

Exemplars of Anekānta and Ahimsā: The Case of the Early Jains of Mathura in Art and Epigraphy

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The earliest surviving representations of Jain monks in art are found in the stone sculptures produced as early as the second century B.C.E. at Mathura, a city located about one hundred miles southeast of Delhi. The Jain monks depicted in these early works belonged to a special sect, whose members can be identified by the broad piece of pleated cloth draped over the left forearms of the otherwise nude monks. (See especially Figures 2, 4, 6, 10, 12, and 14).^{*} In inscriptions carved on works of art in which these monks appear, they called themselves *nirgranthas*,¹ a term found

^{*} All figures referred to in the text appear at the end of the article, pp. 133-142.

¹ An example of an inscription in which the term Nirgrantha occurs is on a stone plaque carved with two flying Ardhaphālaka monks venerating a *stupa* (Figures 5 and 6). It reads as follows:

1. *namo ārahato vardhamānasa ādāye gaṇikā-*
2. *ye loṇaśobhikāye dhitu śramaṇasāvikāye*
3. *nādāye gaṇikāye vasuīye ārahato devik[u]la¹*
4. *āyāgasabha prapā śil[ā]pato patisth[ā]pito nigatā-*
5. *na(m) ārahatāyātane sah[ā] matare bhaginiye dhitare putreṇa*
6. *sarveṇa ca parijanena arahata pūjāye*

(Translation: "Adoration to the *arhat* Vardhamāna! A shrine of the *arhat* (*ārahato devikula*), an assembly hall for an object of worship (*āyāgasabha*), a cistern (*prapā*), and a stone slab (*śilāpata*) were established in the sanctuary of the Nirgrantha *arhats* by Vasu, a junior (?) courtesan. [who is] the daughter of Loṇaśobhikā, the matron (?) courtesan, and the female disciple of the ascetics (*śramaṇasāvika*), with her mother, sister, daughter, son and her whole household, for the sake of honoring of the *arhats*.")

in early Buddhist texts to refer to their Jain rivals, and literally means "those who are free from bonds." Several Jain and Buddhist texts, mostly of much later dates, refer to groups of Jain mendicants, who were in one way or another associated with a piece of cloth, by names such as *ekasāṭaka*, *ardhakarpāṭa*, *ardhaphālaka*, *yāpanīya*, or *gopya*.² In this paper I shall follow the precedent of the few scholars who have discussed these early Jain monks of Mathura and use the term "Ardhaphālaka" to refer to them, though it probably was not the name these monks used for themselves. "Ardhaphālaka" is a descriptive epithet which means "those with a partial piece of cloth."

No texts have been found that can be specifically associated with the Ardhaphālakas. Nor are there any texts that clearly identify them and explain their practices. Padmanabh S. Jaini has published a thorough study of passages in literature that might refer to the monks of this sect,³ but almost all of them were composed many centuries after their demise. "Given the variety of possibilities presented in various sources," concludes Jaini, "a conclusive identification of the sect of these *ardhaphālaka* images on the Mathura sculptures cannot be made from the available literary evidence."⁴ Therefore, the art historical and epigraphical records are the most reliable documents for understanding the tenets and mores of the Ardhaphālaka monks of Mathura. Upon

² The term *ekasāṭaka* appears in the Theravāda Buddhist *Samyuttanikāya*. The term, *Ardhakarpāṭa*, is used by Rāmacandra Mumukṣu in the twelfth century in his Sanskrit version of the *Badrabāhucarita*. The terms *ardhaphālaka* and *yāpana* appear in the *Bhadrabāhukathānaka*, a section of Hariṣeṇa's *Bṛhātkathakośa* of the tenth century. And, the term, *Gopya* is found in a fifteenth-century commentary by Guṇaratna on Haribhadra's *Śaḍdarśanasamuccaya*. See Padmanabh S. Jaini, "Jaina Monks from Mathura: Literary Evidence for their Identification on Kuṣāṇa Sculptures," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (Vol. LVIII, Part 3, 1995), pp. 488, 479 (fn 2), 480, 487.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 479-494.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 492.

examining their depictions in art along with their inscriptions, it becomes evident that the Ardhapālaka monks of early Mathura were exemplars of *ahimsā* and *anekānta*, and their vigorous adherence to these principles apparently resulted in their being exceptionally prosperous, popular, and influential. Their practices significantly shaped the future of Jainism and Jain art, and, as a dominant religious group at Mathura, they were instrumental in creating a cosmopolitan cultural center where followers of diverse religions peacefully coexisted.

This paper begins with a brief history of the Ardhapālakas in sculptural representations, followed by a discussion of how we know that they embraced the tenets of *ahimsā* and *anekānta*, despite the lack of Ardhapālaka Jain treatises. Finally, the paper will identify some of the benefits resulting from the Ardhapālakas' practice of *ahimsā* and *anekānta*.

