other low castes. The foreigners who moved into India in the post-Maurya period were treated as '*mlecchas*' by the brahmanas, and hence they turned to Buddhism which provided them an easy religious refuge. They accepted this faith and championed its cause and provided large scale patronage to the Buddhist *saṅgha*. Thus, the stupendous task of patronage to Buddhism undertaken by king Aśoka continued in this period. Menander, the Indo-Greek king, was a famous convert. The Kuṣāṇa power under Kaṇishka took major steps towards the propagation of Buddhism and convened the fourth Council in which Buddhism split into two major factions - the *Mahāyāna* and the *Hīnayāna*, the former patronised by Kaṇishka. The missionary activities of Aśoka were now undertaken by Kaṇishka who was instrumental in the spread of Buddhism to China and Central Asia.

This period is significant as Buddhism thrived in spite of opposition from several other heterodox sects like Jainism, Ajavika faith, etc. and sects within Brahmanism. A concerted effort was made by a section of brahmanas to get the old Vedic religion rid of its negative features and check the onslaught from the non-brahmanical sects. Thus, there emerged the Purānic religion which developed in two stages - first,

before 200A.D. and second, between third to sixth century A.D.⁴⁾ The rule of the Śuṅgas who were supporters of brahmanical faith did not effect Buddhism. In fact, much addition to Bharhut and Sanchi *Stūpas* were carried out during the Śuṅga period. Buddhism as a major faith continued in the period under consideration, although the strong hands of Aśoka had died out and it did not find a major supporter in the form of a strong ruler till the advent of Kaṇishka.

The period c.200B.C. -A.D.300 was characterised by commodity production and enhanced trade, mainly with the Roman world in the post-Mauryan era, unlike the Mauryan period(c.300-200B.C.) which was marked by state control of production.⁵⁾ The period saw a great spurt of activity in trade and commerce accompanied with urbanisation. The trade network expanded from the Ganga valley to peninsular India. Many towns sprang up on the trade routes. And in this period, the Buddhist and Jain religious institutions were mainly patronised by merchants, traders, bankers and artisans groups.

This period is also significant as the increased volume and regularity of trade and commerce, both internal as well as external, led to the emergence of merchants(*vanija*), bankers(*setṭhi*) and *sarthavahas*(caravan merchants). The expansion in economy, accompanied by acquisition of wealth, saw the social groups like the *gahapatis* playing a major role in socio-economic sphere. They represented the wealthy

4. R. C. Hazra, Studies in the Purānic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, Delhi, 1975

5. Devangara Desai, 'Social Dimensions of Art in Early India', Social Scientist, 18(3), March 1990, p.6.

and socially influential class of landed and commercial community.⁶⁾ The emergence of such wealthy classes was totally in consonance with the material growth of the period. The archaeological evidence showing the material culture of the Kuṣāṇa period is so rich that R. S. Sharma calls it the 'Golden age of Pakistan'.⁷⁾ The two great trade and communication routes *Uttarāpatha* and *Dakṣiṇāpatha* were well developed. The route along the Ganga from Pataliputra to Mathurā passed upto Taxila to beyond while a route from Mathurā went down to Ujjain to Paithan to south India. The inland as well as waterways were well developed for the material progress. It was exactly under such circumstances that various professional groups, guilds, etc. were in a position to donate and seek greater social prestige and status which Buddhism readily granted.

III

The sources for this study of patronage are the inscriptions found at such sites as Bharhut, Sanchi, Mathurā, Taxila, Bodhgaya, Sarnath etc. The primary sources, thus, are derived from the following texts⁸⁾ :

(a) Mathurā Inscriptions - compiled by H. Lüders.

(b) Sanchi Inscriptions(Numbers 15-827) - edited, translated and annotated by Sir John Marshall and Alfred Foucher in The Monuments of Sanchi, Volume I .

6. Vijay Nath, Dāna : Gift System in Ancient India, Delhi, 1987, p.54.

7. See, R. S. Sharma, Material Culture and Social Formations in Ancient India, Delhi, 1992(reprint), p.16.

8. For details of these texts, see Bibliography.

(c) Bharhut Inscriptions in Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Volume. II, Part. II, edited by H. Lüders, revised by E. Waldschmidt and M. A. Mehendale.

(d) Taxila Inscriptions in Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Volume. II, Part. I, edited by Sten Konow.

(e) Inscriptions on Aśoka's railing in Mahābodhi, by A. Cunningham.

(f) Inscriptions of Aśoka, by D. C. Sircar.

(g) Select Inscriptions, by D. C. Sircar.

(h) Relevant volumes of Epigraphia Indica, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum and Indian Antiquary.

The primary inscripational evidences are further supplemented by Buddhist texts like *Mahāvastu* and *Milindapañho*. The archaeological evidences from Indian Archaeology - A Review have been used to corroborate the findings of inscriptions.

The epigraphical evidences are found inscribed on a variety of items which formed the objects of donations. In Bharhut and Sanchi, the donations were given for the construction, expansion and embellishment of the stūpas. Hence, the inscriptions are found engraved on railings, pillars, coping stone, gateways, etc. In most of the cases, it is explicitly stated that this pillar or railing is the gift of so and so, with

his native place or profession specified. The donations were made individually as well as collectively. The donations at Mathurā and Taxila comprised many images of Buddha and Bodhisattva as well as lamps, ladles, silver plates, etc. The inscriptions were inscribed on silver, gold and copper plates on some occasions. The establishment of the relics of Buddha in donor's own *vihāras* is witnessed at Taxila and Mathurā which point to their wealth and higher social status.

The epigraphical sources are many in number. The votive inscriptions at Bharhut and Sanchi are about 140 and 800 respectively. Likewise, we have several inscriptions at Mathurā, Taxila, Bodhgaya, etc. which provide ample sources for this study. A large number of such inscriptions are useful for trying to identify certain pattern in the acts of patronage.

The important changes which came within Buddhism itself are discerned through an analysis of the epigraphical sources. First, the large-scale donations to the stūpa at Bharhut and Sanchi point to the importance given by the Buddhists to the cult of the stūpa which was erected on a relic of the Buddha, Bodhisattva or a great disciple of the Buddha. The Buddhist ideology and theory also witnessed a change with the passage of time. At Bharhut and Sanchi, which mainly date to the Mauryan and Śuṅga period, except the gateways, have no Buddhist image stilled in the *stūpa*. Buddha was represented in symbols like *cakra*, wheel, etc. and never as a human figure. The emergence of *Mahāyāna* in the first century A.D. during the rule of Kaṇishka saw the making of

idols of Buddha, Bodhisattva, etc. at Taxila, Mathurā and Sarnath which emerged as major centres of art.

Buddhism diversified into 18 sects which were mainly divided into two divisions - the *Mahāyāna* (The greater vehicle) and the *Hīnayāna* (The lesser vehicle). The inscriptions mention different sects of Buddhism for which the grants were made. Some of the sects which are mentioned in inscriptions are : the *Kāśyapiyas*, *Sarvāstivādins*, *Mahāsaṅghikas*, the *Samitiyas* and the *Mahopadeśakas*. Out of these five sects, the last one does not figure in any Buddhist literature, but Lüders has taken it to represent a Buddhist sect. It is important to note that the various sects are mentioned only at Mathurā, Taxila and Sarnath which emerged as major Buddhist centres as well as centres of art during the Kuṣāṇa period. By the first century A.D., the divisions and sub-divisions within Buddhism were so sharply focussed that they find mention in the inscriptions too.

Another change in Buddhism revealed by the inscriptions is the emergence of the *viḥāras* as an important Buddhist institution. The temporary *ārāmas* built during rainy seasons during Buddha's time soon gave way to permanent, well-settled monasteries or *viḥāras*. Several donations were given to the *viḥāras*.

The sources are significant in the sense that they also point towards the shift in the objects of donations as well as donors with the passage of time. The construction of brick stūpas, stone pillars, and

railings during Aśoka's period gradually changed to bigger and stone built stūpas, elaborate pillars and gateways. The relics of the Buddha, cave-dwellings, tanks, reservoirs as well as trees and land were donated in the first century B.C. and first century A.D. The images of Buddha and Bodhisattvas formed an important item during the Kuṣāṇa period. The shift of patronage from well-to-do sections of the society during the Mauryan period to the general masses in the Śuṅga-Kānva period was a sharp break. The royal patronage provided by Aśoka was soon overtaken by the zealous efforts of the laity in the form of common masses represented by several professional groups. The royal support was minimal till the coming of king Kaṇishka to the forefront. Thus, the sources used by this writer in this research give much insight for conclusions regarding significant historical trend.

This study, as has already been pointed out, is mainly based on inscriptions, and the reasons for choosing the epigraphical sources are many. The literary sources can never be taken at their face value, as they may have many interpolations, and the dating of the texts is also difficult. The literary evidence should ideally be corroborated by the archaeological sources. Among the archaeological sources, inscriptions have proved to be of great value in the reconstruction of ancient history. Such evidence as is engraved on stones or metals cannot be easily interpolated or tampered with. The epigraphical sources can be more or less satisfactorily dated. The find-spots of the inscriptions throw light on the geographical distribution and location of the patrons. The

inscriptions are mainly donative in nature and are inscribed on the railings, coping-stones, pillars, etc. which were the objects donated.

The inscriptions mention the name of the donor and their native place or the occupation. The names of places occurring in the inscriptions of Bharhut and Sanchi mention nearby as well as far off places. The geographical distance was never a hindrance, and people from Pāṭaliputra, Vidiśā, Nasik, Kośāmbi, etc. were the donors at Bharhut, while at Sanchi, the donors came from Ujjayini, Paithan, Pushkara, Eran, etc. Thus, the inscriptional evidence throws light on the historical, geographical dimension of the period under consideration. An important bi-scriptual epigraph of the Kuṣāṇa period has been discovered at Mathurā. The first three lines are written in Brāhmī and the last in Kharoṣṭhi. This inscription may have been engraved or drafted by a northwesterner who was not an expert in the Brāhmī orthography. The finding of this inscription also points to Mathurā's contact with the Kharoṣṭhi-using northwest frontier of India.⁹⁾

The inscriptions mention the professional groups like *gahapati*, *vanija*, *setthi* and others. The three afore-mentioned groups were groups which appeared to have newly emerged during the age of the Buddha. The preponderance of the merchants and bankers clearly hint towards an enhanced network of trade and commerce. The Buddhist ethics supported these donors who in turn became ardent followers and patrons of the

9. For details, refer to B. D. Chattopadhyaya, 'A Bi-scriptual Epigraph of the Kuṣāṇa Period from Mathurā', *JAIH*, Vol. X III, pp.277-284.

new religion. The Buddhist literature mentions *gahapati* as one of the social groups who are placed among the '*ucca-kula*', that is, 'high born'. This category has been discussed by scholars like Richard Fick,¹⁰ Narendra Wagle¹¹) and recently Uma Chakravarti.¹²) This category did not represent any caste but denoted a householder who was wealthy and a land owner. An important donor group consisted of the monks and nuns, who perhaps made a large number of donations at Bharhut and Sanchi. The inscriptional data project a socio-religious picture which is matched with that of the Buddhist texts. The specific kind of evidence produced by the epigraphs in the form of donors, donees, objects of donations etc. can be dated precisely. The geographical findings of the inscriptions help considerably in ascertaining the places mentioned in them as well as the geographical domain of any religious centre which in the case of our study was far and wide. The location of important sites mentioned in inscriptions on the communication links of *Uttarāpatha* and *Dakṣiṇāpatha* points to the importance of trade and commerce during that age which was closely linked to the phenomenon of the donation giving by classes of merchants and traders.

IV

The present work, as mentioned earlier, is confined to the study of patronage at major Buddhist sites in northern, central and north west

10. Richard Fick, The Social Organisation in North East India in Buddha's Time, Calcutta, 1920.

11. N. N. Wagle, Society at the Time Of Buddha, Bombay, 1966.

12. Uma Chakravarti, The Social Dimensions of Early Buddhism, Delhi, 1987.

India which will include Mathurā, Sanchi, Bharhut, Taxila, Bodhgaya, Sarnath, Śravasti and Kauśambi. This dissertation will be divided mainly into three chapters. The first chapter titled 'The Background' will touch upon the basic tenets of Buddhism, the history of the saṅgha and the changes witnessed within the saṅgha due to the four Councils held after the death of the Buddha upto the time of Kaṇishka. This chapter will also briefly deal with changes in the ideology of patronage in the period c.200B.C. to c.300A.D. The second chapter will exclusively focus on patronage, laying emphasis on the geographical distribution of Buddhist centres followed by a discussion on the objects of donation analysed site wise as well as chronologically. The third and the last chapter will describe the composition of the patrons and the nature of the society in which the patrons lived, by making a site-wise and chronological survey. The three chapters will be followed by a conclusion summing up the main findings of this study.

CHAPTER II

THE BACKGROUND

I. The Saṅgha in the Early Phase

Buddhism has been variously conceived by scholars as a religion, a philosophy, a civilisation or a culture, and there continues a debate on this issue. But here, we are not concerned with this debate. Buddhism which emerged in the sixth century B.C. came as a relief to the society which wanted a replacement for the old Brahmanical religion which was seen as afflicted by the system of stratification of *varṇa*, giving dominance to the Brahmanas and their rituals. So, this religion, representing the life and teaching of the Buddha, spread soon to many parts of India and other adjoining countries mainly due to the missionary activities undertaken by king Aśoka (in third century B.C.) and Kaṇishka (in first century A.D.) as also owing to its spread through commercial networks.

The researches in the field of Buddhist studies started in the 18th and 19th centuries. The inscriptional studies started with the decipherment of Aśokan inscriptions in 1834 by James Prinsep followed by publications of Epigraphia Indica from 1871 onwards and Lüders' 'List of Brahmi Inscriptions' in 1910. The history of Buddhism in India has been a subject of research and many works have appeared on this topic.

Some of them are S. Dutt's The Buddha and Five After Centuries(1957), Ajay Mitra Sastri's Outline of Early Buddhism, the revised edition of N. Macnicol's The Living Religions of the Indian People(1964), L. M. Joshi's Buddhistic Culture of India during the Seventh and Eighth Centuries A.D.(1967), B. N. Chaudhuri's Buddhist Centres in Ancient India(1969), A. K. Warder's Indian Buddhism(1970) and V. P. Varma's Early Buddhism and Its Origins(1973). These books cover the period from the time of Buddha to the succeeding centuries.

The fundamental principles of Buddhism consisted of the Four Noble Truths(*Āryasatyāni*), the Eightfold Path(*Aṣṭāṅgika Mārga*) and the Three Jewels(*Tri-ratna*).

The early Buddhist community was represented mainly by the congregation of the monks called *saṅgha*, held together by monastic codes(*Prātimokkha*) attributed by (i)Buddha, (ii)*Dharma* and (iii)*Saṅgha*. These three objects of veneration, called the 'Three Jewels'(*Tri-ratna*), were the ones to which a devotee surrendered or committed himself or herself at the time of entering the monastic order.

"Monastic institutions were the most remarkable contribution of Buddhism to Indian culture."¹⁾ These monasteries emerged as the major educational centres of Buddhist learning which attracted students from within and outside, and were open to both Buddhists and non-Buddhists. Buddhism, thus, spread in India and abroad mainly as a religion of the

1. N. Dutt, 'Buddhism' in R.C. Majumdar ed., The Age of Imperial Unity, Bombay, 1968, p.277.

people.

The *saṅgha* emerged as one of the major and most important institutions of Buddhism from the fifth century B.C., and this lasted till the twelfth century A.D. when most of the monasteries were destroyed by the invading Turkish armies. The *saṅgha* had a great influence over the society which continued till its collapse.

The *saṅgha* has a two-fold meaning in Buddhism - 'an entire monk-fraternity' or 'the bond of association among monks', referring in the former to a 'body of persons', and in the latter to the 'confederation which makes them one body'.²⁾ As stated earlier, the *saṅgha* along with the Buddha and *Dhamma* constituted the *Tri-ratna* of the Buddhist religious order, and all the three were bonded to one another. The interlinked concepts of the Buddha as the Teacher, the *Dhamma* as the sum total of his teachings and the *saṅgha* as the instrument by which the *Dhamma* fulfills itself, represents the whole cycle of the faith.³⁾

The history of the *saṅgha* depicts the 'historic' or 'concrete' aspect of the religion. The *saṅgha* also had an abstract aspect in which it was regarded as a spiritual entity. What led to the establishment of the *saṅgha* or the monastic order? Initially, the monks were required to live the life of wandering recluses. But during the three months of the rainy season, they were required to live in fixed residence or in *vassā-vāsa*. This rain-retreat gradually led to a settled life for the monks.

2. Sukumar Dutt, Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India, p.20.

3. Ibid., p.22.

During the life time of the Buddha the religious order was established - perhaps only a mendicant order in the beginning - and this trained a number of disciples to carry on his teachings after his death. The rules of conduct for the followers were given by the Buddha himself at Vaiśāli, as the various traditions mention. The Buddha's summary of his doctrines promulgated at Vaiśāli appears to have been common to all scholars of Buddhism.⁴⁾ The followers of Buddhism were divided into two classes - the members of the *saṅgha* consisting of monks or the *bhikkhus*, and the nuns or the *bhikkunis* and the laity consisting of *upāsakas* and *upāsikās*. Thus, the *saṅgha* was differentiated along the lines of monastic members and lay devotees. The rules of conduct for the Buddhists were codified in the *Patimokka* and the *Vinayapīṭaka*. The main rules were as follows:

(1) Ordination and membership;

This was open to both man and woman of any caste. The minimum age limit for initiation as a monk was 15.

(2) Fortnightly assembly and confession;

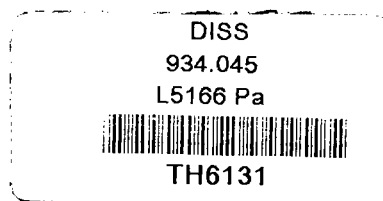
It was held every 8th, 14th and 15th day of a fortnight - called *Uposatha*.

(3) Dress and Food;

Monks were allowed to wear three pieces of garments made of cotton. They had to beg their food.

(4) Monastery;

4. A. K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, Delhi, 1970, p.81.



TH-6131

Buddha laid down rule for the selection of sites for monasteries and their method of construction. The ownership was to be vested in the *saṅghas* of the four quarters.

(5) The *Vassā-Vāsa*;

During rainy season, the monks can live in fixed residence or *vassā-vāsa*. Otherwise, they were to lead a life of wandering recluses.

(6) Special rules for nuns;

It was laid down in the *Bhikkhuni Patimokkha*.

The organisation of the Buddhist religious order was essentially democratic in nature taking a cue from the *gaṇa-saṅgha*(republican) background of its founder, Lord Buddha. Thus, no head or successor after Buddha was nominated. There was no central organisation to co-ordinate the activities of the monastic orders. So, the local *saṅghas* formed a general assembly of their own and carried on their functions. The absence of a central organisation, and geographical distance between various monastic organisations led to the emergence of various sects in Buddhism. The *saṅgha* witnessed a widespread sectarian proliferation from third century B.C. onwards emphasising different philosophical and doctrinal features.

II. The Buddhist Councils and Changes in the Saṅgha

To have a glimpse of the changes which occurred within Buddhism, particularly the *saṅgha*, it would be proper to have a look at the various Buddhist councils which were held after the passing away of the Buddha

Buddhist councils which were held after the passing away of the Buddha and the changes which they introduced. The historical continuity of the *saṅgha* (the monastic organisation) projects a centre of Buddhist practices and also a social basis for the persistence of Buddhist thought and value.

The first Buddhist Council was held just after the death of Buddha at Rajgriha in and about the year 487 B.C. The exact accomplishments of this assembly is not known, but it is generally accepted that the Buddhist scriptures were compiled and the monastic rule and regulations were chalked out. But it is clear that during this time, the Buddhist *saṅgha* was not facing any great schism and there were only some minor differences. The *saṅgha* was clearly differentiated between the two separate groups of monastic elite and the lay devotees.

The *saṅgha* was not allowed to accept gifts according to an ancient sect of Buddhism called *Mahāsuññatāvādins* mentioned in *Kathavatthu*. This act of donation also was not seen to lead to any reward.⁵⁾ But later on, gifts were made to the *saṅgha*, and they were dedicated to the 'Saṅgha of the Four Quarters'. This particular aspect depicted the abstract character of the *saṅgha*. The gift was first dedicated to the ideal *saṅgha* and the donation in the form of wealth was handed over to the real *saṅgha* which was the actual beneficiary. In the concept of *Tri-ratna*, this aspect is emphasised, and it denoted the great confederation of the faithful.⁶⁾

5. See *Kathavatthu*, XVIII, 6-8, (Mrs. Rhys Davids' *Points of Controversy*, p.73.) cited in S. K. Dutt, op.cit., p.23.

6. Sukumar Dutt, op.cit., p.23.

The monk-laity(common man) interaction was a prominent feature of the Buddhist monastic life from the very beginning. The monasteries were the places from where the *saṅgha* functioned. The institutionalisation and development of *saṅgha* also led to the development of monasteries in stages. The main factor which led to this gradual progress was large-scale donations from different sections of the society. This was facilitated by the changes within the *saṅgha* or the Buddhism as a whole which started accepting gift and providing merit to the donor in return.

Thus, the *saṅgha* attracted a lot of donations from the ruling class as well as the common people. This led to an increase and accumulation of wealth by the *saṅgha* which was manifested in the construction of permanent dwelling places(*vihāras* or *ārāmas*), of places of worship(*caitya*, *stūpa*, etc.) and in the acceptance of gifts, including gifts of land. This was also accompanied by a highly differentiated system of specialised roles for administration and teaching.

The *saṅgha* witnessed a widespread sectarian proliferation with the passage of time, each sect emphasising a different philosophy and having its own set of doctrines. The early *saṅgha* was not centralised and the monastic order primarily aimed at maintaining the spiritual independence of each monk. This particular principle may have been behind the differences among the monks leading to various sects.

The socio-religious ethics of the *saṅgha* was well spelt out. The

laity were to follow the 'five precepts' - no killing, no stealing, no lying, no drinking of alcohol and no sex, when they entered the *saṅgha*.

A second Buddhist Council was held at Vaiśāli almost a century after Buddha's death i.e. in and about 387 B.C.⁷⁾ to discuss the discrepancies which had occurred in the teachings and the monastic order of Buddhism. This has been commonly referred to as the 'Great Schism' as it ultimately led to the division of the *saṅgha* into two groups. One group, the *Sthaviravādins* represented the conservative forerunners of the *Theravāda*, and the other represented the more liberal *Mahāsaṅghikas*, whose doctrines were very much similar to the *Mahāyāna* Buddhism which emerged later on around first century A.D. during the reign of Kaṇishka.

It would be appropriate to look at the reasons which led to this schism within the *saṅgha*. There are two distinct traditions regarding this. The well-known tradition mentioned in the *Cullavagga* and *Vinayayakṣudrakavastu* says that the un-Vinayic acts of the Vaiśāli monks which was criticised by the monks of other regions led to the split. The second tradition referred to in *Kathāvatthu* preserved by Vasumitra and others asserts that the break in the *saṅgha* resulted due to the five points of Mahādeva.⁸⁾ Whatever may have been the reason, the split had a geographical background to it. The monks of eastern

7. Various schools differ in assigning the exact date for this first schism. Refer to A.K. Warder, op.cit., pp.213ff.

8. N. Dutt, Early Monastic Buddhism, in II, p.47, cited in G. C. Pande, Studies in the Origines of Buddhism, p.558.

India with their centre at Vaiśāli and having a more democratic set up were opposed by the monks of western India with centres at Kauśambi and Avanti. The Vaiśāli monks refused to forsake the ten rules like storing of salt for future use, taking mid-day meal, over-eating, drinking palm juice, accepting gold and silver, etc. Some scholars have also pointed out that the split occurred not only due to the discrepancies in rules of conduct but also due to the doctrinal differences like the exclusive powers and privileges claimed by *Arhants*, possession of gold and silver by monks, etc.⁹⁾

During the time of this first split in Buddhism, the three main centres were Vaiśāli, Kauśambi and Mathurā. The *Mahāsaṅghikas* became prominent at Vaiśāli and its south-east regions while *Sthaviravādins* at Kauśambi and its south-west regions. The *Sarvāstivādin* sect which evolved directly from *Sthaviravādins* during the middle of the third century B.C. after the Buddha's death was centred mainly at Mathurā and to its north-west areas.¹⁰⁾

Mrs. Rhys Davids has suggested that "the real point at issue was the rights of the individual as well as those of the provincial communities as against the prescriptions of a centralised hierarchy."¹¹⁾ Dr. N. Dutt supporting Mrs. Rhys Davids says that the Vajjians imbued with a thorough democratic spirit would not have submitted to the exclusive powers and privileges which the *Arhants* claimed for themselves.¹²⁾

9. G. C. Pande, *op.cit.*, pp.558-60.

10. See, Przyluski, cited in N. Dutt, *op.cit.*, vol. II, pp.29ff.

11. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Sakya*, Kegan Paul, 1931, p.335.

The schism within Buddhism continued to multiply with the expansion of Buddhism to various parts of India. The *Theravadas* or the western faction were ultimately divided into eleven sects and *Mahāsaṅghikas* into seven,¹³⁾ initiated due to the doctrinal differences and the geographical distances. These sects appeared one after another in close succession three or four hundred years after the *parinirvāṇa* of Buddha.¹⁴⁾ The various texts give different accounts of the sects. There is no unanimity among them. A French scholar, M. André Bareau has arrived at a fairly confident estimate, on the basis of the information available in different traditions.¹⁵⁾ This is represented in the table given in the next page.

The schism and sectarianism in the Buddhist church not only hampered its progress, but led to quarrels and infightings among the monks. Aśoka gave liberal donations to the Buddhist monasteries which attracted many to this fold due to an easier life.¹⁶⁾ This in turn effected the sanctity of the *saṅgha*, and the periodic religious obserances (*uposathas*) were interrupted. This necessitated the calling of the third Council at Pāṭaliputra around 251 B.C.¹⁷⁾ By the Mauryan period, Buddhism had emerged as a distinct religion. The schism was very

12. N. Dutt, op.cit., II, pp.43-44.

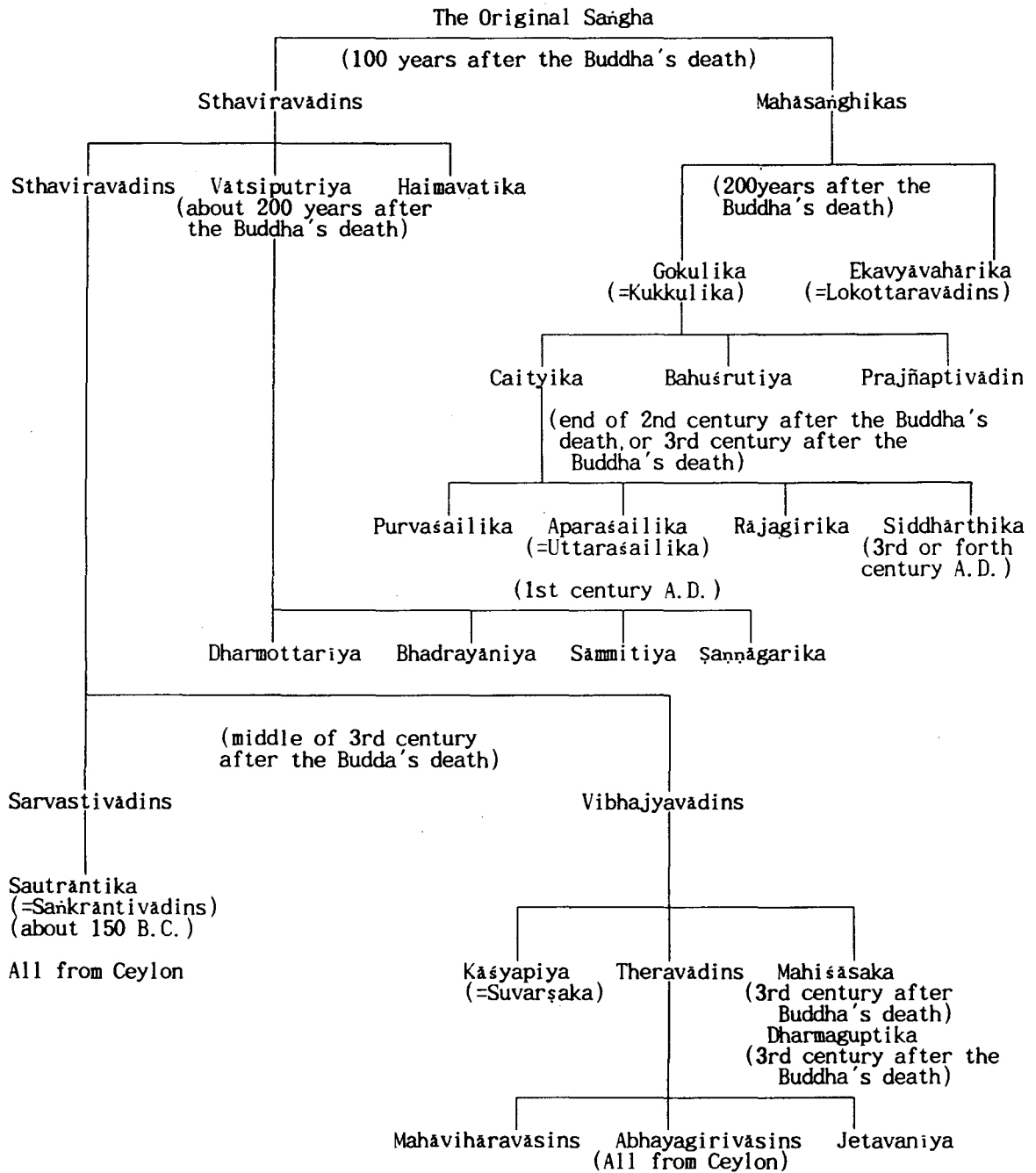
13. Dr. N. Dutt, op.cit., p.380.

