

Reconstructing Indian History & Culture, no. 23

History of Jainism

with Special Reference to Mathura



V. K. Sharma

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As one of the world's major religions, founded on the spiritual principles of *ahimsa* (non-violence), truth, and righteous conduct, Jainism has today 2,600 years of a splendid living tradition — with a well-defined world view, metaphysics and code of ethics. A leading scholar, V.K. Sharma here presents an altogether fresh, pan-Indian historical survey of this great religion, spelling out its beginnings, antiquity, doctrines, *tīrthaṅkaras*, country-wide spread and, among other aspects, its contribution to India's culture and art heritage — in all its varied manifestations.

In the latter part of the book, the author comes to focus upon Jainism in the specific contexts of Mathurā — one of India's ancient cities, which not only is venerated as the legendary birthplace of Lord Kṛṣṇa, but is also famed as an eminent centre of Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina art. Thus shows Dr. Sharma how this principal Vaiṣṇava centre today had been a stronghold of Jainism: from c. second century BC to about eleventh century AD; how it has contributed to Jaina canon, literature and iconography; and how in Mathurā is traceable the centuries-long, unbroken history of Jaina plastic art.

Setting out a panoramic view of Jaina architecture, sculptural art, and socio-religious life over the ages, specially in the sacred city of Mathura, this study is based on wide-ranging authoritative sources and supplemented by a number of highly representative illustrations.



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with Special Reference to Mathurā

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with Special Reference to Mathurā

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V.K. Sharma



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Foreword

Dr. V.K. Sharma, the author of this excellent book on the history of Jainism, asked me to write a foreword to it. It was an immensely rewarding exercise for me to go through this book and, the author deserves my sincere appreciation for his genuine labour. Mathurā enjoys a significant position in the cultural history of India, and Jainism also played a significant role to enrich the culture of this illustrious city. The author has explained that Jainism obtained a strong foothold in Mathurā by the second century BC and continued to flourish in this city up to the eleventh century AD in spite of fierce foreign invasions. The erection of Jaina religious edifices at Mathurā can, in fact, be assigned to a period much anterior to the second century BC, if the inscriptional evidence regarding the construction of the *deva-nirmita stūpa* at Mathurā is discussed and understood in totality.

Jaina art and architecture had their inception and evolution at Mathurā; the remains of Jaina sculptures discovered at Lohanipur near Patna are the notable exceptions. Mathurā had an unbroken history of Jaina plastic art embracing a period of more than one thousand years. No other centre of Jaina art in India has a record comparable to this. It is pertinent to note that Jaina art at Mathurā did not enjoy royal patronage; the artists who produced objects of art like the images and *āyāga-paṭṭas* worked on the support of the Jaina community of this city. The specimens of Mathurā ateliers enjoyed demand for long and, *tīrthamkara* images in red sandstone, a peculiarity of the Mathurā school of art, were installed at distant places also.

The epigraphic evidence embodied in the pedestals of the *jina* images and *āyāga-paṭṭas* constitutes the basic and the most authentic source for the reconstruction of the early history of Jainism in Mathurā. These inscriptions

are a mirror of the Jaina social order and religious organisation at Mathurā in the early centuries of the Christian era and the period preceding it. Most of these epigraphs are dated; they bear the Kuṣāṇa or the Śaka samvat. Therefore, their historicity is beyond question.

The great ideals of austerity, penance, detachment, compassion and non-violence have been well illustrated through the Jaina art at Mathurā, but the taste of the society also finds reflection in it. We, therefore, notice scenes of music, dance and merriment even on the components of the *stūpas*, generally built over the relics of the *jina*. The demise of the *jina* was not looked upon with grief. *Nirvāṇa* or the extinction of the body of the *jina* was a joyous event because by attaining the *kaivalya-jñāna* (supreme knowledge) he had become free from the bondage of the world.

The transformation from the symbols to the anthropomorphic form was a hallmark of sculptural development at Mathurā, and this is true of the Jaina art also. The tiny seated *jina* figure on the *āyāga-pattas* is attended by beautifully carved auspicious motifs. The *jina* figure is subsequently replaced by independent stone images of the *jinās* in *kāyotsarga* and *dhyāna* attitude. These postures remain fixed, but the character of the *jina* image changes with the passage of time. The *jina* images of Mathurā of the Kuṣāṇa period look stereotyped. But the figure becomes trim, slender and elegant in the Gupta period. The harmonious blend of physical beauty with spiritual grace in the image was an outstanding contribution of the Mathurā artist during the Gupta period. The aureole carved with a number of concentric bands and the tastefully carved halo bespeak radiation of knowledge from the *tīrthamkaras* in all directions. This was the aesthetic representation of *samavasaraṇa* (preaching to all).

All these aspects have been handled with great care by Dr. V.K. Sharma. The first part of the book deals with the national horizon of Jainism. It is a comprehensive survey of the development and spread of this faith to various parts of India. The association of Jainism with Mathurā was not an isolated and regional phenomenon. It, in fact, was a part of a widespread movement.



Foreword

Mathurā was closely associated with the compilation of the Jaina canon also. It also participated in the great literary movement designated as the Sarasvatī movement in the history of Jainism. The literary output of the Jainas — religious as well as secular — has been remarkable and Mathurā had a fair share in its production. Mathurā made a significant contribution to the development of Jaina iconography and the history of Indian art would remain incomplete without reference to Jaina art products of Mathurā.

The second half of the book profusely highlights the main subject, i.e., Jainism in Mathurā, a historical and cultural survey. The author has elaborately analysed the various aspects in a judicious way. He has rightly assessed that the division of Jainism into the Śvetāmbara sect and the Digambara sect did not originate at Mathurā although the issues of difference as in view, have been discussed in detail. Dr. Sharma has, however, avoided to pronounce his judgement on those delicacies which have casually appeared in art manifestations, and which may be interpreted from various angles.

He has rightly expressed concern over the circumstances in which the excavations at Kaṅkāli Tīlā, Mathurā were conducted by Fuhrer. He has been rightly critical of his ill-conceived methodology and his sudden disappearance from the scene after the death of Buhler. The antiquity of Jainism was a hotly debated subject among European scholars in the nineteenth century, and to some extent it remains shrouded in mystery. Prof. H. Hartel of Berlin, who conducted archaeological excavations at Sonkh near Mathurā from 1966 to 1974 (a work with which, I was associated for many years), told me that this controversy has still not ended.

The author has gone deep in his investigations and consulted almost all original and secondary sources. For a general reader the long list of footnotes may appear as somewhat overdozing, but for the researchers these references are of utmost importance.

This book is certainly a laudable contribution to the field of oriental studies, and Dr. Sharma has carved for himself a dignified niche in the galaxy of scholars by authoring a magnificent monograph on the history of



Jainism with special emphasis on its history in Mathurā. I hope this book will be welcomed by students, researchers, scholars and faithful Jaina devotees alike. I extend my heartiest congratulations to the author for producing such a wonderful treatise.

B-50 Saketnagar
Vārāṇasī

R. C. Sharma
Formerly
Director — General
National Museum





Preface

MATHURĀ — the heart of Braj — and, described as one of the seven holy cities of India, has been sacred to the Hindus from very early times. This city was held in high esteem by the Jainas also. In fact, in the early centuries of the Christian era, Mathurā became the principal centre of Jainism in northern India. This book unfolds the history of Jainism in Mathurā from the earliest times. The history of Jainism in Mathurā is a part of the history of Jainism as a whole. Therefore, the first four chapters of this book deal with Jainism and its early history. The remaining three chapters are devoted to the history of this faith in Mathurā.

Archaeological excavations conducted at Mathurā in the nineteenth century have yielded immense epigraphic, sculptural and architectural material relevant to the history of Jainism in this city. I have made full use of this material in this study. The chapters dealing with the history of Jainism in Mathurā have been written principally on the basis of these archaeological finds. Some information exists in Jaina literature, too, regarding the state of Jainism in Mathurā. This material has also been utilised in this study. The material dealing with the history of Jainism in other parts of the country has also been drawn from both sources — literary and archaeological.

Government Museum, Mathurā, is a renowned institution for research and I am extremely thankful to the authorities and staff of Government Museum, Mathurā, particularly to Shri Shatrughan Sharma and Shri Ganga Ram, for making adequate arrangements for my study regarding this book in the library and galleries of the museum. Shri Shatrughan Sharma's manifold co-operation in the preparation of this book deserves my praise.

I am highly thankful to Dr. R.C. Sharma, formerly Director-General,



National Museum and presently Hony. Director/Ācārya, Jñāna Pravāha, Vārāṇasī, for his encouragement, suggestions and valuable advice. I am also thankful to him for writing the foreword to this book. I also thank the scholars whose works have been utilised in this book. My wife Bishan Sharma's multiple co-operation was a source of strength to me and I am deeply indebted to her for it.

I am grateful to the authorities of American Institute of Indian Studies, Gurgaon, for providing the photographs included in this book. Last but not least, I am deeply thankful to Shri Susheel K. Mittal, Director, D.K. Printworld (P) Ltd, New Delhi — the publisher of the book — for his genuine interest in its publication, and providing it a fine get-up.

7-B Geeta Enclave
Bank Colony
Mathurā — 281 004

Virendra Kumar Sharma

24 June, 2002





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Abbreviations

<i>AAHI</i>	<i>An Advanced History of India, Ancient India</i>
<i>ACHI</i>	<i>A Cultural History of India</i>
<i>AGI</i>	<i>Ancient Geography of India</i>
<i>AI(M)</i>	<i>Ancient India</i>
<i>AII</i>	<i>Archaeology in India</i>
<i>AJAA</i>	<i>Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture</i>
<i>AOIK</i>	<i>The Age of Imperial Kanauj</i>
<i>AOIU</i>	<i>The Age of Imperial Unity</i>
<i>ASIAR, III</i>	<i>Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, vol. III</i>
<i>ASIAR, XVII</i>	<i>Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, vol. XVII</i>
<i>ASIAR, XX</i>	<i>Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, vol. XX</i>
<i>ASIAR, 1906-7</i>	<i>Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1906-7</i>
<i>ASIAR, 1922-3</i>	<i>Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1922-3</i>
<i>CA</i>	<i>The Classical Age</i>
<i>CAI</i>	<i>Culture and Art of India</i>
<i>Census, 1931</i>	<i>Census of India, 1931</i>

CHAI, III	<i>Concise History of Ancient India</i> , vol. III
CHI, I	<i>The Cambridge History of India</i> , vol. I
CII, III	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum</i> , vol. III
CMHI, II	<i>A Comprehensive History of India</i> , vol. II
CUHI, I	<i>The Cultural Heritage of India, Ramakrishna Centenary Memorial</i> , vol. I
DGM, 1911	<i>District Gazetteer of Mathurā</i> , 1911
DGM, 1968	<i>District Gazetteer of Mathurā</i> , 1968
DJI	<i>Digambara Jaina Iconography</i>
EI, I	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i> , vol. I
EI, II	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i> , vol. II
EI, X	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i> , vol. X
EI, XX	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i> , vol. XX
Elliot and Dowson, II	Elliot and Dowson, <i>History of India as Told by its Historians</i> , vol. II
Elliot and Dowson, IV	Elliot and Dowson, <i>History of India as Told by its Historians</i> , vol. IV
ERE, II	<i>Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics</i> , vol. II
ERE, VII	<i>Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics</i> , vol. VII
GD	<i>The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India</i>
GEAMI, I	<i>The Geographical Encyclopaedia of Ancient and Medieval India</i> , Part I.
HGAI	<i>Historical Geography of Ancient India</i>
HIEA	<i>History of Indian and Eastern Architecture</i>





