## Jainism in Mathurā: A Study of the Role of Laity at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā (c. 300 BCE – 300 CE)

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

### **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

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July 2012

### **CERTIFICATE**

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled 'Jainism in Mathurā: A Study of the Role of Laity at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā (c. 300 BCE – 300 CE)' submitted by YASHVENDER DHAKA to Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other University and is his original work.

## YASHVENDER DHAKA

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

Prof. Vijaya Ramaswamy

Prof. Bhagwan Josh

Supervisor

Chairperson

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<u>To my Parents</u>

Mr. Y. S. Dhaka

## Mrs. Lata Dhaka

For unrelinquishing support and grace

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# ABBREVIATIONS

- ACASIR Alexander Cunnigham Archaeological Survey of India Report
- AIIS American Institute of Indian Studies
- AS Ācārānga Sūtra
- ASI Archaeological Survey of India
- ASIAR Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report
- EI Epigraphia Indica
- KS Kalpasūtra
- PC Paumacariyam
- SBE Sacred Books of the East Series

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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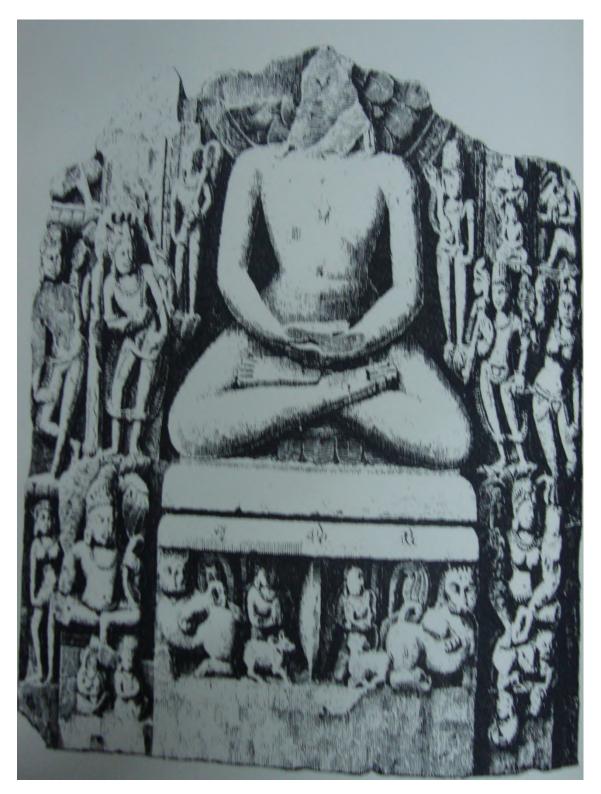
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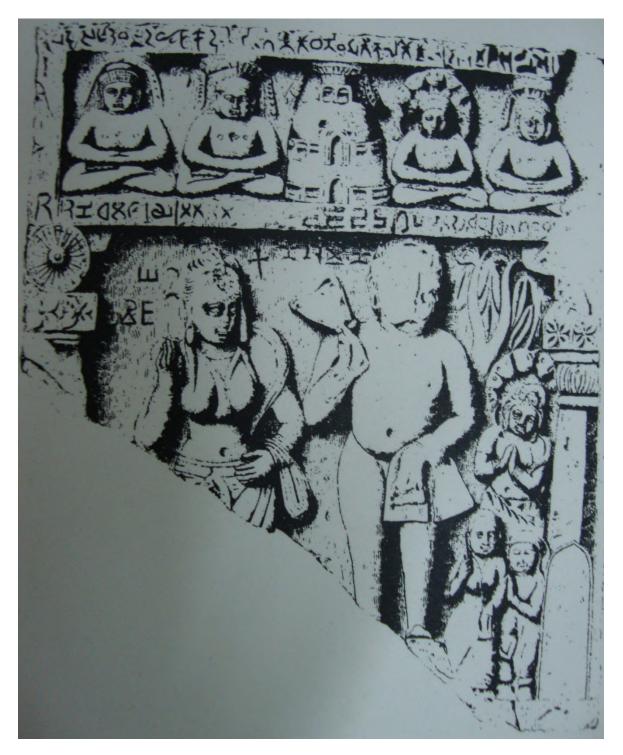
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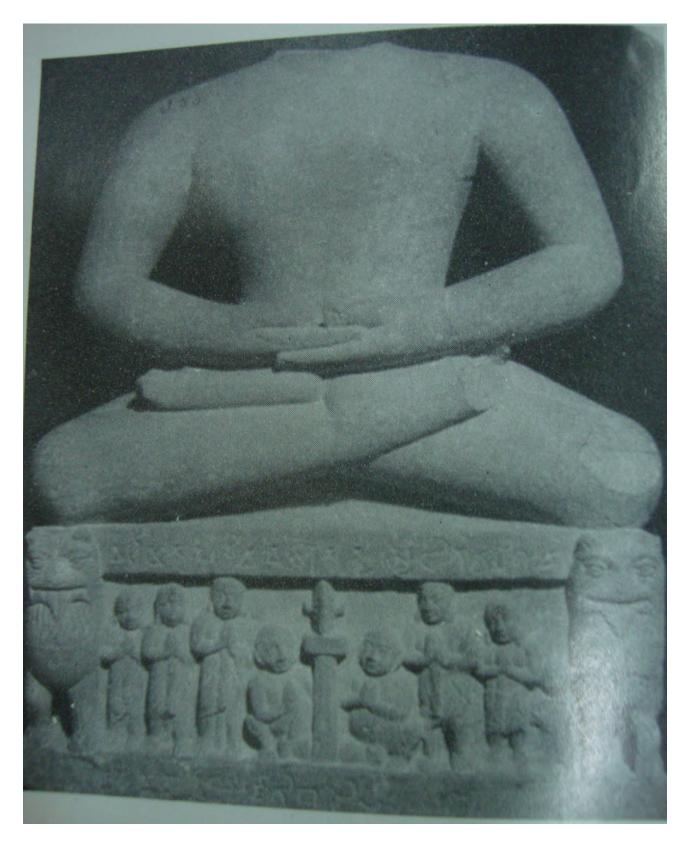
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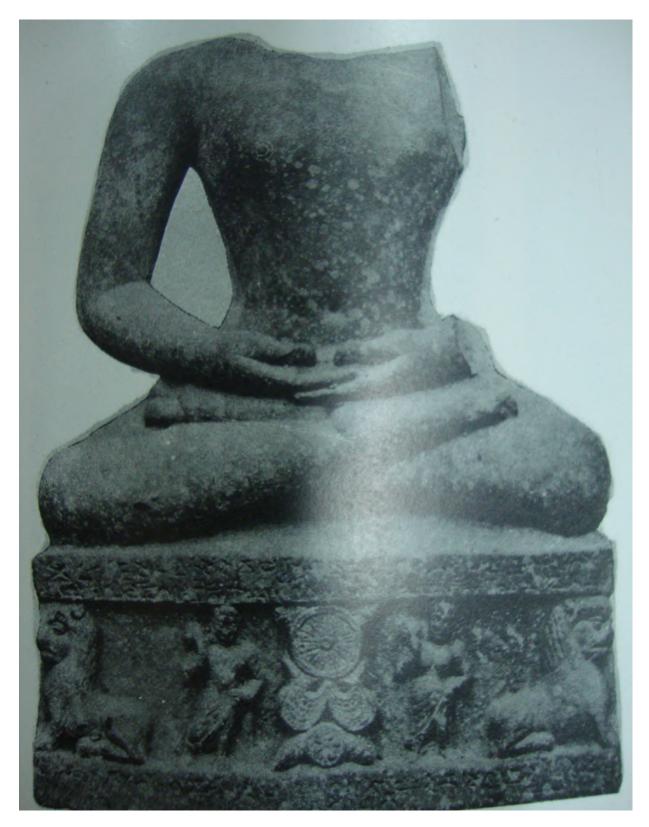
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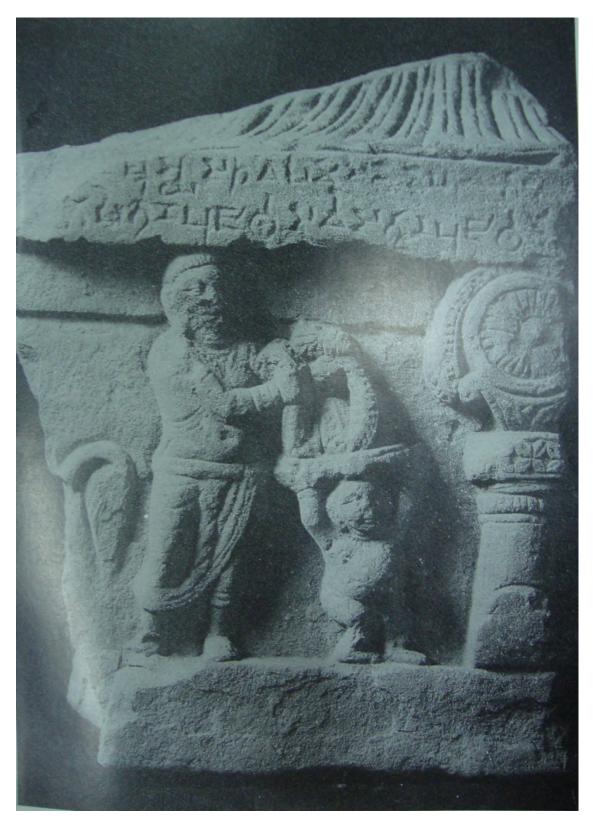
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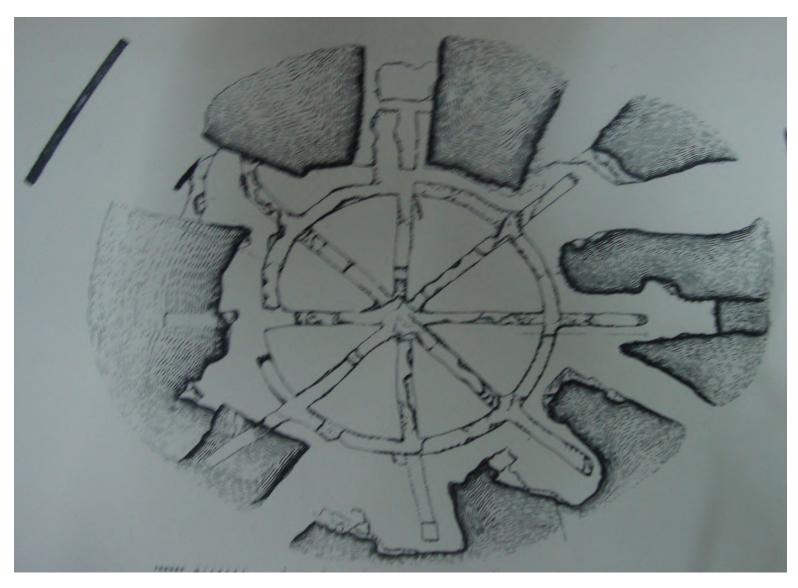
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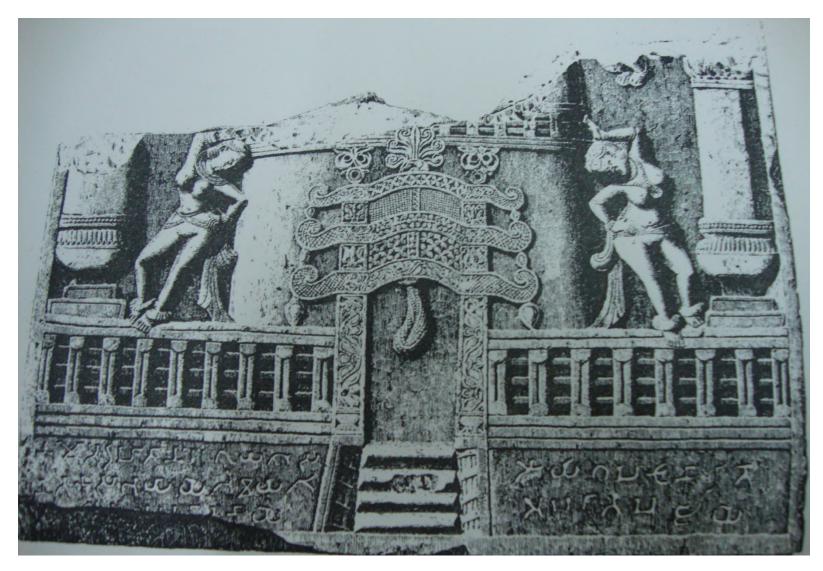
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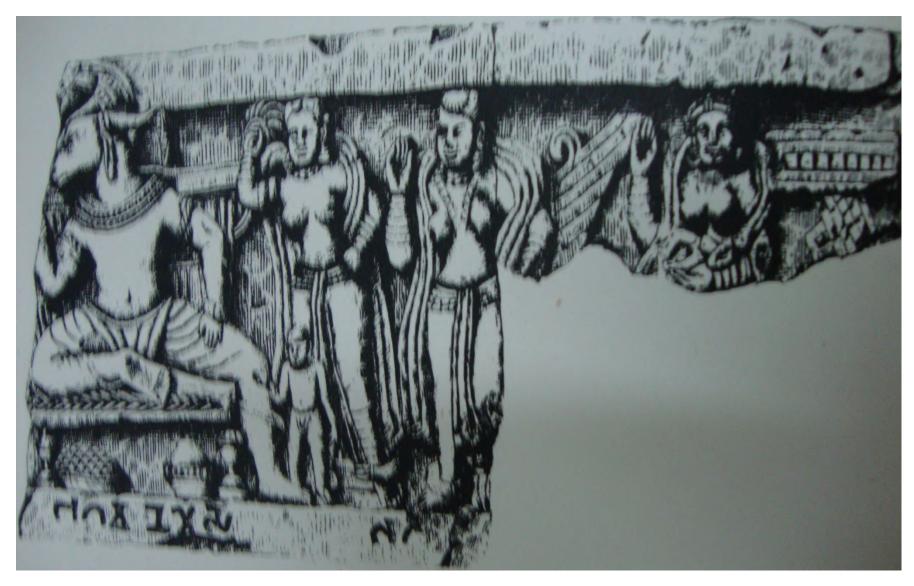
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VI. Representation of the Stūpa on a Votive Tablet



VIII. Nemeso (the Goat headed Deity)

## Chapter I

#### Sacred geography of Mathurā: A multi-religious site

The hallmark of Mathurā has been its multi-religiosity; providing very early traces of *Yakşa/Yakşī<sup>1</sup>* as well as *Nāga/Nāgin* worship, Jainism, Buddhism, Bhagvatism and deities like Viṣṇu, Śiva. Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā (also known as Jainī Ṭīlā) is located along with many other sites which had different religious affiliations— the Jamālpur mound indicates *Nāga* worship<sup>2</sup> while the Saptaṛṣi Ṭīlā belongs to the Sarvastivādin sect and, the Palikhera shows traces of the Mahāsāṁghika sect of Buddhism<sup>3</sup>. The regiospecificity<sup>4</sup> of Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā and religiospecificity<sup>5</sup> of Mathurā-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Yakşa/Yakşī are connected with water, fertility, trees and forest.See-

Coomaraswamy, Ananda, 1971, Yaksas, vol. I, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, pp. 32-34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This has been ascertained by the famous *Dadhikarana Nāga* inscription donated by  $C\bar{a}ndaka$  brothers. EI, 1983, vol. I, p. 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Inscriptions from different mounds tell us about different sects of the same religion i.e. Buddhism.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The term regiospecificitiy has been used for denoting regional orientation of coin types by Shailendra Bhandare. Here, the term has been used for the specific features of the archaeological site (Kankālī Ṭīlā) through its material culture and in relation and context of other surrounding sites. See-

Bhandare, Shailendra, 'A Tale of Two Dynasties: The Kshaharatas and the Satavahanas in the Deccan', in Ray, H. P. (ed.), 2006, *Coins In India: Power and Communication*, Mumbai: Mārg.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>The term is used to represent peculiarities of Jainism as a practiced religion (epigraphic evidence of strong presence of female laity and preceptors, donation of icons,  $\bar{Aya}gapatas$  and their worship and the *Stūpa* with the two temples which were found in the excavation of 1888-1896) in ancient Mathurā with its locative centre at Kankālī Ţīlā.