14. P. V. Bapat(ed), 2500 Years of Buddhism, p.200.

15. Ibid.

16. The Vinaya text states that many sick people joined the *saṅgha* so that they can have an easy access to medical treatment. cited in Uma Chakravarti, The Social Dimensions of Early Buddhism, Delhi, 1987, p.138.

17. N. N. Ghosh, Early History of India, p.57.



Source: M. André Bareau, cited in 2500 Years of Buddhism.

much there, and this is evident from the Sarnath, Sanchi and Allahabad pillar Edicts of Aśoka¹⁸⁾ in which he speaks of the measures he took to safeguard the unity of *saṅgha* and issued stern warnings to the dissenters. An authorised version of *Abhidharma Pitaka* is said to have been compiled by this Council.

According to some scholars, the third Council was not attended by all Buddhist sects but rather it was confined to the *Theravada* sect only. Whatever be the truth, Aśoka failed to check the spread of schism within Buddhism. But this period was marked by the construction and worship of *stūpas* which gained prominence among Buddhist activities.¹⁹⁾

The post-Mauryan period too witnessed official patronage to Buddhism which it enjoyed during the Mauryan rule. But Buddhism, during post-Mauryan times, more significantly drew its support from the general masses, the laity and so it was in the post-Mauryan phase that official patronage, combined with support from different social groups, led to steady geographical expansion of Buddhism. The popular support, despite some suggestions to the contrary, is evident also during the Śuṅga-Kānva period. It is evident from the widespread *stūpa*-worship in areas over which the Śuṅgas then held sway. The Bharhut and Sanchi

18. Minor Pillar Edict I, Allahabad-Kosam, Sanchi and Sarnath text, D. C. Sircar, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, Delhi, 1967, pp.66-67. The Allahabad-Kosam text reads, "... I have made both the saṅgha of the monks and saṅgha of the nuns united. No heretical monk should be admitted into the saṅgha. Whosoever, be it a monk or be it a nun, shall break up the unity of the saṅgha should be made to wear white robes unworthy of the order and to reside in what is not fit for the residence of a recluse."

19. Xinru Liu, *Ancient India and Ancient China*, Delhi, 1991, p.90.

Stūpas belong to that period, Buddhism had now evolved from a monastic religion into a popular religion having large scale followers among the general masses. This period also saw the widespread worship of the Buddha in symbols like the Bodhitree, *tri-ratna*, etc. as well as the worship of his relics.

Buddhism was adopted by non-local ethnic groups like the Greeks, Śakas and Kuṣāṇas who entered India during the post-Mauryan period. And it was their patronage to Buddhism which saw this religion spreading to Central Asia and China. The Kuṣāṇa rule was particularly very significant in the history of Buddhism. An urban culture born in a community of merchants, artisans and Buddhist monasteries crystallised in the boom of Buddhist art and architecture during the Kuṣāṇa period.²⁰⁾

The Kuṣāṇa period saw great change in the Buddhist doctrine. Kaṇishka, the famous Kuṣāṇa ruler was a great patron of Buddhism. He summoned the Fourth Buddhist Council in Kashmir. Some, however, say that it was held in Jalandhar. Many Buddhist scholars like Vasumitra, Parsva, etc., attended the Council and three authentic commentaries on the three Piṭakas were prepared. This period saw the emergence of *Mahāyānism* which was different from the old *Hīnayānism*. The deification of Buddha accompanied with the Godhood of Buddha marked the ascendancy of *Mahāyānism*. Buddha was now worshipped not in the form of symbols but images. *Mahāyāna* also preached the cult of Bodhisattva and enjoined the householders to practise six *pāramitās* to

20. Ibid., p.5.

attain Bodhisattvahood. While the *Hīnayānists* relied on personal efforts by practice of *Silas* and *Margas* to attain good life and salvation, the *Mahāyānists* relied more on devotion and worship of Buddha for attainment of salvation. In both these respects, *Mahāyānism* was close to changes which were taking place within Brahmanism. *Mahāyāna* Buddhism took Sanskrit as the vehicle of propagation while the *Hīnayāna* texts were written in Pāli.

Mahāyānism had a greater appeal among the masses due to the deification of Buddha, and its rituals and ceremonies. The main strongholds were in Amaravati and Nagarjunakoṇḍa which spread to other parts of north India and spread to Central Asia and China during the Kuṣāṇa period due to the widespread cultural and commercial interaction.

III. Changes in the Ideology of Patronage

Buddhism attracted widespread following in the period under study, that is c. 200 B.C. to c. 300 A.D. The patronage came both from the royal dynasties and the general masses and so Buddhism did not suffer any setback even when non-Buddhist and Brahmanical supports like the Śuṅgas and the Kānvas reigned after the fall of the great Mauryan Empire. It is to be noted that Buddhism depended mainly on the laity for its popular support and was the religion of the common folk. Royal patronage was of secondary importance. The builders of monasteries

were mostly wealthy lay devotees. Such endeavours were mainly acts of individual religious benefaction. The great *stūpas* and monasteries at Bharhut, Sanchi, etc. clearly reveal a vast range of popular patronage. The suggestion, sometimes made, that the Buddhists were prosecuted during the rule of the Śuṅgas does not hold water, as Bharhut and Sanchi flourished, or rather substantial modifications in the existing structures took place then only.

The monks received occasional land-grants or endowments of a permanent kind (sometimes made by a king), but mostly a continuous stream of 'pious gifts' (*Deyadharmā*) in forms of money and kind.²¹⁾

It is from the third century B.C. onwards that the building and worship of *stūpas* gained prominence among Buddhist activities. The worship of relics widened the scope of potential donations to Buddhist institutions.²²⁾ The worship of relic-cults in the form of *stūpas* and *caityas* was well established by then. Patronage to Buddhism in ancient India was expressed through charitable donation (*dāna*). The main idea behind the donation to the religious institutions was acquisition of religious merit.²³⁾ So, it was some sort of a reciprocal exchange. Nāgasena in *Milindapañho* presents a contradictory view when he writes that it was not possible for the laity to attain arhathood while at another place he opines that on the basis of the merit earned in previous birth, the laity can attain *nirvāna*. This suggests a possible trend in which the

21. Sukumar Dutt, *op.cit.*, p.27.

22. Xinru Liu, *op.cit.*, p.90.

23. Barbara Stoler Miller (ed), *The Powers of Art*, Delhi, 1992, p.4.

laity hoped for increased recognition of their patronage in the form of the granting of personal merit(*punya*) to them.²⁴⁾

A close study of the early Buddhist texts like the *Milindapañho*, the *Mahāvastu* and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika*, shows the gradual change in Buddhism in north India during the first three Christian centuries. The change occurred both in Buddhist cosmology and pantheon. The change occurred in the concepts of gift giving (*dāna*) and the idea of reward. The pantheon expanded from one Buddha to many Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. The stress was laid on worship (*pūjā*) and donation (*dāna*), which became the major route to enlightenment. The earlier Pali texts depict that the patrons provided food and lodging to Buddha and his *saṅgha*. But the late Sanskrit texts show that immovable items formed the main donation in the form of monumental *stūpas*, monastery buildings, etc.²⁵⁾ The change in the list of gift items to the Buddhist monks occurred with the passage of time. The earliest *deyyadhamma* mentioned in the *Dīgha nīkāya* (I.61), *Majjhima nīkāya* (II.62) and *Vinaya Piṭaka* (III.89) referred to only four objects of donation : *cīvara* or robe, *piṇḍapāta* or food given as alms, *senāsana* or place for rest and *bhesajja* or medicine. But by the time of *Cullaniddesa* text (dated not earlier than Aśoka's reign), the list had expanded to include fourteen items including *vatta*(clothing), *yāna*(vehicles), *mālā*(garland), *gandha*(perfume), *vilepana*(paste), *avastha*(dwellings) and *pādi-peyya*(oil for lighting lamps)²⁶⁾. This change was a gradual fall out of the growing

24. Xinru Liu, op.cit., p.91.

25. Ibid., p.99.

interaction between the laity and the *saṅgha*. The socio-economic milieu of that period which facilitated large scale overseas trade must have also played an important role in bringing this change in the gift-items. It is also to be kept in mind that the merchant community, artisans, householders were the main donors as Buddhism provided them with a better social status as compared to the Brahmanical order. The coming up of items like oil for lamps, perfume and garlands as gift to the monks and monasteries is equally related to the economic activities of that period. They were the major items of trade and the oil-millers, perfumers and garland-makers were among the important donors at Buddhist monastic sites.²⁷⁾

Another change associated with this act of patronage was in the idea of reward. The early Pali texts offered very few tangible benefits to the laity in return for donations. The only solace for them was an increase in their social status.²⁸⁾ By the Kuṣāṇa period, the reward shifted from the attainment of *nirvāna* to better birth in future and then to the desired effects in this world. The merit acquired through donations could now be transferred and exchanged.²⁹⁾ Thus, we find in many inscriptions that the gifts are given not only for the acquirement of merit (*puṇya*) for oneself but for one's parents, relatives, kinsmen and other fellow beings. The merit was not restricted to what an individual could achieve through his own efforts.

26. H. P. Ray, *The Winds of Change*, Delhi, 1994, p.127.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid., p.128.

29. Xinru Liu, op.cit., p.101.

There is thus a very perceptible shift in the act of patronage from the time of the Buddha to the reign of Kaṇiska. The doctrines preached by Buddha were accepted by many contemporary kings and clans like Bimbisara and Ajatasatu of Magadha, Prasenajit of Kośala, the Lichhavis, the Mallas, etc. Buddhism, to start with, attracted royal patronage but it was precisely during the reign of Aśoka, that a single ruler did so much for the propagation of this religion. In this case, the patronising effort was also reciprocated by the *saṅgha* in the form of providing legitimacy to the rule of the king concerned. The patronage to Buddhist institution was confined to Magadha and its adjoining areas. With the royal support, Buddhism spread rapidly and soon the laity emerged as its primary patrons. The patrons were mainly the merchants (*vaniks*) and the *kulaputras*, that is, 'son of good family' who were either *kṣatriyas* or the traders. The simple act of alms giving gradually gave way to elaborate gift givings and building of religious buildings in the form of *caityas*, *vihāras*, etc. As has already been pointed out, this change also came due to the changes occurring in the Buddhist ideology itself brought about by schism and validated by the different Councils.

The period of the Kuṣāṇas helped to make Buddhism a cosmopolitan religion as it held sway over a vast area, including Central Asia. So, we find patrons from different regions, irrespective of their social status and ethnic origin. The basic reasons for the patronage of Buddhism by these foreigners like the Greeks and Iranians were two. First, the Buddhist doctrines appealed to them, secondly, the Buddhist

sacred places like monasteries provided a proper place for them to make contacts among the natives and build trust. The royal patronage was still limited in the Kuṣāṇa period as we have no record of land grants being given by the kings to monasteries. We have such evidences among the contemporary Satavahana rulers in western Deccan. A remarkable aspect of the Kuṣāṇa polity was that they not only gave donations to Buddhist institutions but also extended it to the Jain and Brahmanical institutions although Buddhism was the dominant religion.

The ascendancy of Mahāyāna Buddhism in the Kuṣāṇa period was followed by the creation of images of Buddha, Bodhisattvas and other ancillary deities associated with Buddhism. The major centres of art appeared in Mathurā, Gandhara, and Amravati in the south. The Buddhist centres and monasteries also multiplied in course of time which was witnessed right from the Mauryan and post-Mauryan period. For example, during the reign of the Śuṅgas and Kānvas, various *stūpas* and monasteries flourished at Bodhgaya, Bharhut, Sanchi, Vidiśā and western India (Karle, Kanheri, Bhaja, Nasik, etc.)

The Buddhist monasteries were built mainly in places having economic importance as trade centres or lying on the important trade-routes. For example, Taxila in the north-west was the starting point of the *Uttarapatha* (the ancient route from Taxila via Mathurā to Pāṭalipuṭra). Mathurā lying on the nodal point of both *Uttarapatha* and *Dakṣiṇapatha* emerged as an important city between the period 2nd century B.C. and 3rd century A.D. and it coincided with its growing

religious importance for the Buddhists as well as the Jainas. Bharhut and Sanchi in Central India were located along a major communication route.

The progress of Buddhism occurred at a time when urbanisation and trade were developing. The ideological affiliation of the traders to Buddhism was quite natural as its doctrines encouraged the expansion of trade—both inland and oversea. 'The act of patronage is a feeling of belongingness to a certain shared ideology or the social practice for which it is being done'.³⁰⁾ Buddhism had a wide social base and so drew patronage from different sections of society – high, middle or low. Not only kings and members of royal families gave liberal donations but even non-royal patronage was forthcoming on a scale surpassing the former. At Bharhut and Sanchi, we have evidence of patronage from royal householders as well as common people. At Mathurā, not a single Buddha image was donated by a royal patron.³¹⁾ The geographical expansion of Buddhism attracted patrons from far off places too. Donors of Sanchi were mostly from the Malwā region, but at Mathurā, Bharhut and Taxila, they belonged to different areas. For example, in Bharhut, people from Pāṭaliputra,³²⁾ Vidiśā,³³⁾ Purikā,³⁴⁾ etc. donated for the construction of Buddhist pillars and railings.

30. Y. Alone, 'Forms and Patronage in Early Buddhist Art and Architecture: A Study of Nasik and Junnar', M.Phil Dissertation, J.N.U., 1991(Unpublished), p.63.

31. Barbara S. Miller, *op. cit.*, p.5.

32. Bharhut Buddhist Railing Inscriptions, A.13, (818) CII, Vol. II, Part II, P.18, A.15, (816) *Ibid.*, p.20

33. Bharhut Buddhist Pillar Inscription, A.30, *Ibid.*, p.25.

34. Bharhut Buddhist Pillar Inscription, A.21, *Ibid.*, pp.21-22.

The donors also represented different occupational groups which were explicitly mentioned in many of the inscriptions. The names of donors included men as well as women, householders and ascetics, monks and nuns, guilds and merchants, government officials and private persons. Individual as well as collective donations are recorded. All the donations were voluntary in nature. The details regarding these aspects of patronage will be dealt with in the following chapters.

CHAPTER III

PATRONAGE

This Chapter will mainly focus on the geographical distribution of Buddhist centres with emphasis on Bharhut, Sanchi, Mathurā, and Taxila. The patronage to this new religion was extended both by royal patrons and lay followers. This was expressed in the form of donations to Buddhist religious structure and buildings through the institution of *saṅgha*. The object of donation will also be analysed site-wise as well as chronologically.

I

A Study of the Geographical Distribution of Centres.

Patronage may be seen as 'a multi-dimensional, sometimes loosely codified network of exchanges involving not only the production of art and literature, but also its performance, transmission, re-interpretation and preservation.'¹⁾ Buddhism which emerged on the Indian scene in 6th century B.C. found an easy acceptance among the common masses of that time. Initially, the propagation of Buddhism was facilitated by royal support provided by kings of Magadha, Kośala, Vaiśāli, etc. The socio-economic milieu of the period also helped in its spread. The royal patronage to Buddhism was well marked during the reign of Aśoka, who was instrumental in disseminating this religion to regions inside as well

1. Barbara S. Miller, The Power of Art, p.3.

as outside India. The patronage was marked by the construction of pillars at several places like Rampurwa, Lauriya Nandangarh, etc., the construction of *stūpas* like the one at Sanchi, enlargement of *stūpa* like at Nigali Sagar, pilgrimage to important Buddhist sites like Lumbini accompanied with favours like exemption from taxes, and despatch of missionaries to different parts of India and abroad which included his son and daughter. Even later on, the patronising act was carried out through missionary activities coupled with large-scale construction of Buddhist religious institutions like the *vihāras*, *caityas*, *stūpas*, etc. and the execution of art works like sculptures and paintings. Buddhism which sprang up in the region of Nepal-Bihar-U.P. soon engulfed the whole of northern India by the Mauryan period and spread far south upto Amravati thus encompassing almost the whole of India. The spread was far and wide but there were few important cities and places which emerged as the major centres of Buddhism.

The places connected with the life of Buddha emerged as holy places for the Buddhists. They were Lumbini(the birth-place), Bodhgayā(where he attained Enlightenment), Sarnāth(where he delivered his first sermon) and Kasia/Kusinagar(where he attained *mahaparinirvāṇa*). To these four places were added another four places where Buddha is said to have performed some miracles like those of Srāvasti, Sānkāśya, Rajagriha and Vaiśāli. Besides, there were places like Nālanda, Kauśambi, etc. which were visited by Buddha in his life time and became important Buddhist centres. It was quite natural that these

places attracted devotees from different places who constructed *stūpas*, monasteries, etc.²⁾

But there emerged centres like Sanchi and Taxila which were in no way connected to the life of the great Master. James Heitzman's study of the spread of Buddhist institutions shows that they were closely connected with urban settlements, trade routes and imperial domains.³⁾ Thus, sites like Taxila, Mathurā and Vidiśā, close to which Sanchi was located, were important urban centres where Buddhist monasteries and structures have been excavated. Some of the Buddhist centres were situated on the trade routes. This was particularly important in the western Deccan where the very survival of the Buddhist centres depended on trade routes.⁴⁾

A hypothesis given for the proliferation of *stūpas* is traced to a tradition according to which king Aśoka opened the eight out of the ten original *stūpas* and distributed the relics of the Buddha into 84,000 *stūpas* which he erected throughout his vast empire.⁵⁾ This number is definitely an exaggerated one but the fact remains that the construction and worship of the *stūpas* gained momentum from Mauryan period as it symbolised the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha. It is equally well known among the Buddhist themselves that the *stūpa* did not become an object of marked veneration until the time of Aśoka. By the beginning of the

2. Krishna Deva, Archaeological Remains, Monuments and Museum, pp.85-86.

3. Xinru Liu, Ancient India and Ancient China, p.107.

4. H.P. Ray, Monastery and Guild: Commerce under the Satavahana, cited in *ibid.*, p.107.

5. K. Deva, *op.cit.*, p.86.

Christian era, the *stūpa* had become the nucleus of every monastery in India.⁶⁾

The Buddhist monastic establishment was the first religious institution to receive royal support in the form of grants and donations. The main spurt in this field was witnessed during the Mauryan period. Buddhism was confined mainly in the major trade-routes in the Ganga-Yamuna doab region like Pāṭaliputra, Kauśambi, Mathurā, etc. There were some other centres too like Sanchi and Amaravati. Thus, we find that it was mainly the large cities which supported these religious institutions during the Mauryan period. But later on, there was a shift and even small places came to be endowed with *caityas* and *stūpas*. The geographical distribution of such Buddhist centres was all over India. The major centres like Bharhut and Sanchi were located in central India, Mathurā in north India, Taxila in north-west India, Karle and Nasik in west India and Amaravati in the south India.

Bharhut is located in the district of Satna at the northern end of the valley of Mahiyar which is rich in mineral wealth.⁷⁾ It occupied an important point in a trade route.⁸⁾ The Bharhut *Stūpa* with its railing and gateways was constructed in different periods extending over almost a hundred year. The construction was carried out mainly through the

6. Sir John Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, p.98.

7. A. Cunningham, *The Stupa of Bharhut*, p.1.

8. For details. see. H.P. Ray, 'Bharhut and Sanchi: Nodal points in a commercial Interchange' B.M. Pande and B.D. Chattopadhyaya(ed), *Archaeology and History*, Vol. II, pp.621-29.

donations from common masses consisting of monks, nuns, inhabitants of certain places, etc.. The royal patronage in the form of donations by members of royal family was restricted to a mere four donations out of the total one hundred and thirty six donative inscriptions.

The donors belonged to different places. The native place of the donors is mentioned in many of the inscriptions. An analysis of native places of donors at Bharhut shows that they came from different areas such as Kauśāmbi, Nasik, Vidiśa, Pāṭaliputa, Bhojakata, etc. Thus, geographical proximity was not a major factor which attracted the donors. The major factor which attracted the common people to the religious centres and induced them to make gifts was the earning of religious merit. Although this was clearly mentioned as the purpose for making the gift or donation in a religious institution like the *vihāra*, *caitya* and *saṅga* etc., the latent purpose was able to acquire prestige or status in the society. This prestige came from making the gift involving wealth which depicted one's socio-economic status and also the acquirement of the religious merit after returning from the religious centres.

At Bharhut, about fifty-two votive inscriptions are given by inhabitants of certain places which are clearly mentioned. The donations were collective as well as individual. The maximum donations came from the inhabitants of Vidiśā, that is, six, followed by Karahakāṭa, Purikā, Moragiri - five each; Chudaṭhila, Pāṭaliputa - three each, Bhojokāṭa, Bibikanadikāṭa, Chikulanās - two each, and about nineteen

places - one each.

Some places mentioned in the Bharhut votive inscriptions are definitely identified while others are tentatively identified or remain unidentified. The identified places are Karahakaṭa, Kauśambi, Nāsika, Paṭāliputa, Purikā, Bhojakaṭa and Vedisa. Karahakaṭa is the modern Karhād in the district of Satara in Maharashtra situated on the confluence of the Kṛṣṇā and Koinā.⁹⁾ Kośambi or Kauśambi is the modern Kosam situated on the left bank of the Yamuna, about thirty miles to the west of Allahabad.¹⁰⁾ Nāsika is the modern Nasik in Maharashtra situated on the Godavari,¹¹⁾ Pataliputa or Pāṭaliputra is the modern Patna, the capital of Bihar.¹²⁾ As pointed out in according to the Khila-Harivaṁśa (viṣṇuparvan XXXVIII, 20-22), Purikā was a town between two ranges of the Vindhya mountains.¹³⁾ Bhojakaṭa, the second capital of Vidarbha(Berar) is identified with the modern Bhojpur in Bhopal, six miles to the south-east of Bhilsa.¹⁴⁾ Vedisa is identical with modern Vidiśā which is located close to the *stūpa* site of Sanchi, at the point where river Bes and Betwa divided into branches.¹⁵⁾

A few places have been tentatively identified. Asitamasā, according to Cunningham, was situated on the bank of Tamasā or Touse river in

9. N.L. Dey, The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, p.92, CII, Vol. II, part II, p.8.

10. Ibid., pp.96-97, CII., op. cit.

11. Ibid., p.139, 147, CII., op. cit.

12. Ibid., p.151ff, CII., op. cit.

13. CII., op. cit.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid., p.9.

Rewa district of Madhya Pradesh.¹⁶⁾ Kākanidī is mentioned in Buddhist texts, Jain sources and Sanskrit grammatical literature. The exact location of this place is not known but the sources just refer to it as a place in the East.¹⁷⁾ Nandīnagara is generally identified with Nandigrāma or Nandigaon in Oudh, situated eight or nine miles to the south of Faizabad in Uttar Pradesh.¹⁸⁾ It is also identified with Nandner (near Tonk).¹⁹⁾ Benākāṭa was probably situated on the Veṅva river in the region of Nasik or is identified with Warangal situated in Andhra Pradesh.²⁰⁾ Bhogavaḍhana or Bhogavardhana is mentioned in several early Brāhmi inscriptions and Sanskrit texts. According to the Purāṇas, this place was located between Aśmaka and Koṅkaṇa, somewhere in the Godavari valley.²¹⁾ It is definitely identical with the recently excavated archaeological site of Bhokardan which was closely associated with the rule of the Sātavāhanas and the Vākāṭakas. Moragiri (Mayūragiri) is also mentioned in Sanchi inscriptions by the names Chuḍa-moragiri and Mahā-moragiri and is not definitely located.²²⁾ Venuragāma (Veṅukagrāma) as mentioned in the inscription (A52) clearly depicts that it was a suburb of Kośambi. Cunningham identified this place with the modern village of Ben-Purwa lying to the north-east of Kośambi. Modern Belgaum in the Deccan is also sometimes thought to represent this place.²³⁾ Hultzsch

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid., N.L. Dey, op. cit., p.138

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid., p.32, f.n.5.

21. Ibid., pp.9-10

22. Ibid., p.10.

23. Ibid.

tried to identify Sirispada with a village named Śirisrapadraka mentioned in two inscriptions of the Gurjara dynasty.²⁴⁾ The other places mentioned in the Bharhut inscriptions like Kamuchu, Khujatiduka, Chikulana(Chekulana),²⁵⁾ Chudāthila, Therākuṭa, Dabhina, Nagara, Paḍela,²⁶⁾ Parakaṭa, Parikina, Bahaḍa, Bibikanadikaṭa²⁷⁾ and Selapura are not yet identified.

A survey of the places of origin of the donors clearly shows that Bharhut as an important Buddhist centre attracted visitors not only from its nearby areas but also from distant places who made monetary contribution towards the embellishment and ornamentation of the monument. Bharhut as a centre of culture and trade must have attracted people on a large scale.

Sanchi, located in the district of Raisen, was a flourishing settlement on which stūpas, monasteries and temples dating from the Mauryan period to the medieval ages continued to be built.²⁸⁾ The original *stūpa*(I) was built during the reign of king Aśoka which was enlarged one century later by adding stone railings, etc. Sanchi had no apparent connection with the life of Buddha and emerged as an important Buddhist centre due to geographical and commercial reasons. In the

24. Ibid.

25. B.N. Barua and K.G.Sinha in Barhut Inscriptions, have tried to identify this place with Chaul near Bombay. See, CIL, op. cit., p.10. f.n.11.

26. Barua-Sinha opine that Paḍela is definitely the ancient name of Panderia in Bilaspur, Madhya Pradesh. See, CIL, op. cit., f.n.13.

27. Barua-Sinha on the basis of the name has tried to locate this place in the region of the Bimbika river. CIL, op. cit., f.n.14.

28. Debala Mitra, Buddhist Mounments, Calcutta, 1980(reprint), p.96.

period 200 B.C. to A.D. 300, there was a great increase in the monastic sites which were located mainly on trade routes.²⁹⁾ The growing interaction between Buddhist monastic institutions and merchants and trading groups also helped in the growth of monastic establishments.

Sanchi is situated on a low ridge of a sandstone hill on the left bank of the Betwa river. This provides it with a strategic location. Sanchi as well as Bharhut were situated along a line in Central India that separated northern India from the peninsular India. Bharhut in the Mauryan period was ideally located to control commercial traffic from the Deccan to Magadha while Sanchi handled trade items from West Asia as well as south India.³⁰⁾ At both places, the donors belonged to an extensive geographical area.

The initial emergence of Sanchi *Stūpa* during the Mauryan period is attributed to Aśoka's association with Vidiśā during his tenure as viceroy of Ujjayini. He had married a daughter of a banker (*śreṣṭhi*) of this city and she was a devotee of Buddha. This was cited as the possible reason for selecting this site.³¹⁾ But once established, this monastic site expanded with the passage of time by adding several other *stūpas* and temples. Sanchi provides more votive inscriptions than Bharhut. Many of the donors belonged to Ujjain and villages lying in the vicinity of Sanchi. Sanchi's connection with Ujjain is attested by the numerous Ujjayinī votive inscriptions found there. Ujjain was an

29. H.P. Ray, *The Winds of Change*, p.142.

30. H.P. Ray, 'Bharhut and Sanchi: Nodal Points in a Commercial Interchange', pp.622, 626.

31. Debala Mitra, *Buddhist Monument*, p.97.

important city through which passed the important routes to the west coast and to south India, that is *Dakṣiṇapatha*. Ujjain was also connected with the port of Barygaza as pointed out in the *Periplus*.³²⁾ Thus, Ujjayinī was an important link both in internal as well as external trade. Sanchi was also intimately connected with the great city Vidiśā which dates back to early times. Vidiśā was important due to its commanding position at the junction of the Beś and Betwa rivers, the latter providing water transportation during the rainy season. It was also commercially located and two great trade routes, one of which ran west to east from the western seaports to Ujjayinī, Kauśāmbi and Kāśī to Pāṭaliputra and the other from south-west to north-east from Pratiśthāna(Paithan) to Śravastī as well as to other cities in Kośāla and Pañchāla passed through it. Vidiśā, which is about 140 miles from Ujjayinī must have had close commercial and other ties with it.³³⁾

The donors at Sanchi came from various places, and at least 90 places find mention in various inscriptions. In the absence of sufficient data, it is difficult to ascertain the exact location of most of the places mentioned in the inscriptions. The largest number of donors hailed from Kurara or Kuraghara(Kuraragriha). This place is mentioned in the *Jātakas* and is identified with Kuraghara in Avanti or western Malwa.³⁴⁾ The second largest number of donors came from Ujeni or Ujjayinī also located in western Mālwa. It also represented a district(āhāra)³⁵⁾ which

32. Xinru Liu, *Ancient India and Ancient China*, p.30.

33. John Marshall and A. Foucher, *The Monument of Sanchi*, p.2.

34. *Ibid.*, p.299.

35. Sanchi Inscription. Nos. 164, 359.

included Navagāma³⁶⁾ and Morajabhikaṭa³⁷⁾ mentioned in eight and six inscriptions respectively. Next comes Nadinagara or Nandinagara which also finds mention in the Bharhut inscriptions. The exact identification of the former has not yet been done while latter is the modern Besnagar. Bühler identifies Nandinagara with Nander. The general conclusion is that the people of the Malwa region of which Sanchi was a part met the cost of the erection of the *stūpas* and its accessory structures.