Archaeological evidence suggests that the Ardhapālaka sect of Jain monks was localized in Mathura, for no traces of them have been found elsewhere. They were active from at least the second century B.C.E. until the end of the Kushan Period in the late third century C.E., after which time they were no longer represented in art.⁵ They are ubiquitous on pedestals of Jain *Tirthaṅkara* images of the Kushan Period at Mathura (second and third centuries C.E.), such as the image of Pārśva in Figure 1.⁶ In the detail of Pārśva's pedestal in Figure 2, the Ardhapālaka monks are shown standing to the left of the central *cakrastambha*. As in all Kushan depictions, the Ardhapālaka monks are shown holding their distinctive piece of cloth in front of their bodies so

⁵ These statements are contingent upon evidence that has been discovered to date and of which the author is aware. They can be modified if conclusive evidence for the existence of monks belonging to the Ardhapālaka sect is found in a region other than Mathura, at a time earlier than the second century B.C.E. or later than the fourth century C.E.

⁶ This sculpture of seated Pārśvanātha in the State Museum, Lucknow (J.113/J.25) is inscribed as having been made in the Year 58 during the reign of the Kushan emperor Huvishka by a donor named Nāgasena.

as to cover their genitals. Such a practice was reviled as heretical by the orthodox Digambaras.

The Ardhaphālakas seem to have particularly favored image worship, for more Jina icons have been discovered at Mathura than any other region in India during the pre-Kushan and Kushan Periods when the Ardhaphālakas were active. Because the monks are so frequently depicted on the pedestals of Jina images during the Kushan period, scholars such as N. P. Joshi, Padmanabh S. Jaini, and U. P. Shah, who have studied the representation of the Ardhaphālakas in art, have primarily dealt with sculptures such as these.⁷ Not previously studied, however, is their presence on Mathura sculptures that significantly predate the Kushan period. Possibly even as early as the second century B.C.E., in a narrative scene from Mathura depicting the renunciation of the first Jina Ṛṣabha, two Ardhaphālaka monks may be identified (Figure 3).⁸ Though partially obscured by an unfortunate intrusive mortise cut when this architrave was reused as a railing pillar at some later date, portions of two monks are still visible. They are shown nude, with a piece of cloth, and they have been carved next to the earliest identifiable images of Jinās in human form. These two nude ascetics are possibly identifiable as Ṛṣabha himself after his renunciation. The smaller of the two holds an alms bowl in his left hand, and a small cloth in his right hand. The larger of the

⁷ U. P. Shah, *Jaina Rupa Maṇḍana*. New Delhi, 1987, especially pp. 5-8; N. P. Joshi, "Early Jaina Icons from Mathura," in *Mathura: The Cultural Heritage*, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 332-367; and Padmanabh S. Jaini, "Jaina Monks from Mathura: Literary Evidence for their Identification on Kuṣāṇa Sculptures," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. LVIII, part 3, 1995, pp. 479-494.

⁸ The seated figure in the lower right of the group carved in the central portion of the architrave, with the large turban and grasping a pillar of the pavilion, is identifiable as Ṛṣabha prior to his renunciation. At this point in his life Ṛṣabha was a king, witnessing the impending death of the dancing nymph Nīlāñjanā under the pavilion, which event propelled him to renounce the kingly life and become a wandering ascetic. For the story of the life of Ṛṣabhanātha, see Champat Rai Jain, *Ṛṣabha Deva: The Founder of Jainism*, Allahabad, 1929.

two originally may have held the cloth in his left hand or draped over his left forearm; the damaged condition of the stone makes it impossible to know for certain. At the left end of the frieze are two depictions of the Jina Ṛṣabha, seated in meditation, with his distinctive single lock of hair depicted like a pigtail. Following parallel representations in later Jain manuscripts, the one on the right may depict Ṛṣabha in *dhyāna*, or meditation, while the second figure may depict him in *kevala samādhi*, or the state of eternal meditative bliss.⁹ While this remarkable early relief sculpture of the second century B.C.E. does not depict Ardhapālaka monks in the usual fashion as seen in later sculptures, it is noteworthy that the representations of nude Jain ascetics on this architrave are both associated with a piece of cloth. This sculpture may represent an early phase in the formation of the Ardhapālaka *saṅgha*, before the manner of donning the small piece of cloth was clearly codified.