Jainism should be seen in this multi-religious background of various sites in Mathurā. The modern name of the site is based on the shrine of the 'Hindu' goddess Kaṅkālī represented by an ancient carved pillar.<sup>6</sup>

This multi-religiousity of Mathurā can be better viewed through the concept of Heterarchy, rather than Hierarchy. It would be more suitably applied to Mathurā, as an early historic urban region. Theoretically, a heterarchy is a system of organisation replete with overlap, multiplicity, mixed ascendancy, and/or divergent but coexistent patterns of relation, a system where each category shares the same horizontal position of power and authority, each playing a theoretically equal role. While hierarchies sort groups variously, according to multiple concerns that emerge or recede from view, according to perspective. In a heterarchial state, groups are unranked or have the potential to be ranked in a number of different ways as opposed to hierarchy where they are ranked in one particular way only.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, heterarchies represent different types of network structures that allow different degrees of connectivity. It is the existence of two or more functionally discrete but

 $<sup>^{6}</sup>$  (a) This temple stands about midway between the well and the Jaina *Stūpa* which was excavated by Führer in the season 1890-91.

<sup>(</sup>b) Growse identifies this pillar as Buddhist from its iconography.

Growse, F. S. 1993, *Mathurā—A District Memoir*, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Agarwal, Shivani, 2008, *The Archaeology Of Mathurā: Regional Complexities And Diversities (300 BCE - CE 300)*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (Submitted to CHS, JNU), pp. 93-115.

unranked systems which interact as equals. Thus the concept of heterarchy represents a better way of understanding the ancient site of Mathurā, as it avoids a priori assumption that complexity must take a tiered hierarchical form.<sup>8</sup>

### **Historiography:**

Alexander Cunnigham visited Mathurā in November 1871 and excavated Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā and Caubārā mound. He discovered Jaina inscriptions mentioning the years of the Kuṣāṇa kings, Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and Vasudeva. Earlier, F. S. Growse and Harding had found rails and sculptures respectively.<sup>9</sup> Cunnigham measured the site to be 400 feet in length from west to east and nearly 300 feet in breadth, with a mean height of 10/12 feet above the fields.<sup>10</sup> Barring a few, almost all inscriptions and sculptures from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā were Jaina.

Growse excavated the Northern portion of the site in 1875. It was reopened by J. Burgess in 1888 and was excavated by A. Führer from 1889 onwards. Führer left in between without publishing any report for the work done at the site. Later, V. A. Smith published his plates with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Ehrenreich, M. Robert, Carole L. Crumley and Janert E. Levy (eds.), 1995, 'Heterarchy and the Analysis of complex societies', *Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Associaton*, No. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> ACASIR (1871-72), 2000, vol. III, p.14, (first published 1873).
<sup>10</sup> Ibid, p. 19.

Bühler's interpretation of the inscriptions.<sup>11</sup> This was the period (1888-96) when the most important evidence related to Jainism was discovered at Kankālī Tīlā. However, this excavation was undertaken with a desire for unearthing a particular kind of evidence<sup>12</sup> which would be used for proving the authenticity of the Jaina tradition. The ongoing debate at the time was with regard to the origin of Jainism as an offshoot of Buddhism. Jainism was considered as 'poor sister' of Buddhism with notions of unoriginality attached and emanating its existence from the passive reception of 'Hinduism' in the historical understanding of South Asia. Its independent origin was challenged by early European scholars of the 19<sup>th</sup> century like Weber<sup>13</sup> and others<sup>14</sup>, though futile in the light and nature of evidences, and was being made dependent ambivalently on Buddhism due to similarities of origin, belief system and principles. Weber considered Jaina monks and laity as a combination of extreme austerity combined with fabulous riches. This supposed contradictory juxtaposition has been a problem in Jaina studies for many Western scholars and still continues to be so. This injustice to perhaps the oldest surviving religion

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Smith, V. A. 1994, *Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities from Mathurā*, New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, pp.3-6 (first published 1901).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Folkert, Kendall W. 1989, 'Jain Religious Life at Ancient Mathurā: The Heritage Of Late Victorian Interpretation', in Srinivasan, Doris Meth (ed.), *Mathurā: The Cultural Heritage*, New Delhi: AIIS, p.103.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> AS, pp. xviii; cf. *Indische Studien*, xvi, p. 210. Weber saw Jainism as an offshoot of Buddhism which later developed into a full-fledged religion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>There was a tendency among Western scholars of the early 19th century (Barth, Colebrooke) to treat Jainism as an offshoot of Buddhism.

of India has been a tendency in the academic circles. Buddhism was a well-established area of study in academic circles because of its available textual material and especially archaeological sources provided by Cunnigham. However, Jainism was looked upon dubiously by western scholars. The archaeological excavation at Kankālī Tīlā was an attempt to fill up this lacuna. This whole debate was concentrated on establishing the authenticity of the Jaina religion in relation to its monastic order<sup>15</sup>, by corroborating the texts with archaeological evidence. However, an important aspect consisting of non-ascetic features, i.e. the laity, was not considered in the debate, which was marked by over-interpretation of one sort and undermined the value of other kinds of interpretations that may be drawn from the evidence. An overemphasis on inscriptions as evidence devalued the architectural and sculptural evidence that help us understand the religious process at the site in a better and fuller way. The connection between the sacred and the profane was not at all considered important or of any socio-religious value to the study of Jainism. The 19<sup>th</sup> century attitude of western scholars towards Indian religions was predominantly based on scriptural and textual understanding rather than any independent archaeo-architectural exploration which throws light on popular practices and cults with regional variations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> The technical terminology for Jaina ascetic sub-orders (*gaṇas, kulas, śākhās*) from the inscriptions that matched the terminology found in the *Kalpasūtra* supported the claim of the antiquity and continuity of the Jaina order from as early as the  $2^{nd}$  to  $1^{st}$  century BCE.

Hermann Jacobi's seminal work on Jaina textual history (translation of the Jaina texts under the editorship of Max Muller in the *Sacred Books of the East* series) came while the debate regarding independent origin, authenticity and providing legitimacy to the religion was going on. He established the authentic and independent origin of Jainism through his seminal textual work but somehow saw the Jaina monk as a copy of Brāhmanic ascetic.<sup>16</sup> Bühler substantiated the claims of Jacobi's textual evidence by establishing the antiquity and independent origin of the Jaina tradition on the basis of inscriptional evidence.<sup>17</sup>

The Archaeological Survey of India conducted further excavations at Mathurā from 1973-74 to 1976-77 by dividing the site into five time period zones. But the excavation was random in site selection and thus could not provide insights into the development of the site over a period of time. The Jaina mound at Mathurā was associated with the phase of  $2^{nd}$  to  $1^{st}$  century BCE.<sup>18</sup> A tank complex with an inscription<sup>19</sup> of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> AS, p. XXIX.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> EI, 1983, vol. II, no. XX, New Delhi: The Archaeological Survey of India, p.204 (first published 1894).

The famous inscription of Kuşāṇa period, donated by Śravikā Dinā, that refers to the 'Vodva  $St\overline{u}pa$ ' 'built by gods' provided much needed support for the claims of antiquity for the Jaina  $St\overline{u}pa$ . Further, the antiquity of the  $St\overline{u}pa$  was retraced to an earlier period as it was considered so 'antique' in the inscription that its construction details were forgotten.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Joshi, M.C. and Sinha, A.K., 2005, 'Chronology of Mathurā— An Assessment', *Puratattva* (1978-79), no.10, New Delhi: D. K. Printworld (P) Ltd. (originally published in 1981).

the fifth regnal year of Kanişka was found at the site during this excavation along with some sculptures.

The history of Jaina monastic order has been extensively studied by the impressive work of S. B. Deo<sup>20</sup> using diverse source material like literary as well as epigraphic. He puts forth the constitution of the monastic order and the spread of the religion, issues of royal patronage with a nuanced understanding. The work endows us with very valuable data on the rules and regulations for nuns, various terms employed to denote nuns, hierarchical designations noticeable in the female ascetic order vis-à-vis monks but the female ascetic order has been relegated to a small section of the book. He overlooks the literary texts of the Digambara sect of Jainas. Without a proper understanding of these important works one can not understand the developments in the monastic life of the Jainas.

N. N. Bhattacharyya<sup>21</sup> and J. C. Jain<sup>22</sup> emphasize on philosophical issues and social life as depicted in the Jaina texts respectively. However, the most important aspect of the religion which supported mendicants and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Sharva, Satya, 1993, *Dated Kuṣāṇa Inscriptions*, no.21, New Delhi: Praṇava Prakāshan, p. 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Deo, S. B. 1956, The History of Jaina Monachism (From Inscriptions and Literature), *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, vol. xvi, nos. 1-4, Poona.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Bhattacharya, N. N. 1976, *Jaina Philosophy in Historical Outline*, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Jain, J. C. 1984, *Life in Ancient India As Depicted In Jaina Canon and Commentaries*, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.

monastic order i.e. laity was not given a comprehensive analysis in all the above works. Taking Jaina Studies to new levels, Paul Dundas deals with the history of the religion with a variety of source material and provides a good picture of social base of the Śvetāmbara Jaina society through ritual lay worship in the temples and festivals for medieval as well as modern period in Western India by a combination of ethnographic and textual material.<sup>23</sup> He combines these two tools of historiography well to show continuities and changes in the tradition.

James Laidlaw sees Jainism on the lines of Weber when he juxtaposes renunciatory life with the mercantile social structure of the religion asking questions related to the society which is connected to a religion, founded on 'impossible' goal of liberation.<sup>24</sup> John E. Cort provides a whole new approach to the perceptions towards Jainism with the help of 'traditional' literature of the religion. He successfully establishes *Bhakti* as unique and internal concept in Jainism for the worship of Tīrthamkaras and tries to convey the aspirations of laity in religious sphere.<sup>25</sup> His thought provoking scholarship on ritual practices with Jaina philosophical underpinnings help in establishing the true

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Dundas, Paul, 1992, *The Jains*, London and New York: Routledge.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Laidlaw, James, 1995, *Riches and Renunciation: Religion, Economy and Society among the Jains*, Clarendon Press: Oxford, New York.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Cort, John E. 2002, 'Bhakti in Early Jain Tradition: Understanding Devotional Religion in South Asia', *History of Religions*, vol.42, no.1, University Of Chicago.

identity of Jainism in the historical context of South Asia.<sup>26</sup> In the name of deconstruction and reconstruction excessive use of every possible source material, sometimes not adhering fully to the context can be a limiting factor to his otherwise correct and proper understanding of the religion.

P. S. Jaini brings to light the continuous unresolved debate between Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras.<sup>27</sup> The texts that Jaini uses are from c. 2<sup>nd</sup> CE to 17<sup>th</sup> century CE. Jaina debates are even harsh but thought provoking than Hindu texts in the sense that these focus on the question of gender and the biophysical nature of human female, specially the female reproductive organs as the principle reason for the incapacity of female to achieve salvation. The subordinate position of female, in almost all the spheres of religious and social identities, hints at the omnipresent patriarchal system that can be easily seen in other religions also in the same timeframe. However, the interesting debate itself underscores the ability of Jaina scholars to discuss such an issue which is very important

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Cort, John E. 2002, 'Singing the Glory of Asceticism: Devotion of Asceticism in Jainism', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, vol. 70, pp. 719-742.

\_\_\_\_\_, 2009, 'World Renouncing Monks and World Celebrating Temples and Icons— The Ritual Culture of Temples and Icons in Jainism', in Ray, Himanshu Prabha (ed.), *Archaeology and Text: The Temple in South Asia*, Oxford University Press.

\_\_\_\_\_, 2010, Framing the Jina: Narratives of Icons and Idols in Jain History, New York: Oxford University Press.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Jaini, P. S. 1992, *Gender and Salvation—Jaina Debates on the Spiritual Liberation of Women*, Munshiram Manoharlal, p. xvi.

in the early medieval period. V. A. Sangave<sup>28</sup> has also referred to a small space to the subject of women where he briefly surveys the status of women under sub headings of social, religious, legal and political status.

U. P. Shah has shed light on the beginnings of icon<sup>29</sup> worship in Jainism and the evolution and significance of Jaina iconography.<sup>30</sup> He has mainly discussed symbol worship in Jainism. He proves beyond doubt that *Yakşīs*, guardian or attendant deities of the Jainas were introduced in Jainism in 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>31</sup> Through his articles he has traced the growth of the Jaina pantheon.<sup>32</sup> He has also studied the iconographic evolution of Jaina goddesses Ambikā<sup>33</sup>, Sarasvatī<sup>34</sup>, Vidyādevīs<sup>35</sup>,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Sangave, V. A. 1959, Jaina Community: a Social Survey, Bombay.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> In a recent article John E. Cort has suggested the use of the term 'icon' (better than the neutral term 'image' and less harmful in its sense than the theologically loaded term 'idol') for the terms such as *mūrti, pratimā, bimba, vigraha,* and – in the Jaina context – *caitya*. See- Cort, John E, 2010, 'World Renouncing Monks and World Celebrating Temples and Icons— The Ritual Culture of Temples and Icons in Jainism', in Ray, Himanshu Prabha (ed.), *Archaeology and Text: The Temple in South Asia*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, p. 291.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Shah, U. P. and Dhaky (eds.), 1975, *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, Ahamadabad; Shah, U. P. 1955, *Studies in Jaina Art*, Banaras: Jaina Cultural Research Society.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Shah, U. P. 1953-54, 'Yakşa Worship in Early Jain Literature', *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, vol. III, parts 1-4, pp. 54-71; 1959, Introduction of Śāśanadevatās in Jaina worship, *Proceedings and Transactions of the All India Oriental Conference*, vol. ii, part I, pp. 82-98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Shah, U. P. 1981-82, 'Minor Jaina Deities', *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, vol. 31, no. 4, pp. 371-378; Ibid, vol. 32, no. 1, 1982, pp. 82-98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Shah, U. P. 1940-41, 'Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Ambikā', *Journal of the University of Bombay*, vol. IX, part 2, pp. 147-155.

Cakreśvarī<sup>36</sup> and Siddhāyikā<sup>37</sup> by taking into account the icons as well as literary references. Several Jaina tantric texts have been brought to light by him, showing the growth of Jaina tantra from 3-4 centuries CE the majority of his works deal with iconographic issues, taking into account existing icons and textual references to the same. However, they do not seem to go beyond the survey of iconography to probe issues such as the Jaina attitude towards the divine feminine, depicted in a marked measure in early Medieval Jaina art and her importance in the lives of the Jaina community.

N. P. Joshi in his sculptural study<sup>38</sup> provides us detailed information about the sculptures found from the site and corroborates it with the Jaina textual tradition. However, his study shows a dichotomy between the worship of icons in 'Hinduism' and those in Jainism and Buddhism which, according to him, were not worshipped as such. He interprets the typical 'wheel' of Jaina sculptures of Mathurā as the *Dharmacakra* found in Buddhist representations. However, neither in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Shah, U. P. 1941-42, 'Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Sarasvatī', *Journal of the University of Bombay*, vol. X, pp. 195-218.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Shah, U. P. 1947, 'Iconography of the Sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās', *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, vol. XV, , pp. 114-170.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Shah, U. P. 1971, 'Iconography of Cakreśvarī, Yaksī of Rşabhanātha', *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, vol. XX, no.3, pp. 281-313.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Shah, U. P. 'Yaksinī of the Twenty Fourth Jina Mahāvīra', *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, vol. XXII, pp. 70-78.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Joshi, N. P, 1989, 'Early Jain Icons from Mathurā', in Srinivasan, Doris Meth (ed.), *Mathurā: The Cultural Heritage*, New Delhi: AIIS.

<sup>—, 2004,</sup> Mathurā Sculptures, New Delhi: Sundeep Prakashan.

inscriptions nor in the sculptures is it anywhere mentioned that the 'wheel' found on the Jaina sculptures from Mathurā is the *Dharmacakra*. Debala Mitra<sup>39</sup> discusses the implications of Jaina art and architecture in her article but fails to provide any new insight and supports Bühler's interpretation of the Stūpa and other architectural material with textual emphasis.

Sonya Rhie Quintanilla discusses various aspects of the sculptures in her book "History of early stone sculpture at Mathurā ca. 150BCE-100 CE".<sup>40</sup> She puts forward the opinion that Jina icons have been in use for ritual and narrative settings in ancient Mathurā from a very early period (c. 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE) and this tradition continued for many centuries. She is of the opinion that Mathurā Jaina icons predated the Buddha icons by about one and half centuries but fails to substantiate this claim due to lack of reliable chronology. Here, she, in concluding remarks, stresses the need for a holistic study of the inscriptional material available from the Mathurā excavation that, according to her, will help us immensely to reach upon a precision about the Mathurā Jina icons and the hypothesis about them predating the Mathurā Buddha icons.