Some other places mentioned in the inscriptions which have been identified are as follows: Prathithana(Paithan), Bhogavardhana³⁸⁾ (Bhokardan), Mahisati(Maheswar), Dharakina(Evan), Tubavana(Tumain) and Pokhara³⁹⁾(Pushkara). John Marshall⁴⁰⁾ on the basis of the *Suttanipāta* has identified the few places mentioned above. This text describes the route from the banks of the Godāvārī in the Aśmaka country to Vaiśālī via the Vindhya which touched places like Patitṭhana, Māhissati, Ujjeni, Goṇaddha, Vediśā, and Vanasahvaya or Tumbavana in sequence. Marshall points out that all these places appear in the Sanchi inscriptions. People who frequented the trade-route made contributions towards the construction of the donation of the *stūpa*. Goṇaddha which is mentioned twice can be located between Ujjayinī and Vidiśā. Aboda is identified with Mount Abu(Arbuda) in Rajasthan. The places still not identified are as follows : Abeyaka⁴¹⁾, Achāvaḍa/Achavaṭ/Acchāvāṭa⁴²⁾,

36. Sanchi Inscription. Nos. 33, 70, 164, 165, 183, 184, 185, 261.

37. Sanchi Inscription. Nos. 157, 158, 159, 359, 385, 643.

38. This place is also mentioned in Bharhut Inscriptions.

39. H.P. Ray, op. cit., p.626, See also f.n. 67, 68, 69, 71, 72 and 73 of the article.

40. John Marshall, op. cit., pp.299-300.

41. Sanchi Inscription. Nos. 211, 212.

Adhapura⁴³⁾, Ājanāva⁴⁴⁾, Amatika⁴⁵⁾, Anammita⁴⁶⁾,
Arapana/Arupāna/Arāpāna⁴⁷⁾, Asavati⁴⁸⁾, Āṭhakanagar⁴⁹⁾, Avāḍhi⁵⁰⁾,
Bedakaḍa⁵¹⁾, Bhadanakada⁵²⁾, Cahata⁵³⁾, Cirāti⁵⁴⁾, Cuḍagirikshudragiri⁵⁵⁾,
Cuḍamoragiri⁵⁶⁾, Dakhiṇaji⁵⁷⁾, Dhamavaḍhana⁵⁸⁾, Ejavata/Ejāvati⁵⁹⁾, Goṇada
60), Ijavati⁶¹⁾, Kacupatha⁶²⁾, Kamdaḍigāma⁶³⁾, Kapasi/Kapāsi/Kāpāsi-gama
64), Katakañuya⁶⁵⁾, Ketateyaka⁶⁶⁾, Koḍijila⁶⁷⁾, Kuthukapada⁶⁸⁾,
Maḍalāchikaṭa/Maḍalāchikaḍa⁶⁹⁾, Madhuvana⁷⁰⁾, Mahāmoragiri⁷¹⁾, Osena⁷²⁾,
Pāḍāna⁷³⁾, Pāḍukulikā⁷⁴⁾, Paripana⁷⁵⁾, Pāthūpaka⁷⁶⁾, Pedita⁷⁷⁾,

42. Sanchi Inscription. Nos. 397, 403, 660/ 279, 412, 593/ 567.(here after SI.)

43. SI. No. 686.

44. SI. Nos. 659, 718.

45. SI. No. 429.

46. SI. Nos. 655, 669.

47. SI. Nos. 250, 357/ 62, 263, 631/ 224, 336.

48. SI. Nos. 322 345

49. SI. No. 628.

50. SI. No. 462.

51. SI. Nos. 217, 218.

52. SI. No. 300.

53. SI. No. 302.

54. SI. Nos. 106, 567, 713.

55. SI. No. 64.

56. SI. Nos. 478, 578, 642.

57. SI. No. 467.

58. SI. Nos. 96, 97, 98.

59. SI. Nos. 39, 226/ 520.

60. SI. Nos. 615, 617.

61. SI. No. 63.

62. SI. Nos. 180, 181.

63. SI. Nos. 41, 42, 43, 44, 45.

64. SI. Nos. 495/ 582/ 143, 146, 526, 539.

65. SI. Nos. 150, 151, 152, 190, 366, 480, 575, 584.

66. SI. Nos. 30. 361.

67. SI. Nos. 147.

68. SI. Nos. 230, 376.

69. SI. Nos. 304, 305, 312, 315, 378, 540.

70. SI. Nos. 50, 155, 228, 287, 295, 296.

71. SI. No. 298.

72. SI. Nos. 507, 512.

73. SI. Nos. 186, 658.

Pemata/Pemuta⁷⁸⁾, Perikupa⁷⁹⁾, Phujakapada⁸⁰⁾, Poḍaviḍa⁸¹⁾, Pulapha⁸²⁾, Puñavadhana⁸³⁾, Puruviḍa⁸⁴⁾, Rohaṇipada⁸⁵⁾, Sagari⁸⁶⁾, Sānukagāma⁸⁷⁾, Sasāda⁸⁸⁾, Sedakaḍa⁸⁹⁾, Setapatha/Svetapatha⁹⁰⁾, Sonada⁹¹⁾, Subhagapatha⁹²⁾, Takārāpada/Takāripada/Tākāripada⁹³⁾, Tambalamada⁹⁴⁾, Triḍapada⁹⁵⁾, Udubaraghara⁹⁶⁾, Ugira⁹⁷⁾, Ujani⁹⁸⁾, Ujenihara⁹⁹⁾, Vāḍivahana/Vaḍivahana¹⁰⁰⁾, Vāghumata¹⁰¹⁾, Veja¹⁰²⁾, Vejaja¹⁰³⁾, Vepa¹⁰⁴⁾, Verohakaṭa¹⁰⁵⁾, Vitiriṇaha¹⁰⁶⁾, Yugapaja.¹⁰⁷⁾ Thus, the great majority of places are not yet identified.

-
74. SI. Nos. 635, 649.
 75. SI. No. 350.
 76. SI. No. 697.
 77. SI. No. 284.
 78. SI. Nos. 569/ 249, 311.
 79. SI. No. 732.
 80. SI. No. 129.
 81. SI. Nos. 282, 283, 286.
 82. SI. No. 435.
 83. SI. Nos. 278, 594.
 84. SI. No. 592.
 85. SI. Nos. 328, 329, 331, 332, 522, 715.
 86. SI. No. 687.
 87. SI. No. 367.
 88. SI. Nos. 310, 671.
 89. SI. No. 658.
 90. SI. Nos. 475/ 89.
 91. SI. No. 684.
 92. SI. No. 161.
 93. SI. Nos. 585/ 613/ 606.
 94. SI. No. 223.
 95. SI. Nos. 176, 177.
 96. SI. Nos. 191, 194, 216, 650, 652.
 97. SI. No. 111.
 98. SI. No. 49.
 99. SI. Nos. 164, 165, 359.
 100. SI. Nos. 22, 327, 487, 543, 612, 676/ 24/ 198.
 101. SI. Nos. 138, 264.
 102. SI. No. 578.
 103. SI. Nos. 139, 308.
 104. SI. No. 734.
 105. SI. No. 306.
 106. SI. No. 598.
 107. SI. No. 288.

Taxila was situated in the doab between the Indus and Jhelum rivers. Presently, it is about 20 miles to the north-west of Islamabad.¹⁰⁸⁾ Taxila, situated in the north-west, was the starting point of the Uttarpatha. The archaeological findings consist of three cities - Bhir Mound, Sirkap and Sirsukh and numerous Buddhist monuments, mainly *stūpas* and monasteries scattered around the cities. The establishments flourished largely on the economic prosperity of the cities.¹⁰⁹⁾ The two cities Bhir mound and Sirsukh were not associated with any Buddhist monuments or remains. Sirkap, the second city which was one of the capital of the Indo-Greeks in the 2nd century B.C. and continued to be occupied for the next few centuries or so under the Śakas, Parthians and the early Kuṣāṇas, contains Buddhist structures in large numbers. This area was the ancient territory of Gandhara.¹¹⁰⁾ Sirkap is also stated to have been the place where Buddha cut off his head in a previous birth.
111)

Taxila occupied an important place in the ancient history of India as it was strategically located in the north-western frontier of the country. It was captured by Alexander during his campaign in 326 B.C. and later became a part of the Mauryan empire under Chandragupta. It was successively under the rule of the Indo-Greeks, Śakas, and Kuṣanas. Taxila also contained the famous university of northern India up to the

108. John Marshall, A Guide to Taxila, p.1.

109. Debala Mitra, Buddhist Monuments, p.124.

110. Ibid., pp. 115-29, Also see, H.P. Ray, The Winds of Change, p.137.

111. N.L. Dey, The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, p.201.

first century A.D. like Vallabhi of western, Nalanda of eastern and Kanchipuram of south.¹¹²⁾ Taxila also happened to be the meeting place of three great trade routes : (i) running from Pāṭaliputra to north-west of the Mauryan empire, (ii) from western Asia through Bactria, Kāpiśā and Pushkalāvati(Peshawar) and so across the Indus at Ohind to Taxila, and (iii) from Kashmir and Central Asia through Śrinagar valley and Bāramula to Manshera and so down the Hārīpur valley. These Trade-routes linked India to Central and Western Asia and facilitated the existence as well as prosperity and greatness of Taxila.¹¹³⁾ It also had some natural advantages like well-watered valleys, impressive landscapes and good climate. Strabo and Plutarch wrote about its fertile soil. It was a meeting ground for the indigenous and the foreign populations. Taxila was, thus, an important centre of culture, commerce and education. These all helped Taxila in retaining its urban character till the decline of trade pushed it into obscurity around fifth century A.D. The disruption in the foreign trade pushed Taxila into insignificance. Some Buddhist monuments did survive in the post-fifth century period but there was no sign of urban features.¹¹⁴⁾

The Taxila region had a variety of donations in the form of copper plate, silver plate, gold plate, casket inscriptions etc. but the native palces of the donors is not mentioned in most of the inscriptions. In one of the inscriptions, it is mentioned that the donor Dashatota was the son of

112. Ibid.

113. John Marshall, op. cit., pp.1-2.

114. R. S. Sharma, Urban Decay in India, Delhi, 1987, p.12.

Poshapuri, that is, of the Peshawarian scions.¹¹⁵⁾ Thus, in this case the donor belonged to Peshawar(Puruṣapura) which was located north-west to Taxila. The Bimarān Vase Inscription¹¹⁶⁾ refers to the donor Sivarakshita as the Mujavat scion or an individual of the Mūjavantas. Mūjavanta is identified with one of the mountains to the south of Kashmir in the Himalayas.¹¹⁷⁾ Sten Konow identifies it as a tribe and writes that 'a tribe called Mūjavat is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* together with north-western ethnics such as Balhika and Gandhāri'.¹¹⁸⁾ The town of Noacha or Noachaa, which is not yet identified, is mentioned as the residence of the donor who was a Bactrian.¹¹⁹⁾ Thus, the place was not located in the neighbourhood of Taxila. In the case of Taxila, it is difficult to pin-point the domicile of the donors. But, on the basis of the fact that Taxila as a centre of education, trade and art attracted students, merchants, artists, etc. from various parts of the country, the donors must have come from far and wide. Like Sanchi¹²⁰⁾, a few donations at Taxila¹²¹⁾ were made by Greeks which is evident from their names like Meridakh Theodoros, Thaidora, etc. The place where the donation was given was not confined to the city of Taxila only but covered the whole area coming under Taxila as well as its adjoining areas. The kingdom of Taxila was bounded on the north by the mountains of Kashmir, on the

115. the Ara Inscription of Kanishka II, The year 41, EI, XIV, pp. 130-143.

116. CII., Vol. II, Part I, pp.50-52.

117. N.L. Dey, op. cit., p. 132, B.C. Law, Historical Geography of Ancient India, p. 112.

118. CII., op. cit., p.51.

119. CII., op. cit., p.75, 77.

120. SI. Nos. 433, 475.

121. Bharhut Inscription No. A 1 and 2, CII., Vol. II, part I, pp.1-5.

west by the Indus, and on the east by the Jhelum and the lower reaches of the Chenāb, including the Panjnād. Thus, it included the modern districts of Islamabad, Jhelum, Miārwāli and Muzaffargarh as well as the lowlands of Hazara and those parts of Shāhpur and Jhang which lie west of the Jhelum.¹²²⁾ Some of the places where the donations were made are Mānikiāla, a village located some 20 miles south-east from Islamabad¹²³⁾, Pājā, a ridge and village between Jamālgarhi and Takht-i-Bāhī in Yusufzai¹²⁴⁾; the village Shāhpur was located in Taxila near Dharmarajika Stūpa,¹²⁵⁾ the Pathan village¹²⁶⁾ situated in the Swat valley and Kshema, located in the north-eastern region of Taxila.¹²⁷⁾

Mathurā, situated on the Yamuna river in Uttar Pradesh was a leading city in the period between the second century B.C. and the third century A.D., and its importance was due to its nodal and transit position on both the Uttarapatha and Dakṣiṇāpatha routes in the post-Mauryan periods.¹²⁸⁾ Buddhism existed in Mathurā for several centuries. Here lived the famous disciples of the Buddha named Mahākaccāyana and Upagupta, the guide of Aśoka.¹²⁹⁾ Mathurā as an important commercial town connected Gandhara region with the inland towns of Ganga basin and those of Ujjayinī-Bharuch route. It became a centre of artistic activity against the background of vast international trade, extensive

122. John Marshall, *op. cit.*, p.9.

123. *EI*, XII, p.299.

124. *CII.*, *op. cit.*, pp.63-65.

125. *Ibid.*, pp.4-5.

126. *Ibid.*, pp.1-3.

127. *Ibid.*, pp.23-29.

128. H.P. Ray, *The Wind of Change*, p.137.

129. B.C. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 107.

cosmopolitan contacts and urban prosperity under the Kuṣāṇas.¹³⁰⁾ Mathurā became an important urban centre in the first century A.D. as evident from the coins, inscriptions and archaeology. It traded in many luxury and prestige items which mainly found their way to Roman empire.¹³¹⁾ The strategic geographical location and the communication network also contributed to its rise. Mathurā is included in the list of important cities in *Milindapañho*¹³²⁾ which is dated to c. 1st century A.D.. But under the Kuṣāṇas, it became the second capital and a cultural centre. The excavations at Mathurā substantiate the continuous growth of this city. This city witnessed the co-existence of Buddhism, Jainism and Brahmanism in the period under consideration. The donative inscriptions were found for all the three religions. The native places of donors are specified in some cases. A donation given in the Scythian period was from a resident belonging to the country of the Pañchālas.¹³³⁾ Pañchāla was originally the country north and west of Delhi, from the foot of the Himalaya to the river Chambal, but it was afterwards divided into north and south Pañchāla, separated by the Ganges,¹³⁴⁾ and corresponding to Bareilly, Badaun, Farrukhabad, etc., districts of U.P., with Ahicchatra and Kāmpilya as its major centres. In a few

130. J.M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, 1967, p.1, cited in Devangana Desai, 'Social Dimensions of Art in Early India', *Social Scientist*, Vol.18(3), March, 1990, pp.3-32.

131. R. S. Sharma, 'Trends in the Economic History of Mathurā(c.300B.C. -A.D.300)', in D. M. Srinivasan ed., *Mathurā : The Cultural Heritage*, Delhi, 1989, pp.31ff.

132. T.W. Rhys Davids, *The Question of King Milinda*, Vol.II, p.211.

133. *EL*, Vol.X, p.108.

134. N.L. Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, p.145, B.C. Law, op. cit., p.63.

inscriptions, it is conjectured that the native place is mentioned. The places mentioned are Vojyavasika,¹³⁵⁾ Haruṣa¹³⁶⁾ and Phalapha.¹³⁷⁾ Another inscription¹³⁸⁾ uses the term Vadaḁṣa as an epithet for the monk. So, Vadaka might be the native place identical to Vāḁaka, which is mentioned in the *Mahāvastu*. At least two donations were given by persons of foreign origin. A donation was given by Naṣapriyā, the daughter of Śurāna. The latter name appears to be an Iranian name.¹³⁹⁾ Another donation was made by Viśvasika Vakamihira and his son Horamurṇḁga, who seem to have been foreigners.¹⁴⁰⁾ The donors at Mathurā must have come from distant places as well as nearby areas.

Some other important centres of Buddhism in the period under consideration were Kauśāmbi, Sarnath, Śravasti and Bodhgaya where we find a few inscriptions too. Kauśāmbi is identified by Cunningham with modern Kosam located on the Yamuna river, about 30 miles south-west from Allahabad.¹⁴¹⁾ It was one of the important stopovers on the great trade-route linking Sāketa and Sāvatti(Śravasti) on the north with Paiṭhāna on the south.¹⁴²⁾ According to the Buddhist text *Chullavagga*(pt.1, ch. 25), Buddha dwelt in the Ghosita-ārama of Kauśāmbi.¹⁴³⁾ An inscribed slab was made and installed at the residence

135. Heinrich Lüders(ed. K. Janert), Mathura Inscriptions, § 44.

136. Ibid., § 135.

137. Ibid., § 56.

138. Mathura Buddhist Inscription on Base of Pillar.

139. H. Lüders, op. cit., p. 101-102.

140. Ibid., p.91-92.

141. B.C. Law, op. cit., p.100.

142. Barua and Sinha, Barhut Inscriptions, p.12.

143. N.L. Dey, op. cit., p.96.

of the Buddha(*Budh-āvāsa*) in the Ghoshit-ārāma which probably proves the historicity of Buddha's stay there.¹⁴⁴⁾ Śravasti is the modern Sahet-Mahet located on the river Rapti in Uttar Pradesh. It was a major city of the ancient Uttara-Kośala and Buddha is said to have resided for 25 years at Jetavana vihāra, located one mile to the south of the town.¹⁴⁵⁾ It was a prosperous city and owed this to the fact that it was the meeting place of three main trade routes and was a great centre of trade.¹⁴⁶⁾ Sarnath is located six miles from Varanasi in Uttar Pradesh. Lord Buddha preached his first sermon at this place after the attainment of Enlightenment at Bodhgaya¹⁴⁷⁾ which is located in south Bihar.

II. Objects of Donation : Analysed Site-wise and Chronologically.

The early elements of Buddhist religious architecture, consisting of the *stūpa*, the chaitya hall and the *Saṅghārāma*(monastery), the railings and gateways of *stūpas* with sculptures on them, were all objects of donation. Donations included appropriate provisions for the relics of Buddha; the images of the Buddha and of Bodhisattvas were other major items of donation from the followers and sympathisers of Buddhism who belonged to diverse social background. The patronage extended to Buddhism by royalty and common masses changed in course of time as

144. *EI.*, Vol. X X X IV, pp.14-16.

145. *Ibid.*, pp.189-190.

146. B.C. Law, *op. cit.*, p.125.

147. N.L. Dey, *op. cit.*, p.256.

Buddhism itself underwent a change in its character, cosmology and pantheon. The original teachings of Buddha found varied interpretations with the passage of time which necessitated the convening of the Buddhist Councils which failed to solve the Schism within the monastic order. Thus emerged various sects with different ideologies with the commonality of having Buddha as their Master and *saṅgha* as the locus of the monastic order. They however differed in their approach with regard to worshipping Buddha and perpetuating his teachings. The various sects received patronage from lay worshippers who made some donations specially for monks of certain sects.

Among the Buddhist religious structures, the first to evolve was the *stūpa*. It was basically a funerary monument in which relics were placed inside a mound. This was not an innovation of Buddhism as the earlier traditions also had this concept. Buddha himself gave sanction to the construction of *stūpa* for the venerable in the *Mahāparinibbana sutta*. Thus, the worship of relic started as Buddha was against iconic form. The relic worship of Buddha was extended to include the Buddhist preceptors also. This clearly shows that the notion of 'worship' had developed among the Buddhists just like in Brahmanism. A later development was that of *caitya* or hall which surrounded the *stūpa*. Thus, a congregational hall with pillars came up which provided space for the people to sit and worship. A sense of community worship had evolved and the community was involved in the construction of such structures. This could be an isolated act of benefaction by any individual

but it nevertheless involved the patrons, the artisans and the Buddhist monastic order, the *saṅgha*. The *vihāra* or monastery was built for the *saṅgha*, the congregation of monks during the rainy season. The temporary *ārāmas* of the time of Buddha gave way to permanent residential complexes in the form of *vihāras*. These Buddhist institutions are mentioned in many inscriptions, and the *saṅgha* was well established by the time these institutions were fully crystallised.

The initial *stūpas* in the form of brick structures of the age of Aśoka got transformed into stone structures which ensured greater stability and durability. The *saṅgha* was well established, had more funds and large number of followers and thus greater patronage. The patronage was expressed in terms of a few major institutions like the Vedic sacrifice(*yajña*) accompanied with gift of cattle in Brahmanism, and the charitable donation(*dāna*) in Buddhism and Jainism.¹⁴⁸⁾ The patronage was either direct or indirect. The former was indicated through votive inscriptions stating the name of the donor and the object of donation. The latter was discerned in the sculptured panels of donors.¹⁴⁹⁾

The patronage provided through donations or gifts in the form of getting railings, gateways, etc. of *stūpas* erected or giving monetary contributions had always an implicit objective behind it. The donation to the *saṅgha* took the form of money or labour, both of which were alienable, and the relation between the *saṅgha* and the donor was

148. B.S. Miller(ed), *The Powers of Art*, p.4.

149. Romila Thapar, 'Patronage and Community' in B.S. Miller(ed), op. cit., p.22.

voluntary.¹⁵⁰⁾ The purpose was closely linked with the act of *dāna* which was mainly to gain religious merit(*punya*) or achieve happiness or welfare. Such purposes were specifically stated in many of the inscriptions and were meant to benefit oneself, one's parents or relatives or community as a whole. The inscriptions from Mathurā state that the gift was made for the welfare(and happiness) of all sentient beings['*sarvasat vahita sukhāye*']¹⁵¹⁾, gain of merit for the parents['*punyaṁ mātāpitrasya...*']¹⁵²⁾, for the cessation of all misery['*sarvādukkha prahānārttham*']¹⁵³⁾, etc. Even in cases, where the purpose was not stated or lost due to damages caused to inscriptions, it can safely be inferred that the religious gain accompanied with other socio-economic consequences like social status, etc. was sought through this act. It took the form of reciprocity where some 'tangible' gift was given in exchange for 'intangible' gains in the form of religious merit and social prestige.

The building and worship of stūpas started from the 3rd century B.C. onwards. To *stūpa* containing the relic of Buddha and later on his disciples, enlarged the scope of worship as well as of donation. The proliferation of *stūpas* later on at different sites was carried out by the lay worshippers and development of the *Māhāyana* school attracted lay worshippers on a large scale.¹⁵⁴⁾ The simple act of giving alms to

150. Romila Thapar, op. cit., p23.

151. MI., 76, See also MI., 87.

152. MI., 78.

153. MI., 81.

154. Xinru Liu, Ancient India and Ancient China, p.5.

wandering monks when Buddhism emerged to huge donations to *saṅgha* at a late stage marked a gradual change in the nature of patronage as well as the patrons. The earlier patrons provided funds and lodging to Buddha and his *saṅgha* as depicted in the Pāli texts, but later on such acts of patronage changed to immovable items like monumental *stūpas*, monastery buildings and luxury goods as described in the Sanskrit texts.¹⁵⁵⁾ The latter is also attested by the excavations carried out at different Buddhist sites. The socio-economic changes which took place in the period (C. 300 B.C. to C. 300 A.D.) was also responsible for the changes witnessed in the donated items and the social groups providing the same.

The objects of donation were closely related to the Buddhist ideology, cosmology and pantheons which changed with time. This can be seen in our period in forms of gifts of single railing pillars, cross-bars and paving slab for *stūpas* ; similarly individual cells in residential caves and sculptures in a cave veranda were considered sufficient in themselves to bring religious merit to the donor.¹⁵⁶⁾ Bharhut and Sanchi *Stūpas* belong to the period c. 250 B.C.(?) to 150 B.C. and c. 250 B.C. to c. 25 A.D. respectively¹⁵⁷⁾ and the gifts at the sites were restricted to the railings, pillars, cross-bars, etc. which were all connected to the structure of the *stūpas*. The *stūpas* were the main venerated objects and the Buddhist religious activities centred around in.

155. Ibid., p.99.

156. V. Deheja, 'The Collective and Popular Basis of Early Buddhists Patronage: Sacred Monuments, 100 B.C.-A.D. 250' in B.S. Miller(ed), op. cit., p35.

157. Percy Brown, Indian Architecture - Buddhist and Hindu Period, p.18.

The beginning of the Christian era saw the emergence of the concept of '*sapta-ratna*' or seven jewels which were to be gifted, which in turn was supposed to bring tangible benefits for the donor. The '*sapta-ratna*' was a traditional Buddhist concept but its definite component did not take shape until the time of *Mahāvastu*, a text written in the early Christian era.¹⁵⁸⁾ It repeats a specific list many times : *suvāṇa*(gold), *rūpya*(silver), *vaidūrya*(a precious stone), *sphāṭika*(crystal or quartz), *muktā*(pearl), *lohitikā*(a red precious stone or red coral) and *musāragalva*(ammonite, agate or coral). These substances symbolised the collection of the best substances in this and other worlds and emerged as a standard in the ritual context of Buddhist worship.¹⁵⁹⁾ The archaeological evidence appears to bear out this change. A stone casket discovered in a stūpa chamber of Kalawan, Taxila, shows how the '*sapta-ratna*' came to be rooted in Buddhist religion in the Kusāṇa period. The casket included gold sheets and disks, silver sheets and disks, a piece of quartz, crystal beads, both transparent materials, a beryl bead which is green, green glass beads, a piece of garnet which is red, pearls, a piece of turquoise and bones as relics of the Buddha.¹⁶⁰⁾ The relic chamber in A1 *stūpa* shrine of Kalawan contained a casket covered with gold-leaf and a number of gold and silver rosettes, beads, etc.¹⁶¹⁾ The items which constituted the '*sapta-ratna*' were the main items of export to China. The main import from China was silk which was used

158. Xinru Liu, op. cit., p.93.

159. Ibid., p.96.

160. John Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol.I, p.327 cited in X. Liu, op. cit., p.94.

161. John Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, p.133.

for decorating Buddhist monuments.

The change in the donation items took place simultaneously with the change in the reward for the same. The changes must have had something to do with the growth in the prosperity of the trading class and its new found enthusiasm towards Buddhism and providing large scale donation to the *saṅgha*. The texts of the period promise a higher status and greater material gain for the donors, which was a clear cut deviation from the earlier Buddhist teachings. The rewards was no longer limited to attainment of *nirvāṇa* but it extended to include wealth, kingdom, status of gods and many other secular aspirations.¹⁶²⁾ The concept of sharing of merit also evolved. Another Buddhist text *Saddharmapuṇḍarika* (2-3 century A.D.) also emphasised that the ideal *stūpa* should be made of the seven treasures. But a flexibility was given to attract even the middle and low income people. So, it also stated that even if one built a *stūpa* of wood, brick or even earth or sand, he could reach enlightenment.¹⁶³⁾ The Buddhist ideology provided two ranges, one for the rich and the other for the middle class or poor, and thus was able to attract donations from diverse sections of society.

The Bodhisattva became more prominent in the *Mahāyāna* school. In the other sects, they worked in wisdom and love through many lives so that he may become a Buddha. But in *Mahāyāna*, he was seen as a being of immeasurable charity and compassion who would help every

162. Xinru Liu, op. cit., p.95.

163. Ibid., p.97.

living being to attain the highest goal. So, the *Arhats* who achieved *Nirvāṇa* were relegated to secondary positions.¹⁶⁴⁾

The idea of transference of merit was a special feature of the *Mahāyāna* school. So, we find numerous donations made for the welfare of parents and of all living beings. In Bharhut and Sanchi the purpose of donation is not mentioned. In Taxila, the donations were made mainly during the rule of the Indo-Greeks, Sakas and Kuṣāṇas. There are references to donations being made for 'honour of father and mother and welfare and happiness of all being'¹⁶⁵⁾ or 'in honour of all beings.'¹⁶⁶⁾ The purpose of donation in many cases (in Taxila and Mathurā) was meant to honour all Buddhas,¹⁶⁷⁾ the *Pratyeka* Buddhas, etc.¹⁶⁸⁾ The orthodox *Sthaviravādin* school counted no less than 25 Buddhas and large number of *Pratyeka* Buddhas who had found the truth for themselves without guidance, but had not taught it to the world.¹⁶⁹⁾

Now let us have a look at the objects donated at some of the major Buddhist sites. At Bharhut and Sanchi, donations were given for the construction of various portions of the great *stūpas* and their surrounding structures. The objects of donation at Sanchi were rail-bar,¹⁷⁰⁾ cross-bar,¹⁷¹⁾ additional balustrade,¹⁷²⁾ screen of the entrance,¹⁷³⁾

164. A.L. Basham, *The Wonder That was India*, p.277.

165. *CIL*, Vol. II, part I, pp.63-65.

166. *Ibid.*, pp.138-141.

167. *Ibid.*, pp.23-29.

168. *Ibid.*, pp.70-77.

169. A.L. Basham, *op. cit.*, p.276.

170. *SI*. No. 15.

171. *SI*. Nos. 16, 17, 18, 17b, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 34, 35, 36, 37, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 52, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, . . . etc. About 76 donations in Stupa I.

rail-pillar,¹⁷⁴⁾ coping stone,¹⁷⁵⁾ pillar,¹⁷⁶⁾ gateways,¹⁷⁷⁾ etc. At Bharhut, donations were made for the construction of gateways(*torāṇa*),¹⁷⁸⁾ coping stone(*uṣṇāṣa*),¹⁷⁹⁾ pillars of railing and returns¹⁸⁰⁾ and rail-bars (*sūci*)¹⁸¹⁾ which is also seen in Sanchi. But here, in additions, we find a gift of the wheel of enlightenment(*Bodhi-chakra*)¹⁸²⁾ and another for the plastering of the ṭana-walk(*ṭanachakamaparicrepa*).¹⁸³⁾ Thus, at Bharhut and Sanchi, both located in Central India, donations centred around the structure of the *stūpa* and its accessories. The earlier representation of the Buddha was done through symbols like wheel, foot, throne, Bodhi tree, etc. and hence we do not find any donation of the Buddha images as Buddha in that period(c.300 B.C. to c.25 A.D.) was not yet represented in human figure. This was witnessed with the coming up of the *Mahāyāna* school which emerged in the age of the Kuṣāṇas. So, Mathurā located in northern India represents a different picture than

172. SI. Nos. 101, 196, 197.

173. SI. Nos. 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 110, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118, 119, 120, 122, 123, 126, 127, . . . etc. About 176 donations in Stupa I.