Abbreviations

<i>HJM</i>	<i>History of Jaina Monachism</i>
<i>HOFA</i>	<i>A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon</i>
<i>HOIC, I</i>	<i>A History of Indian Civilisation, vol. I</i>
<i>HOPEW</i>	<i>History of Philosophy Eastern and Western</i>
<i>HP</i>	<i>Harivamaśa Purāṇa</i>
<i>IGI, II</i>	<i>Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. II</i>
<i>Introductory Booklet</i>	<i>Introductory Booklet, Śrī 1008 Jambūsvāmī Jaina Siddha Kṣetra, Mathurā</i>
<i>IP</i>	<i>India's Past</i>
<i>ISP</i>	<i>Mathurā Kī Guptakālīn Jain Mūrtiyon Kā Pratimā Lakṣaṇa. Paper presented in the International Seminar held at Government Museum, Mathurā</i>
<i>JAA, I</i>	<i>Jaina Art and Architecture, vol. I</i>
<i>JI</i>	<i>The Jaina Iconography</i>
<i>JIR</i>	<i>Jainism in Rajasthan, Sholapur, 1963</i>
<i>JISI</i>	<i>Jainism in South India</i>
<i>JOLR</i>	<i>Jainism, The Oldest Living Religion</i>
<i>JPV</i>	<i>Jain Pratimā Vigyān</i>
<i>JS</i>	<i>The Jaina Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā</i>
<i>JSAI</i>	<i>Jaina Sources of the History of Ancient India</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Jaina Sects and Schools</i>
<i>JUPHS, III</i>	<i>Mathurā Museum Catalogue, V.S. Agarawala, Part III, Journal of U.P. Historical Society</i>
<i>LDJC</i>	<i>Life in Ancient India as Depicted in Jaina Canons</i>
<i>MCH</i>	<i>Mathurā — The Cultural Heritage</i>

<i>MDM</i>	<i>Mathurā — A District Memoir</i>
<i>MI</i>	<i>Mathurā Inscriptions</i>
<i>MJ</i>	<i>Medieval Jainism</i>
<i>MM no.</i>	<i>Government Museum, Mathurā Object Number</i>
<i>MS</i>	<i>Mathurā Sculptures</i>
<i>NM no.</i>	<i>National Museum Object Number</i>
<i>OISJ</i>	<i>On the Indian Sect of the Jainas</i>
<i>OJ</i>	<i>Outlines of Jainism</i>
<i>Poddar Abhinandan</i>	<i>Poddar Abhinandan Granth</i>
<i>RI</i>	<i>Religions of India</i>
<i>ROAI</i>	<i>Religions of Ancient India</i>
<i>SFE</i>	<i>The Struggle For Empire</i>
<i>SIJA</i>	<i>Studies in Jaina Art</i>
<i>SML no.</i>	<i>State Museum, Lucknow Object Number</i>
<i>TSPC, II</i>	<i>Hemacandra, Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita, vol. II</i>
<i>TSPC, III</i>	<i>Hemacandra, Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita, vol. III</i>
<i>TSPC, IV</i>	<i>Hemacandra, Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita, vol. IV</i>
<i>TSPC, VI</i>	<i>Hemacandra, Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita, vol. VI</i>
<i>Vividha-Tirtha-Kalpa</i>	<i>Jinaprabha Sūri, Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa</i>
<i>Vogel, Catalogue</i>	<i>J. Ph. Vogel, Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā</i>
<i>Yaśastilaka</i>	<i>Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture</i>
<i>EWA, VIII</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia of World Art, vol. VIII</i>





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1

Introduction to Jainism

JAINISM is one of the oldest religions in India. It evolved at an early period of Indian history¹ and has been called by numerous names. Through the ages, Jainism and its culture have been called by names and epithets like the R̥ṣabha Cult, the Ahimsā Dharma, the Śramaṇa Dharma, the Nirgrantha Dharma, the Yogamārga, the Vrātya, the Ārhat, the Syādvāda Mat, the Anekānta Mat, the Samāni, the Bhavya, the Sarāka, the Bhāvade, the Sewade, the Śrāvaka, the Jaina, etc., in various parts of India.² It is a religion with a complete system; it has its dogma, metaphysics, philosophy, mythology, ethics and ritual. Jainism is a living religion³ and has got a strong hold upon an influential section of the Indian people.⁴ The adherents of this religion, now called Jainas, were known as Nirgranthas for long.⁵ These days they are sometimes called Sarāugīs⁶ or Sarāogīs⁷ also.

The majority of the Jainas belong to the trading classes⁸, and they hold an important position in Indian society⁹ because of their wealth and education.¹⁰

1. *ERE*, VII, p. 465; *CUHI*, I, p. 185; *ACHI*, p. 100; *JOLR*, p. 1.
2. *JSAI*, Introduction, pp. 5-6.
3. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 6; *ACHI*, p. 100; *AI (M)*, p. 170; *SIJA*, p. 3.
4. *AI (M)*, p. 170.
5. *LDJC*, p. 21; *RI*, p. 283 fn. 2; *ROAI*, p. 117; *JJ*, p. 12.
6. *MDM*, p. 13.
7. *JSAI*, Introduction, p. 5; *DGM*, 1911, p. 82; *Census*, 1931, p. 493.
8. *ERE*, VII, p. 472; *OISJ*, p. 1; *CUHI*, I, p. 222.
9. *IP*, p. 72; *JSAI*, Introduction, p. 6.
10. *ERE*, VII, p. 472; *OISJ*, p. 1; *IP*, p. 72.

Important cities of India have considerable Jaina population.¹¹ The principal sub-divisions of the Jainas are the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara. The states of Gujarat, Rajasthan, Maharashtra and Karnataka have the largest number of Jainas in India.¹² The Digambara Jainas preponderate in south Maharashtra and Karnataka, and the Śvetāmbara Jainas are more numerous in Gujarat and the Punjab.¹³ As a whole, the Jainas are economically well-off. Jaina affluence is most noticeable in the celebration of festivals, construction of temples and deeds of public welfare.

Jainism was a popular religion in India in the ancient and early medieval period. The period from the fifth century AD to the tenth century AD was the most flourishing in the history of Jainism, particularly in south India. Probably, one-third of the total population of the Deccan professed Jainism during this period.¹⁴ But there has been a considerable decline in the number of the Jainas during the past ten centuries. According to the census of 1901, the Jainas numbered 1,334,140, and this strength was less than 1/2 per cent of India's population.¹⁵ The Jaina population in India was 1,178,000 in 1926¹⁶ and a little over two million in 1975.¹⁷ At present Jainism is professed by more than five million in India.¹⁸ Hermann Jacobi¹⁹ and A.A. Macdonell²⁰ felt that Jainism is a rigorous religion to practice; it is suitable for the upper classes and unfit for the illiterate masses, and this accounts for its small numerical strength. It is difficult to agree with this view. Jainism, undoubtedly, lays great stress on an austere and rigorous life. It, in fact, is a votary of asceticism.

11. *JAA*, I, p. 34; *ERE*, VII, p. 472; *OISJ*, p. 1.

12. *JAA*, I, p. 34.

13. *Ibid.*

14. A.S. Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 310, cited in *JSAI*, p. 247 fn. 3.

15. *ERE*, VII, p. 472.

16. *IP*, p. 72.

17. *ACHI*, p. 100.

18. A.K. Mazumdar, *Early Hindu India*, Delhi, 1981, p. 263.

19. *ERE*, VII, p. 472 fn. 1.

20. *IP*, p. 72.



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But India has rightly been called the homeland of asceticism.²¹ Tradition and legend have united to glorify the ascetic in India.²² The popularity of Jainism in ancient and early medieval India disproves the viewpoint of Jacobi and Macdonell.

Jainism declined in numerical strength due to a variety of causes. With the passage of time the Jainas lost their early zeal and many evils crept into the Jaina society.²³ The advent of Islam in India also delivered a cruel blow to Jainism. As a result of Muslim aggression the Jainas living in various parts of India lost contact with each other; forced conversion of the Jainas to Islam and the policy of destruction and demolition adopted by many Muslim rulers of India weakened the monastic organisation of Jainism.²⁴ The consequent disintegration of the Jaina church destroyed the bond of unity among the Jainas and their numerical strength kept on dwindling.²⁵

But, in spite of the small numerical strength of its followers, the contribution of Jainism to the Indian heritage has been extremely significant. Through the ages, Jainism has produced admirable monks and nuns, kings, military generals, ministers, statesmen, authors, philosophers, religious leaders, financiers, industrialists, traders, artists, scholars, etc.²⁶ Religious instincts fostered by Jainism have created impression on many aspects of Indian life.²⁷ Jainism has made a significant contribution in the domain of politics also. Epigraphic records of Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu contain facts which reveal that Jainism made a remarkable contribution to the

21. *HJM*, p.1.

22. *ERE*, II, p. 187.

23. *CUHI*, I, p. 222.

24. *HJM*, p. 136; *JIR*, pp. 51-3.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 136-7.

26. For a detailed information on this subject one is advised to consult B.A. Saletore, *Medieval Jainism*; K.C. Jain, *Jainism in Rajasthan*, 1963; Jyoti Prasad Jain, *The Jaina Sources of the History of Ancient India*, 1964; Jyoti Prasad Jain, *Pramukh Aitihāsik Jain Puruṣa Aur Mahilāen*, 1975.

27. *ACHI*, p. 100.



success and stability of the magnificent Vijayanagara empire and many other kingdoms of south India.²⁸ Jainism has enriched Indian philosophy, art, architecture, languages both Aryan and Dravidian, literature, social life and pattern of living, and to this contribution we shall turn in some detail later in this book.

Misconceptions about Jainism

After the establishment of British rule in India, European scholars devoted themselves to the task of exploring the philosophy and religions of India. About the beginning of the nineteenth century Jainism attracted notice of European scholars.²⁹ But they could not form a correct opinion about this faith for long owing to the absence of original texts which at the time were scarcely available in Europe.³⁰ Consequently, Jainism was misunderstood and misrepresented. Some European scholars looked upon Jainism as an off-shoot of Buddhism.³¹ Some others viewed it as a rebellious variety of Brāhmanism³² or as a revolt against this religion.³³

Jainism is not an off-shoot of Buddhism

The older generation of Sanskrit scholars held two opinions on these subjects. Colebrooke, Prinsep, Stevenson, E. Thomas and some others thought that Jainism is older than Buddhism.³⁴ But distinguished orientalists like H.H. Wilson, Lassen and Weber were of opinion that Jainism is an off-shoot of Buddhism.³⁵ The latter view was held on the basis of some striking resemblances

28. *MJ*, p. 2.

29. *HJM*, p. 14.

30. *CHI*, I, p. 152.

31. *ERE*, VII, p. 465.

32. *OJ*, Introduction, xxix.

33. *ROAI*, pp. 111-12; E.B. Havell, *History of Aryan Rule in India*, p. 59; Maurice A. Canney, *An Encyclopaedia of Religions*, 1976, p. 195; *JOLR*, Preface, i.

34. *CHI*, I, p. 152.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 152; *OISJ*, p. 23 fn. 1.