In this study, we will search the possibilities of combining sculptural and inscriptional material. This possibility is explored by John

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Mitra, Debala, 1974, 'Mathurā' in Ghosh, A. (ed.), *Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol.II, New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, pp. 49-68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Quintanilla, Sonya Rhie, 2007, *History of Early Stone Sculpture at Mathura ca. 150 BCE-100 CE*, Brill.

E. Cort in his latest book "Framing the Jina: Narratives of Icons and Idols in Jain History". He, though writing on Śvetāmbara tradition, provides a sound analytical framework to study and further problematize questions related to Mathurā combining all the available empirical evidences with the aim to expand and deepen our understanding of the meaning of the icons and their development and prevalence in Jainism.<sup>41</sup> Cort goes on to suggest that:

To a significant extent the history of Jain images can not be separated from the histories of images in the Buddhist and Hindu traditions. The ritual and theological cultures of images developed more or less simultaneously in all three traditions, and quite possibly developed in a single region of the north India, concentrated around the ancient city of Mathura. Even though it is possible to develop a rough chronology of the use of images in the three traditions, the chronology does not allow us to posit a definitive pattern of images developing in one tradition first and then being borrowed by the others. We are missing too much information, and therefore must construct our understanding on too fragile a foundation to advance a conclusive argument about origin, diffusion, influence, and borrowing.<sup>42</sup>

Since, it can be said on the firm grounds that the use of Jina icons at Mathurā, both in narrative and ritual settings, was a very early development. According to him, there are several icons, both Jaina and Buddhist that indicate their use in a broad ritual culture of ancient site,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Cort, John E. 2010, *Framing the Jina: narratives of icons and idols in Jain history*, OUP, pp.10-15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Ibid, p. 18.

similar to the use of *Stūpas*.<sup>43</sup> Their use appears to have been restricted to ancient Mathurā, as we do not find either archaeological or textual evidence of them from later times or from elsewhere until a new exploration brings new facts and evidence into light.

#### **Methodology:**

Textual history of Jainism provides a homogenous, static and one sided telescopic<sup>44</sup> sacral view which may not be the reality of the time. There are ample evidences on the basis of palaeography and lexicography for showing the difference in temporal context between the composition and compilation of the religious doctrine of various faiths for ancient Indian history. It indicates a layered history of textual development. This suggests a unique strategy on the part of authorities of the sacred knowledge on relying on a strong memory. Oral traditions were given preference in the religious systems of ancient India and memory served as a tool for passing the sacred knowledge to the successive generations of beholders of sacred scriptures. For this reason, the time period (300 BCE – 300 CE) of the study is broadly constructed. Historians consciously or unconsciously do not try to look beyond the comfortable zone of textual

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Ibid, pp. 20-30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Here the word telescopic has been used as representing written textual history in a retrospective way i.e. texts describe earlier events on the basis of memory of their authors. This can be proved through palaeographic evidences which clearly show stratified compilation of ancient manuscripts in temporal dimension.

material. This is a fundamental problem and pertinent cause of seven blind men's feel of an elephant, figuratively representing the discipline. Textual sources project ideological biases with out of context information. Richard Salomon understands texts as source which was mostly concerned with a small, literate, almost exclusively male and certainly atypical professionalized subgroup thought and did. In contrast, he argues that the evidence of epigraphy and archaeology, more securely rooted in time and place, reflects at least a part of reality which was actually practiced and believed. The architectural and archaeological sources are far more revealing along with numismatic and above all, epigraphic material.<sup>45</sup> This is not to argue that epigraphs can not have their ideological underpinnings rather they provide a more accurate picture of activities on actual level of practice of religion. Writing on non-perishable material shows complex cultural development in which the act of donation is meant to endure in the historical memory. Record of gifting in the religious sphere conveys the wishes of the donor for social prestige and satisfaction through lasting memory of the act.

The vast amount of icons<sup>46</sup>, sculptures, inscriptions etc. suggest a rich religio-cultural life at this site. This archaeo-architectural study (inscriptional and sculptural) presents an alternative view of the time

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Salomon, Richard, 1998, *Indian Epigraphy: A Guide to the Study of Inscriptions in Sanskrit, Prakrit and the Other Indo-Aryan Languages*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 3-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> See Ref. 28.

(circa 300 BCE – 300 CE) for Jainism as a religion in practice. The objective of this study is to look into the realms of Jainism through perspective of the laity<sup>47</sup> to provide an understanding of the perception towards the same in social matrix of early religious history of Indian subcontinent.

Earlier interpretations were marred by the limited questions asked but fresh contextual problems need to be posed keeping in mind the nature of the empirical evidence for a fuller as well as broader understanding of Jainism as a religion in practice in Mathurā. Independent identity and continuity of the tradition was judged through the antiquity of the ascetic core of Jainism. It had been the basic premise on which the questions were asked from the empirical sources. Nonascetic features were considered secondary and lower to the 'primary' ascetic features. Although laity and the reasons for its overwhelming support to Mathurā-Jainism can be much more important aspect within the complex socio-religious plane of Mathurā as a multi religious site. Thus, in this work, we will look into the socio-religious dimensions of Jaina religious architecture and the laity's role in this process at Kaṅkālī Ţīlā for a better understanding of Jainism in the context of the multireligious site of Mathurā during the chosen time period. We will also

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> The term 'laity' has been used in the paper in a broad sense, combining sympathizers and followers of the religion in general and particular.

explore the regiospecificity of Kankālī Ţīlā and the religiospecificity of Jainism in Mathurā in a broader cultural context.

The proposed research is divided into five chapters. The first chapter deals with introduction to the site, sacred geography and its multireligiousity along with a glimpse of hitherto historiography and proposed methodology which can lead us to some fresh perspective. The second chapter provides an analysis of inscriptional material from the Kankālī Tīlā with regard to iconography and icon worship. The next chapter offers understanding of religious archaeology and architecture in the context of Jainism. It analyses the issue of Arhat and Stūpa worship and sculptural material specially the  $\bar{A}y\bar{a}gapatas^{48}$  for their importance in ritual worship. The fourth one deals with donative practice in Jainism and role of preceptors as well as highlights the importance of female lay devotee and female preceptors in Jainism and its implications. It brings fourth the important markers of identity for the female presence in monastic as well as laity. It summarizes the essential features about notions of and for laity which were important for the religious faith concerned through this study. A gendered presence of the laity has been discussed with the help of the list of the epigraphs available for the Jain existence at Kankālī Tīlā. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup>  $\bar{Aya}gapatas$  were the distinctive feature of Jaina art and architecture which were called by different nomenclatures of *Pañcaparamesthipatta* (EI, 1894, vol. 2, *Śatrumjaya* inscription, no. 58, 66, pp. 34f.) and *Caturvimśatitirthānikarapatta* (EI, 1894, vol. 2, *Śatrumjaya* inscription, no. 57, 67, pp. 34f.) in the later period. The same types of tablets have been found from other sites from Mathurā which are known as *Śilāpata* through inscription written on them.

final chapter suggests conclusions arrived at through the study. It also problematizes 'laity' and concludes the paper by a complex understanding of the term.

In this sequence of research, we will try to relocate the evidence in its proper context by following a statistical method. Our knowledge about Jainism in Mathurā is dominated by inscriptional evidence and is incomplete due to the same reason. There is lack of not only definite chronological sequence but also contextual documentation for the epigraphs. But in this work, we will attempt two separate statistical analyses— one for icons and inscriptions and the other for  $\bar{A}y\bar{a}gapatas$  (a Jaina votive tablet of homage/ sacred object of worship) and their corresponding inscriptions— in order to see the evidence from the site in its totality. This will require a proper cataloguing of the scattered material in the above mentioned manner<sup>49</sup>. The sub-division of the various types of icons and  $\bar{A}y\bar{a}gapatas$  along with their epigraphs will help in the further problematization of the donative process at the site and will help us in assessing the relationship between socio-economic status of the laity and the reasons behind this religious process. The issues of  $Arhat^{50}$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> The epigraphic and architectural materials related to the site respectively are in various volumes of *Epigraphia Indica*; and the National Museum (New Delhi), Mathurā Museum.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> All Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā refer to the icons as being of *Arhats* and use the title '*Bhagavato*'. The words '*Tīrthamkara*' or '*Jina*' are not mentioned even in a single inscription. I have used the term '*Arhat*' to conform to the norms of nomenclature in the epigraphs in the time period of the study.

worship, donative practices in Jainism, identity of donors and process of gifting, role of preceptors, importance of female lay devotees and female preceptors at Mathurā and its implications, *Stūpa* worship, the importance of  $\bar{A}y\bar{a}gapatas$  in ritual worship and exclusive as well as distinctive features like the depiction of Nemeso<sup>51</sup> (Naigameśa- goat headed deity),  $\bar{A}yavat\bar{1}^{52}$  ( $\bar{A}ryavat\bar{1}$ - Yaksī), Sarasvatī<sup>53</sup> etc. will be looked into with the help of these two analytical tables. This methodology is being adopted because while going through the historigraphical analysis the evidence makes it quite evident that particularistic approaches do not hold ground for a holistic understanding of the religious tradition at a particular site such as Kańkālī Ţīlā.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Nemeso (Naigameşa) is associated with fertility and child birth in the Jaina sculptural legends. The worship and representation of this deity disappeared after the Kuṣāṇa period.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> The icons of *Yakşas/Yakşīs* and *Nāgas/Nāgins* were an important part of the Jaina iconography.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> EI, 1983, vol. I, no. XXI, New Delhi: The Archaeological Survey of India, p. 391. (first published 1892).

# <u>Chapter II</u>

### **Contextualizing Icons and Epigraphs**

Mathurā has been mentioned as Madhurā, Madhupurī, Sauripura, Sauryapura, Surasenoi in the Jaina literary texts. The Jainas referred to it by the name of Sauripura or Suryapura.<sup>54</sup> Archaeological tools like stratigraphical analysis and chronological understanding of the excavated material from Mathurā suggest that BRW and PGW cultures had interrelationships, association and affiliations. The PGW occupations of the site are generally found along the timeline of 600-400 BCE. 'Excavations at *Soňkh*' by Herbert Härtel provides evidence of post holes and reed impressions in the mud.<sup>55</sup> It could have been done by the use of local grasses and wood. Both PGW and BRW have been found in the Soňkh. Painted grey ware is found at the lowest levels of the sites of Ambarikha, Sanketban, Sakhitara, Soňkh, Aring, Chata, Ambarish Ţīlā, Kaṭrā, Bhūteśvar, Kaṅkālī Ţīlā in the city. The sites of Kaṭrā, Kaṅkālī Ţīlā, Aring, Sanketban, Sońkh show the signs of continued habitation from PGW to NBPW and further period.

How did the society of Mathurā in its urbane character become complex with the issues such as practicing various religions and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> SBE, XLV, P.112

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Härtel, H. 1993, *Excavations at Sonkh: 2500 Years of a Town in Mathura District*, with contributions by H. J. Paech and R. Weber, Berlin: Monographien zur indischen Archaologie, Kunst und Philologie, vol. 9.

patronizing them? Architectural and epigraphical evidence help us understand these phenomena and interpret them with the multifaceted realities of the time. These evidence support varied degree of affiliations to the prevailing religious threads by a diverse group of peoples.

Jainism, as have been perceived through the eyes of the sacred and received in the texts, was among the most powerful rejection of the worldly pleasures of the new emerging society of the latter half of the first millennium BCE. *Paumacariyam* of Vimalsūrī gives details about the introduction of Jainism in Mathurā. The date is supplied by the poet in the concluding verse of the poem and it is generally regarded as belonging to circa 1st century CE. According to the text, the Śvetāmbara Jainism was introduced in Mathurā by saints like Suramantra, Śrīmantra, Śītilaka, Sarvasundara, Jayamantra, Anilalalita and Jayamitra.<sup>56</sup>

Several sites excavated in Mathurā region suggest that Buddhism was also a popular religion in Mathurā and had patronage of the rulers. Two leading Buddhist sects of Mathurā were Sarvastivādins in the Kşatrapa period and the Mahāsāmghikas in the Kuṣāṇa period.<sup>57</sup> The activities of Sarvastivādins and Mahāsamghikas led to the worship of icons of the Buddha in Mathurā. The urban space of Mathurā included a number of Buddhist *vihāras*. Different sects were associated with different *viharās*. Atleast twenty one *viharās* have been listed in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> PC, 89.2; 89.20 to 89.44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> EI, vol. II, III.

inscriptions of Mathurā. Most of them are dated in the Kuṣāṇa period except for one *Suvarṇakāra Vihāra* built in the Śaka period for the acceptance of the Mahopadeśaka teachers.<sup>58</sup> When Chinese pilgrim Fa-Xian travelled through the country of Mataou-lo i.e. Mathurā in early decades of the 5<sup>th</sup> century C.E., he counted no less than twenty Buddhist *Vihāras* which stood on both banks of the Poona i.e. *Yamunā* and contained some three thousand monks and there the law of the Buddha was still more flourishing.<sup>59</sup> Xuan Zang who visited Mathurā in the first half of the seventh century, found the same number of *vihāras* but estimates that of the residing monks at only two thousand.<sup>60</sup> Although the numerological aspects of the details of the travelers can be questioned, the importance of the argument lies in the confirmation of presence of a flourishing Buddhist center in Mathurā.

# **Iconography:**

The excavations at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā left its scars on the evidence of material culture by decontextualizing it. Though limitations of the available technology in the archaeological excavations in the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century can be sympathetically understood, lack of stratigraphical approach still haunts the researcher. The icons, epigraphs,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Lüders, *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, no. 89, pp. 82-88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Legge, Jamis, 1991, A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms (reprint), Delhi, pp. 40-43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Beal S. 1906, Buddhist Record of the Western World, SI-YU-KI, pp. 211-213.

sculptures and  $Ay\bar{a}gapatas$  were removed from their context without providing any substantial information. However, large number of icons still transfers valuable information regarding the worship patterns, donative practices and laity in Jainism.

The basic features of Jaina iconography are unworldliness, devoid of any sexualism, sober, sublime, austere conception of the *Arhat* icons with religious syncretism. Most of the icons manufactured at Kańkālī Ţīlā were imitations of the relatively ancient Nāga/ Yakşa icons. *Nāga* and *Yakşa* cults were also incorporated in the Jainism apart from Buddhism and other pantheons. In Jaina and Buddhist traditions adoption of these local cults was facilitated by the conversion of them into the devotees of the Tīrthaṁkaras and the Buddha. They were considered lower in the religious and spiritual hierarchy of these traditions.<sup>61</sup> An overall general confirmation to the style of the region and period of the making in the Jaina art and architecture is quite visible, though the religious concepts are the special features which separate it from other types of art and architectural forms.<sup>62</sup>

The Jaina subject of *dhyāna*(meditation) gives detailed treatment to such topics as *Dhyātr*(meditator), *Dhyeya*(object of meditation),

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Vogel, J. P. 1908-09, 'Naga Worship in Ancient Mathura', ASIAR, pp.160-164.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Ghosh, A. (ed.), 1974, *Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol. I, New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, pp.5-7.

*Vidhi*(technique of meditation), *Phala*(fruit of meditation) i.e. *Kaivalya*, the final liberation. Of these topics *dhyeya* is of special importance for Jaina iconography. The objects of meditation are *Padastha*, i.e. meditation on sacred mantra, or magical formulas; *Pindastha*, i.e. meditation on the magic powers of a *Jina*, the liberated one; *Rūpastha*, i.e. meditation on the material form of the *Jina*; and *Rūpatita*, i.e. meditation on the *Jina* or *Tīrthamkara* beyond the material form. Of these four subjects of meditation the two are of prime value for the study of Jaina iconography: Meditation on sacred mantra and Meditation on the material form of the *Jina* such as icons, wheel, *Stūpa* etc.<sup>63</sup>

Jina icons found from different parts of the subcontinent have varied forms, the single icon, the double, the triple ( $Trit\bar{i}rth\bar{i}$ ), quadruple (*Caumukha*), or quintuple ( $Pa\tilde{n}cat\bar{i}rth\bar{i}$ ) icons, or even an icon with all twenty four *Jina* on one slab or within one frame (*Covişī*, *Caturvimśati Jina*). The Jaina icons, made of red sandstone of Mathurā, can be classified in three categories; seated, standing and *Sarvatobhadrikā Pratimā*. *Sarvatobhadrikā Pratimā* is a typical feature of Jain iconography which is also known as fourfold icon of the *Arhats* or *Chaumukhī*. A Jina is visible in this type of icon from the all four sides. Some represents same *Arhat* on all the four sides while on some, four different *Arhats* are clearly visible from their distinguishable marks with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Aupapātikasūtra, With the Commentary of Abhayadevasuri, 1938, Bombay.

a *Chatra* on the top. It may be possible that the installation of four fold icons was regarded as a symbolic representation of the Samvasarana (preaching hall where gods and animals assemble and take their appropriate places to hear the sermon which a Tīrthamkara delivers immediately after the attainment of the enlightenment).<sup>64</sup>

The seated icons are either in squatted or cross legged position. The latter represents *Dhyāna mudra, Padmāsana* with *Śrīvatsa* on chest, wheel on palms; hands and feet depict some sacred symbols. Standing icons show typical *Kāyotsarga* posture of the *Arhat*. If we look at the icons, 54 are identifiable on the basis of available inscriptions. Almost 60% (32) are in seated position while only 24% (13) are in standing position. *Sarvatobhadrikā* icons are only 16% (9).<sup>65</sup> This analysis clearly suggests that laity donated seated *Arhat* icons in large number. Icons were donated on the request of preceptors. So a consideration about donative capacity of the laity by the sacred and accruing merit of the donation by the laity might have culminated into the final choice of the gift.