Between the first century BCE and first century CE, the representation of Ardhapālaka monks in Mathura sculptures appears to have assumed a consistent pattern. The identifying piece of cloth, which we can call a *colapaṭṭa*, is invariably draped over the left forearm, as we see in Figures 2, 4, 6, 10, 12, and 14. One of the most common ways in which they are depicted in pre-Kushan art is in flight through the air. The fragment in Figure 4 is from a sculpted relief probably not unlike the one in Figure 5, though it is about one hundred years older. The umbrella in Figure 4 originally would have surmounted a sacred site or object, such as a *stūpa*, like the one on the complete relief in Figure 5. The Ardhapālaka monks in Figures 4 and 5 are shown in a flying posture, hovering in the air at a higher level than the celestial *kinnaras*, who bring garlands or flowers as pious offerings to the site. It is clear that the Ardhapālakas were considered to be of a

⁹ An unpublished folio from a manuscript of the life of Ṛṣabha in the San Diego Museum of Art (1990:214), dating to the seventeenth century, depicts two images of Ṛṣabha seated in meditation on block-like pedestals. One is labeled *dhana*, while the other is labeled *kavalasamaya*.

higher status than the celestial beings.¹⁰ Their ability to fly through the air as *vidyā cāraṇa munis*, is indicative of their advanced achievements in meditative practice. In the detail in Figure 6, the Ardhaphālaka monk is shown flying through the air, visibly nude; the *colapaṭṭa* draped over his left forearm does not shield his genitals at all. In his left hand he carries a small pot, and his right hand touches his forehead in a gesture of homage and veneration.

The high status of a flying Ardhaphālaka monk is also to be seen in the carvings on a large tympanum, which may have, when it was intact, formed the top of an imposing arched doorway leading into an Ardhaphālaka precinct of the early first century C.E. (Figure 7). Only a fraction of the flying nude Ardhaphālaka monk remains on the broken edge in the central register of this tympanum. His leg bent in the posture of flying is seen in the detail in Figure 8, as is his arm with the salient *colapaṭṭa* draped over the left forearm. The object held over the monk's right shoulder is the *rajoharaṇa*, or whisk broom used by Jain monks to sweep the path before them as they walk. In the original center of this tympanum (now lost) would have been an object of worship, probably a seated Jina image, if it is analogous to other similar tympana that survive intact from the Kushan Period (Figure 9). Note that on the broken early tympanum (Figures 7 and 8) the Ardhaphālaka monk is placed closer to the holy object in the center of the tympanum than the flying gods who bear offerings of lotus flowers behind him.

The remains of another architrave from Mathura dating to the pre-Kushan period of the early first century C.E. depicts three Ardhaphālaka monks (Figure 10). The scene on the left portion seems to be in a monastic setting with a tank. One Ardhaphālaka monk, who is nude with the *colapaṭṭa* over his left forearm and a

¹⁰ For a discussion of the exalted status of Ardhaphālaka monks see my "Closer to Heaven than the Gods: Jain Monks in the Art of Pre-Kushan Mathura," *Mārg*, March 2001, pp. 57-68.

small pot in his left hand, approaches the tank with his right hand outstretched. In the center of the surviving fragment is what appears to be an Ardhapālaka monk of particularly high status, as he is seated on a cushion or platform under a tree.¹¹ He has the water pot in his left hand and *colapaṭṭa* over his left forearm, while his right hand is raised to his shoulder holding the handle of a *rajoḥaraṇa*, whose bristles drape over his shoulder. He is being venerated by a layman, standing before him, clothed and bejeweled, with his hands pressed together in *añjalīmudrā*.

A more enigmatic depiction of an Ardhapālaka monk is represented in Figure 10, where only the lower halves of three figures are visible on the back of a mythical serpentine creature riding through a rocky sylvan setting. The foremost figure is an Ardhapālaka monk with his pot and *colapaṭṭa*, while seated behind him are a lay man and woman, who faces backwards.

Ardhapālaka monks are also found in more iconic settings, in the central circles of sacred plaques called *āyāgapaṭas*.¹² The one in Figures 11 and 12 dates to the early first century C.E., and it depicts the Jina Pārśva seated in meditative bliss while being venerated by two Ardhapālaka monks. The monks are completely nude with the *colapaṭṭa* draped over each of their left forearms (Figure 12). Their hands are pressed together in *añjalīmudrā*, the gesture of adoration. As in all pre-Kushan depictions, the *colapaṭṭa* is not used to cover nudity, but is nevertheless constantly present.

By the Kushan Period of the second and third centuries C.E., however, the *colapaṭṭa* invariably covers the frontal nudity

¹¹ This presentation of the monk seated under a tree echoes the placement of divinities and sacred altars under trees. The Ardhapālaka Jains of Mathura seem to have adopted the universally recognized idea of locating a holy being under a tree on a platform, as did the Buddhists in the placement of Siddhartha's enlightenment under the Bodhi tree. Here, however, a mere monk is depicted in such an exalted state, and his sanctity is further emphasized by his being worshipped by a lay person.

¹² For a full discussion of *āyāgapaṭas*, see my "Āyāgapaṭas: Characteristics, Symbolism, and Chronology," in *Artibus Asiae*, LX, 1990, pp. 79-137.

of Ardhaphālaka monks, as seen in the plaque dated to the early third century C.E. (Figure 13),¹³ and on the lion pedestal of the late second century C.E. (Figure 2). The monks themselves are still highly revered as seen in Figure 13 where the Ardhaphālaka cleric is being venerated by serpent deities, and the lay followers.