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in the Jaina and Buddhist records of which only a small part had reached Europe at that time.³⁶ But thanks to the researches of Hermann Jacobi, J.G. Buhler, Guerinot and some others the view that Jainism is an off-shoot of Buddhism stands discredited. Between 1879 and 1884, Jacobi undertook the refutation of the negative thesis that Jainism arose out of Buddhism.³⁷ In his introductions to volumes XXII and XLV of the *Sacred Books of the East*, Jacobi thoroughly exploded the myth that Jainism is an off-shoot of Buddhism: Jacobi wrote,

Notwithstanding the radical difference in their philosophical notions, Jainism and Buddhism, being originally both orders of monks outside the pale of Brāhmanism, present some resemblance in outward appearance, so that even Indian writers occasionally have confounded them. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that some European scholars who became acquainted with Jainism through inadequate samples of Jain literature easily persuaded them that it was an off-shoot of Buddhism. But it has since been proved beyond doubt that this theory is wrong, and that Jainism is at least as old as Buddhism.³⁸

On the strength of references in Pāli literature, Jacobi proved that the Jainas existed before the time of Mahāvīra, who was a contemporary of Gautama Buddha, and that Mahāvīra was a reformer of the order of ascetics founded by Pārśvanātha rather than being the founder of Jainism.³⁹ Jacobi succeeded and his role is largely remembered because of this accomplishment.⁴⁰ After his study of inscriptions excavated from Kaṅkālī Ṭilā, Mathurā, J.G. Buhler, another eminent German scholar, also reached the conclusion that Jainism is not an off-shoot of Buddhism. Buhler wrote,

36. *CHI*, I, p. 152.

37. *MCH*, p. 104.

38. *ERE*, VII, p. 465.

39. *Sacred Books of the East*, vols. XXII and XLV, Introductions; also see *ERE*, VII, pp. 465 ff.

40. *MCH*, p. 104; *LDJC*, p. 21; *RI*, p. 283 fn. 2



Old historical traditions prove the independent existence of the sect of the Jainas even during the first five centuries after Buddha's death, and among the inscriptions are some which clear the Jaina tradition not only from the suspicion of fraud but bear powerful testimony to its honesty.⁴¹

Jacobi had proved the independence of Jainism from Buddhism on the basis of literary evidence, Buhler provided epigraphical evidence to confirm it.

Points of similarity and difference between Jainism and Buddhism

There are, undoubtedly, some similarities between Jainism and Buddhism. Both are pessimistic and monastic religions.⁴² Both consider the world as an abode of sorrow and hold that salvation is the aim of human life.⁴³ Both deny the authenticity of the Vedas as an infallible authority and question the efficacy of the rites prescribed in them for the purpose of salvation.⁴⁴ Both ignore the conception of God.⁴⁵ Both lay emphasis on a rigorous system of discipline based on a code of moral and spiritual behaviour.⁴⁶ Both advocate stress on pure and moral life rather than on worship of and devotion to God as the means to salvation.⁴⁷ Both believe that *nirvāṇa* can be achieved by one's own efforts.⁴⁸

But, these similarities are largely superficial in nature. In fact, Jainism and Buddhism radically differ in religion as well as metaphysics.⁴⁹ Their

41. *OISJ*, p. 23.

42. *IP*, p. 68.

43. *AI (M)*, p. 168; *ERE*, VII, p. 465.

44. *Ibid.*

45. *Ibid.*

46. *AOIU*, p. 361.

47. *AI (M)*, pp. 168-9.

48. Sital Prasad, *Comparative Study of Jainism and Buddhism*, 1982, p. 196.

49. *RI*, p. 286.



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conceptions about soul and many other matters are fundamentally different and cannot be explained away as later additions.⁵⁰ Both advocate the attainment of *nirvāṇa*, but they differ in their methods of realising it.⁵¹ Jainism advocates the possession of right belief, right knowledge and right conduct as a means to the attainment of *nirvāṇa*,⁵² but Buddhism suggests the eight-fold path as a means to this end.⁵³ They differ in their concept of *nirvāṇa* also. The suggested meaning of *nirvāṇa* in Buddhism is extinction.⁵⁴ But in Jainism *nirvāṇa* means the attainment of its original pure nature or state by the soul.⁵⁵ They differ in the concept of soul also. Gautama Buddha denied the existence of soul.⁵⁶ Jainism, on the other hand, believes in the reality of soul.⁵⁷ Jainism lays great stress on asceticism.⁵⁸ But Gautama Buddha decried it⁵⁹, and preached the middle path⁶⁰ or the path of moderation that avoids extreme,⁶¹ i.e., the mean between laxity and asceticism.⁶² In their doctrine of non-violence, too, Jainism and Buddhism are not in total agreement. Jainism preaches non-violence even towards inanimate things.⁶³ But the Buddha was not averse to meat-eating, and is said to have died of dysentery caused by eating pork.⁶⁴



50. *AI (M)*, p. 169.

51. *ERE*, VII, p. 465.

52. *CUHI*, I, p. 195; *OJ*, p. 53; *OISJ*, p. 5.

53. *RI*, pp. 305-6; *Bhikshu Sangharakshita, A Survey of Buddhism*, 1957, pp. 133-5.

54. *Jl*, p. 3; *CUHI*, I, p. 272; Sital Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

55. *HJM*, p. 4.

56. *CUHI*, I, p. 259; G.F. Allen, *The Buddha's Philosophy*, London, 1959, p. 42; *AOIU*, p. 372.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 224; *OJ*, p. 7; *Jl*, p. 4.

58. *RI*, p. 287; *Jl*, p. 4; *IP*, p. 71; *AI (M)*, p. 169.

59. *The World's Great Religions*, 1959, p. 43; *IP*, p. 71.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 43; G.F. Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40; *AI (M)*, p. 169.

61. G.F. Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

62. *RI*, p. 310 fn. 1.

63. *HOIC*, I, p. 162; *Jl*, pp. 3-4.

64. *RI*, p. 310 fn. 1.

In metaphysics Jainism recognises a dualistic realism.⁶⁵ Buddhism, on the other hand, emphasises the doctrine of universal void.⁶⁶ The Digambara Jaina monks lay great stress on nudity.⁶⁷ The Buddha, on the other hand, denounced the practice of going out naked.⁶⁸ The Jaina canon is different from the Buddhist canon; it also gives an impression of greater antiquity.⁶⁹ The lay community in Jainism plays a greater part in the administration of its religion.⁷⁰ The fundamental theories of Jainism, i.e., the *syādvāda*; the Jaina division of living beings, especially the elementary lives, are not found in Buddhism.⁷¹ In fact, Jainism and Buddhism were rival religions⁷² and had distinct historical origins.⁷³ Jainism is certainly older than Buddhism. It is, therefore, not surprising that because of the greater antiquity of Jainism some scholars considered Buddhism as an off-shoot of this religion.⁷⁴

Points of similarity and difference between Jainism and Hinduism

Jainism has much in common with the Hindu systems of philosophy. Like Sāṃkhya and Yoga schools of Hindu philosophy, Jainism believes in dualism of matter and soul, looks upon worldly life as bad and painful, and holds that liberation from the cycles of birth by the possession of right knowledge is the aim of human life.⁷⁵ Like Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika and Pūrva-

65. *ERE*, VII, p. 468; *OJ*, p. 7; *Jl*, p. 4.

66. *CUHI*, I, pp. 261-5; *Jl*, p. 3.

67. *OISJ*, p. 2; *IP*, p. 69.

68. *AIM*, p. 169; *AOIU*, p. 362.

69. *ROAI*, p. 120.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

71. *ERE*, VII, p. 465 fn. 3.

72. *CHI*, I, p. 151; *JOLR*, p. 5; *SBE*, vols. XXII and XLV, Introductions.

73. *AIM*, pp. 168-9.

74. *ROAI*, p. 111.

75. *ERE*, VII, p. 465.



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Mīmāṃsā schools of Hindu philosophy, Jainism rejects the doctrine of the creator of the universe and also the theory of creation.⁷⁶ Like the Uttara-Mīmāṃsā, Jainism considers the world as a product of evolution.⁷⁷ Jainism resembles the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā in emphasising the potency of *karma*⁷⁸, and resembles the Vedānta (Uttara-Mīmāṃsā) in maintaining that every individual soul (*jīva*) is potentially a *parmātman*.⁷⁹ The *ātmaśāstra* of Jainism, 'though different from the Upaniṣadic view',⁸⁰ is close to the spirit of the Vedānta.⁸¹

But Jainism has its peculiarities as well. It differs from the Sāṃkhya and the Yoga in the methods of realising salvation.⁸² According to Hinduism, Jainism is heretical because it denies the authority of the Vedas.⁸³ The Jaina doctrine of non-violence is opposed to Vedic ritualism.⁸⁴ The Jaina and the Hindu conceptions of God are fundamentally different.⁸⁵ Like the Sāṃkhya and the Yoga, Jainism believes in the dualism of matter and soul, but these metaphysical principles are worked out on different lines in this religion. The Sāṃkhya School of philosophy has adopted Brāhmanical modes of thought, but Jainism which is non-Brāhmanical, has adopted animistic ideas.⁸⁶ The canons of Hinduism and Jainism are different. The Jainas do not believe in Hindu funeral rites; they also do not venerate sacred places of the Hindus.⁸⁷

76. *CUHI*, I, pp. 186-7.

77. *Ibid.*, p. 190.

78. *Ibid.*

79. *Ibid.*

80. *ERE*, II, p. 801.

81. *ROAI*, p. 131.

82. *ERE*, VII, p. 465.

83. *Ibid.*, p. 465.

84. *CUHI*, I, p. 191.

85. *ACHI*, p. 108.

86. *ERE*, VII, p. 465 fn. 2.

87. *Jl*, p. 2.



Relationship between Jainism and Hinduism

It is evident that Hinduism and Jainism are two different religions. But, in spite of its numerous differences, Jainism is nearer to Hinduism than Buddhism.⁸⁸ The opposition of Jainism to Hinduism has been less pronounced,⁸⁹ and it has been more accomodating to Hinduism than other unorthodox faiths.⁹⁰ Hinduism, too, has been sympathetic to Jainism,⁹¹ and has shown respect and receptivity to it.⁹² In fact, a process of give and take has been a characteristic feature of the relationship between Hinduism and Jainism.⁹³ Hinduism and its ethics bear conspicuous stamp of Jainism.⁹⁴ Similarly, considerable Hindu influence can be traced on Jainism.⁹⁵ Both Jainism and Hinduism have laid stress on asceticism,⁹⁶ and scholars like Jacobi,⁹⁷ Buhler⁹⁸ and Charpentier⁹⁹ have noticed exact similarity between the rules laid down for Hindu *samnyāsīs* and Jaina monks. Mahāvīra was not opposed to the brāhmaṇas; he was opposed to the degenerate priestly class.¹⁰⁰ The brāhmaṇa was conceived as an ideal man. In the Jaina texts dealing with the ideal qualities of the brāhmaṇas, the śramaṇas are designated as such.¹⁰¹ Jainism

88. *RI*, pp. 286-7.

89. *ROAI*, pp. 121-2.

90. *AOIU*, p. 425; *AI(M)*, p. 169.

91. *JIR*, p. 234.

92. *HOIC*, I, p. 167.

93. S.D. Jha, *Aspect of Brahmanical Influence on the Jaina Mythology*, 1978, Introduction, p. 13.

94. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 13; *ERE*, II, p. 813.

95. *Ibid.*, pp. 235-6, *Rerespect*; *ERE*, II, pp. 802, 812; *ERE*, VII, p. 470; *OISJ*, pp. 15-16; *AOIU*, p. 362; *CHI*, I, pp. 150-2; *ROAI*, pp. 113-14; *HJM*, pp. 52 ff; *AOIK*, p. 295.

96. *RI*, p. 287.

97. *CHI*, I, p. 151; *HJM*, p. 52.