174. SI. Nos. 19, 25, 33, 38, 40, 43, 49, 53, 61, 64, 71, 95, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373. (Stupa I)

175. SI. Nos. 22, 29, 32, 39, 50, 63, 70, 85, 100, 388. (Stupa I)

176. SI. No. 89. (Stupa I)

177. SI. Nos. 389-404. (Stupa I)

178. *CII*, Vol. II, part. II, A1, A2, A129.

179. *Ibid.*, A70, A5.

180. *Ibid.*, A34, A38, A68, A98, A95, A42, A71, . . . etc. A total of 46 donations. The specified donation of pillars(*thabho* and *thabha*) are 24 in number - A6, A7, A8, A25, A27, A29, A39, A40, A46, A50, . . . etc.

181. *Ibid.*, A78, A15, A37, A13, A11, A10, A120, A114, A118, A81, A119, A102, A84, . . . etc. A total of 95 donations.

182. *Ibid.*, A106, the inscription inscribed on a rail may denote a donation for the carving of the *bodhi-chakra* which represented the Buddha.

183. *Ibid.*, A127, The donation may have been made for the plastering of the path surrounding the *stūpa*.

Bharhut and Sanchi. The image of the Buddha,¹⁸⁴⁾ the Dhyani Buddha, the Bodhisattva,¹⁸⁵⁾ the *stūpa*,¹⁸⁶⁾ the railing,¹⁸⁷⁾ the pillar,¹⁸⁸⁾ pillar-base,¹⁸⁹⁾ gateways,¹⁹⁰⁾ bowls,¹⁹¹⁾ tank,¹⁹²⁾ grove¹⁹³⁾ and the casket¹⁹⁴⁾ were some of the items which were donated. The *vihāras*(monasteries) were supported by rulers and traders. The images of Bodhisattvas were main objects of donation at Sarnath,¹⁹⁵⁾ Śravastī¹⁹⁶⁾ and Kauśambi.¹⁹⁷⁾ The region of Taxila also witnessed large scale donations which were different from other centres. The objects of donations were varied and ranged from relics of Buddha,¹⁹⁸⁾ *stūpa*,¹⁹⁹⁾ bronze casket,²⁰⁰⁾ pillar,²⁰¹⁾ staff(with enclosure)²⁰²⁾ to silver plates,²⁰³⁾ vase,²⁰⁴⁾ well,²⁰⁵⁾ tank,²⁰⁶⁾ trees and auspicious ground,²⁰⁷⁾ copper ladles,²⁰⁸⁾ water hall²⁰⁹⁾ and asylum.²¹⁰⁾

184. H. Lüders(ed) K. Janert), *Mathura Inscriptions*, Nos. 73, 74, 81, 114, 121, 135, 136, 137,

180. (here after MI.), *EI*, X, p117, *EI*, XXXVII, etc.

185. MI. 80, *EI*, X, p.109, *JAIH*, VOL. XIII, P.279.

186. MI. 118, 126, 128.

187. MI. 176.

188. IA, VII, Mathura Buddhist Image Inscriptions the Year of Huvishka, No. 3.

189. MI. 47, 48, 49, 63, 64, 45, 46, 38, 37, 31.

190. Mathura Inscription of Dhanabhuti, *CIL*, Vol. II, part. II, pp.12-14.

191. MI. 125.

192. MI. 64.

193. *Ibid*.

194. *CIL*, Vol. II, part. I, pp.49-50.

195. *EI*, vol. VIII, pp.173-177., p.179.

196. *EI*, vol. IX, p.291., *EI*, vol. VIII, pp.180-181.

197. *EI*, vol. X XIV, pp.210-212.

198. *EI*, Vol. XXI, p.252, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp.210-211, *CIL*, Vol. II, Part. I, pp.145-150, pp.210-211, pp.251-259, pp.152-155, pp.23-29, pp.70-77, pp.83-86, pp.135-137.

199. *CIL*, op. cit., pp.4-5, p.87, pp.127-128.

200. *EI*, Vol. X II, p.299.

201. *CIL*, op. cit., pp.114-115.

202. *CIL*, op. cit., pp.138-141.

203. *EI*, Vol. X II, pp.301-302.

204. *CIL*, op. cit., pp.50-52.

205. *EI*, Vol. X II, pp.130-143, *CIL*, op. cit., pp.63-65, pp.77-79, pp.142-145, pp.139-160.

206. *CIL*, op. cit., pp.65-66.

207. *Ibid*., pp.67-70.

Mathurā and Taxila were well-developed Buddhist centres during the time of Kaṇishka, and they reflected the increased social base of Buddhism as well as the ideological changes. In Bharhut and Sanchi, the donations were given mainly for strengthening the *saṅgha* through the donation for construction of *stūpas*. The items of donation at Mathurā and Taxila increased due to wider acceptance of Buddhism by diverse groups. The mass participation of lay followers led to secularisation of items which were donated. They did not have any religious utility as such. Taxila, being a dry region, necessitated the digging of wells and we have at least five donations made for this purpose. By the Kuṣāṇa period, Buddhism had become a congregational religion and so image worship became desirable. In the 1st century A.D., whether from the influence of Graeco-Roman ideas and art form or from that of indigenous popular cults, the Buddha was represented and worshipped as an image.

211) Another change witnessed in this period was the replacement of the ideal of the *Arhant* by that of the Bodhisattvas, and this was the main distinction between the old sects and the new.²¹²⁾ Mathurā and Taxila were the major centres of art during Kuṣāṇa period and images of Buddha and Bodhisattvas were made on large scale. Mathurā and Taxila also witnessed patronage to other sects like Jainism and Brahmanism. This reflected the policy of religious tolerance followed by the Kuṣāṇa

208. Ibid., pp.87-88.

209. Ibid., pp.173-176.

210. Ibid., pp.110-112.

211. A.L. Basham, 'Mahayana Buddhism: The Greater Vehicle' in Wrm. Theodore de Bary(ed), Sources of Indian Tradition, p.156.

212. Ibid.

rulers. The cash economy of that period is also depicted in the cash donations which are found in the Minor Taxila Inscriptions numbers 3 and 4.²¹³⁾ The unit of currency mentioned are '*stater*' and '*drachma*' which were Greek coins. The former was equivalent to two *dināras*(the gold coin)²¹⁴⁾ while the latter represented a coin and was same as *dramma* or *damma*.²¹⁵⁾ The inscriptions are inscribed on silver plates and certainly denoted the value of the same. That the monks were also not averse to accepting coins is substantiated from the hoards found from Taxila. The hoards of coins have been excavated from the sites of monasteries. A hoard of 355 coins hidden in a small block of Kañjur stone was discovered from the procession path of Dharmarajikā *Stūpa*. The coins were issued by Rājuvula, Azes II, Kadaphises I, Soter Megas, Kañishka, Huvishka, Vasūdeva, Shāpur II and some late Indo-Sassanian rulers. A second hoard of 305 coins belonged to Vasūdeva(2 coins), Sassanian(18 coins) and Indo-Sassanian(205 coins).²¹⁶⁾ These evidences show that monks had started accumulating cash in the form of coins and had deviated from the earlier Buddhist rule of non-possession.

It would be proper now to have a chronological look at the objects of donation in terms of the dynasties and the period covered by them. The objects of donation did change with time. As discussed earlier, the change was quite evident in the Buddhist texts of the early Christian centuries like the *Mahāvastu* and the *Saddharmapundarika* and from the

213. CII., op. cit., pp.98-99.

214. D.C. Sircar, *Epigraphical Glossary*, p.305.

215. Ibid., p.78.

216. John Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, p.104.

donations made from Kuṣāṇa period onwards. The inscriptional evidence is fully corroborated by excavations carried out at different Buddhist sites.

The *stūpas* were gradually enlarged and embellished by the voluntary contributions from the lay followers as well as the monks and nuns who definitely owned property. The original *stūpa* at Sanchi built of brick dates to the Aśokan period and is assigned to c.250B.C., considered as the tentative year of its construction. This place was also adorned with a monolithic lion pillar and a stone umbrella. The original *stūpa* of Bharhut is also tentatively dated to c.250B.C.. The railing at Bodhgaya also is dated to Aśoka's time. They were thus products of royal patronage as during that period Buddhism was just expanding, and the major religious structures were built through royal efforts. The Mauryan period(that of Aśoka : 274-237 B.C.) saw the construction of *stūpa*, pillars, etc. The Mauryans were succeeded by the Śuṅgas(c.185-70 B.C.) who were champions of Brahmanism. The usual theory of the prosecution of Buddhists under them is refuted by recent historians on the ground that Buddhism prospered in the Śuṅga period, and Sanchi, Bodhgaya, Sarnath and Lauriya Nandangarh were important centres of Buddhism during the reign of the Śuṅga kings.²¹⁷⁾ During the Śuṅga-Kānva period, various *stūpas* and monasteries flourished at Bodhgaya, Bharhut, Sanchi, Vidiśā and Western India.²¹⁸⁾ Thus, during the period of the Śuṅgas in the second century B.C. the *stūpa* at Sanchi

217. K.L. Hazar, Royal Patronage of Buddhism in Ancient India, pp.105ff.

218. *Ibid.*, p.10f.

was enlarged to twice its original size, becoming a hemisphere of about 120 feet in diameter. Another *Stūpa*(*Stūpa* NO.II) was constructed during this period. Under the later Śuṅgas, the railings were added and another *Stūpa*(*Stūpa* NO.III), a temple(NO. 40) and pillars were constructed around c.50 B.C. The inscriptions mention the name of Dhanabhuti who belonged to the royal family who caused the gateway to be made at Bharhut and a railing and gateway at Mathurā.²¹⁹⁾ In the Taxila region, the relics of the Buddha and *stūpa* are dated to the period of the Śuṅgas or to a later period. The donative inscriptions found inscribed on pillars, railings, cross-bars, gateways, etc. at Bharhut and Sanchi clearly show that it was the contribution of several individuals who donated singly or in groups, which culminated in giving final shape to these great *stūpas*.

The fall of the Mauryas saw the rise of the Indo-Greeks in the north-western India. They are generally assigned to the period of c.189 to c.50 B. C. King Menander, the most famous among Indo-Greek rulers, was converted to Buddhism. This is recorded in the Buddhist text *Milindapañho*. Buddhism received generous patronage from the Indo-Greeks. A Greek Meridarkh(a district officer, probably in charge of a part of the Kabul territory or of Arachosia or Gandhāra) enshrined the relics of Buddha in the Swāt valley which shows his allegiance to Buddhism.²²⁰⁾ In other cases, the donated items included two silver cups²²¹⁾, the *stūpa*²²²⁾ and a tank²²³⁾ given by the Greeks in Taxila region.

219. CII, Vol. II, part. II, pp.11-14.

220. CII, Vol. II, part. I, pp.1-3.

The Greeks also donated at Sanchi²²⁴⁾ and probably at Mathurā too.

The Indo-Greeks were overthrown by the Sakas or Scythians who wielded political power in north-western India from about the beginning of the first century B.C. The donations were made for the deposition of the relics of Buddha,²²⁵⁾ the construction of monasteries²²⁶⁾(*saṅghārāma*) and the *stūpa*²²⁷⁾ in the Taxila and adjoining areas. Around this time, during the period of the Andhras or the Satavahanas, four gateways were added to the *Stūpa* I of Sanchi around c.25 B.C. and gateways of *Stūpa* III around c.25 A.D.

Among the Satrap rulers in northern India, the Satraps of Mathurā became very important in the first century B.C. Mathurā region formed the easternmost boundary of the Saka empire. Rajuvula ruled from c.38 B.C. to c.17 B.C. and was succeeded by his son Śoḍāsa. They were finally overthrown by Kaṇishka I.²²⁸⁾ The Mathurā Lion Inscriptions record the establishment of the relic of the Buddha, a *stūpa* and a *saṅghārāma* for the *Sarvāstivādin* monks. The land was given for the same by the member of the royal family.²²⁹⁾ In the reign of Ksatrapa Śoḍāsa, a cave-dwelling(*guha-vihāra*), a piece of land²³⁰⁾ and a tank, a

221. Ibid., pp.97-98.

222. Ibid., pp.4-5.

223. Ibid., pp.65-66.

224. SI. Nos. 89, 475.

225. Taxila copper plate inscription of Patika, *CIL*, op. cit., pp.23-29, Kalawan copper plate inscription, *EI*, Vol.XXI, p.259.

226. *EI*, Vol.IV, p.53.

227. *MI*, p.157.

228. D.C. Circar, *Age of Imperial Unity*, p.135.

229. *CIL*, op. cit., p.30.ff.

reservoir, a grove, a pillar and the stone slab²³¹⁾ were given in donation.

The Sakas were displaced by the Pahlavas or the Parthians who were displaced by the Kuṣāṇas who ruled from the first century A.D. upto the third century A.D. Buddhism received a great impetus under the rule of Kaṇishka and his successors. A large number of donations were given in Taxila, Mathurā, Sarnath, Śravasti and Kauśambi. Kujula Kadphises ruled from A.D. 15-65, and during his reign the objects of donation consisted of relics of the Lord, steatite vase, trees and auspicious ground [*'....śivathale tatra(cha)me danami tar(u)ka 11....'*]. Under Kaṇishka the donated items were : well, tank, relic casket, relic of Lord Buddha, staff together with enclosure, Bodhisattva image with umbrella and posts and sculptured slabs. This continued in the post-Kaṇishka period, and the inscriptions refer to the gift of vase and relics of Buddha, the image of Bodhisattva, during Huvishka's reign and a pedestal and an asylum in A.D. 234 and A.D. 275 respectively.

The chronological development of donations to Buddhist institutions shows an increase in the number and range of items. The construction of stūpas, pillars and railings which started in the Mauryan period witnessed expansion in the existing structures through the addition of pillars and gateways during the Śuṅgas and Andhras. The post-Mauryan period in the north-west region under the rule of Indo-Greeks and the Sakas provided relics of the Buddha, monastery and stūpa as donations.

230. N.N. Dutt, Buddhist Sects in India, pp.132-133.

231. EI. Vol.IX, p.247.

Under the Indo-Greeks, silver cups and tank were also given. The construction of tanks and wells was mainly confined to the Taxila region as the area was a dry region and such donations were definitely considered meritorious. The first century B.C. in the Mathurā region under the Satrap rulers witnessed an additional item. The gift of land for the construction of stūpa or monastery is specifically mentioned in the inscriptions.²³²⁾ Likewise under the Kuṣāṇas, in the first century A.D., an auspicious ground probably denoting a piece of land was given along with two trees.²³³⁾ It was during this period that the land grants were given for the first time. The beginning of what are sometimes called feudal practices, that is, grant of revenue bearing lands to religious persons, is found during the Satavahana period between the 1st century B.C. and the 3rd century A.D. But in the area under our consideration, the land was given without any fiscal advantage. Under the Satrap rulers of Mathurā, cave dwellings, grove, pillar and stone slabs were also donated. During the reign of Kaṇishka and his successors, the images of Buddha and Bodhisattvas were caused to be made by the donors. The Gandhāra and Mathurā schools of art flourished during his reign. The emergence of Mahāyāna during this time also facilitated the fashioning of images of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas as Buddha was raised to the status of a cult figure through image worship. Buddha in his previous births was represented by the images of Bodhisattvas and they were also worshipped. Thus, the passage of time saw the expansion of Buddhism

232. Mathura Lion Capital Inscriptions, CII., Vol.II, part.I, p.30ff.

233. CII., op. cit., pp.67-70.

coupled with an increase in donation both in terms of number and items.

III. Conclusions about the Pattern

The above survey of the donations given to the Buddhist institutions presents a picture of change with shifts in the dynastic rule as well as over time.

The sites of Bharhut, Sanchi and Mathurā show a sequence in the development of Buddhist theology. Bharhut and Sanchi panels show the relief or narrative art along with the inscriptions. But in Mathurā, we do not find any narrative sculpture. This shows that by that time Buddhism had got deeply rooted in society and perhaps so visual presentations through *Jataka* stories or symbols depicting the life of the Buddha were replaced by the images of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas, in keeping with the contemporary religious practice of worship. So, at Mathurā, the art centred around the figures of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas. This can also allude to change with time and taste of people. The early Buddhist art of Bharhut and Sanchi was aniconic and so we do not find any donation for the construction of Buddha or Bodhisattva figures. The attitude of the layman was mainly expressed at both these centres who venerated the Buddha symbols and cult of the stūpa. Y. Krishnan, thus, writes that a human representation of Buddha at this stage would have comprised the transcendental nature of the Buddha, which his followers intended to emphasise.²³⁴⁾ Bharhut and Sanchi thus paved the way for

234. Y. Krishnan, 'The Origin of the Buddha Image', *Marg*, Vol.15, No.2, 1962.

Mathurā. It was at Mathurā during the early centuries of the Christian era that the images of the Buddha and Bodhisattva came into vogue due to the doctrinal change in Buddhism brought about by the *Mahāsaṅghikas* and their subjects.²³⁵⁾ The Gandhāra (Taxila) and Mathurā region emerged as major centres of art in which the images of the Buddha and of Bodhisattvas were donated from the 1st century A.D. onwards.

The economic structure of patronage to the *saṅgha* also changed with time from a large number of small donations as in Bharhut and Sanchi to a fewer number of large donations as compared to the former. This may have had to do with a greater consolidation of traders and prosperous artisans.²³⁶⁾ Bharhut had only monastic site while Sanchi, Mathurā and Taxila have Buddhist monastic sites associated with non-monastic sites. Many individuals belonging to ruling and wealthy families had their own *vihāras* in Mathurā. The inscriptions refer to the *vihāras* of individuals like Mahārājā Devaputra(Huvishka),²³⁷⁾ daughter of Mahārājā Matsyagupta,²³⁸⁾ daughter of the lord of *vihāra*,²³⁹⁾ and that of professionals like timber merchant,²⁴⁰⁾ goldsmith,²⁴¹⁾ cloak makers,²⁴²⁾ where the donations were given. In Taxila also, we come across individuals like Lala, the *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* having made the donation at his own *vihāra*.²⁴³⁾ The votive inscriptions of Bharhut, Sanchi, etc.

235. Amita Ray, 'Early Buddhist Narrative Art', *IESHR*, Vol.VIII, No.3, Sept, 1971, p.316.

236. Romila Thapar, 'Patronage and Community', in B.S. Miller(ed.), op. cit., pp.29-30.

237. *EI.*, vol. X, pp.112-113, *EI.*, vol. X X IV, p.200.

238. *EI.*, vol. X X VIII, pp.42-44.

239. *MI.*, 136.

240. *MI.*, 157.

241. *MI.*, 89.

242. *MI.*, 74.

depicted the wide networks of geographical contacts of the Buddhist community, which was one of its dimensions in the period under consideration. The donors belonged to different parts of India as well as foreign lands; but local donations were high especially in the Deccan region. Barring Bharhut, the three Buddhist centres of Sanchi, Taxila and Mathurā have foreigners as donors. 'This extensive geographical net was drawn together by the appeal to a community of common belief, ritual and religious identity'.²⁴⁴⁾

A glance through the donative inscriptions shows that the donations were given by individuals, families or a collective group consisting of two or more persons or the whole inhabitants of a locality. The social base of the donors was quite extensive and extended from the ascetics consisting of monks and nuns to lay worshippers belonging to different areas and different occupations. The social composition of the donors will be dealt with in the next chapters but in brief, the donors belonged to the categories of *setthi*(banker), scribe/copyist, merchants(*vāneja*), ivory-workers, masons, artisans, cloak-seller, etc. The grants were made by both men and women. The increasing number of grants made by woman, both royal and non-royal, shows the socio-religious space granted to them under the new faith. The lay worshippers in the form of common masses as well as royalty contributed towards the growth of patronage to Buddhism.

243. CII., vol. II, Part. I, pp.145-150.

244. Romila Thapar, Cultural Transaction and Early India, p.30.

Community patronage was a marked feature during c.200 B.C. to c.200 A.D. The donations were given by all relatives, together with parents and relatives, with sisters, with persons not related, etc. The whole village was also making donations on few occasions. This community patronage declined from mid-first millennium A.D. with increase in royal patronage and still later that of wealthy landowners.²⁴⁵⁾

The main Buddhist centres had direct links to major trade routes, and it was obvious that the merchants and the guilds must have been major donors. The Buddhist *goṣṭhis*, that is, an assembly, was also an important donor and patron of the *saṅgha*. Through this act of donation, the *saṅgha* tried to open an avenue for the followers to be a part in the expansion and consolidation of the Buddhist religious institution. The lay worshippers donated according to their economic status, and items varied from one small railing to big gateways in earlier phase to later gifts of lamp, copper ladles to *stūpas*, monasteries and tank.

The donations were reciprocal in nature. The donor was earning *punya*(religious merit) in return for the gift and was meant to benefit the donor, his/her family or his/her kinsmen. The recipient of religious merit got expanded from oneself to include others which were generally the relatives of the donors.

There was a three-fold dimension to the act of patronage during this period - the patrons or the donors, the artists who executed the item

245. Romila Thapar, 'Patronage and Community', in B.S. Miller(ed.), op. cit., p.30.

of donations like the railing, gateways, pillars, statue, and the recipient or the donee which was generally the *saṅgha*. The relationship between the three was an important aspect of patronising activities. The artists are not mentioned in most of the cases. In very few cases, they are mentioned. In fact, donations made by the artisans mention their name and profession. In such cases they were both the patron as well as the executor of the item of donation.²⁴⁶⁾ But, in most of the cases, they were the intermediaries between the donee and the donor. The donations for the construction of a Buddhist monument like *vihāra*, *stūpa*, cave-dwellings are few as compared to parts of the building and the objects like lamp, vase, etc. used in the *saṅgha* for worship or for a secular purpose. The exact nature of contact between the patron and the Buddhist *saṅgha* is not explicitly stated except in a few cases. Most of the donations were made directly to the *saṅgha*. So, a direct relationship existed between the patron and the *saṅgha*. The *saṅgha* must have on its own maintained a direct relationship with the artisans or the guild of artisans to get the construction work executed, or the *saṅgha* may have acted as an intermediary or mediator between the patron and the artisan.

Another change in the patronage activity witnessed during the Kuṣāṇa period is the specific mention of the benefits to accrue due to the gift. This was absent in Bharhut and Sanchi. The Kuṣāṇa patrons were not content with the simple statement that their gifts are *dānam* or

246. Refer Sanchi Inscriptions Nos. 199, 398, 448 which mention the artisan and Inscriptions Nos. 427, 454 and 589 which mention the masons. Ivory carver's guild from Vidisa sculptured a part of the gateway at Sanchi, EI, Vol. II, No.200, p.378.

dēyadhamma ; instead their inscriptions enumerate the exact benefits they expect to derive from their donations.²⁴⁷⁾ This was a characteristic of the Mahāyāna school, and so at Taxila and at Mathurā, we find the purpose of donation clearly mentioned. The donations were given for the bestowal of health of king, in honour of all Buddhism, in honour of mother and father, for the welfare of all beings, attainment of *nirvana*, in honour of teachers and in acceptance of the teachers of various sects of Buddhism like *Sarvāstivādin*, etc.

The individual and collective patronage was an all-India phenomenon on which the *saṅgha* depended for its survival and expansion. The objects of donation and the patrons proliferated with the passage of time.

247. V. Dehejia, op. cit., in B.S. Miller(ed.), op. cit., p.42.

OBJECTS OF DONATIONS

PERIOD	DYNASTY	OBJECTS OF DONATIONS
(1) 274-185 B.C.	Mauryan dynasty from Aśoka's reign	<i>stūpas</i> , pillar and railing in different parts of India
(2) 185-70 B.C.	Śuṅgas in north India	<i>stūpas</i> , railings, pillars and gateways at Bharhut and Sanchi
(3) C.189-50 B.C.	Indo-Greeks in north-west India	Relics of Buddha, <i>stūpa</i> , silver cups, tank, well.
(4) C.90 B.C. - 50 A.D.	Śakas in north-west India	Relics of Buddha, monastery and <i>stūpa</i>
(5) C.25 B.C.- C.25 A.D.	Andhras/Satavahanas (Total period c. 1st century B.C. to beginning of 3rd century A.D.)	Gateways of <i>Stūpas</i> I and III at Sanchi
(6) 1st century B.C. (38 B.C. onwards)	Satrap rulers of Mathurā	Relics of Buddha, <i>stūpa</i> , cave-dwellings, monastery, land, tank, reservoir, grove, pillar and stone slab.
(7) A.D. 15 - 230 A.D.	-kuṣānas- (a) Kujala Kadphises(15-65A.D.)	Relics of Buddha, vase, trees and auspicious ground.
	(b) Kanishka	Well, tank, relic casket, relics of Buddha, staff with enclosure, Bodhisattva image and sculptured slab and shrine
	(c) Huvishka	Vase, relics of Buddha, image of Bodhisattva
	(d) Later Kuṣānas (230 A.D. onwards)	Pedestal, asylum

CHAPTER IV.

**COMPOSITION OF THE PATRONS AND THE
NATURE OF SOCIETY : A Site-Wise and
Chronological Survey**

This chapter will seek to understand the social base of the patrons who voluntarily contributed towards the construction and enlargement of Buddhist religious institutions and provided provisions and articles for the same. The social composition of the patrons was quite diverse, and it encompassed almost all the sections of the society. The patrons belonged both to elite group comprising the royalty, royal officials and rich merchants, and the common people may be taken to have been represented by artisans, masons and many other professional groups. The donors belonged to both sexes and women donated on a large scale. They belonged to royal family, common masses and the monastic order. The institutional grants made by the *goṣṭhis*(the Buddhist assembly) and *śrenis*(guilds) are also encountered in the period under consideration. Buddhism was fully institutionalised and thus attracted people as lay worshippers from different walks of society. Another facet of this religion was that it thrived mainly on the popular support provided by the common masses. Royal patronage was also important, but it was next to popular patronage. An analysis of the patrons site-wise and chronologically will enable us to arrive at a conclusion about the social base of support to Buddhist *saṅgha*.

The major Buddhist sites which will be considered are Bharhut, Sanchi, Mathurā and Taxila as well as Bodhgaya, Śravasti and Kauśambi.

(A) BHARHUT

Bharhut as a centre of Buddhist patronage received benevolence from members of royal family, monks and nuns, ordinary inhabitants of certain places and by men and women whose profession or native place is not mentioned. A single grant is made by a sculptor(*rūpakara*),¹⁾ named Buddharakshita who seems to have been a Buddhist as his name denoted Buddhist affiliation. The donations, for the expansion of the *stūpa* in forms of railings, cross-bars, pillars, etc., were made mainly by common folk. There are only four donations made by members of the royal family during the reign of the Śuṅgas.²⁾ The items donated by them included the gateway(*torana*), the pillar and railings. A donation was given by Dhanabhūti whose genealogy was stated in the inscription³⁾ while another was given by prince Vyādhapāla, son of king Dhanabhūti.⁴⁾ The donor seems to have been a scion of the royal family or belonged to some minor dynasty. Another gift was made by Nāgarakshitā, the wife of a king⁵⁾ whose name is now lost. This was the only instance where a royal lady was making a donation. The same ruler, i.e. Dhanabhūti, probably made a gift of a railing and gateways at Mathurā too.⁶⁾ A fragmentary donative inscription mentioned the king(*rājan*), the supreme king(*adhirāja*)⁷⁾ and probably the gift was made by a ruler. A total of fifty three gifts were made by inhabitants of certain places which have

1. CII., Vol. II, Part. II Bharhut Inscriptions (Here after referred to as BI) A55, p.36.

2. Ibid., A1-4, pp.11-15.

3. Ibid., A1, p.11.

4. Ibid., A3, p.14.

5. Ibid., A4, p.15.

6. Ibid., p.13, Mathurā Inscription of Dhanabhūti.

7. Ibid.,

been identified or still remain to be identified. Such types of gifts were made by individuals who were either nuns or lay worshippers. The former is specifically mentioned in the inscriptions while the status of the latter as lay worshippers is conjectured on the basis of their affiliation to Buddhist *saṅgha*. All the donations were made towards the enlargement and embellishment of the *stūpa*. The lay worshippers were both men and women. In some cases, the profession or social group of the donor was clearly stated. A pillar(*thabho*) was gifted by Chuladhaka from Purikā, who was the superintendent of meals(*bhatudesaka*).⁸⁾ The expression '*bhatta-uddesaka*' occurs in Pāli texts and is translated as '*thera* or an elder who supervises the distribution of food, a superintendent of meals.'⁹⁾ An expression which is widely found in Buddhist texts and inscriptions is '*gahapati*'¹⁰⁾ which is plainly translated as the householder. But this had a much wider connotation and was an important social group during the heyday of Buddhism. A *gahapati* named Buddhi(a Buddhist nomenclature) belonging to Bimbikānadikāṭa made a donation of a pillar in the south-eastern quadrant of the *stūpa*.¹¹⁾ A horseman(*asavārikā*) named Suladbha made a donation of a pillar at the same place.¹²⁾ The donations were given by nuns¹³⁾ who hailed from different places. The donations specifying the native places of the donor do not have any monk as the donor. The monks did make donations at Bharhut but their domicile is not referred to in any of the donative inscriptions. A few donations were made by individuals who had the title *bhadata*(*bhadanta*), that is, 'the reverend' attached to their names.¹⁴⁾ They were definitely not monks ; otherwise, the term *bhikkhu*

8. Ibid., A17, p.20.

9. Ibid., See details in f.n.4, p.20.

10. For a detailed analysis of the term '*gahapati*', refer Uma Chakravarti, Social Dimensions of Early Buddhism, N. Wage, Society at the time of Buddha, Richard Fick, The Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time.