How can we tell from the sculptural representations that members of the Ardhaphālaka sect in early Mathura, whom the Digambaras deem heretical, practiced *ahimsā*? One clear piece of evidence is their use of the *rajoharaṇa*, which they frequently hold, both in pre-Kushan and Kushan sculptures (Figures 10, 8, and 13). This whisk broom was used to sweep tiny creatures from their path to prevent any injury to them while the mendicants walked. Even the distinctive emblem of the sect, the *colapaṭṭa*, may have been used for preventing injury to living beings. A fifth-century Buddhist source, the *Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā*, states that the Nirgranthas wore the cloth not to cover their frontal nudity, but to prevent one-sense beings found in dust and dirt from entering the alms bowl and being eaten or harmed accidentally. It is interesting to note that the bowl is held in combination with the *colapaṭṭa* in early representations, though it doesn't actually cover the bowl itself (Figures 6 and 10).

Another piece of evidence for the practice of *ahimsā* by the Ardhaphālaka monks can be found in their holding of the

¹³ The somewhat damaged inscription on this plaque reads as follows:

1. s[i]ddha[m] saṃ 90 9 gri 2 di 10 6 koḷyāt[o] gaṇato ṭhaniyāto kulāto vai[rā]to . . [vo]to aryasura[po] . 2. śiṣiṇi dhamaśriye ... ṇavartina grahadatasya dhi[tu] dhanahathi . . .

A. a...gha[?]ṣṭhiviji

B. kaṇa śramaṇa

(Translation: "Hail! In the year 99 in the second month of summer, on the sixteenth day . . . the daughter of Grahadata, [the wife of ?] Dhanahathi . . . at the request Dhamaśiri, the female pupil of Aryasurapo-- of the Koliya gaṇa, the Ṭhaniya (Sthāniya) kula, and the Vaira [...vo]."

A. "Ānagha--ṣṭhiviji"

B. "The ascetic Kaṇa")

mukhapatikā, which is a small cloth used to cover the mouth during speech to prevent any tiny beings from accidentally entering the mouth and being injured or killed (Figure 14). The *mukhapatikā* is also grasped in the left hands of the Ardhapālaka monks on the detail of a Jina pedestal (Figure 15), where they are also shown holding their *rajoharaṇas* up in their right hands.

It is interesting to note in connection with the image in Figure 15, that a fully clothed Śvetāmbara monk is depicted together with the Ardhapālakas, at the left. This suggests that by the mid to late Kushan Period, the Ardhapālakas of Mathura began to integrate with the canonical Śvetāmbaras, and were eventually subsumed into the Śvetāmbara sect of Jainism, thereby explaining their disappearance in art after the third century C. E. This gradual integration into the Śvetāmbara sect may also explain the shift towards covering their frontal nudity with the *colapaṭṭa* in the later images.

Now we shall turn to the question of how the Ardhapālaka monks of early Mathura exemplify the ideals of *anekānta*. The Ardhapālakas were very open to the ideas and practices of other religions they came across. Their adoption of practices and accouterments from other religious groups, such as Brahmanism, cults of popular *yakṣas* and *yakṣīs*, and Buddhism, testifies to their attitudes of tolerance and acceptance. They also did not hesitate to include among their followers women, foreigners, and members of any classes or occupations. This attitude made them more familiar and more easily acceptable to the local population. In turn, such attitude facilitated the conversion to Jainism of lay people, many of these were very wealthy and prominent, especially in pre-Kushan Mathura. One feature they seem to have adopted from Brahmanical Hinduism was the idea of the *vidyā cāraṇamuni* and the holding of the pot in the left hand, which is a standard attribute of Brahmins. Figure 16 is a second century B.C.E. depiction of Brahmins holding a pot in their left hands and able to fly through the air as a result of their high-level austerities. This depiction is very similar to the flying Ardhapālaka monks

on the plaque in Figures 5 and 6, only the Jain monk is nude and tonsured.

Even the *colapaṭṭa* itself may have been adopted from the practice of Brahmins who, in the pre-Kushan periods draped the skin of a black antelope over their left forearms, rather than over the left shoulder as was the practice during the Kushan period and later. In Figures 17 and 18 are relief carvings of Brahmins. The former depicts a scene from a Jātaka story in which the Buddha was a Brahmin in a previous life, and he wears the black antelope skin in the same way that the Ardhaphālakas wore the *colapaṭṭa*. The relief in Figure 18 is a detail from the story of the Brahmin ascetic boy Rśyaśṛṅga, who is similarly depicted with the antelope skin over his left forearm. This may have been a practice of revered Brahmin ascetics that was adopted by the Ardhaphālaka Jains, but adapted to cohere with the non-violent tenets of Jainism. Thus the black antelope skin was converted to a strip of cloth, though it still functioned as the emblem of an ascetic.