98. *OISJ*, pp. 15-16; *ibid.*

99. *CHI*, I, p. 151; *ibid.*

100. *HJM*, p. 64.

101. *Ibid.*



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has not been opposed to caste system.¹⁰² The brāhmaṇa priests (*pujārīs*) are employed in Jaina temples.¹⁰³ There was no trace of pessimism in the attitude of Ṛgvedic Aryans,¹⁰⁴ and the doctrine of transmigration of soul was unknown to the early Brāhmaṇas.¹⁰⁵ Probably, Hinduism adopted these features from Jainism.¹⁰⁶ *Tīrthamkara* Śāntinātha's sermon¹⁰⁷ sounds like a commentary on *Gītā*.¹⁰⁸ The Jaina and Hindu Purāṇic teachings are almost identical.¹⁰⁹ The definition of *dharma* as given by the *Mahābhārata* and Guṇabhadra, the Jaina *purāṇakāra*, is identical.¹¹⁰ The doctrine of non-violence on which Jainism lays great stress has found modified approval in Hinduism.¹¹¹ The Jaina pontiffs like Jinasena prescribed rules and practices laid down by Brāhmaṇa dharmaśāstras for the Jainas.¹¹²

Nāga-worship, tree-worship and *yaḥṣa*-worship were common to Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism in ancient India.¹¹³ After the adoption of idol-worship the difference between a Hindu and a Jaina became almost non-existent in ancient India.¹¹⁴ In fact, with the passage of time little outward difference existed in the rituals, mode of worship and religious celebrations of the Hindus and the Jainas.¹¹⁵ The Hindu, Jaina and Buddhist idols were often



102. *Jl*, p. 3; *AOIU*, p. 425; *CUHI*, p. 222; *AOIK*, p. 295.

103. *Ibid.*; *RI*, p. 286; *ROAI*, p. 125.

104. *ERE*, II, p. 802; *CUHI*, I, p. 29.

105. *AOIU*, p. 363.

106. *Ibid.*

107. *TSPC*, vol. III, pp. 322-3.

108. S.D. Jha, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

109. *Ibid.*, p. 255.

110. *Ibid.*, p. 254.

111. *RI*, p. 287; S.D. Jha, *op. cit.*, p. 255; *JIR*, p. 234.

112. S.D. Jha, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-6; *JSAL*, p. 248.

113. V.S. Agrawala, *Ancient Indian Folk Cults*, Varanasi, 1970, pp. 104, 116, 180.

114. *HOIC*, I, p. 166.

115. *JSAL*, p. 248.

installed side by side in one temple.¹¹⁶ Jainism has adopted many Hindu gods and goddesses to its pantheon.¹¹⁷ The general way of life of a Hindu and a Jaina in Rajasthan is almost the same.¹¹⁸ Regarding Uttar Pradesh the *Census Report of India* says,

The difference between Jains and Hindus is not very distinct, and in practice seems more social than religious. Closely connected as Jains are by race and profession with certain sections of the Hindu community, inter-marriages have, in the past, not been uncommon.¹¹⁹

The Hindus and the Jainas participate in each other's festivals also. The message of Jainism to mankind is: 'Be a man first and last, for the kingdom of God belongs to the son of man'; this very truth is proclaimed in unmistakable terms by the Upaniṣadic text *tat tvam asi* 'Thou Art That'.¹²⁰

Background of Jainism

To a great extent Jainism is a primitive religion. There is much in it that is pre-Aryan. But it has also been influenced by Brāhmanic thought and practices. The origin and growth of Jainism was the consequence of both pre-Aryan and Aryan influence.

Before the advent of the Aryans in eastern India some recluses or primitive people held a number of ideas like a pessimistic outlook on life, the doctrine of transmigration of soul, belief in the presence of soul or life in all things.¹²¹ These ideas were later submerged in the general stream of Indian thought.¹²² Jainism had its origin in eastern India. Many philosophical ideas

116. *JSAI*, p. 248.

117. *Jl*, p. 3; *AOIU*, p. 425; *JIR*, p. 234; *OISJ*, p. 61.

118. *JIR*, p. 234.

119. *Census*, 1931, p. 495.

120. *CUHI*, I, p. 219.

121. *ACHI*, p. 100; *AOIU*, pp. 362-3.

122. *Ibid.*, p. 100; *Ibid.*, p. 362.



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of Jainism were either borrowed from or were a survival of the thought currents of the primitive people of eastern India.¹²³ This was the primitive or pre-Aryan or non-Aryan background of Jainism. But it was also influenced by the thought and practices of Brāhmanism.¹²⁴ This was the Aryan background of Jainism.

Outlines of Jainism

It is beyond the scope of this book to deal with the metaphysics, philosophy, mythology, ethics and rituals of Jainism exhaustively. We turn to these subjects succinctly. Jainism does not believe in a Creator¹²⁵ or a Creator God¹²⁶ or a Supreme Being¹²⁷ and also rejects the theory of creation.¹²⁸ Like the Uttara-Mimāṃsā School of Hindu philosophy, Jainism views the world as a product of evolution.¹²⁹ Jainism holds that the world is not created or ruled by God;¹³⁰ it is without beginning and end;¹³¹ it is everlasting and exists on the strength of its elements.¹³²

Conception of God in Jainism

In Jaina metaphysics there is no room for God either as a creator or as a distributor of prizes.¹³³ Jainism has generally been labelled an atheistic religion. In an article on atheism, Hermann Jacobi, an internationally renowned authority on Jainism, wrote,



123. *AOIU*, p. 363.

124. S.D. Jha, *op. cit.*, Introduction, pp. 13, 235-6, Retrospect.

125. *CUHI*, I, pp. 189-90.

126. *AJAA*, p. 50.

127. *Jl*, p. 4.

128. *CUHI*, I, pp. 189-90.

129. *Ibid.*, p. 190.

130. *ERE*, II, p. 187.

131. *OISJ*, p. 9; *ERE*, II, p. 187.

132. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

133. *ACHL*, p. 108.

Jainism is atheistical, if by atheism we understand the belief that there is no eternal Supreme God, Creator and Lord of all things; for the Jainas flatly deny such a Supreme God.¹³⁴

He also wrote,

Though the Jainas are undoubtedly atheistical as we understand the term, still they would probably object to being styled atheists.¹³⁵

In fact, Jaina scholars hold that Jainism is not atheistical. Lakshmi Chandra Jain writes,

Jainism cannot be regarded as a Nāstika or atheistical religion, simply because it does not believe in a Creator God. It believes in the eternal existence of soul (Jīva) and of five other substances. . . . It believes in the potentiality of each soul to achieve Nirvāṇa or the State of Godhood.¹³⁶

J.L. Jaini writes,

As compared with most other religions, it is important to notice that Jainism has a very definite and uncompromising attitude towards the conception of God. It is accused of being atheistic. This is not so, because Jainism believes in Godhood and in innumerable gods; but certainly Jainism is atheistic in not believing its gods to have created the universe.¹³⁷

But, Jainism believes in a highest deity — *parama-devatā*¹³⁸ or *parmātman*.¹³⁹

134. *ERE*, II, p. 186.

135. *Ibid.*, p. 187.

136. *JAA*, I, Preface, vii.

137. *OJ*, pp. 4-5.

138. *ERE*, II, p. 187.

139. *CUHI*, I, p. 191.



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This highest deity is the *jina*;¹⁴⁰ the *jina* is an object of veneration,¹⁴¹ the highest object of worship.¹⁴² The *jina* deserves to be worshipped, because he is the conqueror of the world and provides the ideal, i.e., salvation from the cycle of births and deaths, which are characteristic of the world.¹⁴³ Jainism also believes in innumerable gods, who are of various kinds and of various degrees of perfection.¹⁴⁴ But these gods are not eternal.¹⁴⁵

Like the Sāṃkhya School of Hindu philosophy, Jainism is dualistic. It believes in the existence of the *jīva* (soul) and the *ajīva* (non-soul).¹⁴⁶ According to Jainism, these two exhaust between them all that exists in the universe.¹⁴⁷ As a result of the contact between the *jīva* and the *ajīva*, i.e., the living and the non-living, energies are forged which lead to various experiences of life like birth and death.¹⁴⁸ This process can be stopped and the energies already forged can be destroyed by following a path of discipline which can lead to salvation.¹⁴⁹ This statement contains seven propositions, i.e., the seven *tattvas* or realities of Jainism.¹⁵⁰ These seven propositions are as follows:¹⁵¹

1. There is the *jīva* or the living.
2. There is the *ajīva* or the non-living.
3. The *jīva* and the *ajīva* come into contact with each other.
4. This contact produces some energies.

140. *ERE*, II, p. 187; *CUHI*, I, p. 191.

141. *Ibid.*, p. 187.

142. *CUHI*, I, p. 191.

143. *Ibid.*

144. *ERE*, II, p. 186.

145. *Ibid.*

146. *CUHI*, I, p. 224; *Jl*, p. 4.

147. *Ibid.*, p. 224.

148. *Ibid.*

149. *Ibid.*

150. *Ibid.*

5. The process of this contact can be stopped.
6. The existing energies can also be destroyed.
7. Salvation can be achieved.

The ethics of Jainism stands for realisation of *nirvāṇa* or *mokṣa*.¹⁵² According to Jainism, *nirvāṇa* or *mokṣa* means the attainment of its original purity by the soul.¹⁵³ Jainism views *nirvāṇa* as a highly special or transcendental condition of human soul in which it remains eternally and absolutely free from passion, hatred, birth, decay, desire, etc., because of complete destruction of all causes of sorrow.¹⁵⁴ The *nirvāṇa* or salvation can be achieved by right faith, right knowledge and right conduct.¹⁵⁵ These three jewels or *tri-ratna* is the *mokṣa mārg* or path of salvation in Jainism.¹⁵⁶ None of these three jewels can ensure salvation individually; their togetherness is the essential condition for the attainment of *mokṣa*.¹⁵⁷

Jainism attaches supreme significance to *anekāntavāda*¹⁵⁸ or the theory of Indefiniteness of Being.¹⁵⁹ The essence of *anekāntavāda* is that reality should be looked at from many points of view.¹⁶⁰ The *anekāntavāda* theory is upheld by a dialectical method called *syādvāda*.¹⁶¹ The Jainas attach so much importance to this method that *syādvāda* is frequently used as a synonym for Jainism.¹⁶² *Syādvāda* — the doctrine of 'It may be so' — is a mode of reasoning

151. *CUHI*, I, p. 224.
152. *ERE*, VII, p. 470.
153. *HJM*, p. 4.
154. *CUHI*, I, p. 273.
155. *HJM*, p. 4; *ERE*, VII, p. 470; *JJ*, p. 7; *OJ*, p. 53.
156. *CUHI*, I, p. 195.
157. *Ibid.*
158. *ERE*, VII, pp. 467-8.
159. *Ibid.*
160. *CUHI*, I, p. 236.
161. *ERE*, VII, p. 468.
162. *Ibid.*, p. 468.