While fourfold icons are less in number but their donation would have been costly because of their large size which shows the socioeconomic status of the donor. It also implies great efforts on the part of laity in Jaina religious sphere. The main features of *Sarvatobhadrikā* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Shah, U. P. 1955, *Studies in Jaina Art*, Banaras: Jaina Cultural Research Society, pp. 94-95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> See the attached table of inscriptions.

*Pratimā* are long hands with long legs, short neck, elongated ears and sacred *Śrīvatsa* mark on chest of the icon. This type of icon is donated by Kumaramita, wife of a Setthi, on the request of female preceptor Vasula.<sup>66</sup> Sihadata, wife of village headman Jayanaga and daughter-in-law of also a village headman Jayadeva, donates a fourfold standing icon of *Arhat* on the request of female preceptor Akaka.<sup>67</sup> Mother of a perfumer, Jitamitra, donated the same standing icon on the request of Gaņin Aryya Nandika.<sup>68</sup> In all three cases we have female donors from a relatively better socio-economic background. The first two icons were found near the second Jaina temple structure and the last one was found at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā.<sup>69</sup> The find spots also strengthen the possibility of a ritual cult in which the icons were the object of veneration and adoration in the two temples.

Thambaka and Pappka, laymen from Navagrama village, donated the same kind of sitting icon on the request of  $Ac\bar{a}rya$  Vijayasinga in 1023 C.E. (V.S. 1080). This late inscription unambiguously indicates continuity of the tradition of icon donation and interestingly a different nomenclature for the preceptor ' $Ac\bar{a}rya$ ' has been used. The last name of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> No. 2 in the list.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> No. 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> No. 49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> The social or economic status in other cases of fourfold icon donation is not available. Even then it can be safely argued from the assessment of economic investment in this type of icon that donor would have enough socio-economic resources to put into the religious domains.

the dead preceptor 'Suri' is in accordance with the later style of naming monks in the Jaina tradition.<sup>70</sup> Changes within the continuity of Jaina monastic order indicates to later developments which gave rise to textual understanding of Jainism and its practice.

We find maximum number (70%, 19) of *Vardhamāna* icons out of 27 identifiable *Arhat* icons. Though in most of the inscriptions the name *Vardhamāna* is used, he is also known as *Mahāvīra* in some of them. In one inscription he has been referred to as "Destroyer of *Devas*", providing context to the origin and continued development of Jainism with contestations and contradictions to 'Hindu' traditions.<sup>71</sup> Construction of a small pavilion (Maṇḍavikā) for *Vardhamāna* has been attested in an inscription which suggests that construction activities were also taken as religious duty by the laity.<sup>72</sup> The donative activities of the laity suggest not only religious affiliation but also the power to transfer their economic resources for the support of the faith and its propagators.

Apart from him, four icons of *Rṣabhanātha*; one each of *Śantinātha* (four fold icon), *Ariṣṭanemi, Parśvanātha* and *Sumatinātha* are traceable. Ādinātha can be identified with lock of hair, *Parśvanātha* can be recognized through snake canopy and *Neminātha* has figures of *Kṛṣṇa* and *Balarāma* on sides in the sculptures. Presence of *Arhat* icons

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> e.g. Arhatprabha Suri, Haribhadra Suri etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> No. 82.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> No. 97.

further supports existence of a well-established Jaina monastic order as well as strong support provided by the laity. The relationship between the two was the reason for flourishing Jainism in the early centuries of the first millennium CE in Mathurā.

### **Inscriptions:**

Most of the inscriptions have been found from the Jaina mound at Kańkālī Ṭīlā, establishing association between the site and the religion.<sup>73</sup> The inscriptions are normally found on the base of the icons apart from upper part. The epigraphs are in running from right to left of the four side of base of the icon in case of *Sarvatobhadrikā*. The icons can be dated safely on palaeographic and iconographic basis from 2-1 centuries BCE to 2-3 centuries CE. The phonology of the language used in the inscriptions is *Sanskritic* and the morphology is *Prākritic* with some additional 'mixed' peculiarities.<sup>74</sup> The general characteristics of the alphabets are squat and square letters and thickness of the single strokes. But it possesses a number of cursive and relatively modern looking forms side by side with archaic ones. The language of these inscriptions shows the mixed dialect, consisting of partly *Prākrit* and partly of *Sanskrit* word and forms as clearly as the formerly discovered inscriptions. No fixed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> EI, vol. I, II, X, XIX.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> EI, vol. I, ASI, 1983.

formula can be derived to ascertain how it was done. In all probability it was a natural as well as automatic development of the paleography in this hybrid Sanskrit region.<sup>75</sup> According to Lüders:

It seems that origin of the these mixed dialects may be the result of the efforts of half educated people to express themselves in Sanskrit of which they possessed an insufficient knowledge and which they were not in the habit of using largely. All the Jaina inscriptions from Mathura were no doubt composed by the monks who acted as the spiritual directors of the laymen or by their pupils. Though no inscription has been found in which the author is named. The above inference is warranted by the fact that numerous later inscriptions of this type consist the names of Yatis who are said to have composed them or to have written them. The Yatis in the first and second centuries used the vernacular of the day for sermons and exposition of their scriptures and their scriptures were certainly written in Prakrit. It was a matter of course that their attempts to write in Sanskrit were not very successful. This theory receives the strongest support from the fact that the character and the number of the corruptions varies almost in every document and from varies in every single sentence.

Disparities in the inscriptions have been kept as they are to provide the diversity of the forms of words used in the *Sanskrit* and *Prākrit*. There is a general pattern of change in the language from *Prakrit* to *Sanskrit* from  $2^{nd}$  century BCE to  $3^{rd}$  century CE. The Jaina inscriptions show development of *Brāhmī* script from post Mauryan to Kuṣāṇa stage. Most of the inscriptions are in Kuṣāṇa *Brāhmī*.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

The notions of time in the inscriptions are conveyed through the records on specific day and month in a particular season. The years of Kanişka (14 inscriptions), Huvişka (5 inscriptions) and Vasudeva (1 inscription in year 83) are specifically mentioned apart from an inscription in the reign of Kumāragupta (1 inscription in year 113)<sup>76</sup> and the other denoting Vikrama Samvat 1080 (1053 CE)<sup>77</sup>. The last two inscriptions points to the continuity of the tradition of icon donation at the site. The inscription of CE 1023, five years after the attack of Ghazni, suggests that the Jaina establishment at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā might have escaped the destruction otherwise it might not be possible to build it in a short span of time.<sup>78</sup>

Most of the inscriptions mention a general year without any association to particular king or dynasty. The range of donations made in this type of inscriptions varies from year 4 to year 98. Donations are made consistently without much variation across the time period. The iconography of the icons and the script indicate a general time period of the early centuries of the Christian era. So the general year of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> No. 71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> No. 73.

 $<sup>^{78}</sup>$  Two icons VS 1038 (981 CE) and VS 1134 (1077 CE) also attest to the same conclusion.

Smith, V. A. 1994, *Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities from Mathurā*, New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, p. 53, plates XCV, XCVI.

inscriptions can safely be placed in the same period which suggests a thriving state of Jainism at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā.<sup>79</sup>

The remains of a tank at Kańkālī Ţīlā have been found in the later excavations.<sup>80</sup> An inscription from tank complex at the site refers to donation of probably the tank itself by Viśakhamitra in the Kanişka year 5 (83 CE).<sup>81</sup> Mathurā was a drier region in its general topography and geographical features and it is still an arid region. The site of Kańkālī Ţīlā also confirms to the larger pattern of Mathurā. Even if the inscriptional evidence for the donation of the tank is not put forward strongly, the presence of the tank itself points to the facility of providing water for religious and drinking purposes. There are many inscriptional references from other sites in Mathurā in the same time period for construction of wells, tanks and water reservoirs for both religious and irrigation purposes.<sup>82</sup> On the basis of above information, it can be argued that the tank complex was for the use of mendicants.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Though the year has been identified as Kuṣāṇa year (78 CE), the identification is not certain.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Joshi, M.C. and Sinha, A.K. 'Chronology of Mathura- An Assessment', *Puratattva*, vol.10, 1978-79, pp. 39-44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> No. 83. The actual object of donation is not mentioned in the inscription.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> Sharma, R. S. 'Trends in the Economic History of Mathura (300 B.C. – 300 C.E.)' in Srinivasan, Doris Meth (ed.), 1989, *Mathurā: The Cultural Heritage*, New Delhi: AIIS, p.31.

An inscription from Kańkālī Ṭīlā, on a large broken slab indicates about the restoration of a temple.<sup>83</sup> It has been assigned to post Gupta period on the basis of paleographic and iconographic details. The maintenance and restoration activities would have been a part of the religious life of the Jaina laity. This slab provides an example of such an act which would be an opportunity for the laity to support the religious establishment and thus earn good will and merit.

#### **Issues of Audience and Scribes/Engravers:**

The issue of audience in the inscriptions is a bit problematic. While the icons were donated for religious purpose, their presence could be felt by the audience. In the case of inscriptions, the situation is not the same. On the contrary, it might be hard to see the inscription from a certain distance. Running inscriptions on all four sides of the icons or on the back side could not be seen by the people. So it seems quite right to argue that the main objective of the writing on icons was to immortalize the act of donation on the part of individual laity.

Carving and engraving of the inscriptions point to the fact that there were specialist engravers, scribes who performed the task for the laity. For writing might not be a common trait available to all. This whole

<sup>83</sup> No. 72.

process of icon donation shows a rich socio-economic transaction involving different groups and people ranging from religious, social to economic spheres of activity that was all culturally defined in the region of Mathurā. It may not be beyond historical reality to think of professionals who were having more than one skill or all the skills to perform such a task. Therefore, I argue that standard formula for writing may be on perishable material as advised by the mendicants and then copied by engravers. As on the issue of craftsmen and engravers of inscriptions, Cort is of the opinion that these technologies would have operated on a cross-community basis. It is very sustainable to argue that a single craftsman would have provided icons to different religious orientations. So interactions among the levels of material culture are as likely to happen as at the level of religious discourse.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Cort, John E. 2010, *Framing the Jina: Narratives of Icons and Idols in Jain History*, OUP, p. 18.

# <u>Chapter III</u>

# **Religious Archaeology and Architecture:**

#### Jainism at Kankālī Ţīlā

The presence of a *Stūpa* along with two temples was first noticed by Führer in 1890. The site of *Stūpa* was used as a quarry for bricks by local people before the excavation.<sup>85</sup> Both Führer and Bühler regarded it as Buddhist.<sup>86</sup> This assumption was made due to similarities in the plan and architecture of the *Stūpa* to the Buddhist *Stūpas*. The *Stūpa* is represented in the middle portion of the  $Ay\bar{a}gapatas$  with Jaina auspicious symbols like *Nandyavarta*<sup>87</sup>, *Chaitya Vrkṣa*<sup>88</sup> and a pair of fish.  $Ay\bar{a}gapatas$  were found placed on top of oblong platforms on four sides of the *Stūpa* at Mathurā. *Stūpa* worship has vanished from Jaina ritual in present times. However, the *Digambara* continue to install and worship the pillars of glory inside their temple compound. The worshippers who

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> Smith, V. A. 1994, *Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities from Mathurā*, New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India (first published 1901), pp.3-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Folkert, Kendall W. 1989, 'Jain Religious Life at Ancient Mathurā: The Heritage of Late Victorian Interpretation' in Srinivasan, Doris Meth (ed.), *Mathurā: The Cultural Heritage*, New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies, p.110.

Cf. Bühler, WZKM IV, p. 314.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Nandyavarta is an extended Svāstika with nine arms which stand for the nine treasures (Nidhi).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> "Just as the Jambū tree stands in the middle of *Jambūdvipa* so too there stood a *Caitya* tree in the middle of the forest. At the centre of the *Caitya* tree in all four directions there were four *Jina* icons which were ritually bathed by Indra…" Cf. *Ādipurana*, XXII, 186, p.524.

come to the temple regularly do homage to the column with folded palms and circumambulate it three times. Installation of such pillars is an honourable act, thus the donor's name and address is inscribed at the bottom. Flying Jaina monks and celestial beings are shown in veneration of the *Stūpa*. Some kind of celestial creatures are also represented as in adoration to the  $\bar{Ay}\bar{a}gapatas$  which have lower part as animal and upper part as male and female both.<sup>89</sup>

#### Worship of Arhats:

The general formula for writing inscriptions starts with the words "Sidham", "Namo Vardhamānasya" or "Namo Arhantānām". Consistent use of this traditional formula projects veneration and adoration to *Arhats*. There are six inscriptions which refer to the donation of the icons for the worship of *Arhats*.<sup>90</sup> Two inscriptions donated by laywoman Datta and layman Gova, the ironsmith, refer to the establishment of the icons for pleasing *Rşabhanātha*.<sup>91</sup> Utaradasaka, lay hearer (Sravaka), donated an arch on a large rectangular slab, on the advice of Maharakhita, for the temple.<sup>92</sup> A *Mahāvīra* icon found from Kankālī Ţīlā, donated by a

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Smith, V. A. 1994, *Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities from Mathurā*, New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India (first published 1901), p. 15, plate VIII.
 <sup>90</sup> No. 6, 35, 38, 55, 62, 64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> No. 8, 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> No. 34.

collective effort of laywomen, was set up in the Ayatana (*Arhat* temple).<sup>93</sup> *Vardhamāna* has been shown with preceding twenty three *Arhats* and usual two lions in an icon.<sup>94</sup> This is a pointer to the full knowledge of all twenty four *Arhats* to the monastic order which is reflected in the icon. This process of setting up of icons of the *Arhats* for worship denotes strong possibilities of a ritual culture including religious gatherings, gifting necessary items to mendicants and praying, chanting sacred formulas, offering flowers and lighting lamps. For lack of empirical sources can not be taken as lack of religious activity on the part of laity.

Sivayaśa, wife of dancer Phaguyaśa, donated an  $\bar{A}y\bar{a}gapața$  for the worship of *Arhat*. It bears a representation of the *Stūpa* surrounded by perambulation path guarded by a railing, four steps ascending to the gateway which has a highly decorated *toraṇa*, a heavy wreath hangs from the lowest beam of the gateway with two naked dancing women in identical pose on both sides.<sup>95</sup> Here, we can discern that the *Stūpa* as a religious structure was the object of worship and represented *Arhats*. The inscription on famous large standing *Arhat* icon, found from the site of the *Stūpa* at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, donated by female lay disciple Dina on the request of Aya (Arya) Vriddhahasti, a Vacaka (preacher) in the *Koțțiya* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> No. 98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Smith, V. A. 1994, *Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities from Mathurā*, New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India (first published 1901), p. 52, plate XCIV.
<sup>95</sup> No. 38.

Smith, V. A. 1994, *Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities from Mathurā*, New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India (first published 1901), p.19, plate XII.

*gaṇa*, of the year 79 claims the *Stūpa* as built by gods.<sup>96</sup> Hitherto interpretations about the phrase "built by gods" have been with regard to the antiquity of the *Stūpa* and thus in turn proving the antiquity of the religion. However, it may be seen as described in terms of religious veneration to *Arhats* who are considered to be in an exalted state beyond this world and the place for their adoration was made by gods who were under the *Arhats* in Jaina cosmology.<sup>97</sup> This sacred understanding of the *Stūpa* can also be taken as a new dimension in understanding the meaning of the epigraphic writings apart from the earlier interpretations.