A distinctive aspect of the Ardhaphālaka Jains of Mathura is their focus on *stūpa* worship, but without any evidence of the *stūpas*' association with a relic.¹⁴ Two examples of bas relief depictions of a *stūpa* under worship by Jains are on the stone plaque in Figure 5 and in the spandrel of the tympanum in Figure 19. It is possible that the Ardhaphālaka Jains adopted the centrality of *stūpa* worship from their Buddhist neighbors, though this is a point that bears further investigation. The monument of the *stūpa* could serve as a focal point of veneration for the Jain spiritual community, as it did for the Buddhists. Nowhere else in Jain art or at other Jain archaeological site does the *stūpa* play such a prominent role as it did in early Mathura. The donative inscription on the bas relief depiction of the *stūpa* in Figure 5

¹⁴ The archaeological remains of the prominent Jain *stūpa* at Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā in Mathura were published by Vincent Smith in *The Jain Stupa and Other Antiquities at Mathura*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, vol. XX, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, vol. V: Muttra Antiquities, 1900.

states that a female courtesan and a lay disciple along with members of her family gave a shrine, an assembly hall, a cistern and a stone slab to the Jain sanctuary,¹⁵ thus expanding a monastic complex that would have included a *stūpa*. The *stūpas* were dedicated to a Jina, such as Mahāvīra; the one in the slab in Figure 5 appears to be a bas relief representation of a *stūpa* that was dedicated to Mahāvīra, for the inscription opens with an invocation to him, and his cognizance of the lion is found atop one of the flanking pillars. It was a large *stūpa*, built upon a high platform, the entrance stairway of which is flanked by a *yakṣa* on the left and a *yakṣī* on the right.

Yakṣas and *yakṣīs* were remarkably prominent and especially important to the local population of Mathura during this early period,¹⁶ and the Ardhamphalaka Jains were tolerant of and receptive to this proclivity. Their early art includes many *yakṣas* and *yakṣīs* in their pantheon of Jain deities. A famous Jain relief invoking Mahāvīra, which was dedicated by a female lay disciple in the Year 72 during the reign of the Mahākṣatrapa

¹⁵ See note 1, above.

¹⁶ More iconic statues of *yakṣas* and *yakṣīs* have been found from the environs of Mathura dating from the second century B.C.E. to the first century C.E. than from any other single region on the Indian subcontinent. This statistic holds despite the fact that most sites at Mathura have yet to be systematically excavated. The prominence of *yakṣa* cults at Mathura are also attested in early Buddhist literature. The Pali *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, relates that in Mathura, "[the ground] is uneven; there is much dust; there are fierce dogs; bestial *yakkhas*; and alms are got with difficulty." (F. L. Woodward and E. M. Hare, trans., *The Book of the Gradual Sayings (Āṅguttara Nikāya)*, 5 vols., Pali Text Society Translation Series, nos. 22, 24-27, London, Pali Text Society, 1932-36, vol. 3, p. 188. Cf. John Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka*, p. 29.) One such fierce *yakṣa* of Mathura, named Gardabha, is said to have been converted by the Buddha in Aśvaghōṣa's *Buddhacarita*. (*Buddhacarita*, xxi.25. *The Buddhacarita or Acts of the Buddha*, E. H. Johnston, trans., Delhi, 1984 (first published in Lahore, 1936), Part III, p. 59.) The prominence of *yakṣas* in Mathura is also reflected in the Buddhist *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya*, wherein Brahmins entreat the Buddha to quell *yakṣas* and *yakṣīs* who ravage the city. The Buddha subsequently converts these beings to Buddhism, and the citizens of Mathura are enjoined to build Buddhist *viḥāras* in their honor. (John Strong, *The Legend and Cult of Upagupta*, p. 6; *Gilgit Manuscripts*, 9 vols., edited by Nalinaksha Dutt, Calcutta, 1939-59, vol. 3, pt. 1, 16-17.)

Śoḍāsa (ca. C.E. 15), features a figure that is best identified as a *yakṣī* who has been subsumed within Jainism (Figure 20). Similarly, at the broken edge of the lowest register of the tympanum we discussed above (Figure 7), is a representation of a seated goddess being venerated by female devotees. In this way the Ardhapālakas exhibited an inclusivist attitude towards local divinities, embracing them within their own religion. This was apparently attractive to women who were not obliged to abandon their traditional divinities associated with childbirth and prosperity when they embraced Jainism. Consequently, women made up a large segment of the lay Jain population of early Mathura, and they were some of the most generous donors and patrons of Jain sites.