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which makes it possible to assert and deny the existence of one and the same thing.¹⁶³ The doctrine of *nayas* is supplementary to the doctrine of *syādvāda*, and in a way is the logical complement to it.¹⁶⁴ The essence of the doctrine of *nayas* is that all ways of judgement are partially true.¹⁶⁵

The doctrine of *ahimsā* or non-violence is central to Jainism; no religion has laid greater emphasis on it than this creed. The Jaina discipline is very hard. It preaches non-attachment, abstinence from intoxicants, adultery, gambling, hunting, taking food at night, etc.¹⁶⁶ The rituals of Jainism are not as elaborate as Hindu rituals, but they certainly surpass those of Buddhism.¹⁶⁷ The Jains worship the images of their *tīrthamkaras* and gods in their temples, and many rites and ceremonies are observed in respect of worship. The Jains also practise confession of sins before the teacher.¹⁶⁸ Jainism attaches great significance to pilgrimages, and four months in the year are specially devoted to fastings, reading of sacred books and spiritual meditation. Jaina festivals are lavishly celebrated. The Jains have adopted some Hindu festivals also.¹⁶⁹

Ideals of Jainism

To a large extent Jainism is a direct representative of the ancient Magadhan culture or the stream that was known as Śramaṇic.¹⁷⁰ This stream stands in sharp contrast to the Brāhmanic current of Indian culture. The avowed aim of Jainism is the perfection of man.¹⁷¹ It holds that every individual soul (*jīva*) is capable of achieving godhood. It preaches severe discipline, self-control, renunciation and austerity. Jainism respects and glorifies the ascetic. The

163. *OISJ*, p. 11.

164. *ERE*, VII, p. 468.

165. *Ibid.*

166. *Jl*, p. 9.

167. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

168. *Ibid.*, p. 11; *ROAI*, p. 128.

169. *Ibid.*, p. 12.



spirit of universality is a characteristic feature of Jainism. It inspires each man to become a *jina* or a conqueror, and believes in the potentiality of each soul to achieve *mokṣa* or salvation. Thus, its avowed aim is to lead all men to salvation.¹⁷² Man is not perfect, but he can attain perfection. Jainism holds that man is the architect of his destiny¹⁷³, and he should strive to reach as near perfection or godhood as possible.¹⁷⁴ It advocates conquest of the body, the senses and the world-stuff. A Jaina feels inspired by the moral grandeur of the *jina* and by the metaphysical solitude of the *kevalin* or the perfect.

Ethics is the most glorious aspect of Jainism. According to Jainism, the highest good of the society is the highest good of the individual.¹⁷⁵ It stands for absolute and eternal happiness for all living beings.¹⁷⁶ Jainism interprets non-violence in an extremely comprehensive sense. It attributes soul to all sentient creatures. It holds that plants, air, water and minerals, too, have soul. Jainism believes that non-violence means abstinence from all thought, speech and action that can provoke discord and conflict. *Ahimsā* or non-violence is the principal religious idea of Jainism. The ethics of this religion is based on the doctrine of non-violence. According to Jainism, *ahimsā* is not a negative virtue. On the contrary, it views it as a positive quality which preaches universal love. One who is actuated by this ideal cannot be indifferent to the sufferings of others.¹⁷⁷ *Anekāntavāda* constitutes the philosophical ideal of Jainism. Its attitude towards other religions is determined by *anekāntavāda*, which means that reality should be looked at from many points of view. Peace and tolerance are, thus, inherent in Jainism.

170. *JSAI*, Introduction, p. 4.

171. *JAA*, I, p. 35.

172. *OISJ*, p. 3.

173. *AOIU*, p. 425; *CAI*, p. 78.

174. *OJ*, p. 5.

175. *Ibid.*, Introduction, xxiii

176. *Ibid.*, Introduction, xxii.

177. *HOPEW*, p. 139.





2

Jaina Tīrthamkaras and antiquity of Jainism

THERE is a great divergence of opinion regarding the antiquity of Jainism. Mahāvīra is generally regarded as the founder of Jainism.¹ But the Jaina tradition is steadfast in maintaining that Jainism is eternal, and was repeatedly revealed by twenty-four *tīrthamkaras*,² who appeared at long intervals to restore to their original purity doctrines which were darkened by evil influences,³ and to propagate right knowledge, right faith and right conduct to the people steeped in ignorance about reality.⁴ The title *tīrthakara* is peculiar to Jainism; among the Buddhists it is a designation for false teachers.⁵ But in Jainism, the meaning of *tīrthakara*⁶ or *tīrthamkara*,⁷ is entirely different. We find several definitions of a *tīrthamkara* in both Śvetāmbara and Digambara literature⁸ according to which *tīrthamkara* means a prophet or the founder of a religion.⁹

According to Buhler and Jacobi, the meaning of *tīrthakara* — prophet or

1. *CHI*, I, p. 153; *AI (M)*, p. 167.
2. *ERE*, VII, p. 466.
3. *OISJ*, p. 7.
4. *HJM*, p. 57.
5. *OISJ*, p. 6.
6. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *OISJ*, p. 6; *CHI*, I, p. 153.
7. *JI*, p. 15; *CUHI*, I, p. 236; *AJAA*, p. 2.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
9. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *CHI*, I, p. 153; *JSS*, p. 9; *JI*, p. 15.

founder of religion — is a derivation from the Brāhmanic use of the word *tīrtha* in the sense of 'doctrine'.¹⁰ He is the *tīrthakara* because he is the proclaimer or founder of the doctrine¹¹ or the founder of the ford through the ocean of the world.¹² The *tīrthamkara* is also called the *jina* because he is a conqueror, of the world, and of lust, anger, etc.¹³ He is also called the *arhat* because he is the holy one.¹⁴ In Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣcarita* and the inscriptions found from Kaṅkālī Ṭilā, Mathurā, we find repeated use of the title *arhat*¹⁵ for the *tīrthakara* or the *tīrthamkara* or the *jina*. In the Jaina inscriptions discovered from Kaṅkālī Ṭilā, Mathurā, besides the epithet *arhat*, the title *bhagvata* has also been frequently used for the *tīrthamkara*.¹⁶

Although the epithet *tīrthamkara* is pre-eminently and extensively used these days, the title used in the *ācārāṅga* — the earliest of the Jaina āgamic works — is *arahaṃta*, and it is used in plural; this indicates that there were many such persons.¹⁷ The *tīrthamkara* is also called *kevalin* or *sarvajña* because he possesses omniscience.¹⁸ The *tīrthamkaras* occupy the highest position in Jainism. They were exalted to the highest eminence because they performed great services for the deliverance of mankind.¹⁹ In Jainism, the *jina* is the highest deity; he is the teacher of sacred law; he is free from all emotions; he possesses omniscience, and is entirely indifferent to all that belongs to the world.²⁰ The *tīrthamkara* typifies all that is perfect and infinite

10. *OISJ*, p. 7 fn 6.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 6; *CAI*, p. 77; *AOIU*, p. 411.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 6; *Ji*, pp. 16-17.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
15. *TSPC*, III, pp. 235-40; *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 47, p. 9, no. 59, p. 12.
16. *EI*, X, Appendix, nos. 24, 26-7, p. 5.
17. *AJAA*, p. 2; also see *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 57, p. 12.
18. *OISJ*, p. 6.
19. *Ji*, p. 16.
20. *ERE*, II, p. 187.



Jaina Tīrthamkaras and antiquity of Jainism

in the soul of man; he undertakes the teaching of righteousness, faith and insight.²¹ The *jina* conquers his mind and passion through self-mortification; he emancipates himself from dependance upon the world and all its objects, animate and inanimate, and transcends his physical existence and bondage of *karma*.²² He has infinite qualities; he is the conqueror of the world, and, he provides the ideal for those who desire salvation.²³

The *tīrthamkaras* are guides²⁴ and spiritually great souls.²⁵ They are liberated souls who go up to the top of the universe and remain there for ever in the state of absolute perfection.²⁶ The Jainas are firm in their belief that each *tīrthamkara* is a separate individual — a perfect soul.²⁷ The *tīrthamkaras* keep their individual identity even after their liberation from physical integument.²⁸ When the *tīrthamkara* reaches the top end of the universe after leaving his physical body, he, like other liberated souls residing in that part of the universe, is called a *siddha*.²⁹ In the Jaina pantheon, even the gods and goddesses, many of whom have been adopted from Hinduism, are treated as subordinate to the *jinas*.³⁰ The idea of the relative superiority of the *jinas* has found manifestation in the Jaina iconography also; in the early Jaina sculptures the *tīrthamkaras* occupy practically the entire relief.³¹

Of the twenty-four *tīrthamkaras*, twenty-two have been ascribed to the Ikṣavāku dynasty of the kṣatriyas.³² But Munisuvr̥ata, the twentieth

21. *ERE*, II, p. 187.

22. *HOIC*, I, p. 163.

23. *CUHI*, I, p. 191.

24. *OJ*, Introduction, xxvii.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

26. *ERE*, II, p. 186.

27. *AJAA*, p. 3.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

30. *Jl*, p. 37; *OISJ*, p. 61; *JIR*, p. 234.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-8.

32. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *OISJ*, p. 65.



tīrthamkara, and Neminātha, the twenty-second *tīrthamkara*, are said to have belonged to the Harivaṁśa³³ or the Yādava³⁴ dynasty of the kṣatriyas. According to the Jaina tradition, nearly all *tīrthamkaras* received consecration at their native places, and all obtained *jñāna* or complete enlightenment at the same place.³⁵ The exceptions were — Rṣabha, who became a *kevalin* at Purimtāla,³⁶ Neminātha, who became a *kevalin* at Girnar,³⁷ and Mahāvīra, who became a *kevalin* at the bank of Rjupālikā river.³⁸ Twenty *tīrthamkaras* are said to have attained *mokṣa* at Samet Śikhara,³⁹ i.e., Pārśvanātha hill in the Hazaribagh district of Bihar.⁴⁰ Of the remaining four, Rṣabha attained *nirvāṇa* on *Aṣṭāpada* which is supposed to be Śatruñjaya in Gujarat,⁴¹ Vāsupūjya at Campāpurī,⁴² Neminātha on Mount Girnar,⁴³ and Mahāvīra at Pāvāpurī.⁴⁴ Twenty-one *tīrthamkaras* are said to have achieved *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture; but Rṣabha, Neminātha and Mahāvīra attained it in the *padmāsana* posture.⁴⁵ Rṣabha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra are the most favourite *tīrthamkaras* among the Jainas, but images and temples of other *tīrthamkaras*, too, are found in many parts of India.⁴⁶

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33. *HP*, Editorial; *OISJ*, p. 65; *ERE*, VII, p. 466.
 34. *Ibid.*; *ACHI*, p. 100.
 35. *OISJ*, pp. 65-6; *JI*, p. 30.
 36. *Ibid.*; *JPV*, p. 86; *JI*, p. 30.
 37. *Ibid.*; *HP*, pp. 643-4; *JI*, p. 30.
 38. *Ibid.*; *AAHI*, p. 85; *CHI*, I, p. 159.
 39. *Ibid.*, p. 66; *JAA*, I, pp. 14-16; *JI*, p. 30.
 40. *HGAI*, p. 249; *GD*, p. 176; *JI*, p. 30.
 41. *OISJ*, p. 66.
 42. *Ibid.*; *JAA*, I, pp. 14-16; *GEAMI*, I, p. 83; *GD*, p. 44.
 43. *Ibid.*; *HP*, pp. 798-9.
 44. *Ibid.*; *AOIU*, p. 415.
 45. *Ibid.*, p. 66; *MCH*, p. 353.
 46. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JI*, p. 17.



Jaina worship

The *tīrthamkaras* are liberated souls and they neither care for nor exercise influence on worldly affairs.⁴⁷ Yet, temples are erected to them⁴⁸ where the Jainas worship them in concrete form.⁴⁹ In fact, the Jainas consider the practice of image-worship of the *tīrthamkaras* as co-eval with the foundation of Jainism.⁵⁰ This seems to have started at an early time.⁵¹ The discovery of a highly polished torso of a *jina* image from Lohanipur near Patna,⁵² and a possible reference in the Hāthīgumphā inscription to the removal of a *jina* image from Kalinga to Pāṭaliputra by the Magadhan King Nanda at the time of his invasion of Kalinga,⁵³ prove that image-worship was certainly in vogue among the Jainas in the Maurya period.⁵⁴ An inscription discovered from Kankālī Tīlā, Mathurā⁵⁵ leaves us in no doubt that image-worship was an established custom among the Jainas as early as the second century BC.