11. BI., A21, p.22.

12. BI., A22, p.22.

13. BI., A11, A12, A24, A29, A37, A42, A43, A44, A52.

14. BI., A38, A39, A41.

or affiliation to Buddhist religious texts as *Piṭakas* or *Nikāyas* must have been stated. Besides the nuns, we come across many lay female donors. The name of the donor is not mentioned but they are only referred to as 'the mother of so and so'¹⁵⁾ in two inscriptions, while in one, a man named Nāgarakṣhitā makes the donation along with his mother.¹⁶⁾ A female donor is also referred to as 'the wife of so and so'¹⁷⁾ or 'the daughter of so and so'.¹⁸⁾ In the case of the latter, the donor was a nun. The terms used in the inscriptions for the wife and daughter are *bhāriyā* and *duhitu* respectively.

Two inscriptions refer the donor as the Koḍiyani¹⁹⁾ from Pāṭaliputra. One of them is a woman. The term Koḍiyani probably meant belonging to the Koḍiya tribe or it may have denoted a surname.²⁰⁾

The '*gotra*' of a female donor is mentioned in one inscription as Vasīṭhi(Vāsishṭhi).²¹⁾ It can also be a surname derived from the *gotra* of the donor. Even in present day, we come across people having their *gotra* as their surname. In a few inscriptions, the donor mentions his ancestry or parenage emphasising the name of their mother. An important example is that of king Dhanabūti who is mentioned as 'son of Vāchhi(Vātsi), son of Āgaraju(Aṅgaradyut), who was the son of a Goti(Gaupti) and grandson of king Visadeva(Viśvadeva), the son of Gāgi(Gārgi)'. The names of the respective mothers refer to their *gotras*, e.g. Gāgiputa(Gārgiputra), Gotiputa(Gauptiputra), Vāchhiputa(Vātsiputra).

15. BI., A18, A28.

16. BI., A54b, Similarly in A96b the mother of Gośāla shared with her son in the expenses of a rail-bar.

17. BI., A34, A46.

18. BI., A42.

19. BI., A14, A15.

20. For a discussion on this, refer to Ibid. p.19.

21. BI., A35.

According to Hultzsch, "The custom, in accordance with which each of the three kings bears a secondary name derived from the *gotra* of his mother, has descended through the Andhras to the Kadambas and Chalukyas."²²⁾ At another instance, the donor is simply referred to as the son of Śri(Seriyā puta).²³⁾

In the inscriptions describing the donations made by inhabitants of certain places like Chikulana, Sailapura, we come across another category of donors who were reciters(*bhānaka*) who gifted the pillar as an item of donation. Two donations were given by the reciters²⁴⁾ while one was given by the brother of a reciter.²⁵⁾ In one of the inscriptions, the reciter is also mentioned with the honorific *bhadata*, that is, reverend. These reciters must have been engaged in reciting the religious texts and hence occupied a venerated position in the society. Some of them must have been monks. Another grant was made by honourable(*ārya*) Chula(Kshudra) who was a student of the *Suttarantika*(*Sūtrāntas*).²⁶⁾ The term *suttarantika* refers to the study of the *Suttapiṭaka*.²⁷⁾

Two examples of collective patronage also find reference in the inscriptions. A coping-stone(*uṣṇīṣa*) was the gift of the town(*nigama*) of Karahakaṭa [*'karakakāṭa-n(i)gamasa dāna'*]²⁸⁾ while a pillar was gifted by the donors from Purikā [*'purikāya dāyakana dāna'*].²⁹⁾ In such types of

22. IA., Vol. XXI(1892), p.227, note II, cited in BI. p.2, f.n. 4.

23. BI., A100.

24. BI., A39, A54a.

25. BI., A54a.

26. BI., A51.

27. Ibid., f.n.8, p.33.

28. BI., A5.

donations, not a single individual was involved but the inhabitants of the towns made a community grant. The first donation was from the whole town and must have involved all the families through some authority - civil or religious who must have effected this act of benevolence. The other donation may not have been made by the whole inhabitants of Purikā but must have involved a large number of donors from the same place. The patrons, thus, identified themselves as individual donors, as families making donations, or as a community of donors. The community patronage as a form of donations from villages or towns must have cut across individual social identities³⁰⁾ and projected an identity of a micro-geographical area.

The construction of Buddhist monuments was probably done under the supervision of the *saṅgha* and a few persons within the *saṅgha* must have accomplished this job. The supervision was generally undertaken by a *navakammika* or *navakarmika*. Each monastic establishment probably had either one *navakammika* or several monks who had some knowledge of monastery building and its requirement.³¹⁾ Their social status depended on the personal accomplishment and the nature of work they offered. They performed the functions of the *bhānaka*(a reciter), the *upādhyāya*(a teacher) or simply the work of the *navakarmika*. The Buddhist texts like the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* and the *Jātakas* depict the status of the *navakammikas* which varied according to the work they

29. Bl., A16.

30. R. Thapar, 'Patronage and Community', B. S. Miller(ed), The Power of Art, p.27.

31. H. P. Ray, The Winds of Change, p.144.

performed.³²⁾ A close look at the donations made by the monks shows that the monks can be divided into two categories, (a) the monks having specific monastic titles, and (b) monks, called *bhadanta* or *āya*(*ārya*, noble). The former refers to the monks as *peṭaki*(*peṭakin*) 'who knows the *Piṭakas*,³³⁾ *pañchanekāyika*(*pañchanaikāyika*) who knows the five *Nikāyas*,³⁴⁾ *saṭupadāna*(*sṛiṣṭopādāna*) who has abandoned attachment',³⁵⁾ *bhānaka* and *navakammika*(*navakarmika*) 'the reciter and the superintendent of the works',³⁶⁾ and the *bhānaka* 'reciter'.³⁷⁾ Most of them have the honorific term *āya*(*ārya*) 'the venerable' or *bhadata*(*bhadanta*) 'the reverend' or both attached to their names. The other category of monks is only addressed as *bhadanta* or *āya*; they do not connote any specific qualifications, highlighting their religious knowledge or personal religious accomplishment. A total of ten donations are made by such monks, which range from a coping stone and rail-bar to pillars.³⁸⁾ In one of these inscriptions, the name of the preceptor of the monk is also mentioned.³⁹⁾ A total of twenty five donations were given by the monks, all of them singly.

Besides the donations made by nuns belonging to various places like Chudaṭhila, Bhojakaṭa, Moragiri, Kākandī, Darbiṇa, Nagara and Kauśāmbi which have been dealt with earlier, at least six donations were

32. Ibid., pp.144-145.

33. BI., A56.

34. BI., A57.

35. BI., A58.

36. BI., A59.

37. BI., A61, A62, A63.

38. BI., A64-73.

39. BI., A73.

made by nuns whose native places are not mentioned.⁴⁰⁾ Thus, about fifteen donations were given by the nuns in their individual capacities and were all single donations. At least thirty-three donations were made by men whose native place or profession was not mentioned. All the donations except one was made by a single person. But we have references where the same person made two or more donations. A person named Avisana(Avishaṇṇa) made two gifts of rail-bars⁴¹⁾ while Saṅgamita(Saṅghamitra) donated a wheel of enlightenment(*bodhichakra*) and a rail.⁴²⁾ Isirakhita(Rishirakshita) made at least three donations of rail-bar, a rail-stone and a pillar.⁴³⁾ We come across a donation made by a certain Gośāla and his mother. Probably the name of the mother was added later on to record that the mother also shared in the expenses of the rail-bar.⁴⁴⁾ The gift made by a certain Bhāranideva(Bharaṇideva) refers to him as the son of Seri(Śri)⁴⁵⁾ but the mother is not making the donation along with the son. About twelve donations were given by men with their native places mentioned, two donations referred to their native places as well as the professions, one was given by a *gahapati* and one by a sculptor(*rūpakara*).⁴⁶⁾ Thus, a total of forty-seven gifts were made by men who were generally lay worshippers.

The women constituted a major group who patronised Buddhism. If

40. BI., A74-80.

41. BI., A82, A83.

42. BI., A106, A107. The same name also occurs in A40.

43. BI., A87, A87a, A88. The name also occurs in A50.

44. BI., A90.

45. BI., A100.

46. BI., A55.

we compare the total number of male lay worshippers with total number of female lay worshippers, the females do not fare badly. A total of fifteen donations were given by women without referring to their native places⁴⁷⁾ and about eighteen donations were made by women with their native places mentioned. Thus, total of thirty-three grants were made by women who were lay worshippers. The inscriptions refer to them as 'wife of so and so', 'mother of so and so', but many inscriptions do not make any such mention and simply record the names of the female donors. A donations was made by a female donor named Yakhi(Yakshi).⁴⁸⁾ This name occurs as that of a nun about three times in the Bharhut inscriptions and also at Sanchi. This suggests that the cult of *Yakshi* was a well-developed feature of Buddhism, and we find the sculptures of *Yaksa* and *Yaksi* adorning the Buddhist monuments. The famous statue of Didarganj *Yaksi* is dated to about 2nd century B.C. The cult of *Yaksa* and *Yaksi* was incorporated into the Buddhist pantheon, and they formed a group of minor deities in *Mahāyāna* Buddhism. They were regarded as the guardians of the four quarters and were supposed to protect the Buddhist monasteries.

Lüders did an analysis of the names of the donors which throw light on the socio-religious condition of the period in which the *stūpa* was fully constructed, that is, c. 250 B.C.(?) to c.150 B.C. The names can be broadly divided into religious(theophoric) and non-religious ones.⁴⁹⁾

47. BI., A114-128.

48. BI., A116.

49. For details refer to BI. pp. 3-6.

The period was marked by the continuation of the old Vedic worship although Buddhism was in vogue. The *Grihyasūtra* injunction of naming a person after the constellation of stars(*nakshatras*) was very much in practice as we come across names like Jethabhadra(Jyesthabhadra), Pusa(Pushya), Phagudeva(Phalgudeva), Anurādhā, Sonā(Śravaṇa), etc. The prevalence of the *Vaisnavite* and *Śaivite* names show their existence as sects of Brahmanism. The former is represented by names like Kanaka(Kṛṣṇaka), Kanhila(Kṛṣṇala), Valaka(Balaka) and Valamita(Balamitra) while the latter is represented by names like Isāna(Īsāna), Vādhapāla(Vyādhapāla) and Samika(Svāmika). The names alluding to Yakshas, Bhūtas and Nāgas and of saints point to their prevalence in the religious arena. The names are Yakhila(Yakshila), Bhutaka(Bhūtaka), Bhutārakhita(Bhūtarakshita) and Nāgadeva. Buddhist names are relatively few in number like Dhamarakhita, Budhi, Bodhiguta, Saṅghamita, etc. and there was no marked difference in naming monks and nuns and the lay persons. The non-religious names referring to the appearance of the body, mental dispositions, plants and animals are few in number. The first is denoted by names like Sāmaka(Śyāmaka), Chula(Kshudra), Sāmā(Śyāmā), etc., the second by Ananda(Ānanda), Nanda(Nanda), Badhikā(Baddhikā 'one who is bound'), etc. and the last by name like Atimuta(Atimukta), Saga(Saṅga) and Kujarā(Kuñjarā).

The donative inscriptions found at Bharhut present a picture of the donors who came from different parts of India like Vidiśā, Pāṭaliputra, Bhojakaṭa and Nasik, encompassing a vast geographical area. The

Yavana donors made donations in other places like Sanchi, but in Bharhut we do not find any single donation made by persons of foreign origin or bearing a foreign name. Both men and women came forward in donating various items for the *stūpa* who were generally *upāsakas* and *upāsikās* respectively. The common people⁵⁰⁾ made all the grants except four or five which were given by individuals belonging to the royal families. Out of them, one was given by a woman who was the Queen. Women as a whole constituted a very significant part of the patrons. A total number of forty-nine gifts (fifteen by nuns, thirty-three by lay women, one by royal queen) were made by them. The monks contributed through twenty-five donations while lay men gave forty-seven donations. In terms of the Buddhist concept of four orders consisting of monks, nuns, *upāsakas* and *upāsikās*, the donations made by these categories in that order were twenty-five, fifteen, fifty-one and thirty-four respectively. In some of the cases, due to the fragmentary remains of the inscriptions, it is difficult to locate the donor. Most of the donations were given in individual capacity, except two donations given by the inhabitants of Karahakaṭa and Purikā. The latter represented the community patronage extended to Buddhism in an era when it was trying to expand its horizon. During the age of Buddha, we do not find patronage emanating from a group or community but the donor belonged to wealthy ruling and mercantile class representing mostly the high class families (*ucca-kula*).

50. Here we also include the monks and nuns as their social background is not reflected in the inscriptions. As they had renounced the worldly life, they can safely be taken as commoner.

(B) SANCHI

Sanchi which like Bharhut is located in Central India had a more diverse social base providing patronage to Buddhism. The genesis of the main Sanchi *Stūpa* dates back to the Mauryan period, when a brick *Stūpa* was made to be constructed by king Aśoka. This centre expanded gradually to include several *stūpas* and temples which existed up to twelfth century A.D. In the period under our consideration, *Stūpas* 1, 2 and 3 and the pillared maṇḍapa of Temple 40 were constructed through the voluntary endowment of various professional groups, monks and nuns, religious and economic institutions like *goṭhiya(goṣṭhi)* and *śrenis(guilds)* respectively. The foreigners referred to as *Yavanaka* also made donations at this Buddhist site which was located close to the city of Vidiṣā. The buildings at Sanchi, which used stone for the first time on a large scale, was not the result of patronage exclusive of royalty or the nobility. What appears as significant, in a study of patronage, is that it was raised through numerous small donations from a multitude of persons of diverse vocations and coming from different towns and villages.⁵¹⁾

The maximum number of grants at Sanchi were made by the monks(111) and nuns(106) which numbered about two hundred and seventeen(217) out of a total of 813 donations. Many of the inscriptions mention the town or the place to which they belonged. An individual monk is seen making two or more donations in his own name. The

51. SI., 308, 305, 635, 642.

monk *Āya* Pasanaka(*Arya-Prasanaka*) made three donations, each inscribed on a cross-bar.⁵²⁾ Likewise, monk Jonhaka(*Jyotsnāka*) made three gifts of cross-bars.⁵³⁾ Then, we have two donations given by the monk Dhamarakhita(*Dharmarakshita*)⁵⁴⁾ who contributed towards the construction of two cross-bar. In one of his donations, his native place, Kacupatha, is also mentioned. A gift of cross-bar near the endowment of monk Dharmarakhita was made by the nun Dharamarakhitā (*Dharmarakshitā*) of Kacupatha.⁵⁵⁾ As both of them belonged to the same place and had a close resemblance in their name, it can be inferred that they were probably brother and sister who renounced their home and entered the monastic order. A votive inscription records the joint donation of a cross-bar made by two monks Cuda(*kshudra*) and Dhamarakhita(*Dharmarakshita*).⁵⁶⁾ This monk named Dhamarakhita may be the same person who is referred earlier too. Another joint donation of a cross-bar was made by monks Dhanagiri and Caḍipiya(*Caṇḍipriya*).⁵⁷⁾ We also have an instance when a monk together with a laity made a donation.⁵⁸⁾ The gift was given by Asāḍra(*Āshāḍha*) from Arapana and the monk whose name is lost due to some damage in the inscription. We have, thus, very few donations made jointly by monks or an individual monk making more than one donation. Most of the donative

52. SI., 144, 148, 149.

53. SI., 291, 292, 293.

54. SI., 180, 187.

55. SI., 181.

56. SI., 246.

57. SI., 204.

58. SI., 250.

inscriptions simply record the name of the donor monk. In an inscription, the donor monk named Upasijha(Upasiddhya or Upasiksha) is referred to as the brother of Phaguna(Phālguna)⁵⁹⁾ while in two inscriptions, the donor monks named Bharṇḍuka⁶⁰⁾ and Bhaṇḍuka(Bhaṇḍuka)⁶¹⁾ respectively are shown to be sons of Goti(Gauptī). The names of the two donors are almost identical, and the inscription refers to them as sons of the same person, that is Gauptī. The two monks must have been brothers who made two separate grants. A single instance of donations made by brothers who were monks is inscribed on a rail-pillar. It was jointly gifted by the monks Pamthaka(Pāntaka) and Budhapālita(Buddhapālita).⁶²⁾

The monks probably had a gradation among them as some are decorated with epithets like *ārya* and *thera* while the majority are simply referred to as the *bhichu* or *bhikku(bhikhu)*. The superiors in the *saṅgha* who were probably more learned and experienced must have carried the epithet like *Ārya*(a venerable one) or *Thera*(an elder). A gift of a coping stone was given by *Thera Ārya-Nāga*, a monk of Ujjayini.⁶³⁾ This particular monk was having both the epithet *Thera* as well as *Ārya*. The term *Ārya* simply meant a reverend one while *Thera* denoted an elder in the community of Buddhist monks, that is, a senior monk.⁶⁴⁾ In many cases, the donor monk is also stated to be the disciple of a particular preceptor who had the *Ārya* epithet attached to his name.⁶⁵⁾

59. SI., 233.

60. SI., 290.

61. SI., 307.

62. SI., 363.

63. SI., 303.

64. D. C. Sircar, Indian Epigraphical Glossary, p.324.

The donor in one case is stated to be the companion or co-resident(*sādhivihāra*) of another monk named *Ārya-Phalguna*.⁶⁶⁾ A monk who is making the gift is called *Māthara*(i.e. *Māṭhara*) from *Achavaṭa* which probably meant the descendent of *Māṭhara*.⁶⁷⁾ *Māṭhara* may have been an important person of the locality *Achavaṭa*. A monk well versed in the five *Nikāyas*(*Pacanekayika*) along with his pupil or pupils is the donor of a cross-bar.⁶⁸⁾ The donation made by a *bhānaka*(reciter of text) mentions only his name and he is not referred to as a monk. But this function was generally performed by a monk and so this person can be assumed to have been a monk or attached to the *saṅgha*. This is the only donation made by a reciter of text. A single endowment in *Stūpa* II was given by a person who is referred to as a *sutātika*, that is, 'one who is versed in the *Suttantas*'. He, too, may have been a monk although he is not specifically stated to be so in the inscription.⁶⁹⁾ A female donor is also mentioned as a *Sutātikini* which will be dealt along with the nuns later on. There are two noteworthy inscriptions. One refers to an ascetic(*tāpasa*) while the other mentions a saint(*sapurisa*) who made the grants. The ascetic named *Gonaṁdaka* made a donation of a cross-bar⁷⁰⁾ and the saint *Bharaḍiya*, an inhabitant of *Yugapaja*, too, donated a cross-bar.⁷¹⁾ Bühler had translated the

65. SI., 229, 265, 267, 269, 270, etc.

66. SI., 338.

67. SI., 279. See f.n.4, p.327.

68. SI., 242.

69. SI., 631.

70. SI., 113.

71. SI., 288.

expression '*yugapajakasa*' as "the path-(finder) of the age".⁷²⁾ The Sapurisas or Satpurushas are also mentioned in the inscriptions on the relic-boxes and caskets found from *Stūpa* II. These people were the venerated saints of Buddhism whose relic was preserved and worshipped. The ascetic and the saint who made the donation at Sanchi were a part and parcel of the Buddhist monastic order. We also come across a few donations made by *Araha*(*Arhats*), and they were not probably *arhats* but denoted only the names of donors.⁷³⁾ The monks(the *bhichu*) made the maximum number of grants, totalling to one hundred and eleven and out of that seventy-nine are associated with *Stūpa* I of Sanchi. The monks as members of the Buddhist order had different epithets attached to their names which made their position or function distinctively clear. Some of them, as discussed above, were: *Āya*(*Ārya*)-'the noble one', *Thera*-'Venerable', *Bhadata*-'Most gentle', *Bhāṇaka*-'Reciter of the texts', *Dhamakathika*-'Preacher of the Law', *Sadhivihāri*-'Co-resident monk', *Vināyaka*-'Teacher', *Sutātika*- 'one who is versed in the *Suttantas*', *Pacānekayika*-'one who is versed in the Five *Nikāyas*', *Sapurisa*-'a saint' and *tāpasa*-'an ascetic'.

The nuns(*bhichunī* or *bhikhunī*), next to the monks, made the largest number of donations which come to about one hundred and six. Out of them, the maximum number of donations, that is, forty six were given for the construction of the *Stūpa* I. A remarkable feature of the

72. EI, Vol. II, p.105, No.74, Cited in John Marshall and A. Foucher, The Monuments of Sanchi, Vol. I, p.328, f.n.6.

73. SI., 143, 150, 473.

donations made by nuns is that most of them mention their native places. Unlike the monks, none of the nuns carry any epithet. This clearly shows their subservient position in the *saṅgha*. None of the inscriptions mentions any nun as the preceptor of any monk or nun. The exalted position of the spiritual preceptor was to be occupied by the monk, i.e., a man within the Buddhist monastic order. The *saṅgha* which admitted women after great hesitation during the life time of Buddha himself, was reluctant to give equal status to nuns. The social condition of the period gave a secondary position to the women and this was reflected in the monastic order also. But unlike the Brahmanical order, it gave more space to women. A large number of female devotees in the form of nuns and lay-worshippers made the donations. There are references to a female donor as being a *Sutākini*, one who is versed in the *Suttantas*.⁷⁴⁾ The donor was named Avisinā, an inhabitant of Maḍalachikaṭa, who gave donations of two cross-bars. The lady may have been a nun as she is supposed to be well acquainted with religious texts. A nun, like the monks, made more than one donation and this is perhaps the only instance we come across. A nun from Ujjayini named Kāḍi(Kāṇḍi) made two donations.⁷⁵⁾ There are two instances where donations were given jointly by two nuns.⁷⁶⁾ A collective grant was given by a certain Balikā and all the nuns of Maḍalāchikaḍa.⁷⁷⁾ Just like in Bharhut, in Sanchi also we come across nuns bearing the name Yakshi⁷⁸⁾ and we also find

74. SI., 304, 305.

75. SI., 83, 84.

76. SI., 370, 372.

77. SI., 341.

the name Yakshadāsī.⁷⁹⁾ Another name which attracts our attention is Devadāsī which occurs twice as names of nuns.⁸⁰⁾ This name literally means 'the female servant of the lord', and perhaps did not have any indirect reference to the institution of *devadāsī* which evolved later on with the emergence of temples as a socio-religious centre mainly in the Brahmanical system. The system of *devadāsī* was never associated with Buddhism as such, but occurrence of such names among Buddhist worshippers does attract our attention. An inscription in which the nun Devadāsī figures is a joint gift of her, along with a lay worshipper(*upāsaka*) and two monks.⁸¹⁾ This is the only inscription which records gifts made together by a nun, two monks and a lay worshipper, thus intricately linking the three Buddhist orders leaving aside the fourth, the female lay-worshipper(*upāsikā*). Whatever may be the reason, the four orders of Buddhism had a closely linked socio-economic and religious network.

The lay worshippers of Buddhism were denoted by the term *upāsaka* or *upāsikā* representing the male and the female respectively. Apart from the donations made by the monks and the nuns, which come to about two hundred and seventeen, the rest numbering about five hundred and ninety were given by lay worshippers. But the terms *upāsaka* and *upāsikā* occur only six⁸²⁾ and seventeen⁸³⁾ times respectively

78. SI., 137, 198.

79. SI., 326.

80. SI., 215, 501.

81. SI., 215.

82. SI., 416, 486, 707, 711, etc.

83. SI., 19, 38, 58, 59, 70, 176, 177, 317, 360, 517, 541, 616, etc.

in the inscriptions. But even where these terms do not occur, it can be safely assumed that the donors were lay worshippers. The female lay worshipper Nāgā from Tirigapada donated two cross-bars⁸⁴⁾ and this is the only example where the clear-cut mentioned category of *upāsikā* made two donations. The female pupils(*atevāsini*)⁸⁵⁾ are recorded seven times in the inscriptions as the donor. The women in general, made several donations in their capacity as mother, wife, daughter, sister, daughter-in-law, etc. The family and social status of the woman in her different roles as mother, wife, daughter, etc. can be gauged from the number of donations made by them. The maximum number of grants in this category is made by mothers, which account for twenty nine while the wife accounts for about twenty two donations. The others account for about ten donations. Thus, it is evident that the status of a woman depended on her marriage and she occupied an exalted position as the mother and the wife. The woman's identification was mainly through her son and the husband. Some of the inscriptions record the gift of a mother along with her sons⁸⁶⁾ or daughters⁸⁷⁾ or of a woman with her sisters.⁸⁸⁾ The only royal grant in the form of a rail pillar at Sanchi was given by a lady, queen(*devi*) Vākalā(Vāshkalā), the mother of Ahimita(Ahimitra).⁸⁹⁾ In one of the grants, the donor is stated to be a *gharīṇī*(a housewife)⁹⁰⁾ without mentioning the name of her husband.

84. SI., 176, 177.

85. SI., 118, 637, 645, 673, 704, etc.

86. SI., 490.

87. SI., 523.

88. SI., 189.

89. SI., 364.

The usual term used for the wife in most of inscriptions is *pajāvati* while the term *jāyā*⁹¹⁾ and *prajāvatī*⁹²⁾ are used only once. A donation was made by the wife of an *asvārika*(*aśvavārika*), that is, a trooper from Vidiśā, while three grants were given by wives of bankers(*setṭhi*) from Kāṁḍaḍigāma.⁹³⁾ Women donors made a substantial contribution towards the construction of *stūpas* and consolidation of the *saṅgha* at Sanchi.

The male laity also contributed towards the *stūpa* structures on a large scale. We come across various professional groups like banker(*setṭhi*), *Vanika/Vanija*(merchant), weaver(*sotika*), mason(*vadhakina*), cloak-seller(*pavārika*), *rajuka*(surveyor), artisan(*kamika*), foreman of artisans(*āvesani*), ivory-worker(*damtakāra*), royal engraver(*rajalipikara*), writer(*lekhaka*) and *gahapati*(a householder) in the inscriptions under consideration. Besides, we have several male pupils(*atevāsi*) of particular teachers who were the donors on at least ten occasions.⁹⁴⁾ These male pupils were not monks but lay followers under a particular religious preceptor. The foreigners mentioned as *Yona*⁹⁵⁾ and *Yovanaka*⁹⁶⁾ who were probably Greek or Persian also participated in these donations. The former donated two slabs set side by side in the pavement and his origin is not mentioned. The latter donated a berm balustrade and is stated to have belonged to Setapatha(*Śvetapatha*) which is not yet identified. This

90. SI., 160.

91. SI., 16.

92. SI., 301.

93. SI., 41, 42, 44.

94. SI., 348, 349, 399, 402, 572, 632, 633, 634, 671.

95. SI., 475.

96. SI., 433.

depicts that people from different walks of society contributed to the embellishment of the *stūpas* and temples at Sanchi. The bankers appear to have made thirteen donations⁹⁷⁾ while their relatives(wife, mother, brother) account for another six.⁹⁸⁾ Among these gifts, one is given by 'the executor of repairs' of the banker['*seṭhino paṭikama-kāraṅā dānaṃ*'].⁹⁹⁾ A banker making two donations is mentioned in two records. One grant of the banker was made along with his son.¹⁰⁰⁾ Along with the bankers, the merchants(*vanija*) also were an important group involved in extending patronage to Buddhism. They participated in eight donations either individually¹⁰¹⁾ or along with their sons.¹⁰²⁾ The latter accounts for about four donations. In one of these inscriptions, the merchant is referred to as the *vanika*¹⁰³⁾ and not *vanija*. The artisans(*kamika*) are mentioned twice in the inscriptions,¹⁰⁴⁾ while one inscription records the donation made by Ānanda, son of Vāsīṭhi(Vāsishṭhi), the foreman of the artisans(*āvesani*) of Rajan Siri Sātakani(Śri-Sātakarṇi).¹⁰⁵⁾ The scribes also figure as donors. An identical inscription, on three cross-bars, records the gift of a *lekhaka*, that is, a writer.¹⁰⁶⁾ A gift of a rail-pillar was made by the *rāja-lipikara*(royal scribe).¹⁰⁷⁾ The *lipikara* must have

97. SI., 43, 122, 211, 212, 328, 337, 339, 365, 397, 649, 660, 710.

98. SI., 41, 42, 44, 124, 125, 135.

99. SI., 122.

100. SI., 403.

101. SI., 61, 168, 306, 386.

102. SI., 200, 201, 202, 479.

103. SI., 479.

104. SI., 199, 448.

105. SI., 398.

106. SI., 46, 47, 48.

107. SI., 175.

been different from a *lekhaka* and must have been engaged in the writing work. The *lekhaka* was also a writer who wrote a record on copper plates, stone slabs, etc. in order to facilitate its correct engraving by an artisan as opposed to the composer.¹⁰⁸⁾ The mason(*vaḍhaka*) appears as a donor on two occasions¹⁰⁹⁾ while in one inscription, there appears two masons' marks.¹¹⁰⁾ The weaver(*sotika*)¹¹¹⁾ and the cloak-seller(*pāvārika*)¹¹²⁾ made one and two donations respectively. The ivory workers(*darītakāras*) of Vediśā appear to have done a collective donation by offering their labour in carving a pillar [*Vediśakehi darītakārehi rupakammanī katarī*] in the south gate of *Stūpa* I at Sanchi.¹¹³⁾ The labour as well as the cost towards the construction of the pillar must have come from the group of the ivory workers probably represented by a guild. The *gahapatis* are mentioned four times in the donative inscriptions, three of which were given by the same person who is mentioned as the householder Patīṭhiya(Pratishṭhita) from Tubavana(Tumbavana).¹¹⁴⁾ This particular *gahapati* must have been quite affluent as two other donations were given by his daughter-in-law¹¹⁵⁾ and the wife of his brother.¹¹⁶⁾

Among the royal officials, the only functionary who finds reference

108. D. C. Sircar, op. cit., p.171.

109. SI., 454, 589.

110. SI., 427.

111. SI., 499.

112. SI., 131, 472.

113. SI., 400.

114. SI., 18, 20, 21. The other donation was made by *gahapati* Budhila(Buddhila)- SI., 369.

115. SI., 17.

116. SI., 16.

in the inscriptions is the Rajuka who was an important official from the Mauryan period onwards. He was an officer of the land survey and revenue department¹¹⁷⁾ and during Aśokas reign, he was also assigned some judicial function and was working mainly in the frontier areas. The rajukas made only two donations in one of which the official is having the epithet *bhādata*, that is, venerable.¹¹⁸⁾

Apart from the individual and joint donations, by two persons, there were collective donations from the family(*kula*) of an individual or by the *gośthi* or the guild. The latter category came mainly from Vidiśā and Ujjayini like the ivory-workers of Vidiśā discussed above. The Magalakaṭṭiyas,¹¹⁹⁾ Sāphineyakas,¹²⁰⁾ Tāpasīyas¹²¹⁾ and the Vākiliyas¹²²⁾ of Ujjayini probably represented particular families or guilds who donated at Sanchi. Then come the clearly mentioned families or relatives who made the grant. A gift of a pillar was made by all the relatives of the *bhādata*(venerable) Nāgila.¹²³⁾ The whole family(*kula*) of Ajitiguta(Ajitigupta),¹²⁴⁾ of Tuḍa(Tuṇḍa)¹²⁵⁾, of Cuda(Kshudra) of Pulapha,¹²⁶⁾ of Dhamutara(Dharmottara) making two grants¹²⁷⁾ and a fragmentarily

117. D. C. Sircar, op. cit., p.274.

118. SI., 206. The other reference to Rajuka is found in SI., 408.

119. SI., 103.

120. SI., 92, 352, 699.

121. The Tapasiyas appear to be a family or tribe settled in Ujjain. EI, Vol. II, p.94, n.28. Cited in John Marshall and A. Foucher, op. cit., p.328, f.n.5, SI., nos, 71, 72, 74, 87, 285, 725.