An interesting part of the icons on their base is representation of a wheel<sup>98</sup> on a pillar which is venerated by people.<sup>99</sup> An icon of seated *Vardhamāna*, donated by Grhamitra from Kumaragiri, shows a wheel on the base, adored by male and female devotees, some of which are garland

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> No. 53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Semi divine beings, gods and  $N\bar{a}ga$ , Yakṣa are represented as either adoring or venerating to the *Arhats* in the Jaina icons and sculptures from Kankālī Ṭīlā.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> Neither in the inscriptions nor in sculptures from Mathurā is mentioned that the wheel found on them is *Dharmacakra*. However later textual sources depict that in mythology it was  $B\bar{a}hubal\bar{i}$ , the son of *Rṣabhanātha*, who installed the first *Dharmacakra* after the departure of his father.

<sup>&</sup>quot;With the idea that 'no one is to walk over these footprints', (of *Rṣabhanātha*, the first *Tīrthamkara* and the father of *Bharata* and *Bāhubalī*) *Bāhubalī* put over them a jeweled *Dharmacakra*, eight yojana broad and four high. Having spokes it shone like the full sun-disk... the king tended it so abundantly with flowers tucked from all sides that it looked to the towns people like a mountain of flowers."

Cf. Johnson H. (tr.), 1931-1964, Triśaśtiśalākāpuruśacaritra, Gaekwad Oriental Series Baroda (vol. I to V), pp. 186-87.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> No. 92.

bearers along with two children.<sup>100</sup> In another, adoration of a wheel is shown by male and female devotees, fly whisk bearers.<sup>101</sup> A wheel is surrounded by semi divine female figures in the tablet of homage donated by Lavada, an inhabitant of Mathurā. It points to the sacredness of wheel in Jaina ritual culture. Rituals had an important part in Jainism. These worked as a device of interaction between followers and the *Arhats* in the religious and spiritual realms mediated by the mendicants.

#### Veneration of the Stūpa: Icons

The *Stūpa* is venerated by celestial beings in a *toraņa*, found north of the well, near one of the Jaina temple. The obverse of the plate represents two *Suparṇas* (half bird, half man) and by five *Kinnaras* (semi-divine beings) worshipping the *Stūpa*.<sup>102</sup> There would have been six *Kinnaras*, three at each side, for the left part of the plate is mutilated. One *Suparṇa* definitely offers a garland and the other and three *Kinnaras* are represented as bringing jars filled with something which is not comprehensible. The *Stūpa* seems surrounded by the trees. The other two, according to Bühler, are carrying brooms or fans made of branches while Mukherji understands them as carrying a fly-flapper and a lotus

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> No. 93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> No. 96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> Smith, V. A. 1994, *Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities from Mathurā*, New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India (first published 1901), p.22, plate XV.

respectively.<sup>103</sup> To me, it seems arguable that they might be carrying grains or fruits for donation. The second *Kinnara* to the left of the icon supports it strongly. The third one to the left of the icon might be carrying a lotus.

The reverse of the plate shows some kind of procession going to some Jaina sacred place (most possibly the *Stūpa*). The extreme right part of the plate is mutilated but it seems that one man who is carrying something on his shoulder, is followed by a horseman. Then, the second man comes who is carrying something round in shape in his right hand and a container in his left hand. The following horseman is carrying a garland. Following this, comes a covered bullock cart full of people. After this, again a horse rider is followed by an elephant with two people, a mahout and some important persons are sitting behind. All the people are wearing some kind of head-scarf or turban. This description of the *toraṇa* makes the case of a collective ritual worship apparent for the site simultaneously pointing to the Jaina cosmological beliefs.

We find evident traces of veneration to the lost  $St\bar{u}pa$  in a plate by *Suparṇas* and *Kinnaras* by offering flowers, clothes and garland.<sup>104</sup> On a part of another *toraṇa* archway, the sculptures on the obverse and reverse show veneration and offerings by people collectively and a procession or

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> Ibid, p. 23, plate XVI.

journey which most probably seems sacred in nature.<sup>105</sup> Ten (male and female) worshippers are shown in adoration, one having garland in hands, other is holding offerings over her head. *Makara* (Crocodile) is also represented as teased by a man. On the reverse, six people are shown as worshipping the *Stūpa*, one is having some offering in his hands, other is carrying a large garland in posture of offering; three *Pīthikas* are shown with sacred emblem over them. Mythical creatures are represented in a section and people in a cart are shown moving in another.<sup>106</sup> An inscription found near the first temple also indicates some kind of festival.<sup>107</sup> These empirical evidence establish the argument in favour of collective gatherings on the occasion of some important festival and offerings and donations were made to the religious institution with adoration to the *Stūpa* and two temples in which the icons of the *Arhats* might have been installed.

A miniature inscribed votive  $St\bar{u}pa$  found from the Holi gate of Mathurā, represents the  $St\bar{u}pa$  in the same manner as have been found in other representations from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā and the epigraph starts with "adoration to *Arhat Vardhamāna*" in the *Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī*.<sup>108</sup> The use of miniature votive *Stūpa* in Jaina iconography further supports the possibilities of *Stūpa* worship cult at the site. Sculptural representations

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Ibid, p. 27, plate XIX, XX.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> No. 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> Smith, V. A. 1994, *Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities from Mathurā*, New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India (first published 1901), p. 61, plate CIII.

indicate that a worship cult was in vogue at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā and people were enthusiastically participating in ritual festivities to adore and support the sacred institution.

# Veneration of the Stūpa: Avāgapatas

 $\bar{A}y\bar{a}gapata^{109}$ , a plaque of divinity or sacred object of worship, represents *Arhat* icon in *dhyāna mudra* and *Stūpa* or the wheel at the centre (most important part of the  $\bar{A}y\bar{a}gapata$ ), semi-divine or celestial bodies, floral designs, decorative motifs and auspicious symbols of Jainism like *Nandyavarta*<sup>110</sup>, *Svāstika*, a pair of fish, *Caitya Vṛksha*<sup>111</sup> and Lotus symbol. The pillars in the  $\bar{A}y\bar{a}gapatas$  are mounted by elephant or lion and sometimes wheel.<sup>112</sup>

 $<sup>^{109}</sup>$  (a). For further debate and discussion about the term see-

Quintanilla, Sonya Rhie, 2000, Ayagapatas: Characteristics, Symbolism, and Chronology, *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 60, No. 1, pp. 79-84.

<sup>(</sup>b). "Similar stone tablets have been found at Kauśambī; the one from that place is dated in the year 10. Here it has been called  $\bar{A}rya$ -pața (ASIR, 1913-14, pp. 262-63). The word  $\bar{A}yaka$ -khambha in the sense of entrance-pillar has been used in Amarāvatī inscriptions also (Lüders, list of Brahmi inscriptions, nos. 1202-4)."

Cf. Joshi, N. P. 2004, *Mathurā Sculptures*, New Delhi: Sundeep Prakashan, p. 27, Reference 2.

 $<sup>^{110}</sup>$  "Quadruple  $\omega\mbox{-shaped}$  " symbol which is considered sacred in Mathurā Jaina sculptures.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> Generally, it is Aśoka Vṛkṣa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> Smith, V. A. 1994, *Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities from Mathurā*, New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India (first published 1901), pp. 18-19.

*Āyāgapațas* were distinctive feature of Jaina art and architecture which called different nomenclatures were bv of  $Pañcaparamesthipatta^{113}$  and Caturvim's attitivity attachant the state of theperiod.<sup>115</sup> There are twenty eight  $A \bar{y} \bar{a} gapatas$  found from the site of Kankālī Ţīlā. Rhie in her study has rightly divided them into two typesdiagrammatic and pictorial. <sup>116</sup> These were setup horizontally for veneration and some were also displayed vertically in the walls. Some of these are made in such a way that they can be viewed from more than one side while some have clear evidences of reworking on the reverse side.<sup>117</sup> This supports for horizontal display methods and reworking suggests the importance of the donation of the *Ayāgapatas* in Mathurā-Jainism.

Most of the  $\bar{A}y\bar{a}gapatas$  refer to the words "Arhat Pujaye" which can be discerned as the objective of the donations. Arhat Pārśvanātha has been depicted on an  $\bar{A}y\bar{a}gapata$  with seven canopied hooded snake on a high platform, one naked monk each at both sides with their hands clasped in veneration. Winged lions and two elephants are shown on the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> EI, vol. II, Śatrumjaya Inscription, nos. 58, 66, p. 34f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> Ibid, nos. 57, 67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> "An inscription from Mirjāpur village of Mathurā and a fragmentary inscription from Jamālpur Ṭīlā suggest votive stone slabs were used by *Brāhmanic* traditions. Apart from it, the evidence from Amarāvatī *Stūpa* point to similar donative activities, not very clear though."

Cf. Quintanilla, Sonya Rhie; Ayagapatas: Characteristics, Symbolism, and Chronology, *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 60, no. 1 (2000), pp. 86-88. <sup>116</sup> Ibid, pp. 79-84.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> According to Smith, many sculptures were carved out of more ancient ones. The reuse of sculptural material can be attested through several *Toranas* and  $\bar{A}y\bar{a}gapatas$ .

four corners of the  $Ay\bar{a}gapata$ .<sup>118</sup> It substantiates that the votive slabs were donated for the worship of *Arhats*. They might be the object of worship in themselves by invoking the iconry of the *Stūpa* and the *Arhats* for the laity.

The *Nandyavarta* and Lotus symbol can be understood as a symbolic representation of the sacred presence of *Arhat*, particularly when it is depicted upon a pedestal under worship, or when it stands in for the icon or figure of an *Arhat* in a narrative or devotional scene. It is interesting to note that the *Cāraṇa-munis* (accomplished Jaina monks in Jaina mythology who have gained the power to fly through the air) are depicted above the *Kinnaras*, thus suggesting that they surpass celestials in the Jaina hierarchy of beings.<sup>119</sup>

### **Unique Features of Mathurā-Jainism:**

Amohini, female lay disciple, donated a slab representing ornamented Ayavati (identified as a *Yakşi*<sup>120</sup>) surrounded by three female attendents, one with a parasol and other two with a fly whisk and a garland respectively for the worship of *Arhat*. A small child is shown in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> Smith, V. A. 1994, *Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities from Mathurā*, New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India (first published 1901), p. 17, plate X. <sup>119</sup> Ibid, pp. 105-06.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> Yakşas/Yakşīs and Nāgas/Nāgins were important part of the Buddhist and Jaina iconography.

veneration to the *Yakşi*. She is beautifully ornamented and distinguishable by her special clothes from other persons.<sup>121</sup> One important aspect of the inscriptional information of the icon is its donation in the year 42 of king Şodaśa (kṣatrapa) which predates to Kuṣāṇa rule. Thus, this icon can be placed around latter half of the first century B.C.E. The antiquity of the inscription provides valuable information for ritual worship and incorporation of prevailing cults into the ambit of Jainism.

In the same way, Nemeso<sup>122</sup> (*Naigameśa*- goat headed deity) is depicted in a sculptural frieze along with three females and one young child near the left knee.<sup>123</sup> First female is holding a fly whisk and second, third are in *Abhaya mudra*. The third female is also holding a child in her lap. On the obverse of the same, women are shown in a mood of rejoice and celebration. Four are in dancing pose and three are sitting in front of the two standing women in *Abhaya mudra*. One sitting female is having some musical instrument in her hands again suggesting a celebrative event. Divine protection may be sought for the children of the family. According to the legends in the *Kalpasūtra*, *Harināgameşī*, at the command of Indra, transferred the embryo of Mahīvīra from the womb of Devananda, a Brāhmaṇa woman to that of Triśala, a Kşatriya woman.It

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> No. 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> Nemeso (*Naigameśa*) is associated with fertility and child birth in the Jaina sculptural legends. The worship and representation of this deity disappeared after Kuṣāṇa period.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> Smith, V. A. 1994, *Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities from Mathurā*, New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India (first published 1901), p. 25.

may be argued that the Jainas worshipped Naigameśa who was considered capable of seizing children and inflicting disease as is found in the legends engraved on architecture found from Kańkālī Ṭīlā.<sup>124</sup>

Rituals had an important part in Mathurā-Jainism. These worked as a device of interaction between followers and the Arhats in the religious and spiritual realms mediated by the mendicants. An epigraph on the base of the seated icon of Sarasvatī (1'10"-1'3.5"), found south east of Kaṅkālī Ţīlā near the first temple in the year fifty four, records the donations of the icon for pleasing Rishabhanatha by Gova, an ironsmith, son of Siha on the request of preacer Deva who belongs to Koṭṭiya gaṇa, Śrgrha sambhoga, Sthānīya kula and Vaira śākhā; śradhacara of Gaṇi Maghahasti who is pupil of Arya hastahasti. The association of goddess Sarasvatī has been seen in Jainism in the later period in texts as well as sculptural representations. This is the only icon of Sarasvatī found from the site which was donated to please Arhat Ŗṣabhanātha. The donation was made for the welfare of all beings as is the case usually in the other inscriptions.

Jainism at Kańkālī Țīlā had its peculiarities which are not visible in any other site associated with the religion. The above mentioned representation of Ayavati (*Yakşi*) and Nemeso along with a seated icon of Sarasvatī<sup>125</sup>, are some of the special features which were part of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> EI, vol. II, p. 200, pp. 314-319.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> No. 20.

Mathurā-Jainism and show the complexity of it with a shift from the stereotypical textual understanding of Jainism as a homogenous, isolated religion.

Therefore, the Jaina religious life at Mathurā seems atypical of the Jaina tradition especially as described in the textual references. The power of an ancient  $T\bar{i}rtha$  to deflect and shape even an ascetic tradition that comes within its precincts can be seen in the context of the reference to the *Stūpa* being claimed as 'built by gods' in the epigraphs. The *Stūpa* and other evidence indicate a variety of religious interactions between ascetic and laity that propose significance of the role of the lay-community in early Jaina history.<sup>126</sup> This process provides us the lenses through which the fluidity of the tradition can be easily distinguished in the face of the usual assumption about its character that the Jaina tradition forms a kind of unchanging monolith.

Religious architecture is an important indicator of interaction among diverse interests groups, such as worshippers, ritual specialists, patrons, artisans, and so on.<sup>127</sup> Evidence from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā suggests that established norms of later texts do not tell us about the actual practice of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> Folkert, Kendall W. 1989, 'Jain Religious Life at Ancient Mathurā: The Heritage of Late Victorian Interpretation' in Srinivasan, Doris Meth (ed.), *Mathurā: The Cultural Heritage*, New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies, pp.111-112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> Ray, Himanshu Prabha (ed.), 2009, *Archaeology and Text: the Temple in South Asia*, Oxford University Press, p. 4.

the religious beliefs. However, archaeo-architectural and epigraphic sources can provide an alternative for studying the religious practices in a particular region and locale. In this way, the issue of the existence of a flourishing Jaina establishment at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā with the regiospecificities of a powerful presence of female laity as well as nuns, donation of icons,  $\bar{A}y\bar{a}gapațas$ ; and the religiospecificities of *Stūpa* and icon worship, presence of two temple structures and of *Ardhaphalaka* monks needs a reconstruction of Jainism at Mathurā through inscriptional and architectural evidence.

The locality of Jainism in the particular context of Mathurā was peculiar in the matter of a distinct ritual culture which developed around the *Stūpa*, temples and *Arhat* worship. The *Stūpa* was a place for the powerful presence of the Arhats and its veneration would have created a profound effect on the laity through its worship. While the monks were involved in the spiritual worship of the *Arhats*, it was the laity who would have been involved in the material worship of the *Stūpa* and *Arhats*.

The adoration and worship of the  $St\bar{u}pa$  clearly states the presence of a lay cult which was centralized around it. Infact this  $St\bar{u}pa$  reflects lay worship rather than ascetic tradition. It requires significant rethinking of laity's role in the religion and its regional variations.<sup>128</sup> This makes it a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> Folkert, Kendall W. 1989, 'Jain Religious Life at Ancient Mathurā: The Heritage of Late Victorian Interpretation' in Srinivasan, Doris Meth (ed.), *Mathurā: The Cultural Heritage*, New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies, p.111.

special case to argue for regiospecificity of the site along with religiospecificity of Jainism in Mathurā. Changes within the religious tradition, local practices and local cults are more dependent on local laity than the sacral power. For the issues of acceptance are grounded on laity and its belief system. The laity may not be an essentially Jaina community but may be a much broader mixed group which sustained this local cult of *Stūpa* worship at Mathurā. Fluidity of Jaina tradition in Mathurā can be deduced from the fluidity of laity in the region and its impact on the sacred.