Jainism does not believe in a Creator-God. It also holds that idol-worship is not essential for the attainment of salvation.⁵⁶ Therefore, the pertinent query is: What is the rationale of idol-worship in Jainism? The answer is not far to seek. The attitude of the Jaina devotee is expressed in the following quotation:

Him who is the leader of the path to salvation, who is the dispeller of mountains of *karmas*, and who is the knower of all reality, Him I



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47. *ERE*, II, p. 186; *ERE*, VII, p. 466.
 48. *Ibid.*, p. 187; *Ibid.*, p. 466; *IP*, p. 69.
 49. *AJAA*, p. 50; *IP*, p. 69.
 50. *AOIU*, p. 425.
 51. *JAA*, I, Editorial, p. 3; *SIJA*, p. 40; *AJAA*, pp. 50 ff.
 52. *AOIU*, p. 425; *SIJA*, p. 5; *JAA*, I, Editorial, p. 3.
 53. *EI*, XX, pp. 71-89; *AOIU*, p. 426.
 54. *AOIU*, p. 426; *SIJA*, p. 5.
 55. *EI*, II, Inscription no. 1, pp. 198-9.
 56. *AJAA*, p. 62.

worship in order that, I may realise these very qualities of His.⁵⁷

In other words, it is not idol-worship; it is worship of an ideal. J.L. Jaini writes,

The Jains worship the ideal and nothing but the ideal, namely, the soul in its perfect condition. . . .⁵⁸

It is held that Jaina worship is not worship of a deity,⁵⁹ nor does it demand favours and escape from calamities.⁶⁰ It is worship of a perfect human being, of a soul that has freed itself from all bondage.⁶¹ The Jainas maintain that the idol is not a partrait of the *jina*; on the contrary, it is a symbol of his qualities,⁶² and by worshipping the idol of the *jina*, the Jaina devotee develops in his own self the aggregate of the qualities of the Perfect Man.⁶³

Jaina scholars opine that image-worship was sanctioned and introduced in Jainism because the common Jaina devotee was already accustomed to worship of *yakṣas*, *nāgas*, *bhūtas*, trees, rivers, etc.⁶⁴ Jainism made a beginning with worship of *stūpas*, trees, *āyāga-paṭṭas*, etc., and this was followed by worship of the *pañca-parmeṣṭhins*, i.e., the *tīrthamkaras*, the *siddhas*, the *ācāryas*, the *upādhyāyas* and the *sādhus*.⁶⁵ The *pañca-parmeṣṭhins* represent various states of spiritual progress and sect-hierarchy, and this group represents objects of Jaina worship.⁶⁶ But worship of this group does not appear to have started up to the end of the first century AD.⁶⁷

57. *CUHI*, I, p. 191.

58. *OJ*, p. 75.

59. *AJAA*, p. 62.

60. *JAA*, I, p. 41.

61. *AJAA*, p. 62.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

63. *Ibid.*; *ERE*, II, p. 187; *JAA*, I, p. 41; *SIJA*, p. 39.

64. *AJAA*, p. 63.

65. *Ibid.*

66. *Ibid.*; *JAA*, I, p. 42; *ACHI*, p. 109.

67. *AJAA*, p. 63.



Jaina Tīrthamkaras and antiquity of Jainism

Real worship in Jainism, however, centres around the *tīrthamkaras* and the *siddhas*, especially the former.⁶⁸ Devotion to them is expressed through hymns, rituals and *pūjās* of various kinds.⁶⁹ In the hierarchy of Jainism, the *siddha* occupies the highest position after the *tīrthamkara*. The *siddha* is a liberated soul and is a resident of the top end of the universe; therefore, he is also worshipped as a deity.⁷⁰ The difference between the *tīrthamkara* and the *siddha* consists in the fact that the former has physical body and the latter does not possess that.⁷¹

The next three positions in the hierarchy of Jainism in order of merit are held by the *ācāryas*, the *upādhyāyas* and the *sādhus* respectively. In Jainism these three categories of ascetics are also worshipped because they follow the path of salvation and also provide guidance to the Jaina religious order.⁷² The *ācāryas* are spiritual preceptors; the *upādhyāyas* impart canonical teachings and also undertake activities associated with spiritual engagements.⁷³ The *sādhus* are mendicants.⁷⁴ Jainism has adopted many gods and goddesses from the Hindu pantheon.⁷⁵ These Hindu deities, too, are worshipped because they are considered integral to the Jaina religious system.⁷⁶

Introduction to the tīrthamkaras

The earliest reference to the twenty-four *tīrthamkaras* has been made in the *Samvāya*, the *Kalpasūtra* and the *Āvaśyaka Nirvyukti*.⁷⁷ A study of Jaina works like Hemcandra's *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita* reveals that the life of

68. *JAA*, I, p. 42.

69. *Ibid.*

70. *AJAA*, p. 4.

71. *Ibid.*

72. *Ibid.*

73. *Ibid.*

74. *Ibid.*

75. *JJ*, p. 37; *JIR*, p. 234; *AOIU*, p. 426; *OISJ*, p. 61.

76. *JJ*, pp. 25-6.

77. *LDJC*, p. 371.



the twenty-four *tīrthamkaras* ran almost on identical lines.⁷⁸ All *tīrthamkaras* were born in kṣatriya royal families. All were averse to worldly life. All of them had very long lives, except Mahāvīra. Most of them ruled for long, and subsequently renounced the world as a result of illuminations. They practised asceticism and attained *mokṣa* after founding a community of disciples. Jainism believes in two *kalpas* or cycles each of which has two eras named *avasarpinī* and *utsarpinī*; these two eras are divided into six ages or *kālas*.⁷⁹ According to the Jaina works the *Samvāya*, the *Kalpasūtra* and the *Āyaśyaka Nirvyukti*, Rṣabha, the first *tīrthamkara*, was born in the third age, i.e., the period of happiness and sorrow, and the remaining twenty-three *tīrthamkaras* were born in the fourth age, i.e., the period of sorrow and happiness.⁸⁰

Rṣabha — the first *tīrthamkara*

According to the Jaina tradition, Rṣabha, called Rṣabhanātha,⁸¹ Rṣabhadeva,⁸² Usabha,⁸³ Vṛṣabha,⁸⁴ Vṛṣabhanātha,⁸⁵ Ādinātha,⁸⁶ Ādiśvara Bhagvān,⁸⁷ was the first *jina* and the first *tīrthamkara*.⁸⁸ He was born in the third age (*susmādusmā*) or the period of happiness and sorrow⁸⁹ at Vinītanagar,⁹⁰ i.e., Ayodhya.⁹¹ His father Nābhi and mother Marudevī were the king and the

78. See the volumes of Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭisālākāpuruṣacarita*, tr. into English by H.M. Johnson and published from Baroda.

79. *LDJC*, p. 371.

80. *Ibid.*, fn 2.

81. *Jl*, p. 50; *JAA*, I, p. 14.

82. *OISJ*, p. 66.

83. *LDJC*, p. 371.

84. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *OISJ*, p. 66.

85. *Jl*, p. 50.

86. *OISJ*, p. 66; *GD*, p. 14; *GEAMI*, I, p. 43; *JAA*, I, p. 14.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

88. *LDJC*, p. 19.

89. *Ibid.*, p. 371 fn 2.

90. *OISJ*, p. 66; *JAA*, I, p. 14; *HGAI*, p. 67.

91. *LDJC*, p. 19; *GEAMI*, I, p. 43; *HGAI*, p. 67; *GD*, p. 14.



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queen of Ayodhya.⁹² According to the Jaina tradition, Ṛṣabha was the originator of agriculture, the ceremony of cremating the dead, building of the mounds, and the festivals in honour of Indra and the *nāgas*.⁹³ He is also said to have taught the arts of cooking, writing, pottery, painting and sculpture for the first time.⁹⁴

According to the Jaina tradition, Ṛṣabha descended for incarnation from the heaven Sarvārthasiddha⁹⁵ and ruled for a very long time. His height was 500 poles and he lived for 8,400,000 *pūrva* years.⁹⁶ His complexion has been mentioned as golden.⁹⁷ Ṛṣabha became a *kevalin* (attained omniscience) at Purimtāla⁹⁸ under a banyan tree.⁹⁹ He devoted a considerable part of his life to asceticism and sermonising. His first *gaṇadhara* (leading disciple) and *āryā* (leader of female converts) were Puṇḍarīka and Brāhmī respectively.¹⁰⁰ Ṛṣabha attained *mokṣa* in the *padmāsana* posture¹⁰¹ on Aṣṭāpada¹⁰² which is supposed to be Śatruñjaya hill in Gujarat.¹⁰³

Ajitanātha — the second tīrthamkara

Ajitanātha, the second *tīrthamkara*,¹⁰⁴ also called Ajitanātha Satparṇa,¹⁰⁵

92. *JPV*, p. 85; *LDJC*, p. 371.

93. *LDJC*, p. 19.

94. *Ibid.*

95. *OISJ*, p. 66.

96. *Ibid.*

97. *OISJ*, p. 66; *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 14.

98. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-7; *JPV*, p. 86.

99. *Ibid.*

100. *Ibid.*

101. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

102. *Ibid.*; *JPV*, p. 86.

103. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

104. *Ibid.*, p. 67; *JAA*, I, p. 14.

105. *Jl*, p. 52.



was born at Vinitā.¹⁰⁶ His father Jitaśatru was the king of Vinitā (Ayodhya) and his mother's name was Vijayā Devī.¹⁰⁷ According to the Jaina belief, Ajitanātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Vijayavimāna.¹⁰⁸ He married at the insistence of his father and lived a happy married life.¹⁰⁹ He renounced the world after ruling for long and resorted to a life of asceticism.¹¹⁰ He attained enlightenment (*bodhi*) under a *śāla* tree¹¹¹ at Ayodhya¹¹² after twelve years' hard penance.¹¹³

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 450 poles and he lived for 7,200,000 *pūrva* (great) years.¹¹⁴ His complexion has been described as golden.¹¹⁵ His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Simhasena and Phālgū respectively.¹¹⁶ Ajitanātha attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture¹¹⁷ on Samet Śikhara.¹¹⁸ Pārśvanātha hill (Samet Śikhara) is situated in the Hazaribagh district of Bihar.¹¹⁹ It stands in a dense forest infested with wild animals and is the second highest mountain south of the Himalayas.¹²⁰ It is frequently visited by the Jainas from all parts of India.¹²¹ There is a Digambara Jaina temple at the top of this hill and some Śvetāmbara Jaina temples at its foot.¹²²

106. TSPC, II, p. 28; HGAI, p. 67.

107. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-9; JPV, p. 95.

108. OISJ, pp. 66-7.

109. TSPC, II, p. 73.

110. *Ibid.*, pp. 89-91.

111. OISJ, pp. 66-7.

112. JPV, pp. 95-6.

113. *Ibid.*

114. OISJ, pp. 66-7.

115. *Ibid.*; ERE, VII, p. 466; JAA, I, p. 14.

116. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-7.

117. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

118. TSPC, II, pp. 219-20; OISJ, p. 66; JAA, I, p. 14.

119. HGAI, p. 249; GD, p. 176.

120. *Ibid.*, p. 249.