122. SI., 115.

123. SI., 102.

124. SI., 387.

125. SI., 434.

126. SI., 435.

127. SI., 603, 626.

inscription mentioning just the family¹²⁸⁾ are some of the grants made by the families, donating a collective family identity. The donations made by a particular village or town are also noticed. The inscriptions record gift by villages(*gama/grama*) like Vejaja¹²⁹⁾, Asavati(Aśvavati)¹³⁰⁾, Morajabhikata in Ujeni district(Ujjayiniāhāra)¹³¹⁾, Paḍukulikā(Paṇḍukulikā)¹³²⁾ and Cuḍamoragiri(Kshudra-Mayūragiri).¹³³⁾ The only donation recording the gift of a town is the gift of Patīḥāna(Pratishṭhāna),¹³⁴⁾ the modern Paithan which was an important town since ancient times, and trade routes passed through this place. The *goṭhi(goshṭhi)* representing an assembly or committee, especially the Buddhists, are mentioned as donors. The *Bodha-goṭhi(Buddha-goshṭhi)*, that is, the Buddhist Assembly or Committee, of the inhabitants of Dharmavarddhana made three donations of cross-bars facing the east gate way of Stūpa I at Sanchi.¹³⁵⁾ The other two gifts were made by the *goshṭhi* of the Barulamisas from Vidiśā¹³⁶⁾ and the *goshṭhi* of the Barāyasikhas from Abuda(Arbuda).¹³⁷⁾ The former made a gift of two pillars.

The names of the donors also throw some light on the religious condition of the period. Like Bharhut, we find the names roughly falling

128. SI., 797.

129. SI., 308.

130. SI., 345.

131. SI., 359.

132. SI., 635.

133. SI., 642.

134. SI., 546.

135. SI., 96, 97, 98.

136. SI., 1778.

137. SI., 793.

under the following categories: Buddhist, Vedic, Vaisnava, Śaiva, constellation of stars etc., at Sanchi also. The names related to Yaksha point to the prevalence of this cult in that period. The figures of the Yakshas and Yakshis are found on the balustrade of the Bharhut *Stūpa*. We also come across some personal names derived from their native countries like Gandhāra, Kāmboja, Kekateyaka, Cirāti and Pātiṭhana. This shows that people did attach special importance to their places of origin.

A glance through the inscriptions of Sanchi shows that endowments come from within the *saṅgha* in the form of donations by the monks and nuns and outside the *saṅgha* from the laity who came from diverse sections of the society. Joint or group donations were widely prevalent. A number of donations made on the ground balustrade of *Stūpa* I were from the persons either of the same family or same locality. In many cases the collective donations were raised from particular families, associations, villages, etc. or from the inhabitants of particular places.¹³⁸⁾

(C) TAXILA

Taxila, located in the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent, and its adjoining areas attracted patrons from the ruling class and from other strata of society of that region as also outside. The *saṅgha* through the monks provided the required sanction for the act of *dāna*(gift). Unlike at Sanchi, Taxila records provide evidence of several

138. John Marshall and A. Foucher, op. cit., p.298.

donations by the ruling class. The donations made by Meridarkh which probably meant a 'district officer' is recorded in three inscriptions.¹³⁹⁾ These grants were given by Greek chiefs as both the names and designations were Greek. The donors are named Meridarkh Theodoros, Meridarkh and Thaidora. The last was probably a Meridarkh. Another donor was Theodoros, son of Thavara who donated two silver cups.¹⁴⁰⁾ The name was very similar to the other Greek donors and he too must have been a Greek. These Greeks were foreigners who extended patronage to Buddhism and they were the ruling chiefs in the north-western region. Another important royal functionary of a later period, who established several relics of Lord Buddha in his own *vihāra* was the general (*daṇḍanāyaka*) named Lala, who was the scion of the Gushāṇa, possibly Kuṣāṇa, origin.¹⁴¹⁾ He was associated in this act by kshatrapa Veśpasi and *vihāra* architect Burita. Kshatrapa and Mahākṣatrapa were feudatory titles of foreign origin and were used by the ruling class. It probably denoted a provincial governor or high royal official. A bronze casket found at the great *stūpa* at Māṇikiala was the gift of the kapiśā kshatrapa, the son of kshatrapa Gṛnavhryaka.¹⁴²⁾ A gift of the relic of the Lord and a monastery was given by Patika, son of kshatrapa Liaka Kusuluka. The construction work was carried out by Rohinimitra, the *navakamika* (overseer of the work).¹⁴³⁾

139. CII, Vol. II, part I, pp.1-3, 4-5.

140. Ibid., p.98.

141. Ibid., pp.149-150.

142. Ibid., pp.150-151.

143. Ibid., pp.28-29.

The lay followers were however the majority among the donors. Besides the ruling class, the common people also participated in a few donations. Two brothers established a Stūpa at Taxila¹⁴⁴⁾ while a gift of silver disc mentioned an architect(Karavaka) as the donor.¹⁴⁵⁾ A gift of Bodhisattva relic was established in a *stūpa* by the *navakamika*(overseer of the work).¹⁴⁶⁾ The *navakarmin* or the *navakarmika* was the superintendent of work(possibly of repairs); a superintendent of building operations.¹⁴⁷⁾ The slave(*dāsa*) Agišala is mentioned as the *navakarmin* in the Kanishka Casket Inscription.¹⁴⁸⁾ The name Agišala can be representing the Greek name Agesilaos. And as slavery was quite prevalent in the Greek world, the architect may have been a slave earlier. The Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription records the donation given by Urasaka who also seemed to have been of foreign origin.¹⁴⁹⁾

The female worshippers also made donations in the Taxila region. The Kalawan Copper-plate Inscription records that the female worshipper(*upāsikā*) Chamdrabhi(Chandrābhi), the daughter of the householder(*grihapati*) Dharma, the wife of Bhadrāpāla put up relics in the 'house-*stūpa*'(*grihastūpa*) at Chhaḍaśila.¹⁵⁰⁾ This is a donation made by an *upāsikā* in Taxila region in the period under consideration. Lay women too made donations; for example, the wife of a certain Indrasena

144. Ibid., p.87.

145. Ibid., p.151.

146. Ibid., p.158.

147. D. C. Sircar, op. cit., p.213.

148. CII, op. cit., pp.135-136.

149. Ibid., pp.70-77.

150. EI, Vol. X XI, pp.251-259.

made two gifts. In one of the inscriptions she is referred to as the *bhāryā*, that is, a wife while in another she is called the *kutibiṇia* or a *kutumbini*¹⁵¹⁾ which originally meant 'the wife of a householder' and later 'wife' in general.¹⁵²⁾ Likewise, a lady named Śira deposited a relic of the Lord.¹⁵³⁾ One of the donations given by the Meridarkh also figures his wife as the donor.¹⁵⁴⁾ A joint donation from the mother and wife of a certain Vāsishṭha was also given.¹⁵⁵⁾ There are only a few donations made by women as compared to men. There is not a single donation given by the nuns.

The monks made a few donations. In the Dharmarājikā compound of Taxila, a lamp was given by the friar Dharmadāsa.¹⁵⁶⁾ A monk named Nāgadatta who was the preacher of the Buddhist *dharma* (Dharmakathi) raised the staff which was provided with an enclosure by the mistress of the *vihāra* (*vihārasvamini*), the *upāsikā* Balanandi, and her mother, the matron and the wife of Bala.¹⁵⁷⁾ The term *Śramaṇa* which meant a Buddhist novice monk, is mentioned in three inscriptions, as related to the donors.¹⁵⁸⁾

As compared to Sanchi, we do not find different occupational groups, especially the bankers and merchants as donors. The number of

151. *CII*, op. cit., p.91.

152. D. C. Sircar, op. cit., p.169.

153. *CII*, op. cit., p.86.

154. *Ibid.*, p.5.

155. *Ibid.*, p.113-114.

156. *Ibid.*, p.90.

157. *Ibid.*, p.141.

158. *Ibid.*, pp.110, 123-124, 171-172.

donations, evidence for which is available, as compared to Bharhut and Sanchi is few. The north-western region comprising Taxila was the entry point for the foreigners like Indo-Greeks, Śakas, Parthians, etc. who came to India. These ruling families constitute the major patron groups. They solicited a formal recognition and legitimacy and social as well as ritual status in society through the acceptance of more radical Buddhism. The main patrons came from the ruling class. The Greeks in this region accepted Buddhism and provided patronage through donation.

An analysis of the names of the donors throws some light on the social composition of the people residing in the Taxila region. The foreign names, especially Greeks, clearly point to their settlement in that region. The Indo-Greeks ruled in that region. The Greeks accepted the Indian religious norms and gradually got assimilated in the mainstream of the society. As usual, we come across Buddhist, Savite, Nāga, etc. names which point to their co-existence in a situation of religious tolerance and sagacity. A term like *Poshapuriaputraṇa* which denotes belonging to or a son of Peshāwar, points out that people did attach importance to their native place.

The people making donations at Taxila seem to have belonged to the affluent section of the society unlike that of Bharhut and Sanchi where the donors were common people of moderate means. People having their own *stūpa* in their places of residence are seen making donations of relics of Buddha to these *stūpas*. The term used is '*grihastūpa*' for these *stūpas*. Donation was also given in one's own *vihāra* like the gift

of general Lala which was given in his own *vihāra*. We come across gold and silver plates and bronze caskets on which inscriptions were inscribed and were the objects of donations too. The donation towards the construction of wells and tanks must have involved a huge sum of money. The donors, in general, seem to have been wealthy.

The donees in almost all the donative inscriptions at Buddhist sites under consideration were the *saṅgha* in general or the Buddhist monks coming from all the four quarters. In Taxila, we find that the grant were given for particular sects of Buddhism. This is found at Mathurā too. The donees in some of the cases were the *Kāśyapīyas*¹⁵⁹, *Sarvāstivādins*¹⁶⁰ and *Mahāsaṅghikas*.¹⁶¹ The *Kāśyapīyas* were a branch of the *Sthavīravāda* school and were also reckoned to the *Sarvāstivādins* and considered to observe the *Dhutaṅgas* more rigidly than other sects.¹⁶² Taxila saw the co-existence of different sects of Buddhism which received patronage from the people without any discrimination. The inscriptions at Taxila were not exactly votive but they gave references to the genealogy and the religious affiliation of the donor.

(D) MATHURĀ

Mathurā was an important trade and religious centre since the early historical period. It was during the reign of the Kuṣāṇas that it reached its most important phase of early historical development. It was an

159. Ibid., p.88, p.89.

160. Ibid., p.137, 145, 176. *EI*, Vol. XXI, p.251-259.

161. *EI*, XI, p.210-211.

162. *CII*, op. cit., p.88.

important Buddhist centre and the two leading Buddhist sects were the *Sarvāstivādins* and *Mahāsaṅghikas* and the former was quite dominant in many other parts of the Kuṣāṇa empire. Mathurā also emerged as an important centre of art and produced a large number of Buddha and Bodhisattva images. Some of these images found their way to sites like Sanchi, Sarnath, Śravasti and Taxila.¹⁶³⁾

The Mathurā epigraphs refer to monks, nuns, high officials, royal family members, etc. as donors. The monks made a substantial number of donations, either individually or jointly. A few donations were jointly given by two monks.¹⁶⁴⁾ A monk named Nāgadatta made a donation of an image of Bodhisattva, together with the resident of a *vihāra*.¹⁶⁵⁾ This gift was probably from all the residents of the *vihāra*, the monk taking the lead. A particular monk named Dharmadasa made two gifts at Mathurā.¹⁶⁶⁾ Then we have at least twenty one single donations made by individual monks.¹⁶⁷⁾ An inscription mentions the donation as that of the monk Bhadra and of Bhadrakhoṣa.¹⁶⁸⁾ The latter seems to have been a layman, and this donation was, thus, made together by a monk and a lay follower. Some of the monks carry further qualifications as being a preacher¹⁶⁹⁾, a preacher who know the fourfold scriptures

163. Devangana Desai, 'Social Dimensions of Art in Early India', p.11.

164. *IA*, VI, p.218. *MI*, 39, 46.

165. *MI*, 157.

166. Mathurā Buddhist Inscriptions on the pedestals of statues. nos.42, 43, *IA* X X X III, p.150, p.155, p.156., *EI* X, p.113.

167. *MI*, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 44, 45, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 90, 121.

168. *MI*, 52.

169. *MI*, p.69, *MI*, 34.

[*caturvvi[d]yasya bhasa[ṇa][k]asya*]¹⁷⁰⁾ or the practiser of meditation(*prāhanikānam*).¹⁷¹⁾ A monk named Buddhāda is described as the companion of *Saṅghamitra*.¹⁷²⁾ In an inscription, the name of the teacher of the donor monk¹⁷³⁾ is stated while in other cases we do not come across the preceptor's name. A donation was given by the elder of the congregation(*saṅgha-sthavira*).¹⁷⁴⁾

The nuns made contributions on a few occasions and the number of donations was considerably less as compared to that of the monks. The Mathurā Buddhist Image Inscription of the time of Huvishka records the setting up of an image of Bodhisattva by the nun Dhanavati, who was the sister's daughter of another nun named Buddhamitra and was also the female disciple(*antevasiniye*) of the monk Bala who knew the *Tripitaka*. She made this donation at Madhuravanaka(the name of the vihāra) along with her parents.¹⁷⁵⁾ It was a common practice to make donations along with one's father and mother. This also points towards the fact that the people who had taken to the monastic order did not fully give up their worldly ties. The donations by monks and nuns also show their economic status. They must have been in possession of personal wealth inherited from their families or collected through the generosity of lay followers.

170. MI. 33.

171. MI. 46.

172. MI. 45.

173. MI. 55.

174. MI. 59.

175. MI, 24, See also EI, Vol.VIII, p.181-182.

Another donation was given by a nun along with her parents¹⁷⁶⁾ while an inscription records the joint gift of two nuns.¹⁷⁷⁾ An important information gauged from these two donations is that there were female teachers or preceptors also. The donors are described as the female pupils of a particular nun. Whether these female teachers were allowed to keep male novice monks under them is not clear from our sources. The monk teachers had both male as well as female pupils under them.

The women as donors included female lay worshippers(*upāsikā*) and pupils(*atevasini*) of religious teachers also. There are two references to the female lay worshipper.¹⁷⁸⁾ The name of the donor is lost in an inscription but it included the parents, teacher, the male pupils and the female pupils.¹⁷⁹⁾ There is no mention of the term '*upāsaka*' for the male lay worshippers in the inscriptions. Even though we do not come across the term, the donations made by men and women apart from the monks and nuns, came from the laity. The women donors in the inscriptions are mentioned as wife, daughter, daughter-in-law, etc. of a particular male person as their identity in a patrilocal and patrilineal society was always traced through the male line. The mothers are mentioned in a few inscriptions to explain the family background of the donor. The donor belonging to the country of the Pañchalias describes himself as the son of a Bhārgavi, that is, a mother of the Bhārgava gotra.¹⁸⁰⁾ The

176. MI. 126.

177. MI. 103.

178. MI. 118, 180.

179. MI. 80.

180. EI., Vol. X, p.108.

region of Pañchala must have had this practice of describing oneself through one's mother. A trooper Bodhiyaśa is said to have been the son of Bodhila and a Kauśikī, that is, a mother of the Kauśika gotra.¹⁸¹⁾ An image of Bodhisattva was installed in her own *vihāra* by a lady who is referred as the mother of someone whose name is now lost. The grant was made along with her parents.¹⁸²⁾ The female donor in one case is called the kuṭubiniye, that is, a housewife.¹⁸³⁾ The cloak-makers (*Prāvarikas*) were a great patron of Buddhism. Inscriptions record gifts made by the female relatives of the cloak-makers. The donations were given by the wife¹⁸⁴⁾ and daughter¹⁸⁵⁾ of the cloak-maker. The latter is inferred on the basis of the donation being made in a *Prāvarika vihāra*, that is, a monastery of the cloak-makers. The daughter-in-law of a person whose name is lost is stated to have made a donation¹⁸⁶⁾ while another grant was given jointly by the daughter-in-law of a certain Dasa and the sister of a person named Vṛddhi.¹⁸⁷⁾

Mathurā inscriptions also refer to members of royal families as well as to high royal officials as donors. The family members of the latter also figure as the donors on a few occasions. The daughters of some ruling chiefs and wealthy persons are stated to have made donations. Puśyadatta, the daughter of the lord of the *vihāra*, named

181. MI. 176.

182. MI. 1.

183. MI. 85.

184. MI. 81.

185. MI. 74.

186. MI. 76.

187. MI. 84.

Guṇḍa established a Bodhisattva image in her own *vihāra* during the reign of Kaṇishka.¹⁸⁸⁾ Another donor bearing the same name, described as the daughter of Mahārājā Matsyagupta made a gift of the image of Bodhisattva in her own *vihāra*.¹⁸⁹⁾ The erection of a *stūpa* was carried out by some female relatives of Kṣatrapa Kṣaharata Ghaṭaka.¹⁹⁰⁾ The Mathurā Lion Capital Inscription records the establishment of the relic of the Buddha, a *stūpa* and a *saṅghārāma*(monastery) by the chief queen of Mahākṣatrapa Rajula and some of her relatives.¹⁹¹⁾ Rajula seems to have been the Śaka Mahākṣatrapa ruler of Mathurā in the first century B.C. The donor in another case was Viśvasika Aśyala together with his wife and son.¹⁹²⁾ Viśvasika/Viśvasika and possibly Vaiśvasika was the title of some functionary of high rank during the Kuṣāṇa period. There are three donations credited to Viśvasika Vakamihira and his son Horamūṇadhvara or Horamurṇḍga.¹⁹³⁾ The names suggest that they must have been foreigners. The same title is used by the general(*mahadaṇḍanāyaka*) Ulāna also.¹⁹⁴⁾ The name Ulāna is Iranian in origin. Another Iranian name which occurs in the inscription is that of Surāna who is father of the donor, Nuśapriyā, a lady. Thus, the donations made by Aśyala, Ulāna and Nuśapriyā originated from the non-indigenous residents of Mathurā of this period. The Mathurā polity

188. MI. 136.

189. EI., Vol. X X VIII, pp.42-44.

190. MI. 118.

191. CII., Vol. X X VIII, Part. I, pp.30-48 .

192. MI. 63.

193. MI., 60, 61, 62.

194. MI., 119.

was pervaded by officials belonging to distant places, that is, they were of 'non-local origin'. The Kshatrapa, the mahākshatrapa and the mahādaṇḍanāyaka are the common designations seen in Mathurā in Śaka and Kusana period. As the donations were given by people coming from far off places, like Uḍḍiyāna, Vadaḁsha or Abhisāra, these non-aboriginals may have belonged to these places.¹⁹⁵⁾ An image of Bodhisattva was established by a kṣatrapa whose name is lost in the epigraph.¹⁹⁶⁾ The treasurer(gaṇjavara) of Svamin Mahākṣatrapa Soṇḁasa who was a brāhmana having Saigrava gotra made a substantial donation of tanks, a reservoir, a grove, etc.¹⁹⁷⁾ It is not clear whether this donation was made for some religious establishment or simply given for the purpose of embellishing the ground. Thus, the donors at Mathurā included high officials of the ranks of Kṣatrapa, Viśvasika, Mahādaṇḍanāyaka, etc. as well as their close relatives, especially females. Besides these high-ranking officials, the lower grade functionaries also figure as the donors. A railing pillar was the gift of kaṭhika, a servant in the royal harem,¹⁹⁸⁾ which a slab bears the expression 'of the king's barber Jāda(*rājanāpitaśya Jāḁasa*)'.¹⁹⁹⁾ The latter may have been simply a sign board. As mentioned earlier, a trooper was the donor on one occasion.

There are at least four donations from the 'commissioners of the

195. B.D. Chattopadhyaya, 'On a Bi-scriptual Epigraph of the Kuṣāṇa Period from Mathurā', *JAIH*, X III, pp.277-83.

196. *ML*, 2.

197. *ML*, 64, See pp.59-60, 99, *EI*, Vol.IX, p.247.

198. *ML*, 25, Lüders has given this interpretation for the term 'ayakasa' while Growse has translated it as 'the venerable'. See *IA*, X X VIII, p.152.

199. *ML*, 75.

community' ('*saṅghaprakratānan*'); whether they were official or non-official personnel is not known. Three of them were headed by Bhadrakhośa,²⁰⁰ while one was headed by Bhaddila.²⁰¹ Perhaps, Bhaddila was only a shortened Prakrit name of Bhadrakhośa. These donations probably show the involvement of the mercantile people in the management of the Buddhist *saṅgha* as one record refers to Vyavahāris as *saṅgha prakritis*(commissioners or officials of the *saṅgha*).²⁰²

The *vihāras* at Mathurā were named after different trading communities like *Prāvārikavihāra*,²⁰³ *Suṇakaravihāra*²⁰⁴ an *Kāshṭikiya*²⁰⁵ *vihāra* which represented the cloak-makers, the goldsmiths and the timber merchants respectively. This would suggest that these *vihāras*(monasteries) were founded and monetarily supported by the respective occupational groups or were simply supported financially by these professional groups. Among the merchants, the reference is to a caravan merchant(*sarthavaha*) who made an endowment along with his wife.²⁰⁶ Besides the professional groups, many individuals(the richer section of the individuals) are stated to have made donations in their own *vihāras*.²⁰⁷

An inscription of the time of Vāsudeva, year 93(A.D. 171), refers to

200. *ML*, 47, 48, 49.

201. *ML*, 50.

202. *ML*, 47, pp.83-85, B. N. Mukherjee, *Mathura and Its Society*, p.125.

203. *ML*, 74, 81.

204. *ML*, 89.

205. *ML*, 157.

206. *ML*, 172.

207. *ML*, 1.

the term *kāyastha*²⁰⁸⁾ which denoted a scribe or a person belonging originally to a community of scribes. The objects of donation like the image and umbrella were established by three brothers (who had the epithet venerable to their names) along with their father and others after honouring the ascetic *kāyastha*.

The teachers or preceptors are mentioned in many epigraphs. The terms used for them are *upajhāya* and *ācārya*. The Buddhist teachers belonging to different sects are denoted by the term *ācārya*²⁰⁹⁾ while the donors in some cases are the preceptors who are denoted by the term *upajhāya*.²¹⁰⁾ It may have represented the teachers imparting secular knowledge unlike the *ācāryas* who were spiritual teachers. The *upajhāya* can be equated with the epithet '*upādhyāya*' which meant a teacher.²¹¹⁾ According to *Viṣṇusmṛti*, an *adhyāpaka* (or a teacher) was of two kind, he was either an *Ācārya*, i.e. one who invested a boy with the sacred thread and initiated him into the Vedas, or he was an *upādhyāya*, i.e. one who taught for livelihood.²¹²⁾ Here, the *ācārya* must have been a person who initiated the laity into the doctrines of Buddhism.

Mathurā was the hub of religious activities and we find that Buddhism, Jainism and Brahmanism co-existed within the spatial settlement of Mathurā, in their respective centres. This is amply attested by the excavations as well as the inscriptions found at Mathurā and its

208. *EI.*, Vol. X X VII, pp.151-153.

209. *MI.*, 80, 89.

210. *MI.*, 80.

211. D. C. Sircar, op. cit., p.350.

212. V. S. Apte, *The Student's Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. *adhyāpaka*.

adjoining areas. Buddhism flourished with the different sects receiving support from the laity. The inscriptions mention that the provisions in the form of images, *vihāras*, bowl, etc. were made for the *Sarvāstivādin* monks,²¹³⁾ the *Mahāsaṅghikas*²¹⁴⁾, the *Samitiya*²¹⁵⁾, and the *Mahopadeśakas*²¹⁶⁾ teachers. The last sect does not find mention in any Buddhist literature but Lüders has taken it to represent a Buddhist school. The donations were also meant to benefit the 'community of the four quarters'²¹⁷⁾ which meant for all the monks who came to that place from all parts of the world.

Mathurā attracted people of indigenous as well as foreign origin who were the patrons of Buddhism. An analysis of the names of the donors as discussed earlier points to Iranian, Scythian and Kuśāṇa donors. Most of the names were Buddhist in nature while some of them like Indraśarman were brahmanical names. The epigraphical and archaeological material would point to the prevalence of all major religions in Mathurā.

The people inhabiting Mathurā followed different vocations which were religious, administrative and lay professions. In the first category were included the Buddhist monks, nuns and teachers like the *bhikshus*, *bhikshunis*, *śramanas*, *ācāryas*, etc. They depended on the lay followers for their provisions. The Buddhist *saṅgha* was probably managed (at least

213. ML, 2, CII, Vol. II, part. I, p.30ff.

214. ML, 86, 125, 134, 157, EI, Vol. X IX, p.68.

215. ML, 80.

216. ML, 89.

217. ML, 31, 34.

to some extent) by *saṅgha*-sthaviras and *saṅgha* prakṛitis²¹⁸⁾ as discussed earlier. The high royal officials consisted of the Mahākshtrapa, Kshtrapa, *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, *Viśvasika*, etc. The lower officials consisted of trooper(*aśvavārika*), servant in the royal harem, etc. The lay professionals must have consisted of the *vanika*(merchant), *sārvavāha*(caravan merchant), *vyavahāri*(a trader), *prāvārika*(cloak-maker), *suranākāras*(goldsmiths), etc. The independent profession of a scribe is inferred from a single reference to the term '*kāyastha*' discussed above. Thus, there existed different socio-economic groups at Mathurā who were affluent enough to make handsome religious gifts. Among the donors were women also who enjoyed some social position.²¹⁹⁾

(E) OTHER CENTRES

Sarnath, Śravasti/Saheth-Maheth, Kauśambi and Bodhgaya were other Buddhist centres in the region north of the Vindhya. The monk Bala who was mentioned in the Mathurā Buddhist Image Inscription of the time of Huvishka as the teacher of the nun is seen in Saheth-Maheth and Sarnath as making donation from an earlier period. He makes one donation each of Bodhisattva image, an umbrella with a post at Sarnath and Śravasti.²²⁰⁾ The latter was given for the *ācāryas* of the *Sarvastivadin* school. Another donation at Śravasti mentions monk Bala as the one who knows the *Tripitaka* and a companion of another monk

218. B. N. Mukherjee, op. cit., p.186.

219. B. N. Mukherjee, 'Growth of Mathurā and Its Society(upto the end of the Kuṣāṇa Age)', in D.M. Srinivasan(ed.), *Mathurā-The Cultural Heritage*, p.65.

220. *EI.*, Vol.VIII, p.179, *EI.*, Vol.IX, p.291.

TH-6131

named Pushyavridhi.²²¹⁾ The donees in this case too, were the *ācāryas* of the *Sarvastivadin* school. Two other inscriptions found at Sarnath mention Bala. One of them refers to the mahāsatrapa Kharapallana together with the satrapa Vanaspara.²²²⁾ The other mentions the monk Bala as the main donor and he is described as the companion of monk Pushyavuddhi. This donation was made together with parents, masters and teachers, satrap Vanaspara and Kharapallana and the four classes.²²³⁾ This inscription also mentions monk Bala as the supervisor of this donation. The fund for the erection of the Bodhisattva image, umbrella and post may have been provided by the satrapa Vanaspara and Kharapallana who must have belonged to the ruling class. The main donors at Sarnath and Śravasti were the monks and the ruling class.

Kauśambi received patronage from the monks and nuns. An image of Bodhisattva was donated by the nun Buddhāmitrā who was well versed in the *Tripitaka*.²²⁴⁾ Another inscription mentions the donor as the monk Phagula, who was the disciple of reverend Dhara.²²⁵⁾ The gifts at Bodhgaya mainly came from the royal family. The railings or pillars which probably belong to Aśoka's time were the gifts of the noble lady Kurāṅgi. The copings were also the gift of Kurāṅgi whose mother's name is also mentioned. The donor was probably related to a royal family. The two rail-bars were the gifts of Amogha and Bohirakshita of

221. *EI*, Vol.VIII, pp.180-181.