# <u>Chapter IV</u>

#### **Donative Process and Female Laity**

#### **Monastic Organisation and Markers of Identity:**

The Pārivrājaka tradition of the Later Vedic Period attests to a dissatisfaction for worldly life. However it was not an organised movement. Earlier opposition between renouncers and householders was turned into association through Jainism and Buddhism. Organisation was the key in this phenomena i.e. monastic order.<sup>129</sup> Dissemination of religion through laity and centralisation of laity through religion are simultaneously overlapping processes and should not be seen as creating a binary in understanding social dimension of religions in ancient India. With this view, the Jaina laity has been perceived as active agent of changes in the socio-religious landscape of ancient India. The laity has been accorded a secondary status by the sacral power and negotiated for the material demands of the mendicants through religious discourse and spiritual development in textual descriptions.<sup>130</sup> The sacred has been

<sup>130</sup> Ahimsa is the principal virtue in giving and receiving in Jainism.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> Chakravarti, Uma, 2006, Everyday Lives, Everyday Histories; Beyond the Kings and Brahmanas of Ancient India, New Delhi: Tulika Books, p. 185.

Findley, Ellison Banks, 2002, 'The Housemistress at the Door – Vedic and Buddhist Perspectives on the Mendicant Encounter' in Patton, Laurei L. (ed.), *Jewels of Authority: Women and Textual Tradition in Hindu India*, OUP.

provided their worldly necessities for social prestige and earning religious merit.

The general terms of reference for the mendicants are *Gani, Ganin, Śradhacara* and *Vācaka*. They are addressed as *Ayya*/ Ārya/ Arrya (venerable). *Koţţiya* (42%, 28 out of 66 identifiable) and *Vāraņa gaņa* (16%, 11/66) are the most important schools of mendicants in the inscriptions. *Śrgrha*/ Śiriya/ Śirika sambhoga is the only one mentioned in the Jaina inscriptions. *Brhmadāsika*/ Bahmadasika and *Sthānīya*/ Thaniya are the most mentioned *Kulās* while *Uchenāgarī*/ Uchchenagari/ Uchenagara and *Āryya Veri*/ Vaira are the most important *Śākhās*.<sup>131</sup> *Brhamadāsika, Sthānīya kulās* and *Uchenāgarī, Āryya Veri Śākhās* are strictly associated with only *Koţţiya gaņa*. Thus prominence of *Koţţiya gaņa* in Jainism at Kaṅkālī Ţīlā is clearly attested through the inscriptional evidence. It seems plausible to argue that most of the mendicants belonged to this school, including the *Ardhaphalaka*<sup>132</sup> monks who were the most numerous in Kaṅkālī Ţīlā.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> Careful analysis of the list.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> This sect seems to belong to 'pre-schism' Jainism. See-Jain, Sagarmal, 1996, *Jaina Dharm Ka Yapniya Sampraday*, Varanasi: Parshvanath Vidyapeeth & Jaipur: Prakrit Bharati Akadami.

Jaini, P. S. 1992, Gender and Salvation—Jaina Debates on the Spiritual Liberation of Women, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.

There is even no glimpse of sectarian divide of *Švetāmbara* and *Digambara* in the inscriptions. Mendicants of *Ardhaphalaka* sect are shown with their *Colapațța* over the left forearm and all others are either completely nude or partially clothed in their representations. They appear in many sculptures with the above mentioned attributes throughout the period of present study. One  $\bar{A}y\bar{a}gapața$  of year 95 depicts two figures, an *Ardhaphdlaka* monk and a female, who are being worshipped by three small figures, one of which is a  $N\bar{a}ga$ .<sup>133</sup> The large female figure stands with her right hand in *Abhayamudrda*. The monk, identified as *Samana Kaņa* in the inscription, probably carries a short whisk broom in his raised right hand, and has a cloth in his left hand to cover the private parts of the body. Above this, the Stūpa has been represented along with two Tīrthamkaras on each side of it. The icons of the four Tīrthamkaras can be identified possibly as of Ŗşabhanātha, Ādinātha, Pārśvanātha and Vardhamāna.

An inscription found from a well in Arjunpur in Mathurā donated by Vraihika, native of Rara (Radha), points to the gift of icon to the *Caturvarņa Samgha*.<sup>134</sup> Laymen and laywomen were also considered a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> Smith, V. A. 1994, *Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities from Mathurā*, New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India (first published 1901), p. 24, Plate XVII.
<sup>134</sup> No. 90.

The general pattern and mentioning of the name of preceptor is on the same lines as we find in Jaina inscriptions. Caturavarna Samgha means four fold order of community namely Samana, Samani, Srāvaka and Srāvikā i.e. monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen in Jainism.

part of the Jaina monastic institution.<sup>135</sup> This concept of four fold monastic order implies the importance attached to the laity for sustenance of the institution and propagation of the faith. Jaina mendicants preached the religious doctrines of the faith to the laity.<sup>136</sup> Sacral authorities were depended on the support provided by the laity while trying to maintain an upper hand in the relationship. The laity provided support for the institution in guest of religio-social status. They played an important role as advisors and directors for setting up icons of the Arhats. Technique of the writing epigraphs was derived from sacral guidance. The formula used in the inscriptions also points to a common source of direction for writing. This source seems certainly to be the preceptors on whose request the donations were made. It suggests that a common formula was prepared to direct the laity for inscribing the text on the icons.<sup>137</sup> A comparison between the Jaina and Buddhist inscriptions of the same time period from Mathurā indicates a remarkable difference in the composition of the epigraphs on the basis of religio-philosophical doctrines.<sup>138</sup> However, in some inscriptions, a little deviation is visible arising out of the individual preceptor's guidance keeping in mind the socio-economic status of the laity in consideration. Here, affluent section of the laity

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> EI, vol. I, p. 380.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> Smith, V. A. 1994, *Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities from Mathurā*, New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India (first published 1901), p. 24, plate XVII.
<sup>137</sup> See Ch. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> EI, vol. I, II, X.

seems to have an indirect and latent influence on the preceptor to provide space for socio-political information in the epigraphs. This is an important indication of the power and persuasive techniques on the part of the laity.

Systematic demarcation of the monastic order in *Gaṇa, Kula* and  $S\bar{a}kh\bar{a}$  points to the well-established Jaina mendicant order in temporal and especially spatial context. If Mathurā as the region and Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā as the site of Jainism are so well established to provide such kind of inscriptional references to the monastic order, it proclaims the continuity of record keeping in terms of names of current and previous generation of teachers and firmly established monastic order supported by mostly mercantile laity.

## **Identity of Donor and the Process of Gifting:**

Unlike the Buddhists, among whom the male ascetic order preceded that of the female, the antiquity of the female mendicant tradition amongst the Jainas goes back at least till the time of the twenty third *Tīrthamkara Pārśva*, though textual references take it right upto the time of *Rṣabha*, the first *Tīrthamkara*.<sup>139</sup> Inspite of the dabate amongst

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> Singh, R.B.P. 1976, *Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

the *Śvetāmbara* and *Digambaras* regarding *Strīmokşa<sup>140</sup>*, the male and female ascetic orders appear to have been established together in Jainism from the very beginning. The *Ācārānga Sūtra* which is one of the earliest Jaina texts lays down rules for ascetic conduct both for monks as well as nuns indicating the existence of the order of nuns.<sup>141</sup> *Kalpasūtra* provides a list of the number of nuns, monks, laymen, and laywomen which are said to be the four components of the Jaina *Samgha (Caturvidha-samgha)* under *Ŗşabha, Nemīnātha, Pārśva* and *Mahāvīra*.<sup>142</sup> Earliest inscriptional evidence for the existence of an order of nuns comes from Mathurā which was a strong center of Jainism in the period 300 B.C.E. – 300 C.E. With the gradual shift of Jainism from Mathurā to west, epigraphic evidence for the existence of the female ascetics from the same becomes available from 7<sup>th</sup> century C.E. onwards.<sup>143</sup>

The religious and social identities of donors and their family relatives are clearly distinguishable from the inscriptions. Religious identity of the laity has been indicated as Sravaka, Sravika and Sisina.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> Jaini, P. S. 1992, Gender and Salvation— Jaina Debates on the Spiritual Liberation of Women, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> Ācārānga Sūtra, pp. XXXVII- XLIV.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> Kalpasūtra, p. XXII.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> Some inscribed icons from Akota and Vasantgarh refer to gifts made by nuns.U.P. Shah, 1959, Skota Bronzes, Bombay, p. 34.

Icon of *Sarasvatī* gifted by nun Isīya (600-620 CE), p.37; *Pārśvanātha* alongwith *Ambikā* gifted by Sāgabhā Āryikā, p.35; *Tritīrthikā* of *Pārśvanātha* gifted by Āryikā Khambilī.

Shah, U.P. 1955-56, Bronze Hoard from Vasantgarh, Lalitkala, no. 2, p. 64.

Females are the dominant part of the donors who were helpful in channelizing the resources with the help of their familial ties into the religious sphere. An inscription of the time of Śodāsa refers to his *Gamjavara* called Mūlavasu as belonging to the Śegrava gotra. It calls his wife as Kauśiki Pakśakā and thereby indicates that she belonged to the kauśika gotra. It suggests that there may have been a tendency of proudly mentioning paternal *gotras* by females after marriage. Laywomen are identified with their kinship ties as a man's wife, daughter, daughter-in-law and mother.

The male donors and relatives of female donors are described as belonging to various professional groups such as Sresthi, iron monger, jeweller, perfumer, ironsmith, *Sārthavāha*, dancer, metal worker, goldsmith, *Vaņika* and ferryman. It suggests a **strong mercantile base** of the Jain laity in Mathurā.<sup>144</sup> It is a characteristic feature of Jaina inscriptions that donors are referred to their family relations incorporating professional information about their relatives, highlighting the importance of social markers of identity.

The strong familial reliance indicates that the nature of gift giving can not be seen as an individual choice in religious arena or an individual

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> It affirms the general pattern of the city in early centuries of Christian era when Mathurā was famous for its economic activities.

See- Sharma, R. S. 'Trends in the Economic History of Mathura (300 B.C. – 300 C.E.)' in Srinivasan, Doris Meth (ed.), 1989, *Mathurā: The Cultural Heritage*, New Delhi: AIIS.

decision in social level. Rather, it was a collective patronage<sup>145</sup> on the part of a family in which resource utilization came out as an individual donation. The donative activity was negotiated with familial ties, religious authority, professional artisans and craftsmen. This whole system was a collective effort on the social plane<sup>146</sup> as in an inscription mentioning donation of sculptured *toraņa* by probably Balahastini (*Śiśinī*); the gift has been made collectively with parents and in-laws.<sup>147</sup>

An  $\bar{A}y\bar{a}gapata$  from Kańkālī Țīlā, donated by Śivamitra, records the donor as belonging to Kuśika family and as wife of Śivamitra. The husband of the donor is mentioned as a black serpant to Pothyas and Śakas. It clearly points to the powerful political section of laity who may be an inhabitant of Mathurā for an enmity with the two groups is shown in such respect.<sup>148</sup> However, it must be kept in mind that this is one of very few examples of the political section of the laity.<sup>149</sup>

Religious donations are an important way to enhance sacred status and assert social identity. Epigraphs tell us that the donations were for the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> Dehejia uses the term 'collective patronage' to define the nature of donative process which resulted in the construction of monuments through the patronage of a community.

Dehejia, Vidya, 1992, 'The Collective and Popular Basis of Early Buddhist Patronage: Sacred Monuments, 100 B.C. – A.D. 250' in Miller, Barbara Stoler (ed.), *The Powers of Art*, Delhi: Oxford University Press.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> Also see 141, 142 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> No. 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> No. 31. For further discussion see EI, vol. 1, 1983.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>149</sup> See no. 11.

worship of *Arhats* in specific cases and for the welfare and happiness of the all being as a general pattern. There are no references for the transfer of merit. Was it a latent understanding for individual merit or a collective merit for the donating family? Or was there a concept of earned merit through the act of gifting in Jainism at Kańkālī Ţīlā at all? It problematizes the concept of accrued merit in the act of donation without any comprehensive data available from the inscriptions.

Dedications including consecration of religious shrines (belonging to various orders and having varied ground plans and elevations) were made by persons belonging to different strata of the society.<sup>150</sup> Women were allowed to take part in the religious activities. Certain inscriptions refer to religious acts performed by  $Sr\bar{a}vik\bar{a}s$  (female lay disciples).<sup>151</sup> Female pupils ( $Sisin\bar{s}/Amtev\bar{a}sin\bar{s}$ ) are mentioned in a large number of inscriptions.<sup>152</sup> Even courtesans were allowed to make religious donations. An instance of establishing a shrine of *Vardhamāna*, a hall of homage ( $\bar{A}y\bar{a}gasabh\bar{a}$ ), a cistern and a stone slab in an *Arhat* temple ( $\bar{A}y\bar{a}tana$ ) by a courtesan (*Gaņikā*), who was a daughter of another courtesan and also a lay disciple of certain ascetics (*Samana/Sāvikā*), may indicate that courtesan possessed wealth and also some social position.<sup>153</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>150</sup> EI, vol. I, II, X.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> EI, vol. II, pp. 198-200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> Vogel, J. P. 1971, Archaeological Museum of Mathura, Delhi, p. 185.

## **Powerful Presence of Females: A Gender Study**

The most significant aspect of Mathurā-Jainism that gets manifested through our sources and for that reason needs to be incorporated into the analysis is that of the very visible presence of women. Icon worship, rich donative activities (both  $Ay\bar{a}gapatas$  and icons) show us a vigorous lay worship cult at Kankālī Tīlā, highlighting the importance of the laity, especially of female lay devotees and female preceptors in Jainism at Mathurā. From the study of inscriptions we have found that the terms used to refer to the religious identity of female donors and female preceptors are *Śravikā*/*Sravika* (female lay hearer) and Śiśinī/ Śiśīni/ Sisini (female disciple), Śradhacari/ Ṣadhacari/ Sadhacari (female companion/ female convert) respectively. Both donors and preceptors are addressed with the general term of respect as Ayya/  $\bar{A}yya/\bar{A}ry\bar{a}$ . Female donors are represented as wife, mother, daughter, daughter-in-law and sister in the donative records. It is interesting to note that when laywomen had female preceptors, the latter ultimately had male preceptors in cases where the preceptor's preceptors are successively mentioned.<sup>154</sup> This suggests that ordination of females into the monastic order was through monks. Females were given the title of advanced lay women. Female mendicants would have accompanied by male mendicants on journey. Epigraphic sources suggest that they could not initiate females or males into the order but could influence them to join

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> EI, vol. I, II, III, X, XIX.

the monastic order and perform religious donative activities. They took penances under the supervision of male monks (Gani/ *Acārya*).

Of all the epigraphic donations (98), 57 are identified on the basis of gender of the donor. Female donors consist of a remarkable 82% (47/57) of the total while male donors constitute only 18% (10/57). Rhie identifies 11 (73%) female and 4 (27%) male donors out of 15 identifiable on the basis of gender study for *Ayāgapatas*.<sup>155</sup> Lay women have female preceptors in 50% (17) cases out of 34 recognisable for both laity and preceptors. The high percentage of female donors and female preceptors attests to more liberal views towards female participation in both religious and social sphere in Jainism in comparison to other religious traditions like Buddhism in the same time period. This must be seen in contrast to all available Buddhist inscriptions from Mathurā where more than fifty per cent of the inscriptions were donated by monks.<sup>156</sup> The inscriptional evidence clearly suggests that Jainism provided more space to women in religious field and thus in turn exploited the potential section of women in the laity through their help as active agents in the societal process as they represent variant profiles. In all probability, women in Jainism had comparatively more powers and freedom to work at religious plane at will than in the Buddhism in Mathurā. Thus, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>155</sup>Quintanilla, Sonya Rhie, 2000, 'Ayagapatas: Characteristics, Symbolism, and Chronology', *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 60, no. 1, pp. 79-137.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>156</sup> For further discussion, see- Schopen, Gregory, 1984, 'Filial Piety and the Monk in the Practice of Indian Buddhism: A Question of 'Sinicization' Viewed from the Other Side', *T'oung Pao*, Second Series, vol. 70, Livr. 1/3, pp. 110-126.

evidence for such a strong female support and participation for Jainism in the epigraphs needs a further problematization of the available sculptural sources in order to glean the implications of a practiced religion.