121. *Ibid.*

122. *Ibid.*



Sambhavanātha — the third tīrthamkara

Sambhavanātha, the third *tīrthamkara*, was born at Śrāvastī,¹²³ which is Sahet-Mahet in Gonda-Bahraich district of Uttar Pradesh.¹²⁴ His father Jitāri was the king of Śrāvastī and his mother's name was Senā Devī¹²⁵ or Suṣenā.¹²⁶ According to the Jaina tradition, Sambhavanātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Uvarimagraiveka.¹²⁷ His childhood was full of pleasure.¹²⁸ He ascended the throne at his father's behest and ruled like a benevolent king.¹²⁹ Subsequently, he renounced his throne and lived the life of an ascetic and preacher.¹³⁰ He attained omniscience under a *sāla* tree¹³¹ at Śrāvastī¹³² after fourteen years' hard penance.¹³³

According to the Jaina tradition, Sambhavanātha's height was 400 poles and he lived for 6,000,000 *pūrva* years.¹³⁴ His complexion has been described as golden.¹³⁵ His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Cāru and Śyāmā respectively.¹³⁶ He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture¹³⁷ at Samet Śikhara.¹³⁸

123. TSPC, II, pp. 232-4; *JI*, p. 54; *OISJ*, pp. 66-7; *JAA*, I, p. 14.

124. *HGAI*, p. 124.

125. TSPC, II, pp. 232-4; *JPV*, p. 97.

126. *JPV*, p. 97; *JI*, p. 54.

127. *OISJ*, pp. 66-7.

128. TSPC, II, p. 240.

129. *Ibid.*, pp. 241-2.

130. *Ibid.*, pp. 246-52.

131. *JPV*, p. 97.

132. *Ibid.*

133. *Ibid.*

134. *OISJ*, pp. 66-7.

135. *Ibid.*; *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 14.

136. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-7.

137. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

138. TSPC, II, pp. 252-3; *JPV*, p. 97; *JAA*, I, p. 14.



Abhinandanānātha — the fourth tīrthamkara

Abhinandanānātha, the fourth tīrthamkara, was born at Ayodhya.¹³⁹ His father Samvara was the king of Ayodhya and his mother's name was Siddhārathā.¹⁴⁰ According the Jaina tradition, Abhinandanānātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Jayantavimāna.¹⁴¹ He lived a happy married life and ruled like a noble king.¹⁴² Subsequently, he renounced the throne and took to asceticism.¹⁴³ He became a kevalin under a śāla tree¹⁴⁴ at Ayodhya after hard penance.¹⁴⁵

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 350 poles and he lived for 5,000,000 pūrva years.¹⁴⁶ His complexion has been described as golden.¹⁴⁷ His first gaṇadhara and āryā were Vajranābha and Ajitā respectively.¹⁴⁸ He attained mokṣa in the kāyotsarga posture¹⁴⁹ on Pārśvanātha hill.¹⁵⁰

Sumatinātha — the fifth tīrthamkara

Sumatinātha, the fifth tīrthamkara, was born at Ayodhya.¹⁵¹ His father Megha was the king of Ayodhya and his mother's name was Maṅgalā.¹⁵² According to the Jaina tradition, Sumati descended for incarnation from the

139. TSPC, II, pp. 255-7; JI, p. 56; HGAI, p. 67.

140. Ibid., pp. 255-6; JPV, p. 98.

141. OISJ, pp. 66-7.

142. TSPC, II, p. 261.

143. Ibid., pp. 262-3.

144. JPV, p. 98.

145. Ibid.

146. OISJ, pp. 66-7.

147. Ibid.; ERE, VII, p. 466; JAA, I, p. 14.

148. Ibid., pp. 66-7.

149. Ibid., p. 66.

150. Ibid.; TSPC, II, pp. 266-7.

151. TSPC, II, p. 277; HGAI, p. 67.

152. Ibid., pp. 277-81; JI, p. 58; JPV, p. 99.



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heaven Jayantavimāna.¹⁵³ He married at his father's behest and lived a happy married life.¹⁵⁴ Subsequently, he renounced kingship and resorted to a life of asceticism. He became a *kevalin* under a *priyaṅgu* tree at Ayodhya after twenty years of hard penance.¹⁵⁵

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 300 poles and he lived for 4,000,000 *pūrva* years.¹⁵⁶ His complexion has been described as golden.¹⁵⁷ His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Carama and Kāśyapī respectively.¹⁵⁸ He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture¹⁵⁹ on Samet Śikhāra.¹⁶⁰

Padmaprabhanātha — the sixth tīrthamkara

Padmaprabhanātha, the sixth *tīrthamkara*, was born at Kauśāmbī.¹⁶¹ His father Dhara¹⁶² or Dharaṇa¹⁶³ or Śrīdhara¹⁶⁴ was the king of Kauśāmbī¹⁶⁵ and his mother's name was Susīmā.¹⁶⁶ According to the Jaina tradition, Padmaprabhanātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Uvarīmagraiveka.¹⁶⁷ He married at the behest of his father and ruled for long. Subsequently, he renounced the throne and took to a life of asceticism.¹⁶⁸ He



153. *OISJ*, pp. 66-7.
154. *TSPC*, II, pp. 282-3.
155. *JPV*, p. 99.
156. *OISJ*, pp. 66-7.
157. *Ibid.*; *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 14.
158. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-7.
159. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
160. *TSPC*, II, p. 287; *JAA*, I, p. 14.
161. *Ibid.*, pp. 289-92; *Jl*, p. 59; *HGAI*, p. 99.
162. *TSPC*, II, pp. 289-90; *JPV*, p. 100.
163. *JPV*, p. 100.
164. *OISJ*, pp. 66-7.
165. *TSPC*, pp. 289-90; *JPV*, p. 100.
166. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*, p. 100; *OISJ*, pp. 66-7.
167. *OISJ*, pp. 66-7.
168. *TSPC*, II, pp. 292-302.

became a *kevalin* under a *priyaṅgu* tree at Kauśāmbī after hard penance for six months.¹⁶⁹

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 250 poles and he lived for 3,000,000 *pūrva* years.¹⁷⁰ His complexion has been described as red.¹⁷¹ His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Pradyotna and Rati respectively.¹⁷² He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture¹⁷³ at Samet Śikhara.¹⁷⁴

Supārśvanātha — the seventh tīrthamkara

Supārśvanātha, the seventh *tīrthamkara*, was born at Vārāṇasī.¹⁷⁵ His father Supratiṣṭha¹⁷⁶ or Pratiṣṭha¹⁷⁷ was the king of Vārāṇasī and his mother's name was Pṛthvī.¹⁷⁸ According to the Jaina tradition, Supārśvanātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Madhyamagraiveka.¹⁷⁹ He married at the behest of his father and lived a happy married life. He ruled for long, and subsequently abdicated his throne to live a life of asceticism.¹⁸⁰ He became a *kevalin* under a *siriśa* or a *priyaṅgu* tree at Vārāṇasī after hard penance for nine months.¹⁸¹

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 200 poles and he lived for

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169. *JPV*, p. 100.
 170. *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.
 171. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-8; *ERE*, VII, p. 466.
 172. *Ibid.*
 173. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
 174. *TSPC*, II, pp. 302-3.
 175. *Ibid.*, pp. 305-6; *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.
 176. *JPV*, p. 100.
 177. *Ibid.*; *TSPC*, II, pp. 305-6.
 178. *TSPC*, II, pp. 305-6.
 179. *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.
 180. *TSPC*, II, pp. 308-12.
 181. *JPV*, p. 100.



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2,000,000 *pūrva* years.¹⁸² His complexion has been described as golden¹⁸³ or emerald coloured.¹⁸⁴ His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Vidirbha and Somā respectively.¹⁸⁵ He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture¹⁸⁶ on Samet Śikhara.¹⁸⁷



Candraprabha — the eighth tīrthamkara

Candraprabhanātha, the eighth *tīrthamkara*, was born at Śrāvastī¹⁸⁸ which was called Candrapurī¹⁸⁹ or Candrikapurī by the Jainas.¹⁹⁰ His father Mahāsenā was the king of Candrapurī¹⁹¹ and his mother's name was Lakṣmaṇā¹⁹² or Lakṣmī Devī.¹⁹³ According to the Jaina tradition, Candraprabhanātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Vijayanta.¹⁹⁴ He ruled for long and later abdicated his throne to concentrate on a life of asceticism.¹⁹⁵ He became a *kevalin* under a *priyaṅgu*¹⁹⁶ or a *nāga* tree¹⁹⁷ at Candrapurī after penance for three months.¹⁹⁸

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 150 poles and he lived for

182. *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.
183. *Ibid.*; *ERE*, VII, p. 466.
184. *Ibid.*, p. 68 fn 3.
185. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-8.
186. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
187. *JPV*, p. 100; *TSPC*, II, pp. 312-13.
188. *HGAI*, p. 125; *GD*, p. 190.
189. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*, pp. 189-90.
190. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*
191. *JPV*, p. 102.
192. *Ibid.*; *TSPC*, II, pp. 315-16.
193. *JPV*, p. 102.
194. *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.
195. *TSPC*, II, pp. 318-22.
196. *JPV*, p. 103.
197. *Ibid.*; *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.
198. *JPV*, p. 103.

1,000,000 *pūrva* years.¹⁹⁹ His complexion has been mentioned as white.²⁰⁰ His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Dinna and Sumanā respectively.²⁰¹ He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture²⁰² on Samet Śikhara.²⁰³

Suvidhinātha — the ninth tīrthamkara

Suvidhinātha,²⁰⁴ the ninth *tīrthamkara*, also called Puṣpadanta,²⁰⁵ was born at Kākandinagar.²⁰⁶ His father Sugrīva was the king of Kākandinagar and his mother's name was Rāmā.²⁰⁷ His parents gave him two names, i.e., Suvidhi and Puṣpadanta.²⁰⁸ According to the Jaina tradition, Suvidhinātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Anantadevaloka.²⁰⁹ He ruled for long and abdicated his throne to have recourse to a life of asceticism.²¹⁰ He attained omniscience under a tree at Kākandinagar after practising penance for four months.²¹¹

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 100 poles and he lived for 200,000 *pūrva* years.²¹² His complexion has been mentioned as white.²¹³ His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Varāhaka and Vāruṇī respectively.²¹⁴ He

199. *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.

200. *ERE*, VII, p. 466.

201. *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.

202. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

203. *TSPC*, II, pp. 322-3; *JAA*, I, p. 15.

204. *OISJ*, p. 68; *GD*, p. 190.

205. *Ibid.*; *TSPC*, II, p. 327; *JPV*, p. 104; *GD*, p. 190.

206. *TSPC*, II, pp. 325-6; *JAA*, I, p. 15.

207. *Ibid.*; *JPV*, p. 104.

208. *Ibid.*, p. 327.

209. *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.

210. *TSPC*, II, pp. 329-34.

211. *JPV*, p. 104.

212. *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.

213. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.

214. *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.



attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture²¹⁵ on Samet Śikhara.²¹⁶

Śīṭalanātha — the tenth tīrthamkara

Śīṭalanātha, the tenth tīrthamkara, was born at Bhadrilapur²¹⁷ or Bhadrapur.²¹⁸ His father Dṛḍhratha was the king of Bhadrilapur and his mother's name was Nandā.²¹⁹ According to the Jaina tradition, Śīṭalanātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Acyutadevaloka.²²⁰ He lived a happy married life and ruled for long.²²¹ Subsequently, he resorted to a life of asceticism.²²² He became a *kevalin* under a *priyaṅgu* tree²²³ after undertaking penance for three months.²²⁴

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 90 poles and he lived for 100,000 *pūrva* years.²²⁵ His complexion has been mentioned as golden.²²⁶ His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Nanda and Sujasā respectively.²²⁷ He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture²²⁸ on Samet Śikhara.²²⁹

215. *OISJ*, p. 66.