222. *Ibid.*, p.179.

223. *Ibid.*, p.173-177.

224.³*EI*, Vol.XXIV, pp.210-212.

225. *EI*, Vol.XXIV, pp.14-16.

Tambaparna(Ceylon).²²⁶⁾ Thus, one donation came from a foreigner who had a Buddhist name and hailed from Ceylon. This donation must have been made during Aśoka's reign or afterwards as Buddhism spread to Ceylon during the time of Aśoka.

A survey of the donors at the different Buddhist sites points to a diverse social base which provided patronage to the new faith. The donors came from affluent as well as moderate income groups of the society.

II

Buddhism, since its inception, thrived on the support of the common people. In fact, it emerged as a need of the laity which abhorred the brahmanical *varṇa* system and rigid social structure. The royalty at the time of the Buddha accepted this faith and gave due honour to Buddha and his teachings. This must have facilitated the expansion and acceptance of Buddhism among the ruling and wealthy class. The laity like Jivaka, the royal physician who built a *vihāra* for the Buddha and donated robes to the monks, the purchase of *Jetavana* in Srāvasti by Śreṣṭhi Anathapindaka for its gift to the Buddha, the gift of *Ambavana* to the *saṅgha* by courtesan Ambapali were all acts of patronage during the period of Buddha himself. The patrons mostly were ruling kings, royal family members, people of *ucca kula* like the *brāhmaṇas*, *khattiyas*, *gahapatis*, *vānijjas*, *setṭhis*, etc. The patronising group expanded or

226. 'Inscriptions on Asoka's Railing' in A. Cunningham, *Mahābodhi* pp.15-16.

underwent change with the passing of time.

The act of patronage in the Mauryan period is manifested in the majestic lion pillars, the rock and pillar edicts, the erection of brick *stūpas*, etc. during the reign of Aśoka. The pillars and railings at Bodhgaya date to the Mauryan period and were constructed through the endowment provided by members of royal or noble family. One donation came from a foreigner who belonged to Ceylon. In the period 274 B.C. to 185 B.C. the patronage was thus mainly royal. The decline of Mauryan dynasty marked an end to an assured royal support for Buddhist monastic institutions. The Śuṅgas who succeeded the Mauryas were champions of Brahmanism. But this period witnessed the construction of some of the important Buddhist *stūpas* and monasteries at Bharhut, Sanchi and Amarāvati, and one inscription from a gateway specifically states that during 'the reign of the Śuṅgas', the gateway or the *torāṇa* was constructed by a king who have been a local ruler of the locality. Buddhism was indeed emerging as an universal religion which united the Indians and foreign invaders like the Greeks, Parthians, Scythians(Śaka) and the Kuṣāṇas.²²⁷ The Mauryas were succeeded by the Indo-Greeks in the north-west region who reigned between the second century B.C. and probably the middle of the first century B.C. The first Greek king converted into Buddhist religion was Menander(Milinda) who ruled around c. 150 B.C. The patrons during the past-Mauryan period differed from place to place.

227. The Encyclopedia of Religion, (ed. Mireia Eliade), Vol. II, p.360.

Bharhut and Sanchi expanded into a bigger Buddhist institution during the period 185-70 B.C. The geographical area expanded as the donors hailed from different parts of India like Vidiśa, Ujjain in Central India, Pāṭaliputra in north, Nāsik in west and Amrāvati in south. The royal support was minimal in the north and Central India. The middle of the second century B.C. to first century B.C. saw the donations given towards the construction of railings, coping-stone, pavement, harmika, etc. The main donors were monks and nuns who account for more than two hundred donations at Sanchi while at Bharhut they account for about fifty donations. Besides the monks and nuns, the donations came from the lay followers who were generally people of moderate means following different professional groups. The upāsaka and upāsikā are mentioned occasionally in inscriptions. Among the laity, the royal endowment is restricted to one at Sanchi and four at Bharhut.

It's the lay followers, affiliated to different professional groups which attract our attention at Sanchi while at Bharhut the individuals do not mention their profession except on three occasions who are described as the *gahapati*, the *asvārikā*(horseman) and a *rupakārā*(sculptor). The reference to professionals is on a large scale at Sanchi. The inscriptions mention a number of professions which were earlier regarded as not very lucrative²²⁸⁾ like the cloak-makers, masons, etc. Buddhism as a religion gave better place to the Vaiśya category to which most of the

228. Romila Thapar, 'Patronage and Community', in B. S. Miller(ed.), The Powers of Art, p.30.

professionals belonged. The trading and artisan class were the main adherents. The artisans as patrons depict social mobilisation in the period of social change with possibilities of upward mobility. The Buddhist texts (like *Anguttara Nikaya*) fully corroborate this fact. A *gahapati* even in an artisanal profession were treated as belonging to *ucca kula* or high family while the Brahmanical *Dharmaśāstras* (Gautam, Mānu, etc.) place them as low.²²⁹⁾ The category of artisan was not only confined to stone carvers, but we have reference to overseer (*navakarmika*) and masons (*vaḍakina*). There must have been polishers too. The artisans in the period under consideration must have been on different economic levels. Some of them were prosperous is known from the donations and gifts which they gave to Buddhist order.

The establishment of artisan guilds was a notable feature of urban life and was witnessed from Mauryan period. The ivory workers of Vidiśā sculpted a part of the gateway at Sanchi. The artisan groups which worked as *śreṇis* gradually came to be viewed as *jātis* in the first millennium A.D.²³⁰⁾ The early Pāli literatures are full of references to guilds and heads of guilds who were accorded with the highest social position.²³¹⁾

The women as donors are evident from the inscriptions at Sanchi and Bharhut. About thirty-three lay women at Bharhut and forty-nine at

229. Ibid., pp.22-23.

230. Ibid., p.23.

231. A. N. Bose, Social and Rural Economy of Northern India C. 600 B.C.-A.D. 200, 2Vols, Vol. I, p.283.

Sanchi are recorded to have made donations. The women as the benefactress and the patron of Buddhism are seen from the days of Buddha. The early scriptures gave ample evidence for this. Buddha was supported by a number of wealthy women like women merchants, wealthy courtesans and queens. The scriptures are silent about women as donors - whether as nuns or lay followers in the period of second century B.C. to third century A.D.²³²⁾ But the inscriptions point to the contrary and project the women as a major patron of Buddhism. There were mainly three categories of woman donors - the nuns, the lay supporters (belonging to merchant class, *gahapati*, etc.) and the royal queen. The royal queen made very few donations in this phase. They emerged as notable benefactress from third to twelfth century A.D.²³³⁾ The social position of women improved a lot under the banner of Buddhism. Although they were not treated at par with the men in practice, the new faith gave them theoretically a greater socio-religious rights as compared to the Brahmanical order.

The lay men followers donated on a number of occasions at Bharhut and Sanchi. The *gahapatis* are mentioned in the inscriptions. The donations were given by them or their female relatives. The term '*gahapati*' needs to be examined here. In the *Pāli* literature, it generally denoted wealthy landholder and traders. In the social ranking they came after the *khattiyar* and the *brāhmaṇas* and looked almost like a caste. But probably they formed a functional group rather than a caste. The

232. Janice. D. Wills, 'Female Patronage in Indian Buddhism', B. S. Miller(ed.) op. cit., p.49.

233. Ibid., p.50.

scriptures describe many *brāhmaṇas* as *gahapatis*. The *gahapati* came to denote a member of the mercantile community in the post-Mauryan and pre-Gupta period with the expansion of trade and commerce.²³⁴⁾ Fick opines that the *gahapatis* were the "gentry of the land, the lower land owning nobility in contrast to princely houses, the *khattiyas* and in part, the high and rich middle class families of the big cities which can be compared with the patricians of the imperial and industrial cities in the Middle Ages".²³⁵⁾

The trading class like the *setṭhis*(bankers) and *vanija*(merchants) were the ardent followers of Buddhism. The *setṭhis* were also probably included in the category of *gahapati*. They appear "as a respectable tradesmen enjoying a special position of honour among the members of his profession".²³⁶⁾ The age of Buddha, that is, sixth century B.C. witnessed the second urbanisation in India. This was made possible due to a surplus production. Both surplus and urbanisation led to the development of trade and industry. Many important towns like Champa, Vaiśali, Kauśambi, Śravasti, etc. emerged which are frequently mentioned in the early Buddhist texts. The archaeological excavations at these sites have testified the literary evidence. The *setṭhis* are frequently mentioned in texts as associated with trade and industry.²³⁷⁾ Buddhism found a lot

234. S. C. Bhattacharya, Some Aspects of Indian Society, from C. 200 B.C. to C. 400 A.D., pp.127-128.

235. Richard Fick, The Social Organization in North East India in Buddha's Time, pp.253-255.

236. *Ibid.*, p.258.

237. R. S. Sharma, Material Culture and Social Formation in Ancient India, p.125.

of support among the trading community primarily because it did not condemn usury or sea voyage.²³⁸⁾ The development of trade in this period led to the emergence of guild as an essential institution acting as a centre of professional kin cohesion. *Śreṇidharma* or guild law came to be recognised as legitimate law by the end of this millennium.²³⁹⁾ Urbanisation and trade deepened social stratification with the *setṭhis* becoming very powerful. This is probably why religious sects competed for the patronage of the *setṭhis*. The traders as a class grew prosperous and secured a number of privileges, especially economic during this period. The traders were treated better than agriculture as far as taxation was concerned. The tax on agriculture was 1/6, 1/8 or 1/10 of the produce while the duties on merchandise was 1/20 of the profit.²⁴⁰⁾

The Śuṅga period also witnessed group donations or collective donations from families and the village as a whole. The collective patronage was more pronounced at Sanchi than at Bharhut. Sanchi with a large number of *stūpas* and temples must have been a greater centre as compared to Bharhut having a single *stūpa*. The number of donors increased many times at Sanchi. We find about eight hundred and thirteen votive inscriptions at Sanchi being inscribed on *Stūpas* 1,2,3 and Temple 40, while at Bharhut we come across only one hundred and forty donative inscriptions. The collective donations show that the religious monuments were not the product of royal patronage but the stable

238. Ibid., pp.124-125.

239. Romila Thapar, *Ancient Indian Social History*, p.44.

240. S. C. Bhattacharya, op. cit., p.124.

political condition leading to economic prosperity prompted a wide section of the society to patronise Buddhism.²⁴¹⁾

The influx of the foreigners was witnessed in this period who settled in India and were gradually assimilated in the Indian socio-cultural matrix. The Buddhist centre at Sanchi attracted at least two Yavana donors who were probably Greek. Thus, a few patrons were non-indigenous also.

The patronising group in the north and central India in post-Mauryan period were mainly from the common masses, the royalty playing a secondary role. But in the north-western India, the picture was different. The Buddhist monuments during the rule of Indo-Greeks were the product of royal patronage. The inscriptions mainly refer to Greek chiefs and their relatives. The Śakas who succeeded the Indo-Greeks in north-west region continued the royal patronage to Buddhism. The donors were mainly the rulers, members of royal family and royal officials.

The second half of the first century B.C. saw the construction of the four gateways (torāṇa) of *Stūpa* I while the gateways of *Stūpa* III were constructed in the beginning of the first century A.D. at Sanchi. The gateways were constructed through the efforts of common men. All donations were made by men and we have very few donors in this case. The gateways contain only eleven donative records in contrast to the

241. Vidya Dehejia, op. cit., p.44.

hundreds of donative records on railings, coping-stone etc. The wheel on the north gateway mentions a monk as the donor²⁴²⁾ while four other donations are made by individuals whose profession, native places, etc., are not mentioned.²⁴³⁾ On the east gateway, an individual's name is inscribed on the crowing of *Triratna*²⁴⁴⁾ while the pillar was the gift of a banker(*set̥thi*) hailing from Achavada.²⁴⁵⁾ The south gateway records the donation of the foreman of the artisans(*āvesanin*) of king Śri-Satakarni, Bolamitra, a pupil(*atevāsina*) of the preacher of the Law and ivory workers(*damatakāra*) of Vidiśā recorded on the top architrave, middle architrave and left pillar respectively.²⁴⁶⁾ The west gateway carry the name of Balamitra and the banker and his son on the right pillar and left pillar respectively.²⁴⁷⁾ The foreman of the artisan was perhaps proud of his donation(perhaps his handwork) and so engraved his name on the centre of the gateway architrave which he donated. Likewise, the ivory-workers of Vidiśā left their signature on the gateway panel.²⁴⁸⁾ The prominent display of the name and place of origin of the donor was done to draw attention of the people at large and show an act of public declaration of belief and incidentally also a statement on wealth and status.²⁴⁹⁾ The rise of the Kuṣāṇa power in the whole of north and north-west India in the first century A.D. saw the eclipse of the Śaka

242. SI., 390.

243. SI., 392-394.

244. SI., 395.

245. SI., 397.

246. SI., 398, 399, 400.

247. SI., 402, 403.

248. Vidya Dahejia, op. cit., p.38.

249. Romila Thapar, 'Patronage and commuty', B. S. Miller(ed), op. cit., p.25.

rule in India. The main patron of Buddhism in this phase was the king Kaṇishka himself. He was the champion of the Mahāyāna sect and under him flourished the centres of Buddhist art at Mathurā, Gandhāra and Sarnath which helped in spread of Buddhism. Under Kaṇishka's rule the monks, nuns, the royal officials having the titles mahāksatrap and satrap (and probably were foreigners), the *mahadaṇḍanāyaka*, etc. made donations at Mathurā, Śravastī, Sarnath and Taxila. The lay persons and their relatives both men and women made donations. The *upāsikās* and royal ladies also figure as donors. There is a single donation from a *sarthavaha*, that is, a caravan-merchant and his wife. The caravan-merchant must have catered to the long-distance trade and was definitely different from the stationary merchant denoted by the term *vanik* or *vaneja*. The donation made along with the wife points to the equal status of a woman as far as the religious activities were concerned. They also figure as individual donors on several occasions. The royal officials made several donations.

The social ties of monks and nuns deserve attention. The donations made by them were along with their parents and sometimes companions, teachers, etc. This was evident at Bharhut and Sanchi. But this form of co-operative donation is witnessed even in the times of Kaṇishka. The monk Bala is stated to have made donation at Sarnath and Saheth-Maheth together with his parents, pupils, companions and teachers.²⁵⁰ Bala figures in at least four inscriptions and must have been

250. *EI.*, Vol.VII, p.173ff. no.3, pp.179-181, IX, p.241, pp.290-291 .

a senior and distinguished member of the *saṅgha*.

The post-Kaṇishka period also saw the patronage coming from the nuns, monks, female pupils, *upāsikā*, and lay persons. The donations from royal officials and royal family seem to have declined as the kings after Kaṇishka were followers of Brahmanism.

The patronage emanating from royalty during the Maurayan period came to an end when this great empire fell. The post-Mauryan period saw the flourishing of Buddhism mainly on the initiative of the common people. The royal family played a minimal role. But in the north-west, it mainly thrived on royal patronage. The Kuṣāṇa period saw the patronage both from royalty as well as lay persons. And this was the shift witnessed in the patronising group in the period under our consideration.

III

The donations of gifts(*dāna*) given to the Buddhist institutions can be viewed under three categories on the basis of the number of persons making the donations. They were individual or single donation, joint donations made by two or more persons and collective donations made over by the whole family, whole village or town or the occupational groups like the ivory-workers of Vidiśa or the *goṣṭhi*(councils) of different areas. But, the maximum number of grants were individualistic in nature. The joint donations figure two monks, two nuns, a husband and a wife, a brother and sister, mother and son, mother and daughter,

two sisters, etc. The collective donations from the family depict it as a social cum economic unit which was making the gift to gain religious merit in a compound manner. The *goṣṭhi*, usually a Buddha committee of a particular locality must be having some economic functioning. They must have made donations from the funds collected from the individuals (the lay followers) or voluntarily contributed by them. The donations from the families and *goṣṭhis* reflect a social cohesion within the society.

The donations made by the particular villages were also collective efforts and must have come from people following diverse professions living in the same village. A village identity is being projected through such donations. The self sufficiency of the village which was an established factor in the earlier times is also highlighted through such grants. The village played an active part in the economic as well as socio-religious affairs. The village donation must have either involved monetary contribution or labour from its member which is not clear from the inscription. But as the whole village was making the donation, it must have been in form of kind or cash, that is, material wealth.

The occupational groups or *śreṇis* must have provided economic stability to the *saṅgha*. These groups also acted as bank and gave the interest to the *saṅgha* but this is not seen in our sources. But such instances were seen in western India and Deccan. The bankers and merchants were an influential patron of Buddhism. The Buddhist ideology by allowing usury and sea-voyage gave impetus to trade and

commerce. And, hence grew economic support from traders and merchants.

The usual four orders of Buddhism - monks, nuns, male lay worshippers(*upaśaka*) and female lay worshippers(*upāsikā*) were the main donors on most of the occasions at most of the places. The laity consisted of people of all means and the moderate income group readily contributed towards the construction of the *stūpas*, temples, etc.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Buddhism which emerged in the sixth century B.C. soon found a wide following among the people belonging to different sections of the society. It gradually consolidated its base in terms of material support. The followers were bountiful in endowing the Buddhist *saṅgha* with donations and provisions. The wandering mendicant, called *bhikṣu*, as the name suggests, was expected to receive his sustenance from the charity (*dāna*) of the lay person. The temporary break in the wandering schedule of the monks during the rainy season gradually gave rise to well-established monastic institutions like *vihāras* (monasteries) to shelter the monks. The institutionalisation of Buddhism gave rise to new forms of lay and monastic practices. The monks gradually began to adopt a priestly role. The laity also became more involved with the *saṅgha*. They participated in some rituals which were of pre-Buddhist origin. One such practice which became the characteristic of Buddhism was the worship of the relics of the Buddha and his immediate disciples. The relics were placed in a casket and deposited in a tumulus called *stūpa*. Around these *stūpas* arose full-fledged Buddhist institutions like *caitya* and *vihāras*. The small *stūpas* gradually got enlarged and gateways, pillars, etc. were added through the benevolence of the lay followers who mostly came from the general section of the society. Royal patronage played a secondary role.

Monasteries sprang up in many sites associated with the Buddha, and further the geographical distribution of monastic sites reveals that the most important sites were located on trade and communication network. The merchant community and other professional groups emerged as a major patronising group especially at Bharhut and Sanchi. The wide patronage given by the trading and allied profession was due to the Buddhist support to usury and sea-voyages. At the same time, it gave an honourable place to the Vaisya community in the Buddhist social order. The women were also granted greater freedom and socio-religious space. They are depicted as donors on several occasions at almost all the Buddhist sites. They donated in the individual capacities or as wife, daughter, mother, etc. of an individual or a professional.

The *saṅgha* as an institution received patronage from within, that is, from monks and nuns who made more than two hundred grants at Sanchi and about fifty at Bharhut. The provisions made for the construction of a railing, a pillar, etc., from the monks and nuns seem puzzling, if one goes by the maxim that they were not allowed to possess personal wealth. But such donations clearly show that they were in a position to provide fund for the construction and embellishment of *stūpas*, *viḥāras*, etc. The monk might have inherited their ancestral property and passed it into the *saṅgha* as a form of renouncement of the worldly wealth. The nuns must have donated from their '*stridhana*' which they may have inherited from their mothers. The monks and nuns were not totally cut off from worldly ties, as they are seen making gifts along

with their parents on several occasions.

The donor, recipient and the intermediary in cases of objects of art to be executed in a religious structure must have been closely inter-linked, working in co-ordination, to give final effect to the act of '*dāna*'. The intermediary in the form of the artisan, mason, etc., was needed to give final shape to the building of the structure. The *saṅgha* was the donee on almost all the occasions and must have co-ordinated the work of construction. The direct gift of lamps, ladles, etc., would not have involved any intermediary. Such donations are seen in Taxila and Mathurā, while at Sanchi and Bharhut, the donations centred around the *stūpas* and temples. The Bharhut and Sanchi inscriptions were mainly votive in nature, while at Mathurā and Taxila, we also get the genealogy, the teacher's name, etc.

The social composition of those involved in acts of patronage also changed with the passage of time. The social background of the patrons in the age of the Buddha or in the phase of early Buddhism has been viewed by Uma Chakravarti in three groups consisting of *ucca kulas*(high-family), *nīca kulas*(low-family) and *paribbājakas*, the wandering mendicants. The last were outside the system of social stratification as they had renounced the world. The high family consisted of the *Khattiyas*, *Brāhmanas*, *gahapatis* and a fourth group, comprising other high class families of two definite categories - (a) those who joined the *saṅgha*, and (b) those who supported it from outside the *saṅgha*, that is, the laity. The *saṅgha* consisted of the monks and the nuns who

mainly were *brāhmanas*, *khattiyas* or people from other *ucca kula* like *setṭhi*, *gahapati*, etc. The only representation of *gahapati* in the *saṅgha* was in the form of a nun who was originally the wife of a *gahapati*. A *gahapati* or *gahapati-putta* never joined the *saṅgha* but supported the same from outside as lay devotees in the age of the Buddha. The Buddhist texts clearly mention the social background of the monks and nuns. But the inscriptional evidence in the period of our study sheds no light on the *varṇa*, caste or profession of the monks or nuns. At most, the names of their native places are mentioned, and their religious knowledge like that of the *Nikāyas*, *Piṭakas*, etc. is mentioned. Thus, in cases of donations given by monks and nuns, it can be attributed to the *saṅgha* and not to any social group as described in the period covered by Uma Chakravarti. The *nica kula* members of the *saṅgha* belonged to castes like barber, potter, fisherman, actor, son of slave, etc. as depicted in Buddhist texts.

The second group of patrons, that is, the laity consisted of the *upāsakas* and *upāsikās* who had accepted the *tri-ratna* (Buddha, *Dhamma* and *Saṅgha*) of the Buddhist order had not joined the *saṅgha*. The laity also consisted of people who simply supported the *saṅgha*. In this period the patronage mostly meant feeding the monks, gifting robes, medicines or supplies. The laity consisted mainly of *brāhmanas*, *gahapatis*, other *ucca kulas*, *khattiyas* and a relatively small number of representations of *nica kula* and *paribbājakas*. The *gahapatis* as a social group were prominent supporters of Buddhism and figure prominently in the early

Buddhist texts. The *setṭi gahapati* Anānthapiṇḍaka was a prominent lay worshipper who bought the Jetavana and donated the same to the Buddha. Among the other prominent patrons of Buddhism during the age of the Buddha were the rulers of Magadha and Kośala, the *upāsakas* belonging to royal families like Jivaka (who was a prince as well a physician), prince Jeta, the famous courtesan Ambapali and wealthy bankers(*setṭhi*). The laity in the period of our own study(c. B.C. 200- A.D. 300) continued to be one of the main patrons of Buddhism. But the royal patronage was secondary and the bulk of the donations came from common people who followed diverse occupations. The various occupational groups like masons, artisans, cloak-sellers, weavers, scribes, bankers, merchants, etc. figure as donors at Sanchi. The *gahapatīs* are also seen as making donations, but as compared to donations by bankers and merchants, they are less in number. The *upāsakā* and *upāsika* are mentioned in some cases, but most of the lay worshippers are having no such epithets.

An important feature of change noticeable during our period were the group or collective donations made by particular families, the villagers or towns, the *Buddhagoṣṭhi* of certain places or the ivory worker's guilds. The community patronage as such was not witnessed in the age of the Buddha. This community or group identity was based on kinship ties, village solidarity, or occupational ties represented and enforced through a guild.

The statistical analysis of the social background of early Buddhists gives the impression that the patron groups belonged mainly to the high

class families (*ucca kulas*) like those of *khattiyas*, the *brāhmanas*, *gahapatis* and *setṭhis*. It also drew support from low categories of people like the *kumbhakāras*, *nahāpitas* and *kammakaras*.¹⁾ The *gahapati*'s support to Buddhism as a lay follower was crucial for the existence and expansion of this faith. The inscriptional analysis of our source relating to patrons cannot be done on the basis of caste, but by taking them largely as occupational groups. The monks and nuns who constituted the main groups of patrons within the *saṅgha* were a major group of donors, especially at Bharhut, Sanchi, Sarnath and Kauśambi.

It is generally thought that patronage given to religious institutions was always to seek legitimacy linked to acquisition of power or social status. Royal patronage provided to Buddhism by Aśoka and Kaṅishka is linked to legitimacy. But legitimation as such was a complex process and religion alone cannot explain this process. Religion was just one of the many channels which could be used for claiming legitimacy. This was so because, as we know, the sphere of state's activities went beyond the terrain of religion.

The objects of donation changed with time. The items of donation during the age of the Buddha were confined to a very few articles. The main item was giving alms to the monks, which is conveyed by the term '*bhikkhu*' itself. But the *saṅgha* was recipient of *vihāras* and *vanas*

1. For a detailed analysis of the social background of the *bhikkhus* and *upāsakas*, refer Uma Chakravarti, The Social Dimension of Early Buddhism, Delhi, 1987, Appendix c. pp.198-220.

gifted by lay worshippers like Jivaka and Ambapali during the life time of the Buddha. The passing away of the Buddha was followed by the emergence of the cult of *stūpa* in which the relics of the Buddha and of Buddhist saints were worshipped. Thus, the establishment of relics in *vihāras* became an important patronising act in our period. The socio-economic milieu marked by economic prosperity saw many wealthy individuals and royal officials, having their own *vihāras* in which the *stūpas* were established. This points to a affluent section of people in the society, due to flourishing trade and commerce. The age of the Buddha was the formative phase of Buddhism, but the reign of Aśoka and afterwards saw the proliferation in the number of *stūpas*, *caityas*, *vihāras*, etc., accompanied by gifts of several day-to-day items like lamps, bowls, ladles, etc. The gradual institutionalisation of Buddhist *saṅgha* necessitated the gradual flow of provisions for its maintenance which always came from the laity.

Thus, the beginning of our period saw the construction of pillars, railings, *stūpas*, etc., on an increasing scale, although the process is witnessed from the time of Aśoka. Gradually the brick-*stūpas* of the Mauryan period were enlarged by using stone on a large scale, and the donations made ranged from the construction of one small railing to a big gateway. The Indo-Greek phase in north India saw the donations of silver cups, tanks, wells, etc. This continued under the Śakas. A major change was witnessed under the Kuṣāṇas. This period saw the crystallisation of the Mahāyāna school. The images of the Buddha and

Bodhisattvas were installed at important centres like Mathurā and Gandhāra. They were the major objects of donation in this phase. This was linked to the ideological change which characterised Buddhism of this phase and which transformed the Buddha from a symbol to human figure, and the Bodhisattvas replaced the arhats in importance.

To sum up, the present study has tried to examine two simultaneous and quite often parallel developments between the second century B.C. and the third century A.D. While the period witnessed the institutionalisation of Buddhism, the social composition of the patrons also changed significantly. This was, to a great extent, due to the flourishing trade that the period witnessed. The changed nature of religion and that of patrons could, as we have suggested, be seen in the changed forms of donations.

APPENDIX I

OBJECTS OF DONATIONS

A. SANCHI INSCRIPTIONS

<u>I. STUPA I</u>	
A. Ground Balustrade	
(a) Rail-bar	15
(b) Cross-bar	16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 34, 35, 36, 37, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46-48, 52, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 62, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 86, 87, 88, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 110, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118, 119, 120, 122, 123, 124, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 132, 133, 134, 136, 137, 138, 140, 141, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 176, 177, 180, 181, 183, 184, 185, 187, 188, 189, 192, 193, 196, 197, 199, 200-202, 204, 205, 206, 208, 209, 210, 213, 214, 217, 218, 219, 222, 223, 224, 226, 228, 229, 230, 232, 233, 234, 236, 237, 238, 240, 241, 242, 244, 245, 246, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 256, 257, 258, 261, 262, 263, 265, 266, 267, 269, 270, 271, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 281, 282, 283, 284, 286, 287, 288, 289, 291, 292, 293, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 304, 305, 309, 310, 312, 314, 315, 317, 320, 321, 322, 323, 325, 327, 330, 333, 335, 336, 338, 341, 342, 344, 346, 349, 351, 353, 354, 355, 357, 358, 360, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387.
(c) Rail-Pillar	19, 25, 33, 38, 40, 43, 49, 53, 61, 64, 71, 95, 102, 125, 134, 139, 142, 161, 168, 175, 178, 179, 182, 191, 194, 195, 198, 203, 207, 211, 212, 216, 221, 225, 231, 235, 239, 243, 259, 260, 268, 273, 285, 290, 306, 308, 311, 316, 319, 324, 328, 329, 331, 332, 337, 339, 340, 343, 345, 348, 350, 356, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373.
(d) Coping-stone	22, 29, 32, 39, 50, 63, 70, 85, 100, 131, 160, 167, 174, 186, 190, 215, 220, 227, 247, 255, 264, 272, 279, 280, 294, 302, 303, 307, 318, 326, 334, 347, 352, 359, 388.
(e) Pillar	89, 103, 111, 121,

B. Gateways	389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404
C. Pavement Slabs	405-462.
D. Berm Balustrade	463-606.
E. Harmika Balustrada	607-610.
F. Stairway Balustrade	611-630.

<u>2. STUPA II</u>	
A. Grond Balustrade	631-695
(a) Rail Pillar	635, 637, 638, 639, 640, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 650, 654, 656, 658, 660, 662, 664, 665, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 676, 678, 680, 684, 688, 689, 692, 693.
(b) Cross-bar	633, 641, 651, 655, 659, 661, 663, 666, 667, 668, 690, 695.
(c) Coping-stone	631, 632, 634, 636, 649, 675, 677, 679, 681, 682, 683, 685, 686, 687, 691, 694.