One special *yakṣa* deity incorporated into the Jain pantheon by the Ardhapālakas, like other *yakṣas*, *yakṣīs*, and *nāgas* was the goat-headed *yakṣa* associated with childbirth, called Naigameṣin. A damaged image of Naigameṣin stands guard at the entrance of an Ardhapālaka Jain stupa (Figure 5), while another is found on a gateway architrave (Figure 21). Both images, which date to the first century C.E., may represent early incorporation of Naigameṣin into Jainism, possibly even before the rise of the tradition regarding the transfer of the embryo of Mahāvīra found in the Śvetāmbara canons. Fertility goddesses are also carved on the Jain architrave with Naigameṣin (Figure 21). The Ardhapālaka incorporation of the *yakṣa* cult into their open and tolerant form of Jainism also included the worship of trees, as seen in a detail from a Jain *āyāgapata*.

Not only did the Ardhapālakas include divinities and practices from other religious groups, but the art historical evidence shows that they also encouraged foreigners to be followers of their religion. In the lower register of a tympanum dating to the Kushan Period (Figure 9) Scythians in non-Indian dress consisting of tunics, trousers and boots worship a seated Jain goddess, who is flanked by Naigameṣin and another male

divinity. In the topmost register of the same tympanum Ardhapālaka monks venerate a *stūpa* with their female disciples, while lay men honor the image of a seated *Tirthāṅkara* in the middle register. The inclusion of foreigners, women, *stūpas*, *yakṣas*, *yakṣīs* and anthropomorphic images into Ardhapālaka Jainism as seen on this one tympanum bespeaks the adherence of these unique early Jains of Mathura to the ideals of *anekānta*.¹⁷

The Ardhapālaka Jains also adopted the Mathuran propensity for iconic image worship. The earliest identifiable depictions of *Tirthāṅkaras* in human form, the seated figures of Ṛṣabha (Figure 3), are from Mathura, datable to around the second century B.C.E. They apparently were based on the prototype of the Brahmanical ascetic (*tapasvin*), with feet crossed, seated on a platform.¹⁸ The form was adapted to suit Jain ideals, for the images of Ṛṣabha are in the posture of meditation, instead of active instruction, and no antelope skin covers their pedestals,

¹⁷ In the pre-Kushan Jain tympanum from Mathura of the first century C.E. there are no examples of figures in Scythian dress. There are, however, a significant number of figures wearing an Iranian type of headgear, consisting in horizontally wrapped turbans secured to one's head by means of a broad strap worn under the chin (Figures 7 and 19). J. C. Harle and Domenico Faccenna have demonstrated that this type of headgear is generally worn by grooms, horsemen, warriors or hunters. (J. C. Harle, "The significance of wrapped heads in Indian sculpture," *South Asian Archaeology* 1979, ed. H. Härtel, Berlin, 1981, pp. 401-11; D. Faccenna, "The turban in the figural frieze from the Main Stūpa of the Buddhist Sacred Area of Saidu Sharif I (Swat, Pakistan) and the Corpus of Gandhāra sculpture," *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, vol. 6, 1999/2000, pp. 45-9, esp. figs. 2, 7, and 8.) Whether those who wear them are necessarily foreigners in Mathura is uncertain. This sort of headgear is found in regions were particularly in close contact with the West, namely, Bhoja in Western India, Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda in Andhra Pradesh, and Gandhara and Swat. In any event, this kind of headgear is foreign to Mathura and is not regularly seen in art from India-proper. It appears to be an Iranian type of hat that was worn frequently either by Iranians in India employed as grooms or local people who adopted the Iranian item of dress. Be they foreigners or low-class grooms, hunters, or soldiers, men with this type of headgear were embraced by the Ardhapālakas, which serves as further evidence for their attitudes of *anekānta*.

¹⁸ For an example of a seated Brahmanical *tapasvin* dating to the mid- to late second century B.C. see A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, Paris, 1956, pl. XLIV, fig. 172.

thus showing their adherence to *ahimsā*. Shortly thereafter, full scale Jinas carved in the round were being produced at Mathura, presumably by the impetus of the Ardhamphalaka Jains, like the standing Pārśva of the early first century B.C.E. (Figure 23). Images of Jinas subsequently are found frequently in the Jain art of Mathura through first century C.E. Thus, the strong tradition of making images of Jinas as objects of worship in human form seems to have been started under the auspices of the open-minded Ardhamphalakas at Mathura. The veneration of *Tirthāṅkara* images continues to be central to the Jain faith to this day.

The Jains of Mathura, who, before the mid-second century C.E. belonged to the Ardhamphalaka sect, as far as the currently available evidence indicates, had been making human images of Jinas since the second century B.C.E. They created a climate of openness and tolerance, by inviting members of other religions, various ethnicities, and people from all walks of life into their fold. They adopted monuments, images and practices associated with contemporaneous religions that were familiar and popular among the residents of Mathura. Consequently, they successfully attracted a large, wealthy, and diverse following, and became instrumental for the production of a great deal of art for their grand monastic complexes, and, as far as the archaeological evidence attests, they became a dominant religious group in Mathura.