Vijayaśiri, an old woman donated an icon of *Vardhamāna* on the request of her female preceptor (*Gaņin*). Her family relations are elaborately described in the inscription.<sup>157</sup> Her father, husband, son and grandson are mentioned, indicating a strong tendency of mentioning familial ties in the process of sacred donations. A fascinating aspect of this donative activity is that she fasted for a whole month before making this donation. It hints at the religious practices of the Jainism at Mathurā. Fasting as a religious act may indicate a desire to attain spiritual merit through purification of the body.

The donative activities of the laity suggest not only religious affiliation but also the power to transfer their economic resources for the support of the faith and its propagators. Every single donative record reminds us the importance attached to gift giving in the religio-cultural context of Jainism and Mathurā keeping in mind the other competing belief systems and their influencing power.

Female presence in the inscriptions denotes a strong role played by women in constitution of the laity and in worship of icons along with donations to the religious structures. Nuns also played an important role

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>157</sup> No. 68.

in the formation of monastic order, propagation of the faith and initiation of the laity into the faith. It was essential for the sustenance of religion and the material demands of the mendicants. This whole process was the most important feature for a high thriving trope of Mathurā-Jainism in the early centuries of the first millennium C.E.

## <u>Chapter $\mathcal{V}$ </u>

## **Conclusion**

A broad and fuller picture of the social dimension of circa one millennium (500 BCE – 500 CE) in religious sphere demands a much more complicated web of understanding of religious traditions than whatever has been made available to us up till now; some of which are still continuing, some we have lost in the course of time and about some we may have hints only, which too are not very comprehensive. Thus religious processes in ancient Indian plane were working in multi dimension trajectories which can be traced only when diversity of supporting groups can be acknowledged and problematized from the angles of religious affiliation, as different ranges (from devotion to dissent) of proximity to the religion were working simultaneously contrasting and conflicting with one another.

This archaeo-architectural study (inscriptional and sculptural) has tried to present an alternative view of the time (circa 300 BCE – 300 CE) for Jainism as a religion in practice in comparison to the textual sources which offer a homogenous, static and one sided telescopic sacral view as discussed earlier which may not be the reality of the time. It has explored the regiospecificity of Kańkālī Ţīlā and the religiospecificity of Jainism in Mathurā in a broader cultural context. It is evident from a careful understanding arrived through the available source material that as a practiced religion Jainism had a clear ritual basis for the worship of the *Arhats* and the *Stūpa* with two temples found at the site of Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā. The emphasis of this work has been to seek the concerns of the Jaina perception of laity in the context of a broader social perspective. The main theme has been to provide an analytical alternative for studying laity and its role in the religious tradition by a proper understanding of evidence.

Rich donative activities show a vigorous lay worship cult at Kańkālī Țīlā, highlighting the importance of laity. We also deconstruct the hegemonic view of icon worship being the prerogative of Buddhism and later 'Hinduism' and reconstructs the same in equal and even more in favour of Jainism in the time period as a ritual practice of the religion. We have tried to provide an analysis of inscriptional material from the Kańkālī Ţīlā with regard to icon worship, donative practice in Jainism and role of preceptors as well as highlight the importance of female lay devotees and female preceptors in Jainism and its implications.

The purpose of extensive gift giving in the early societies was three fold. It served a magico-religious function where the gift was symbolic of communion with the supernatural. Secondly, the donor and recipient conferred status on each other and thirdly, gift giving acted as a means of exchanging and redistributing economic wealth.<sup>158</sup> Out of all the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup> Thapar, Romila, 2006, *Ancient Indian Social History: Some Interpretations*, New Delhi: Orient Longman (first published 1978), pp. 109-111.

donations looked at, the majority are identified on the basis of the gender of the donor, wherein female donors preponderate as compared to male donors as compared to the other prevailing religions in Mathurā. The inscriptional evidence clearly suggests that Jainism provided more space to women in the religious field. Nuns would have played an extremely significant role in giving religious orientation to the laity and would have inspired many to join the monastic order. It can be safely argued that this would have led to social reproduction of the monastic order which was facilitated by nuns up to a great extent. Reynell expresses the same views that Jaina laywomen not only predominated in almost all domains of religious practices but were also the principal agents of its transmission and reproduction. Most of the donations made by the female laity were at the request of Jaina female preceptors. Thus Jaina religious women attained public prominence and were recognized as teachers in a way that would have scarcely been possible in Brāhmanical traditions. The material support from as well as through females sustained Jainism in Mathurā.<sup>159</sup>

Rituals operated as a device of interaction between followers and the *Arhats* in the religious and spiritual realms mediated by the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>159</sup> Reynell, J. 1991, 'Women and the Reproduction of the Jaina Communiy' in Carrithers, Michael and Humphrey, Caroline (eds.), *The Assembly of Listeners*, Cambridge University Press, pp.41-65.

mendicants. There are references from the sculptural representations that a worship cult was in vogue at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā and people were enthusiastically participating in ritual festivities to adore and support the sacred institution.

Locality of Jainism in particular context of Mathurā was peculiar in the matter of a distinct ritual culture which developed around the *Stūpa*, temples and Arhat worship. The devotional worship of the Tirthamkaras was from the very earliest times an important element in Jainism.<sup>160</sup> The *Stūpa* was a place for powerful presence of the *Arhats* and its veneration would have created a profound effect on the laity through worship. While the monks were involved in the spiritual worship of the *Arhats*, it was the laity who would have involved in the material worship of the *Stupa* and the Arhats. It is plausible to argue on the basis of these evidences that a regional cult with its specific features was flourishing at Kankālī Ţīlā in Mathurā in the period of study. Fluidity of the Jain tradition in Mathurā can be deduced from the fluidity of laity in the region and its impact on the sacred. The same famous inscription of Kusāna period, donated by Śravikā Dinā, that refers to the 'Vodva Stūpa' 'built by gods' which we discussed earlier in the second chapter also says that the icon of Arhat Nandiāvarta (18<sup>th</sup> *Tīrthamkara*) was donated on the '*Nirvartanā*' (direct teaching or advice) of the Vācaka Aya Vrdhahastī. This information is also equally important because it provides us a firm ground to say that the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>160</sup> Dundas, Paul, 1992, *The Jains*, London and New York: Routledge, p. 174.

process of establishing icons of Arhats was supported and sustained by the mendicants at the site in Mathurā.<sup>161</sup>

Jainism as unitary, pessimistic, isolated, pan Indian religious tradition has been countered through the evidence. Textual Jainism as the pure and regional; and local practised Jainism as degenerated form; a by-product of 'other' influences has been questioned. Recent studies have also begun to call into question whether our assumptions about an 'original' austere ascetic core of Jainism or Buddhism, based on the textual sources, are actually supported by historical evidence (Folkert 1989; Schopen 1992).<sup>162</sup> The present study provides Mathurā-Jainism as a flourishing religious tradition through donative practices, ritual culture and cult of *Stūpa* with laity playing the most important part in the patronage process and sustenance of the religion. Jainism at Mathurā had its peculiar features in the form of *Stūpa* and icon worship and especially  $Ay\bar{a}gapața$  donations. It is plausible to conclude on the basis of the evidence that a regional variation of Jainism with its specific features was flourishing at Kańkālī Ţīlā in Mathurā during the period of the study.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup> EI, 1983, vol. II, no. XX, New Delhi: The Archaeological Survey of India (first published 1894), p.204

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>162</sup> Cf. Orr, Leslie C. 'Jain and Hindu "Religious Women" in Early Medieval Tamilnadu' in Cort, John E. (ed.), 1998, *Open Boundaries: Jain Communities and Cultures in Indian History*, State University of New York Press, p.206.

S N		PROVENA NCE/ TIME	DONOR	SEASON / PURPOS E	SOCIAL IDENTITY	PRECEPT OR (ON REQUEST OF)	PRECEPTOR'S IDENTITY	GAŅA/ SAMB HOGA	KULA	ŚĀKH Ā	REF.
1	Small squated Vardhmāna-2'1" by 1'7"/On pedestal	West of Kankālī Ţīlā, at second Jaina temple/Kani şka year 5	Khuḍā		Consort of Sețhi,daughter of Devapāla	Bamhadāsika		Koţţiya	Brahmad āsika	Ucenāg arī	EI, vol. 1, 1983
2	Four fold Tīrthaṁkara (Sarvatobhadrikā)- 2' by 9" square/On four faces of pedestal	Same place/Year 15	Kumarmitā	Third month of summer, on the first day/	First wife of Sethi Veņi, mother of Bhatțisena	Vasulā	Female pupil of Saṅgamikā, female pupil of Jayabhūti		Mehika		EI, vol. 1, 1983
3	Four naked standing Jina icon of Śantinātha (Caturmukha)-2'8" by 1'2"/On pedestal	Same place/Year 19	Not known	Fourth month of rainy season, on the tenth day/	Wife of Śuchila	Mātridina	Pupil of Baladina	Kottiya/ Śrgrha	Ţhāniya	Aryya Verī	EI, vol. 1, 1983

4	Large naked standing Jina-7'2" by 2'3"/On pedestal	Same place/Year 20	Mittrā	Third month of summer, on the 17th day/for the welfare and happiness of all beings	First wife of Haggudeva, daughter in law of iron-monger Vādhara, daughter of Jayabhaţţi(Mānikara of Khoţţamitta)	Sīha	Preacher, pupil of Datta, śradhacara of gaṇin Pāla, pupil of Ogha, pupil of gaṇin(female) Jamitra	Koţţiya/ Śrgrha	Brahmad āsiya	Uccenā garī	EI, vol. 1, 1983
5	Vardhamāna statue-1'11" by 9"/On pedestal, left side & back	Same place/Year 25	Rayagini	Third month of winter, on 20th day/Gift of Vasuya(?	Daughter in law of Jabhaka(from Nāndigiri), wife of Jayabhaa	Graha	Female pupil of Sadhi, pupil of Balatrata	Koţtiya	Brahmad āsika	Ucenāg arī	EI, vol. 1, 1983
6	Large statue of Vardhamāna-3'6" by 9'/on base	Same place/Year 29	Bodhinandi	Second month of winter, on 13th day/for worship of Arhat	Married, daughter of Grahahāthi	Grahaprakiv a	Gaṇin, pupil of Data	Vāraņa	Puśyamit rīya		EI, vol. 1, 1983

7	Small seated Vardhamāna-2'6" by 1'6"/ On pedestal & sides	Same place/Year 35	Kumārabhați	Third month of rainy season, on 10th day/	Dealer in perfume, gift made on request of his mother Kumaramitrā who is female pupil of	Baladina		Koţţiya/ Śirika	Sthanīya	Vairā	EI, vol. 1, 1983
8	Large figure of Ŗşabha-2'6" by 9' high/On pedestal	Same place/Huviş ka year 40(60?)	Dattā	Fourth month of winter, on 10th day/for pleasing Ŗşabha	Wife of ka…pasaka	Kharņņa	Gaṇin, pupil of Vṛddhahasti	Koţţiya	Sthānikīy a	Aryya Veriya	EI, vol. 1, 1983
9	Large seated Jina- 3'5" by 2'10"/On pedestal	Same place/Huviş ka year 44	Not known	Third month of summer, on 2nd day/		Nāgasena	pupil of Haginaṁdi	Vāraņa	Aryya Cețiya	Harīta mālaka ḍhi	EI, vol. 1, 1983
10	Small squatted Jina-2'7" by 2'2"/On place	Same place/Year 45	Not known	Third(?) month of rainy season, on 17(?) day	Daughter in law of Buddhi, Of Dharmavṛaddhi						EI, vol. 1, 1983

11	Quadraple icon of four erect naked standing Jina-2'8" by 1'/ On four faces	Same locality/Yea r 40	Sihadatā		First wife of village headman jayanāga, daughter in law of village headman Jayadeva	Akakā	Female pupil of Nandā and Balavarmā, śraddhāchari of Mahanandi, female pupil of Dati	-	Arya hațikiya	Vajana grī	EI, vol. 1, 1983
12	Small seated Jina with four worshippers of on each side of a wheel (stūpa) fill up the centre-1'8" by 1'2"/On pedestal	Same place/Year 86		First month of winter, on the 12th day	Daughter of Dasa, wife of Priya	Vasulā	Pupil of Saṅgamikā		Mehika		EI, vol. 1, 1983
13	Small squatted Jina-1'11" by 1'10"/on pedestal	Same place/Year 87	Mittra	First month of summer, on 20th(?) day		Kumāranand i				Uccena gara	EI, vol. 1, 1983
14	Small seated Usabha(Ŗṣabhanāt ha) 2'6" by 1'7"/On pedestal	Same place/not known	Gulhā		Daughter of Varmā, wife of jayadāsa	Śāmā	Female pupil of Gāḍaka, pupil of Jeśṭahasti	Koţţiya	Brahmad āsika	Uccenā garī	EI, vol. 1, 1983
1:	Seated Jina-1'5" by 1'3"/On broken base	Same place/not known	Not known					Koțțiya			EI, vol. 1, 1983

	Small seated Vardhamāna-2'7" by 1'6"/ On pedestal	Same locality/not known	Not known		Daughter of kala, sister of Sinavişnu	Śati					EI, vol. 1, 1983
17	Sculptured Toraṇā-9'2" by 1'/On upper portion	Kaṅkālī Ţīlā/not known	lahastinī( Balahastinī)	Not know	Lay pupil, donation made with parents, mother in law and father in law						EI, vol. 1, 1983
18	Large seated Jina- 4'4" by 3'2"/On base	South east of Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā/Kanişk a year 7	Sandhika's sister- Aryya Jayā, Aryya Goshțha	First monthof winter, on 10th day		Aryya Sandhika	Pupil of ganin Buddhaśiri	Aryyod elikiya		Arya Nāgab hītikiy a	EI, vol. 1, 1983
19	Seated Vardhamāna-3'6" by 2'2"/On base	Near Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā/ year 22	Not known	Second month of summer, on 2nd day				Vāraņa	Petivāmi ka		EI, vol. 1, 1983
20	Seated icon of Sarasvatī-1'10" by 1'3.5"/On base	South east of Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, near Temple 1/ year 54	Gova	Fourth month of winter, on 10th day/for pleasing Ŗşabha	ironsmith, son of Sīha	Deva	Preacher, śraddhacara of gaņi Māghahasti, pupil of Hastahasti	Koțțiya / Srīgŗah a	Sthāniva	Vairā	EI, vol. 1, 1983

21	Sculptured panel- Stūpa & four worshippers, one a Nāga-1'10' by 1'8"/On upper part	i lia,/ yeal	Not known	Second month of summer, on 18th day	Daughter of Grahadata, wife of Dhanahathi	Dhāmathā	Female pupil of Araha	Koţţiya	Ţhāniya	Vairā	EI, vol. 1, 1983
22	Incised on a broken panel-1'2" by 1'5"	Not known/not known	Not known					Vāraņa	Kaniyasi ka		EI, vol. 1, 1983
23	Seated Jina-4'4" by 3'3"/On base	North east of mound near first temple/Vāsu deva year 80	Not known	First month of rainy season, on 12th day	Daughter of, daughter in law of Saṁghanandhi						EI, vol. 1, 1983
24	12"/middle portion	Near first temple/not known	Not known	First month of rainy season, on 13th day/indic ating some festival							EI, vol. 1, 1983
25	Small standing Jina-8" by 10"/On base	Near first temple/not known	Chīri		Son of Dāsa						EI, vol. 1, 1983

26	Seated Vardhamāna-2'4" by 1'7"/On base	Near first temple/not known	Not known					Ţhāniya			EI, vol. 1, 1983
27	Standing Vardhamāna(icon destroyed)-1'4" by 11"/on base	Not known/year 20	Dinā		Female lay hearer,of Dātila, housewife of Matila, mother of Jayavāla,Devadāsa, Nāgadina	Saṅghasiha		Koţţiya/ Śirika	Ţhāņiya	Veri	EI, vol. 1, 1983
28	Seated ling/on	Not known/year 22		First month of summer, onday	Wife of Sarthavaha (carvan leader)	Mātridina					EI, vol. 1, 1983
29	Jina figure1'10" by 9"/on base	Not known/year 47	Not known		Daughter in law of lay hearer Puśa, housewife of Giha, mother of Puśadina	Sena	teacher, pupil of Ohanadi		Pativami ka		EI, vol. 1, 1983
30	standing Jina-1' by 2'7"/on base	Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā/not known	Not known								EI, vol. 1, 1983
31	Tablet of homage- 1'7" by 2'6"/on flat slab	Kaṅkālī Ţīlā/not known	Śivamitrā		Belongs to Kauśika family, wife of Gotiputra, a black serpent for Poţhyas & Sakas						EI, vol. 1, 1983
32	Seated Jina-3' by 2'1"/on base	West of Temple 2/not known	Not known					Vāraņa/ Śirikiya	Aya Hāṭṭiya	Vajanā gari	EI, vol. 1, 1983