B. BHARHUT INSCRIPTIONS

<p>A. Pillars of gateway (<i>torāṇa</i>)</p>	<p>A1, A2, A129.</p>
<p>B. Coping Stone (<i>uṣṇiṣa</i>)</p>	<p>A70, A5.</p>
<p>C. Pillars of railing and returns</p>	<p>A4, A6, A7, A8, A12, A14, A16, A17, A21, A22, A24, A25, A26, A27, A29, A30, A32, A33, A34, A38, A39, A40, A43, A46, A51, A54, A52, A58, A59, A60, A 61, A62, A65, A66, A68, A71, A73, A74, A80, A95, A98, A123, A124, A136</p>
<p>D. Rail - bars (<i>sūci</i>)</p>	<p>A3, A4, A9, A10, A11, A13, A15, A18, A19, A20, A23, A28, A31, A35, A36, A37, A41, A45, A47, A48, A49, A53, A55, A56, A57, A63, A64, A67, A69, A72, A75, A76, A77, A78, A79, A81, A82, A83, A84, A85, A86, A87, A88, A89, A90, A91, A92, A93, A96, A97, A99, A100, A101, A102, A103, A104, A105, A106, A107, A108, A109, A110, A112, A113, A114, A115, A116, A117, A118, A119, A120, A121, A122, A125, A126, A127, A128, A131, A132, A133, A134, A135,</p>

C. TAXILA INSCRIPTIONS

<p>A. Relics of Buddha</p>	<p>Mānikiala Stone Inscription,(pp.145-150) Taxila Copper-Plate Inscription of Patika,(pp.23-29) Wardak Vase Inscription,(EI.,Vol.XI, pp.210-211) Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription Year 136,(CII.,Vol. II,PartI, pp.70-72) Kalawan Copper Plate Inscription,(EI.,Vol. X X XI, pp.251-259) Taxila Gold Plate Inscription,(CII.,Vol. II,PartI, pp.83-86) Kurram casket Inscription year of 20,(CII.,Vol. II,PartI, pp.152-155) Box-lid Inscription year of 18,(CII.,Vol. II,PartI, pp. 151-152) Kanishka Casket Inscription.(CII.,Vol. II,PartI, pp.135-137) Hidda Inscription year of 28(CII.,Vol. II,PartI, pp.157-158), Swat Relic Inscription on the Meridakh Theodoros.(CII.,Vol. II,PartI, pp.1-3)</p>
<p>B. Well</p>	<p>Ara Inscription,(EI.,Vol. X IV, pp.130-143), Shakardarra Inscription the year of 40,(CII.,Vol. II,PartI, pp.159-160) Zeda Inscription of the year 11,(CII.,Vol. II,PartI, pp. 142-145) Pajā Inscription(CII.,Vol. II,PartI, pp.63-65), Peshāwar Museum Inscription the year 108.(CII.,Vol. II,PartI, pp.77-79)</p>
<p>C. Silver Plate</p>	<p>Silver Plate or disc from Mānikiala.(EI.,Vol.XII, pp.301-302)</p>
<p>D. Bronze Casket</p>	<p>On the bronze casket from Mānikiala.(EI.,Vol.XII, p.299)</p>
<p>E. Stūpa</p>	<p>Taxila Copper Plate Inscription of a Meridarkh,(CII.,Vol. II,PartI, pp.4-5) Taxila Vase Inscription, (CII.,Vol. II,PartI, p.87) Peshāwar Museum Inscription no.1.(CII.,Vol. II,PartI, pp.127-128)</p>
<p>F. Vase</p>	<p>Bimaran Vase Inscription.(CII.,Vol. II,PartI, pp.50-52)</p>
<p>G. Tank</p>	<p>Kaldarra Inscription the year 113.(CII.,Vol. II,PartI, pp. 65-66)</p>
<p>H. Two trees and auspicious ground</p>	<p>Panjtar Inscription of the year 122.(CII.,Vol. II,PartI, pp.67-70)</p>
<p>I. Copper ladles</p>	<p>Taxila Copper ladle Inscription.(CII.,Vol. II,PartI, pp.87-88)</p>

J. Water hall	Tor Dherai Inscribed Potsherds(CII.,Vol. II,PartI, pp.173-176)
K. Asylum	Jamālgarhi Inscription year 359.(CII.,Vol. II,PartI, pp.110-112)
L. Pillar	Jamālgarhi Pilaster Base Inscription.(CII.,Vol. II,PartI, pp.114-115)
M. Staff(with enclosure)	Sui Vihar Copper Plate Inscription year 11 (CII.,Vol. II,PartI, pp.138-141)
N. Established ārama	Mansherā Inscription of the year 68.(CII.,Vol. II,Part I , pp.18-20)

D. MATHURĀ INSCRIPTIONS

A. Pillar-base(<i>kumbhaka</i>)	MI131, MI137, MI138, MI45, MI46, MI47, MI48, MI49, MI63, MI64(Sodasa).
B. Tank	MI64.
C. Grove	MI64.
D. Image of Buddha	MI73, MI74, MI80, MI81, MI114, MI121, MI135, MI136, MI154, MI157, MI180, Mathurā Buddhist Image Inscription, (EI.,Vol. X, p.109) Mathurā Buddhist Image Inscription year 23 Kanishka, Mathurā Buddhist Image Inscriptions of Huvishka No.2, Mathurā Buddhist Image Inscription year of 51,(EI.,Vol. X, p.113) Mathurā Inscription of Vasūdevā, Mathurā Buddhist Image Inscription No.42, No.43, No.44.
E. Stūpa	MI118, MI126, MI128.
F. Railing	MI176
G. Pillar	Mathurā Buddhist Image Inscriptions of Huvishka No.3. (IA.,Vol.VI, p.128)
H. Collar-bone relic of the lord	Mathurā Elephant Inscription.(CII.,Vol. II,Part I , pp.49-50)
I. Bowl	MI125
J. Rail Pillar(<i>Vedika</i>)	Mathurā Inscription of Dhanabhuti (CII.,Vol.II,Part.II, pp.12-14)
K. Railing & gateways at the jewel-house	Mathurā Inscription of Dhanabhuti.(CII.,Vol. II,Part II, pp.12-14)
L. Temple	British Museum Inscription of the time of Kanishka.(EI.,Vol.VIII, p.240)

APPENDIX II

CATEGORIES OF DONORS

A. SANCHI INSCRIPTIONS

A. Monk	32, 34, 39, 52, 54, 56, 100, 101, 105, 133, 144, 147, 154, 169, 180, 182, 187, 190, 195, 196, 203, 204, 205, 209, 214, 219, 221, 222, 226, 228, 229, 233, 240, 241, 241, 246, 250, 257, 265, 267, 269, 270, 279, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 302, 303, 307, 310, 338, 363, 371, 373, 377, 385, 390, 469, 525, 528, 578, 579, 580, 588, 601, 612, 615, 617, 619, 628, 638, 640, 644, 646, 647, 648, 669, 677, 688, 691, 694, 702, 709, 716, 719, 726, 730, 732.
B. Nun	22, 28, 50, 83, 84, 85, 106, 137, 138, 155, 167, 170, 174, 181, 197, 198, 215, 220, 227, 244, 247, 248, 249, 255, 258, 272, 277, 280, 281, 287, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 318, 320, 323, 326, 327, 334, 344, 346, 358, 370, 372, 378, 388, 426, 463, 465, 481, 483, 484, 487, 489, 501, 506, 513, 526, 531, 533, 539, 543, 550, 551, 560, 561, 562, 564, 574, 591, 595, 614, 621, 622, 623, 624, 662, 663, 664, 668, 672, 674, 678, 700, 703, 704, 708, 713, 714, 720, 731, 733.
C. Women	16, 17, 19, 31, 38, 41, 42, 44, 49, 58, 59, 60, 70, 73, 74, 78, 79, 80, 88, 118, 119, 124, 125, 132, 136, 142, 160, 162, 172, 173, 176, 193, 210, 217, 285, 310, 317, 321, 330, 336, 347, 351, 367, 368, 411, 482, 490, 492, 493, 495, 498, 500, 516, 517, 527, 529, 532, 541, 565, 567, 571, 616, 625, 637, 653, 667, 687, 701, 721, 728, 734, 735.
D. Householder (<i>gahapati</i>)	18, 20, 21.
E. Banker (<i>sethi</i>)	43, 122, 211, 212, 328, 337, 339, 365, 397, 403, 649, 660, 710.
F. Scribe/Copyiest (<i>lekhaka</i>)	46, 47, 48, 175.
G. Merchant (<i>vāneja</i>)	61, 168, 200, 201, 202, 306, 386, 479,

H. Buddha Committee (<i>bodhagoṭhiya</i>)	96, 97, 98, 178.
I. Ascetic(<i>tāpasa</i>)	113
J. Collective Donors (a) family (b) village (c) others	352, 387, 435, 603, 626. 308, 345, 635, 642. 102, 179, 189, 192, 338, 341, 359.
K. Cloak-seller (<i>pavārika</i>)	131, 472.
L. Artisan (<i>kaṇṇmikasa</i>)	199, 398, 448.
M. Rajuka	206.
N. Ivory-workers (<i>daṇṭakārehi rupakaṇṇamāṇa kataim</i>)	400
O. Masons	427, 454, 589.
P. Royal family	364.
Q. Weaver	499.
R. Foreigner (<i>yovanaka</i>)	433, 475
S. Reciter of text (<i>bhāṇaka</i>)	529

B. BHARHUT INSCRIPTIONS

A. Reciter (<i>bhānaka</i>)	A54, A54a, A63.
B. Nuns (<i>bhikhuni/bhichhuni</i>)	A11, A12, A29, A24, A37, A42, A43, A44, A52, A74, A75, A76, A77, A78, A79, A80.
C. Householder(<i>gahapati</i>)	A21.
D. Monks	A8, A17, A38, A39, A41, A51, A54, A56-A73.
E. Horseman(<i>asavārika</i>)	A22.
F. Sculptor(<i>rupakāraka</i>)	A55.
G. Superintendent of the works (<i>navakarmika</i>)	A59.
H. Superintendent of the meals (<i>bhaktoddeśaka</i>)	A17.
I. Royal family	A1, A2, A3, A4, A130.
J. Female donors	A9, A10, A14, A15, A18, A19, A20, A27, A28, A32, A33, A34, A35, A45, A46, A48, A49, A49a, A114, A116, A117, A118, A119, A120, A121, A122, A123, A124, A125, A126, A127, A128, A134.
K. Male donors	A1, A2, A3, A6, A7, A13, A21, A22, A23, A25, A26, A30, A31, A36, A40, A47, A50, A54a, A54b, A55, A81-A113, A129, A130, A132, A133.

C. TAXILA INSCRIPTIONS

<p>A. General</p>	<p>Mānikāla stone Inscription(CII.,Vol. II,Part I , pp.145-150)</p>
<p>B. Female worshipper</p>	<p>Kalawan copper plate(EI.,Vol. X XI, pp.251-259)</p>
<p>C. Ksatrapa</p>	<p>Bronze casket from Mānikāla(CII.,Vol. II,Part I , p.150) Taxila copper-plate Inscription of Patika year 78. (CII.,Vol. II,Part I , pp.23-29)</p>
<p>D. Architect <i>(navakarmaka)</i></p>	<p>Hidda Inscription year of 28(CII.,Vol. II,Part I , pp.157-158)</p>
<p>E. Royal family</p>	<p>Swāt relic vase(CII.,Vol. II,Part I , pp.1-3) Taxila copper plate Inscription of meridarkh,(CII.,Vol. II,Part I , pp.4-5) Kaldarra Inscription year 113.(CII.,Vol.II,Part.I, pp.65-66) Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription 136(C11.,Vol. II,Part I , pp.70-77) Taxila gold plate Inscription(C11.,Vol. II,Part I , pp.83-86) Minor Taxila Inscriptions Nos. 1-2(C11.,Vol. II,Part I , pp. 97-98)</p>
<p>F. Śramaṇa</p>	<p>Loriyān Tangai Inscriptions No. 4995(C11.,Vol. II,Part I , p.110) Mamāne Dheri Pedestal Inscription the year 89.(C11.,Vol. II,Part I , pp.171-172)</p>
<p>G. Monk</p>	<p>Dharmarajika Inscription No. 1(C11.,Vol. II,Part I , pp.89-90) Sui Vihar copper plate Inscription year 11.(C11.,Vol. II,Part I , pp.138-141)</p>

D. MATHURA INSCRIPTIONS

<p>A. Monk</p>	<p>MI 33, MI 34, MI 35, MI 36, MI 37, MI 38, MI 39, MI 43, MI 44, MI 45, MI 46, MI 52, MI 53, MI 54, MI 55, MI 56, MI 121, MI 157. Mathurā Buddhist Stone Inscription No. 26.(IA.,Vol.XXXIII, p.150) Mathurā Buddhist Image Inscription on base of pillar no. 40.(IA.,Vol.XXXIII, p.155) Mathurā Buddhist Image Inscription of Huvishka No. 3.(IA.,Vol.VI, p.218) Mathurā Buddhist Inscription on the Pedesthal of Statue Nos.42, 43, 44.(IA., Vol.XXXIII, pp.155-156)</p>
<p>B. Nuns</p>	<p>MI 103, MI 126. Mathurā Image Inscription of Huvishka No.2.(IA.,Vol.VI, p.217)</p>
<p>C. Royal family</p>	<p>MI 131. Mathurā Buddhist Image Inscription of Kanishka's reign year 23.(EI.,Vol.XXVIII, pp.42-44)</p>
<p>D. Caravan Merchant (<i>sarthavaha</i>)</p>	<p>MI 172.</p>
<p>E. Foreigner</p>	<p>MI 60, MI 62, MI 68. A Bi-Scriptual Epigraph of the Kusana period from Mathurā.(JAIH.,Vol.XIII, pp.277-286)</p>
<p>F. Treasurer (<i>gañjavara</i>)</p>	<p>MI 64.</p>
<p>G. The commisioners of the community</p>	<p>MI 47, MI 48, MI 49.</p>
<p>H. Trooper</p>	<p>MI 176.</p>
<p>I. Women(who were mentioned with some position)</p>	<p>MI 81(wife of the cloak maker), MI118(femal worshipper), MI180, Mathurā Buddhist Image Inscriptions No. 41.(wife of kutumbinya)(IA.,Vol.XXX, pp.155-156)</p>

APPENDIX III PLACES OF ORIGIN OF DONORS

A. SANCHI INSCRIPTIONS

- Abeyaka - 211, 212
Achavaḍa - 397, 403, 660 / Achavaṭa - 279, 417, 593 / Acchavaṭa - 567
Adhapura - 686
Ājanāva - 659, 718
Amatika - 429
Anarimita 655, 669
Arapana - 250, 357 / Arapāna - 62, 263, 631 / Arāpāna - 224, 336
Asavati - 322, 345, Asvavati - 386
Āṭhakanagava - 628
Avāḍhi - 462
Bedakaḍa - 217, 218
Bhadanakāḍa - 300, Bhadanakāṭa - 262
Bhogavaḍhana or Bhogavadhana - 156, 162, 163, 234, 236, 237, 374, 636
Cahaṭa - 302
(Cuḍa) giri(kshudragiri) - 64
Cuḍamoragiri - 478, 578; a village - 642
Dakhiṇaji - 467
Dhamavaḍhana - 96, 97, 98
Ejāvata - 39, 226, Ejāvati 520
Erakina - 145
Garndhāra - 702
Goṇada - 615, 617
Ijavati - 63
Kacupatha - 180, 181
Kākāḍaka - 103
Kākanava - 7
Karndadigāma - 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 55
Kapasi - 495, kapāsi - 582 / Kapāsi - gama - 143, 146, 526, 539
Katakañuya - 150, 151, 152, 190, 366, 480, 575, 584
Kekateyaka - 30, 361
Koḍijila - 147
Koraghara - 316, 337, 339, 371, 372, 373, 421, 737 / Korara - 397, 517, 558, 619, 640, 662, 663, 664.
Kormika - 85, 645
Kuraghara - 90, 91, 93, 94, 104, 319, 324, 370, 469, 476, 611. / Kurara - 136, 167, 225, 227, 231, 235,
239, 243, 272, 309, 403, 531, 533, 535, 536, 537, 550, 551, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564,
579, 602, 618, 620, 716, 722, 723
Kuthukapada - 230, 376 / kuthupada - 477
Maḍolāchikaṭa - 304, 305, 312, 315, 378, 540 / Maḍalāchikaḍa - 313, 341.
Madhuvana - 50, 155, 228, 287, 295, 296
Mahāmoragiri - 298.

Mahisati - 213, 251, 252, 253, 254, 256, 274, 275, 276, 413
 Morajābhikata in Ujenihāra - 359 / Morajahakata - 385 / Morajāhikada - 157 / Morajāhikata - 158,
 159 / Morayahikata - 643
 Nadinagara / Nanidinagaga (Nandinagara) 169, 170, 247, 255, 277, 280, 281, 314, 320, 323, 334, 358,
 465, 466, 485, 486, 503, 511, 586, 599, 600, 601, 622, 623,
 690, 703, 714, 720.
 Navagāma - 33, 70, 164, 165, 183, 184, 185, 261
 Osenā - 507, 512
 Paḍana - 186, 658
 Paḍukulika - 635, 649
 Paripana - 350
 Pathūpaka - 697
 Patīthana - 608, 717
 Patīthana - 214, 229, 546, 717
 Peḍita - 284
 Pemata - 569, Pemuta - 249, 311(?)
 Perikupa - 732
 Phujakapada - 129
 Poḍaviḍa - 282, 283, 286
 Pokhara(Pushkara) - 101, 259(?), 268, 273, 330, 333, 335, 654, 675, 694.
 Pulapha - 435
 Puñavadhana - 278, 594.
 Puruviḍa - 592
 Rohanipada - 328, 329, 331, 332, 522, 715.
 Sagari - 687.
 Sanukagāma - 367.
 Sasāda - 310, 671.
 Sedakāda - 685, Sidakāda - 679, 681, 682, 683.
 Setapatha - 475, Svetapatha - 89.
 Sonada - 684.
 Subhagapatha - 161.
 Takarapada - 585, Takaripada - 613 / Takaripada - 606.
 Tambalamada - 223.
 Tirīḍapada - 176, 177.
 Tubavana or Vanasahvaya - 16, 17a, 18, 20, 21, 346.
 Udubaraghara - 191, 194, 216, 650, 652.
 Ugireyaka - 111.
 Ujāni - 49.
 Ujenaka - 32, 61, 303.
 Ujeni - 38, 40, 53, 58, 59, 60, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 86,
 87, 88, 92, 103, 114, 115, 116, 133, 245, 248, 285, 303, 317, 368, 379, 380, 568, 571, 587, 590,
 591, 605, 609, 725.
 Ujenihāra - 164, 165, 359.
 Vaḍivahana - 22, 327, 487, 543, 612, 676 / Vaḍivahana - 24 / Vaḷivahana - 198.
 Vaghumata - 138, 264.
 Vedisa - 15, 137, 174, 178, 220, 244, 318, 321, 344, 353, 354, 355, 388, 393(?), 400.

Veja - 578.
Vejaja - 139, 308.
Vepa - 734.
Verohakata - 306, Virahakata -160.
Vitirinaha - 598.
Yugapaja - 288.

B. BHARHUT INSCRIPTIONS

Asitamasā - A36.
Bahaḍa - A50.
Benākata - A49a.
Bhogavaḍhana - A51.
Bhojakata - A23, A24.
Bibikanadikata - A21, A22.
Chekulana - A40.
Chikulana - A39.
Chudaṭhila - A10, A11, A12.
Dabhina - A42.
Kamuchu - A54b.
Karahakata - A5, A6, A7, A8, A9.
Khujatiduka - A38.
Kosambi - A52.
Kakarndi - A37.
Moragiri - A25, A26, A27, A28, A29.
Nagara - A43, A44.
Nasika - A46.
Narndinagara - A45.
Parakata - A48.
Parikina - A49.
Paḍela - A47.
Purikā - A16, A17, A18, A19, A20.
Paṭaliputa - A13, A14, A15.
Selapura - A54.
Sirisapada - A53.
Therākuta - A41.
Vedisa - A30, A31, A32, A33, A34, A35.
Venuvagāma - A52.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. PRIMARY SOURCES

A. TEXTS:

Mahāvastu, trans, J. J. Johns, London, 1943.

Milindapañho, translated Rhys Davids T. W., The Question of King Milinda, New York, 1963.

B. EPIGRAPHY:

Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I (1888-1892), Vol. II (1892-1894), Vol. IV (1896-1897), Vol. VII (1902-1903), Vol. VIII (1905-1906), Vol. IX (1907-1908), Vol. X (1909-1910), Vol. XII (1913-1914), Vol. XIV (1917-1918), Vol. XVI (1921-1922), Vol. XVIII (1925-1926), Vol. XIX (1927-1928), Vol. XX (1929-1930), Vol. XXI (1931-1932), Vol. XXII (1933-1934), Vol. XXIV (1937-1938), Vol. XXVI (1941-1942), Vol. XXVIII (1949-1950), Vol. XXX (1953-1954), Vol. XXXIII (1959-1960), Vol. XXXIV (1961-1962), Vol. XXXVII (1967-1968).

Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI (1877), Vol. IX (1880), Vol. X (1881), Vol. XX (1891), Vol. XXI (1892), Vol. XXV (1896), Vol. XXXIII (1904), Vol. XXXVI (1907).

Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II, Part. I, Sten Konow, Kharoshthi Inscriptions, Varanasi, 1969.

Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II, Part. II, ed. by H. Lüders, revised by E. Waldschmidt and M. A. Mehendale, Ootacamund, 1963.

Lüders, Heinrich, Mathura Inscriptions, ed. by K. Janert, Gottingen, 1961.

John Marshall and A. Foucher, The Monuments of Sanchi, 3 Vols. Delhi,

1983(reprint).

D. C. Sircar, Inscriptions of Aśoka, Delhi, 1967(2nd ed.).

_____, Select Inscriptions : Bearing on Indian History and Civilization, vol. I, Delhi, 1993(reprint).

B. Barua and K. G. Sinha, Barhut Inscriptions, Calcutta, 1926.

Cunningham A., Mahabodhi, Varanasi, 1950.

_____, The Stūpa of Bharhut : A Buddhist Moument, Varanasi, 1962.

C.ARCHAEOLOGICAL REPORTS:

Indian Archaeology - A Review :

1954-55, 1966-67, 1972-73, 1973-74, 1974-75, 1975-76, 1976-77.

2. SECONDARY PUBLICATIONS.

A. BOOKS

Alone, Y., 'Forms and Patronage in Early Buddhist Art and Architecture- A study of Nasik and Junnar', M.Phil. Dissertaton, J.N.U., 1991(unpublished).

Bapat, P. V. ed., 2500 Years of Buddhism, Delhi, 1956.

Bajpai, Shiva G., 'Mathurā: Trade Routes, Commerce and Communication Patterns' in D. M. Srinivasan ed., Mathura: The Cultural Heritage., Delhi, 1989, pp.46-58.

Bary, Wrm. Theodore de, ed., Sources of Indian Tradition, Columbia Univ. Press, 1959.

Basham, A. L., 'Mahāyāna Buddhism: The Greater Vehicle' in Wrm. Theodore de Bary, ed., Sources of Indian Tradition, Columbia Univ. Press, 1959, pp.154-189.

_____, The Wonder That Was India, Delhi, 1995(reprint).

- Bhattacharyya, N. N., Buddhism in the History of Indian Ideas, Delhi, 1993(reprint).
- Bhattacharya, S. C., Some Aspects of Indian Society, from c.2nd century to 4th century A.D., Calcutta, 1978.
- Bose, A. N., Social and Rural Economy of Northern India, 2 Vols, Calcutta, 1967.
- Brown, Percy, Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Periods, Bombay, 1970.
- Chakravarti, Uma, The Social Dimensions of Early Buddhism, Delhi, 1987.
- Chattopadhyaya, B. D., 'Mathurā from Śuṅga to the Kuṣāṇa Period : An Historical Outline'. in Srinivasan, D. M., ed., Mathurā - The Cultural Heritage, Delhi, 1989, pp.19-28.
- Dehejia, V., 'The Collective and Popular Basis of Early Buddhist Patronage: Sacred Monuments, 100 B. C. - A. D. 250' in Barbara. S. Miller, ed., The Powers of Art, Delhi, 1992, pp.35-45.
- Deva, Krishna, Archaeological Remains, Monuments and Museum, Delhi, 1964.
- Dutt, N., Early Monastic Buddhism, Calcutta, 1971(reprint).
- _____, 'Buddhism' in Majumdar, R. C., ed., The Age of Imperial Unity, Bombay, 1968.
- _____, Buddhist Sects in India, Delhi, 1978.
- Dutt, Romesh C., Civilisation in the Buddhist Age B. C. 320 to 500 A. D., Delhi, 1993(reprint)
- Dutt, Sukumar, Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India, Delhi, 1988(reprint).
- Fick, Richard, The Social Organization in North East India in Buddha's Time, Calcutta, 1920.
- Ghosh, N. N., Early History of India, Allahabad, 1948(2nd ed.).

- Hazra, K. L., Royal Patronage of Buddhism in Ancient India, Delhi, 1982.
- Hazra, R. C., Studies in The Purānic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs,
Delhi,1975.
- Liu, Xinru, Ancient India and Ancient China, Delhi, 1991.
- Marshall, John, A Guide to Taxila, London, 1960.
- _____, Taxila, vol. I, Cambridge, 1951.
- Miller, Barbara. S., ed., The Powers of Art, Delhi, 1992.
- Mitra, Debala, Buddhists Monuments in India, Calcutta, 1980(reprint).
- _____, Sanchi, ASI, Delhi, 1965.
- Mukerjee, B. N., 'Growth of Mathura and Its Society(up to the end of the
Kusāna age)'in D. M. Srinivasan ed., Mathurā-The Cultural Heritage,
Delhi, 1989, pp.59-71.
- _____, Mathurā and Its Society the Śaka-Pahlava Phase,
Calcutta, 1981.
- Nanda, Serene, Cultural Anthropology, New York, 1980.
- Nath, Vijaya, Dāna: Gift System in Ancient India, Delhi, 1987.
- Pande, B. M. and Chattopadhyaya, B. D. eds., Archaeology and History, Vol
II., Delhi, 1987.
- Pande, G. C., Studies in the Origins of Buddhism, Delhi, 1983.
- Polanyi Karl, ed., Trade and Market in the Early Empires: Economies in
History and Theory, Glencoe, 1957.
- Ray, H. P., 'Bharhut and Sanchi: Nodal Points in A Commercial
Interchange" in B. M. Pande and B. D. Chattopadhyaya, eds., Archaeology
and History. Vol II , Delhi, 1987, pp.621-629.
- _____, Monastery and Guild: Commerce Under The Satavahanas, Delhi,
1986.
- _____, 'Trade and Contacts' in Thapar Romila, ed., Recent Perspectives

- of Early Indian History, Bombay, 1995, pp.142-175.
- _____, The Winds of Change, Delhi, 1994.
- Rosenfield, J. M., The Dynastic Arts of the Kushanas, Delhi, 1993.
- Rhys Davids, Mrs., Sakya, KeganPaul, 1931.
- Rhys Davids T. W., Buddhist India, Delhi, 1971.
- Sharma, R. S., Material Culture and Social Formations in Early India, Delhi, 1992(reprint).
- _____, Perspectives in Social and Economic History of Early India, Delhi, 1983.
- _____, Urban Decay in India(C.300-C.1000), Delhi, 1987.
- Srinivasan, D. M. ed., Mathura-The Cultural Heritage, Delhi, 1989.
- Sircar, D. C., 'The Kushānas' in Majumdar, R. C. ed., The Age of Imperial Unity, Bombay, 1968.
- Thapar, Romila, A History of India, Vol. I, London, 1966.
- _____, Ancient Indian Social History, Delhi, 1990(reprint).
- _____, Cultural Transaction and Early India, Delhi, 1994.
- _____, 'Patroage and Community' in Barbara S. Miller, ed., The Powers of Art, Delhi, 1992, pp.19-34.
- Wagle, N. N., Society At The Time of The Buddha, Bombay, 1966.
- Warder, A. K., Indian Buddhism, Delhi, 1970.
- Wills, Janice D., 'Female Patronage in Indian Buddhism' in Miller, Barbara S., ed., op.cit., pp.46-53.

B. ARTICLES IN JOURNALS:

- Chattopadhyaya, B. D., 'On a Bi-scriptual Epigraph of the Kuṣāṇa Period from Mathura', Journal of Ancient Indian History, vol.XIII, part 1-2, 1980-82, pp.277-286.

Desai, Devangana, 'Social Dimensions of Art in Early India', *Social Scientist*, vol.18(3), March, 1990, pp.3-32.

Jong J. W. de, 'The Background of Early Buddhism', *Journal of Indian Buddhist Studies*, vol. XII, 1964.

Krishnan Y., 'The Origin of the Buddha Image', *Marg*, vol.15, no.2, 1962.

Mukerjee, B. N., 'A Note on a Bi-scriptual Epigraph of the Kushāna Period from Mathurā', *JAIH*, vol. X III, pp.285-286.

Ray, Amita, 'Early Buddhist Narrative Art', *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, vol.VIII, no.3. Sept. 1971, pp.298-320.

3. ENCYCLOPAEDIAS, DICTIONARIES, ETC.

Apte, V. S., *The Student's Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Delhi, 1986.

Dey, N. L., *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, Delhi, 1994.(reprint)

Law, B. C., *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Delhi, 1984.

Sircar, D. C., *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Delhi, 1966.

Bajpai, K. D., ed., *The Geographical Encyclopaedia of Ancient and Medieval India*, Vanarasi, 1967.

Eliade, Mircea, ed., *The Encyclopaedia of Religion*, vol. II, New York, 1987.