The other religions of the area then responded and seemed to follow the Ardhamphalaka model in ways such as the making of human images for worship. The earliest surviving image of the Buddha in human form was found in Mathura and is datable to the early first century C.E. (Figure 24). It bears close resemblance to images of Jinas produced for their Ardhamphalaka neighbors, such as the seated Pārśva from the center of an *ayāgapata* (Figure 12). After this time the image cult among the Buddhists gradually gained momentum, such that by the early second century C.E., colossal stone Buddhas were being exported

to other cities in northern India. Similarly, Hindu imagery took root and diversified during the period when the Ardhaphalakas were flourishing.

The art historical, epigraphical and archaeological evidence shows that the Ardhaphalaka sect of Jains in Mathura, who evidently embraced the ideals of *ahimsā* and *anekānta*, were instrumental in creating a tolerant, diverse environment in a cosmopolitan cultural center where the arts were copiously patronized, and different religions flourished alongside one another. Scholars have often wondered why Mathura was the seat of so many key religious movements and iconographic developments that significantly affected the course of history. The answer may lie in the influence exerted by the Ardhaphalaka Jain monks and their followers, who comprised a large segment of the population, and the atmosphere of inclusiveness, peace, and tolerance that they helped to create and uphold.



Figure 1. Seated Parsva. Mathura, second century A.D., State Museum, Lucknow J.113/J.25. (Photo: Sonya Rhie Quintanilla, courtesy State Museum, Lucknow.)

Figure 2. Detail of the pedestal in Figure 1. (Photo: Sonya Rhie Quintanilla, courtesy State Museum, Lucknow.)





Figure 3. Architrave with Renunciation of Rṣabha. Mathura, late second century B.C., State Museum, Lucknow J.354/609. (Photo: AIIS)



Figure 4. Fragment of a panel with flying Ardhaphālaka monk and kinnara. Mathura, c. early to mid first century B.C., State Museum, Lucknow J.105. (Photo: S. R. Quintanilla, courtesy State Museum, Lucknow.)

Figure 5. Stone plaque depicting the veneration of a Jain stūpa. Mathura, c. mid to late first century A.D., Government Museum, Mathura Q.2. (Photo: After Ludwig Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, New York, 1929, pl. 91.)





Figure 6. Detail of flying Ardhāphalaka monk from Figure 5. (Photo: S. R. Quintanilla, courtesy Government Museum, Mathura.)



Figure 7. Jain tympanum. Mathura, c. early first century A.D., National Museum, New Delhi J.555. (Photo: After L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, New York, 1929, pl. 102.)



Figure 8. Detail of Figure 7. (Photo: S. R. Quintanilla, courtesy National Museum, New Delhi.)

Figure 9. Jain tympanum. Mathura, second century A.D., State Museum, Lucknow B.207. (Photo: S. R. Quintanilla, courtesy State Museum, Lucknow.)

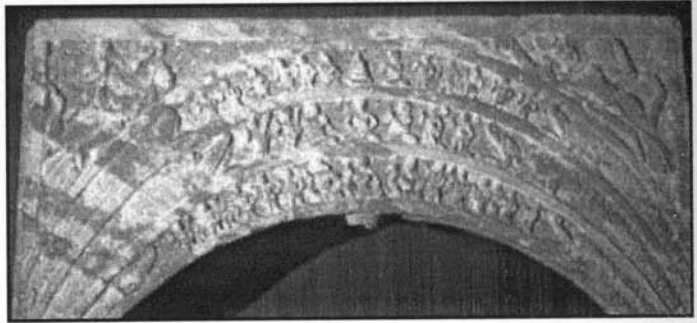


Figure 10. Jain architrave with Ardhamphālaka monks. Mathura, c. early first century A.D., Brooklyn Museum of Art 87.188.5, Gift of Michael and Georgia de Havenon. (Photo: S. R. Quintanilla, courtesy Brooklyn Museum of Art.)



Figure 11. Āyāgapāṭa with veneration of Pārśva by two Ardhapālaka monks. Mathura, c. early first century A.D., State Museum, Lucknow J.253. (Photo: John M. Rosenfield.)



Figure 12. Detail of Figure 11. (Photo: S. R. Quintanilla, courtesy State Museum, Lucknow.)

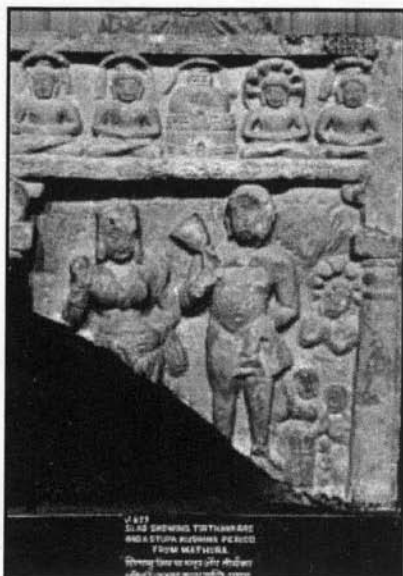


Figure 13. Kaṇa Plaque, Mathura, c. early third century A.D., State Museum, Lucknow J.623. (Photo: John M. Rosenfield.)