Tablet of homage- 2'10" by 2"6"/on33border of a carved square panel	west of Temple 2/not known	Naṁdighośa		Te vaņika(Traivarņika)- inhabitant of? Or merchant?, son of Te rusa Naṁdika	EI, vol. 1, 1983
An arch-4'2" by 34 9"/on a large rectangular slab	Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā/not known	Utaradāsaka	Not known/ for temple	Lay hearer, son of Vachī Māharakhita	EI, vol. 2, 1894
A slab(Āyavati- deity) bearing representation of a royal lady, surrounded by attendents, one with parasol-3'2" by 3'8"/on slab	Kaṅkālī Ţīlā/ Śoḍāsa year 42	Amohini	Not known/ for worship of Arhat	Koci(Kautsī),female lay disciple, wife of lay disciple Pāla(son of Hariti), mother of Pālaghośa, Poţhaghośa and Dhanaghośa	EI, vol. 2, 1894
36 A small statue/on top	Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā/not known	Not known			EI, vol. 2, 1894
A broken sculpltured toraṇa- 1'2" by 8"/on backside	Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā/not known	Dhāmaghośā		Female disciple Jayasena	EI, vol. 2, 1894

38	and gates, two <b>Ţ</b>	Čaňkālī Tlā∕not nown	Sivayaśā	Not known/ for worship of Arhat	Wife of dancer Phaguyaśa			EI, vol. 2, 1894
39	of a small naked male (Nemeso) & T	∑aṅkālī īlā/not nown	Not known					EI, vol. 2, 1894

	A large slab, entirely in Sanskrit/on its fragments-1' by 8"	Kańkālī Ţīlā/not known	Not known							EI, vol. 2, 1894
41	Āyāgapaṭa-2'10' by 2'10"/on base	Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā/not known	itā		Inhabitant of Mathurā, wife of Lavāḍa					EI, vol. 2, 1894
42	Small squatted Jina-1'6" by 1'2"/on pedestal	Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā/not known	Īdrapāla		Son of Gotī(mother)					EI, vol. 2, 1894
	A sculptured panel/on lower border	Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā/not known	Jīvanādā							EI, vol. 2, 1894
44	Squatted Jina-1'1" by 1'7"/on base	Kańkālī Ţīlā/year 4	(with Grahaceta & Grahadasa)	First month of summer, on 20th day		Sathisihā	Female pupil of Puśyamitra, śradhacarī of Sihamitra	Vāraņa	Arya Hāṭṭakiya	EI, vol. 2, 1894
45	Squatted Jina-2' by 1'/on base	Kańkālī Ţīlā/year 5	Not known	Fourth month of summer, on 5th day				Koțțiya		EI, vol. 2, 1894

46	Quadraple icon of four satnding Jina- 1' by 8"/on base	Kańkālī Ţīlā/year 18	Māsigī	Fourth month of summer, 3rd day/for the welfare of all beings	Mother of Jaya		Gaņin	Koţţiya	Vacchali ya	EI, vol. 2, 1894
47	Small standing Aristanemi-2' by 10"/On base	Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā/year 18	Mita Śiri							EI, vol. 2, 1894
48	Small squatted Jina-2' by 1'1"/ on base	Kańkālī Ţīlā/year 31	Grahaśiri	First month of rainy season, 10th day	Daughter of Buddi, wife of Devila	Godāsa	Gaņin	Koţţiya	Ţhāniya Aryya Verī	EI, vol. 2, 1894
49	Quadraple icon of four standing naked Jinas-8" by 11"/on base	Kaṅkālī Ţīlā/year 32	Jitāmitrā	Fourth month of winter, on 2nd day	Daughter of Ritunandi. Wife of Buddhi, mother of a perfumer	Aryya Nandika	Gaņi	Vāraņa		EI, vol. 2, 1894
50	Large squatted Jina-1'5" by 1'10"/on base	Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā/year 50	Not known							EI, vol. 2, 1894

51	A broken icon-8" by 1'6"/on base	Kańkālī Ţīlā/year 52	Goțțika	First month of winter, on 25th day/for the welfare and happiness of all creatures	Family name- Śura, worker in metal, son of Śramaņka	Aryya Divita	Preacher, convert (sadhacaro)of gaṇi Aryya Maṅguhasti and pupil of Aryya Ghastuhasti		Sthānikiy a	EI, vol. 2, 1894
52	Sitting Jina/on upper part of base	Kańkālī Ţīlā/year 62	Atapika Grahabala	Second month of rainy season, on 5th day		Aya Karkuhastha		Vāraņa		EI, vol. 2, 1894
53	Large standing figure of Jina(symbol of Nandiāvarta- 18th Tīrthaṁkara)- 2'3" by 1'8"/on left portion of base	Kaṅkālī Ţīlā, at Vodva Stūpa( built by gods)/year 79	Dinā		Female lay disciple	Aya Vraddhahas ti	Preacher	Koțțiya	Vairā	EI, vol. 2, 1894

Seated Jina-2'5" 54 by 1'10"/upper part	Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā/year 81	Grahaśiri	First month of rainy season, 20th day		Datā	Female pupil of Ayikā Jīvā			EI, vol. 2, 1894
Sitting 55 Vardhamāna-1'8" by 2'2"/on base	Kańkālī Ţīlā/year 93	Not known	Not known/ for worship of Arhat	Daughter of goldsmith Deva	Nandi	Gaņi			EI, vol. 2, 1894
Squatted Jina- 56 1'10" by 2'4"/on base	Kańkālī Ţīlā/year 98	Not known	First month of winter, on fifth day				Koțțiya	Ucanag arī	EI, vol. 2, 1894
57 Standing Jina-3'6" by 2'6"/on base	Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā/in some year of Huvişka	Not known							EI, vol. 2, 1894
Broken standing 58 Jina-1'8" by 1'1"/on base	Kańkālī Ţīlā/ Huvișka year 29(?)	Not known			Nagadata	Samana			EI, vol. 2, 1894

59	Sitting Jina-1'6" by 2'1"/on base	Kańkālī Ţīlā Huvişka year 47(?)	Sena			Ohanandi			EI, vol. 2, 1894
60	Squatted figure of Raşabha-2' by 1'8"	Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā/not known	Not known			Sāditā	Female pupil of dhuka, preacher	Nāḍika	EI, vol. 2, 1894
61	Squatted figure of Parśva-1'2" by 1'9"/left side of upper part of base	Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā/not known	Not known			Gośaka	Preacher, pupil of gaṇi Uggahini	Sthānikiy a	EI, vol. 2, 1894
62	Beautiful sculptured Āyāgapaṭa, central figure is a seated Jina 2'1" by 1'1"/on base	Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā/not known		Not known/ for worship of Arhats	Son of vānika Sihaka and Kośikī				EI, vol. 2, 1894
63	Sculptured Āyāgapaṭa-2'10" by 3'11"/on base	Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā/not known	Not known		Wife of Śiva Ghośaka				EI, vol. 2, 1894

64	Sculptured Āyāgapaṭa-2'7" by 2'4"/on base	Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā/not known	Acalā	Not known/ for worship of Arhats	Daughter of Malaṇa, daughter in law of Bhadruyaśa, wife of Bhadranadi				EI, vol. 2, 1894
65	Squatted Vardhamāna-1'11" by 1'6"/on base	Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā/not known	Dinā		Daughter of Vajaranadya, daughter in law of Vādhiśiva, house wife of Baḍimasi(?)				EI, vol. 2, 1894
00	A large slab(Vardhamān a)-2'10" by 2'1"/on base	Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā/not known	Jāyā	hanninee	Daughter of Navahasti, daughter in law of Grahasena mother of Śivasena, Devasena, Śivadeva	Arya Sandhi	Female pupil of Aryya Balattrata and Arrya Bahma	Uchena garī	EI, vol. 2, 1894
67	Quadraple icon of four standing naked Jinas-2' by 8''/on base	Kaṅkālī Ţīlā/not known	Not known						EI, vol. 2, 1894

A Broken icon of 68 Vardhamāna10" by 1'4"	Kaṅkālī Ţīlā/year 50(?)	month)	Second month of winter, on 1st day	Daughter of Babu, first wife of Rajyavasu, mother of Devila, paternal grand mother of Viṣṇubhava,	ghakarab a	Gaṇin, pupil of Ayya Jinadasi, pupil of Samadi Va Dinnara(dead preceptor)	Vāraņa / Śrigŗah a		Saṁkā siyā	EI, vol. 2, 1894
large quadraple icon of four 69 standing naked Jinas-1'7" by 9"/on base	Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā/not known	Sthirā	/for the welfare and happiness of all creatures	Daughter of Varanahasti and Devi, daughter in law of Mośini, first wife of Kutha	Arya Kśeraka	Preacher, pupil of Aryya Mihila, pupil of Ayya Jeştahasti	Koṭṭiya	Bamhadā sia	ucenag arī	EI, vol. 2, 1894
70 Small statue/on base	Kańkālī Ţīlā/year 57	Not known	Third month of winter, on 13th day							EI, vol. 2, 1894
Large sitting Jina- 71 3'8" by 2'7"/on base	Kańkālī Ţīlā/year 113, in the reign of 'Paramabhaţţ araka' Kumāragupt a	Śāmāḍhyā		Daughter of Bhaṭṭibhava, housewife of ferryman Grahamittrapālita	Dātilācāyya		Koţţiya		Vidyād harī	EI, vol. 2, 1894

72	Large broken slab(for Building /restoration of a temple)/on back side	Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā/post Gupta period	Not known						EI, vol. 2, 1894
73	Quadraple icon of four sitting Jinas (Vardhamāna), starts and ends with Om-2'5" by 1'3"/on base	Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā/1023 C.E.	Thaṁbhaka & Pappaka		Laymen from Navagrāma(place), Vikrama Saṁvata 1080	Ācārya Vijayasinga	pupil of Bhāāvadeva, pupil of Jinadeva Sūri (dead preceptors)		EI, vol. 2, 1894
74	Icon of Vardhamāna with 3 female and 3 male figures	Kaṅkālī Ţīlā/year 84	Ōkharikā	Third month of rainy season, on 25th day	Wife of a householder, daughter of Damitra & Dattā	Satyasēna & Dharavradhi		Koţţiya	EI, vol. xix, 1927- 28,ASI,1 983
75	Jaina pedestal	Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā/Kaniṣka year 5	Brahmadāsi						ASI-AR, 1871- 72,A.C., no.2, plate13

76	Four Jina figures with Śrīvatsa mark on their chest, 3 with halo & 4th with a broken Naga hood, human devotees facing both ways, a square mortice on top of stone/on 4 corners	Kaṅkālī		Fourth month of winter, on 20th day		Mahilata	Koţţiya	Bamhadā sia	uchenāg	ASI-AR, 1871- ;72,A.C., no.3, plate13
77	Jaina pedestal	Kańkālī Ţīlā/Kanişka year 9	Not known							ASI-AR, 1871- 72,A.C., no.4, plate13
78	Elephant capital/ in the reign of Huvişka	Kańkālī Ţīlā/kaniska year 39	Rudra Dāsa		Śreșțhī, son of Shiva Dāsa (Śreșțhī)					ASI-AR, 1871- 72,A.C., no.9, plate14
79	large stnading Jina/	Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā/ year 48, Huvişka	Not known					Brahmad asi	uchena gari	ASI-AR, 1871- 72,A.C., no.15, plate14

83	Inscription from tank complex	Kaṅkālī Ţīlā/kanişk a year 5	Wife of Vāsuka(son of Kṛṣṇabala), daughter of Budhila			Koţţiya	Brahma dāsi	Ucenāg ari	Dated Kushan a Inscripti on, Satya Sharva, 1993. no.21
82	Standing icon of Mahāvīra, destroyer of Devas/in the reign of Vāsudeva	Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā/kanişkaKṣema year 98	Daughter of Pravaraka, daughter in law of perfumer Varuna_Mitrasa	Devadata	Gaņin		Paridhasi ka	Petaput rika	ASI-AR, 1871- 72,A.C., no.20, plate15
81	Naked life size statue/in the reign of Vāsudeva	Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā/kaniṣka Not known year 87							ASI-AR, 1871- 72,A.C., no.18, plate15
80	Naked life size statue/in the reign of Vāsudeva	Kańkālī Ţīlā/kanişka Not known year 83							ASI-AR, 1871- 72,A.C., no.16, plate15

84	Jina icon/on 3 sides of pedestal	Kańkālī Ţīlā/kanişka year 5	Not known	First month of winter, on 12th day/for the welfare and happiness of all beings			Koţţiya/ Srigriha	Bamhadā sia	uchenāg no.25
85	-		Mitrā		Daughter of Somagupta				no.27
86	Headless Jina, two men with folded hands on right and a female with a whisk(?) on left/on pedestal, lotus petals, between feet	Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā/kaniṣka year 9	Gahapalā	winter, on	Wife of Ekradalā, daughter in law of Śivaśiri, daughter of Grahamitrā	Tarika	Koţţiya	Ţhāņīya	Vaira no.33

87	Icon of Vardhamāna	Kańkālī Ţīlā/kanişka year 9	Vikațā	First month of year 9, day 5	House wife of Bhattimita, daughter of Brahma	Nāganandīn	Preacher	Koțțiya	Vaņīya	Vajrī	no.34
88	Standing Tīrthaṁkara, worship of a wheel/on pedestal	Mathura city/Kanişka year 17	Not known	Second month of winter, on 25th day		Kauşiki Graharakşitā		Koţţiya	Śāntānika	Vaira	no.45
89	Āyāgapaṭa/on the tablet	Kāthoti Kuan, Mathurā/ year 21	Not known	Second month(?), on 26th day							no.53
90	A broken statue/on pedestal	From a well in Arjunapura, Mathurā/ year 62	Vraihika	Third month of summer, on 5th day/gift to Caturavar ņa Samgha	A native of Rara(Rāḍha)	Atapikagaha bārya	Pupil of Ārya Kakapaghasa				no.125

91	1000 00 1100 00 0100	Mathurā/ year 72	Jayadevī	Second month of winter, on 11th day	Sister's daughter of			no.129
92	A broken statue, a blurred wheel worshipped by devotees/on upper rim of pedestal	Kańkālī Ţīlā/year 80	Not known					no.135
93	Seated Vardhamāna, a wheel worshipped by male and female worshippers, some are garland bearers, all of them are flanked by two lion- griffons upholding the pedestal, two children/on upper and lower rim of pedestal	Mathurā/ year 82	Gṛahamitrā	Fourth month of rainy season, on 2nd day	Wife of Rudradeva, place-Kumāragiri		Koţţiya	no.138

94 Crossed legged Jina in meditation	Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā/Vāsude va year 83	Jinadāasi		Daughter of Sena, daughter in law of Dattā, wife of perfumer Vyaca		no.139
95 <mark>Icon of</mark> Ŗṣabhanātha	On bank on Balabhadra Kunḍa,Math urā/Vāsudev a year 84	Koțabhavā	Second month of summer, on 2nd day	Wife of Ainnra, daughter in law of Bhattadatta Ugabhinaka		no.141
Fragmentary icon of Vardhamāna in Dhyāna Mudra, male and female 96 worshippers, fly- whisk bearers, all adoring a wheel/on upper rim of pedestal	Kaṅkālī Ţīlā/year 92	Not known	Second month of summer			no.151
Seated Jina/on 97 upper and lower rims of pedestal	Kaṅkālī Ţīlā/year 97	Damini	Small pavillion( Maņḍavi kā) for Vardha māna		Vairā	no.155

98 Icon of Mahāvīra	Kańkālī Ţīlā/year 299(29?)	Ujhtikā; Okha, lay sister of Śirīka and Śivadinna	Second month of winter, on 1st day/icon was set up in Arhat temple( devakula m ca- and a temple?)	Daughter ofand Okhārikā				no.167
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## Bíbliography

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