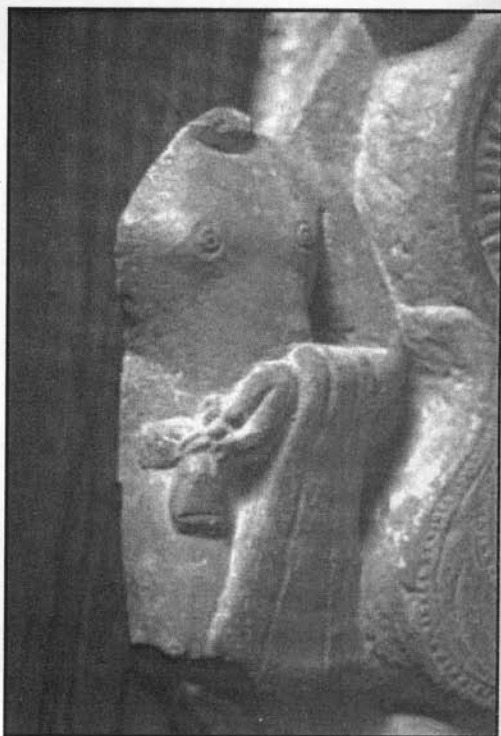


Figure 14. Detail of a Jain pedestal with an Ardhapālaka monk. Mathura, second century A.D., State Museum, Lucknow J.20. (Photo: S. R. Quintanilla, courtesy State Museum, Lucknow.)



Figure 15. Detail of a Jain Pedestal with Ardhaphālaka monks and a Śvetāmbara monk. Mathura, second century A.D., State Museum, Lucknow J.26. (Photo: S. R. Quintanilla, courtesy State Museum, Lucknow.)

Figure 16. Brahmin ascetics flying through the air. Detail from the coping stone, Bharhut, Madhya Pradesh, c. mid second century B.C., Indian Museum, Calcutta. (Photo: After A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, Paris, 1956, fig. 251.)



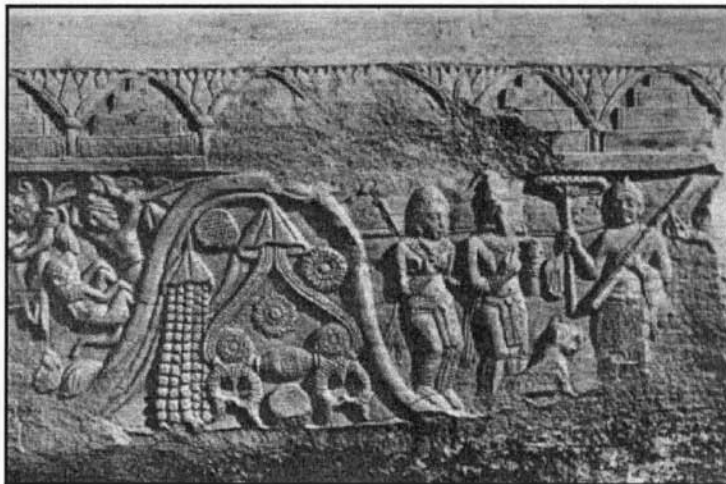


Figure 17. *Mahabōdhi Jataka*. Detail from the coping stone, Bharhut, Madhya Pradesh, c. mid second century B.C., Indian Museum, Calcutta. (Photo: After A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, Paris, 1956, fig. 137.)

Figure 18. *Rśyaśrīga*, the brahmin ascetic and the Princess Shanta. Detail from a rail post, Mathura, c. early first century B.C., Government Museum, Mathura 76.40. (Photo: S. R. Quintanilla, courtesy Government Museum, Mathura.)





Figure 19. Worship of a Jain stūpa. Detail from a Jain tympanum. Mathura, c. early first century A.D., National Museum, New Delhi. (Photo: S. R. Quintanilla, courtesy National Museum, New Delhi.)



Figure 20. Jain stone plaque dedicated by Amohini. Mathura, early first century A.D., State Museum, Lucknow J.1. (Photo: After Ludwig Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, New York, 1929, pl. 74.)



Figure 21. Detail from an architrave depicting Naigameshin. Mathura, c. late first century A.D., State Museum, Lucknow, J.626. (Photo: S. R. Quintanilla, courtesy State Museum, Lucknow.)



Figure 22. Standing Pārśva with attendant. Mathura, c. early first century B.C., State Museum, Lucknow J.82. (Photo: S. R. Quintanilla, courtesy State Museum, Lucknow.)

Figure 23. Buddha and *lokapālas*. Mathura, c. early first century A.D., Government Museum, Mathura H.12 (Photo: Government Museum, Mathura.)