216. *JPV*, p. 104; *TSPC*, II, p. 335.

217. *TSPC*, II, pp. 337-9.

218. *JAA*, I, p. 15; *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.

219. *TSPC*, II, pp. 337-9; *JPV*, p. 105.

220. *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.

221. *TSPC*, II, pp. 340-1.

222. *Ibid.*, pp. 342-5.

223. *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.

224. *JPV*, p. 105.

225. *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.

226. *ERE*, VII, p. 466.

227. *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.

228. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

229. *TSPC*, II, p. 346; *JAA*, I, p. 15.



Śreyāmsānātha — the eleventh tīrthamkara

Śreyāmsānātha,²³⁰ the eleventh *tīrthamkara*, also called Śreyasa,²³¹ was born at Simhapura,²³² which is now called Sarnatha.²³³ At Sarnatha near Vārāṇasī there is a Jaina temple dedicated to him.²³⁴ Hira Lal Jain is of opinion that Sarnatha derived its name from Śreyāmsānātha.²³⁵ His father Viṣṇurāja was the king of Simhapura or Simhapurī²³⁶ and his mother's name was Viṣṇu Devī.²³⁷ According to the Jaina tradition, Śreyāmsānātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Acyutadevaloka.²³⁸ He ruled for long and abdicated his throne to pursue asceticism.²³⁹ He became a *kevalin* under a *tinduka* tree at Simhapurī after performing penance for two months.²⁴⁰

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 80 poles and he lived for 8,400,000 common years.²⁴¹ His complexion has been mentioned as golden.²⁴² His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Kaśyapa and Dhāraṇī respectively.²⁴³ He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture²⁴⁴ on Samet Śikhara.²⁴⁵

230. JAA, I, p. 15.

231. OISJ, p. 69.

232. TSPC, III, pp. 2-3.

233. CUHI, I, p. 220.

234. *Ibid.*, I, p. 220.

235. *Ibid.*

236. TSPC, III, pp. 2-3; JPV, p. 105.

237. JPV, p. 105.

238. OISJ, pp. 66-9.

239. TSPC, III, pp. 7-60.

240. JPV, p. 105.

241. OISJ, pp. 66-9.

242. *Ibid.*; ERE, VII, p. 466.

243. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-9.

244. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

245. TSPC, III, p. 60.





Vāsupūjya — the twelfth tīrthamkara

Vāsupūjya, the twelfth *tīrthamkara*, was born at Campā.²⁴⁶ His father Vasupūjya was the king of Campā and his mother's name was Jayā²⁴⁷ or Vijayā.²⁴⁸ According to the Jaina tradition, Vāsupūjya descended for incarnation from the heaven Prānatadevaloka.²⁴⁹ He remained celibate and also rejected kingship.²⁵⁰ He led the life of an ascetic²⁵¹ and became a *kevalin* under a *pātala* tree²⁵² at Campā.²⁵³

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 70 poles and he lived for 7,200,000 common years.²⁵⁴ His complexion has been mentioned as red.²⁵⁵ His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Subhuma and Dharaṇī respectively.²⁵⁶ He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture²⁵⁷ at Campā.²⁵⁸

Vimalanātha — the thirteenth tīrthamkara

Vimalanātha, the thirteenth *tīrthamkara*, was born at Kāmpilya,²⁵⁹ which is now called Kampil,²⁶⁰ a place in the Farrukhabad district of Uttar Pradesh.²⁶¹

246. *HGAI*, p. 205; *GD*, p. 44; *GEAMI*, I, p. 83.

247. *TSPC*, III, pp. 65-6; *JPV*, p. 105; *GD*, p. 44.

248. *JPV*, p. 105.

249. *OISJ*, pp. 66-9.

250. *JPV*, pp. 105-6.

251. *TSPC*, III, pp. 66-90.

252. *JPV*, p. 106; *OISJ*, pp. 66-9.

253. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

254. *OISJ*, pp. 66-9.

255. *Ibid.*; *ERE*, VII, p. 466.

256. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-9.

257. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

258. *HGAI*, p. 205; *JPV*, p. 106; *TSPC*, III, p. 90; *GD*, p. 44; *GEAMI*, I, p. 83.

259. *TSPC*, III, pp. 93-4.

260. *JPV*, p. 106.

261. *AGI*, p. 41; *GD*, p. 88; *HGAI*, p. 92.

His father Kṛtavarman was the king of Kāmpilya and his mother's name was Śyāmā.²⁶² According to the Jaina tradition, Vimalanātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Mahāsāradevaloka.²⁶³ He married at his father's behest and ruled for long.²⁶⁴ Subsequently, he adopted the life of an ascetic.²⁶⁵ He became a *kevalin* under a *jambū* tree²⁶⁶ at Kāmpilya after penance for two years.²⁶⁷

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 60 poles and he lived for 6,000,000 common years.²⁶⁸ His complexion has been mentioned as golden.²⁶⁹ His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Mandara and Dharā respectively.²⁷⁰ He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture²⁷¹ on Samet Śikhara.²⁷²

Anantanātha — the fourteenth tīrthamkara

Anantanātha, the fourteenth *tīrthamkara*, was born at Ayodhya.²⁷³ His father Simhasena was the king of Ayodhya²⁷⁴ and his mother's name was Suyasā²⁷⁵ or Sarvayaśā²⁷⁶ or Suryaśas.²⁷⁷ According to the Jaina tradition,

262. TSPC, III, pp. 93-4; JPV, p. 106.

263. OISJ, pp. 66-9.

264. TSPC, III, p. 95.

265. *Ibid.*, pp. 104-8.

266. JPV, p. 106; OISJ, pp. 66-9.

267. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

268. OISJ, pp. 66-9.

269. *Ibid.*; ERE, VII, p. 466.

270. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-69.

271. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

272. TSPC, III, p. 108; JPV, p. 106.

273. OISJ, pp. 66-9; HGAI, p. 67.

274. TSPC, III, pp. 111-12; JPV, p. 107.

275. JPV, p. 107.

276. *Ibid.*

277. TSPC, III, pp. 111-12.



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Anantanātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Prānatadevaloka.²⁷⁸ He married due to his father's command and ruled for long.²⁷⁹ Thereafter, he resorted to a life of asceticism.²⁸⁰ He became a *kevalin* under an *asoka*²⁸¹ or *pīpal* tree²⁸² at Ayodhyā after penance for three years.²⁸³

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 50 poles and he lived for 3,000,000 common years.²⁸⁴ His complexion has been described as golden. His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Jasa and Padmā respectively.²⁸⁵ He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture²⁸⁶ on Samet Śikhara.²⁸⁷ Anantanātha is also called Anantjit.²⁸⁸

Dharmanātha — the fifteenth tīrthamkara

Dharmanātha, the fifteenth *tīrthamkara*, was born at Ratnapura²⁸⁹ or Ratnapurī.²⁹⁰ His father Bhānu was the king of Ratnapura and his mother's name was Suvratā.²⁹¹ According to the Jaina tradition, Dharmanātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Vijayavimāna.²⁹² He married due to the insistence of his parents and ruled for long.²⁹³ Subsequently, he led the

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278. *OISJ*, pp. 66-9.
279. *TSPC*, III, p. 113.
280. *Ibid.*, pp. 114-32.
281. *JPV*, p. 107; *OISJ*, pp. 66-9.
282. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
283. *Ibid.*
284. *OISJ*, pp. 66-9.
285. *Ibid.*
286. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
287. *TSPC*, III, p. 133; *JPV*, p. 107.
288. *Ibid.*, p. 113; *OISJ*, p. 69.
289. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 135-6.
290. *OISJ*, pp. 66-9.
291. *TSPC*, III, pp. 135-36; *JPV*, p. 107.
292. *OISJ*, pp. 66-9.
293. *TSPC*, III, p. 137.

life of an ascetic for long. He became a *kevalin* under a *dadhiparna* tree²⁹⁴ at Ratnapura after undertaking penance for two years.²⁹⁵

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 45 poles and he lived for 1,000,000 common years.²⁹⁶ His complexion has been described as golden.²⁹⁷ His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Ariṣṭa and Ārthaśivā respectively.²⁹⁸ He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture²⁹⁹ on Samet Śikhara.³⁰⁰

Śāntinātha — the sixteenth tīrthamkara

Śāntinātha was the sixteenth *tīrthamkara*. According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, he was born at Gajapura; but the Digambara tradition holds that he was born at Hastinapura.³⁰¹ His father Viśvasena was the king of Hastinapura and his mother's name was Acirā.³⁰² According to the Jaina tradition, Śāntinātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Sarvārthasiddha.³⁰³ He led a happy married life and ruled for long. According to the Jaina tradition, Śāntinātha was a *cakravartin* who ruled the whole of India for 25,000 years.³⁰⁴ Subsequently, he took to asceticism. He became a *kevalin* under a *nandī* tree³⁰⁵ at Hastinapura after one year's hard penance.³⁰⁶

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 40 poles and he lived for

294. *OISJ*, pp. 66-9; *JPV*, p. 107.

295. *JPV*, p. 107.

296. *OISJ*, pp. 66-9.

297. *Ibid.*; *ERE*, VII, p. 466.

298. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-70.

299. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

300. *TSPC*, III, p. 161; *JPV*, p. 107.

301. *JAA*, I, p. 15.

302. *TSPC*, III, pp. 299-302; *JPV*, p. 108.

303. *OISJ*, pp. 66-70.

304. *JPV*, p. 108.

305. *Ibid.*; *OISJ*, pp. 66-70.

306. *Ibid.*, p. 108.



100,000 common years.³⁰⁷ His complexion has been described as golden.³⁰⁸ His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Cakrayuddha and Śuci respectively.³⁰⁹ He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture³¹⁰ at Samet Śikhara.³¹¹

Kunthunātha — the seventeenth tīrthamkara

According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, Kunthunātha, the seventeenth *tīrthamkara*, was born at Gajapura; but the Digambara tradition holds that he was born at Hastinapura.³¹² His father Śūra³¹³ or Vasu³¹⁴ or Sūryasena³¹⁵ was the king of Hastinapura³¹⁶, and his mother's name was Śrī³¹⁷ or Śrī Devī.³¹⁸ According to the Jaina tradition, Kunthunātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Sarvārthasiddha.³¹⁹ He married at the insistence of his father and ruled for long. Thereafter, he took to asceticism. He became a *kevalin* under a *tilaka* tree at Gajapura after undertaking penance for sixteen years.³²⁰

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 35 poles and he lived for 95,000 common years.³²¹ His complexion has been described as golden.³²² His

307. *OISJ*, pp. 66-70.

308. *Ibid.*; *ERE*, VII, p. 466.

309. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-70.

310. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

311. *TSPC*, III, p. 335; *JPV*, p. 108.

312. *JAA*, I, p. 15.

313. *TSPC*, IV, pp. 1-2.

314. *JPV*, p. 112.

315. *Ibid.*

316. *Ibid.*; *TSPC*, IV, pp. 1-2.

317. *TSPC*, IV, pp. 1-2.

318. *JPV*, p. 112.

319. *OISJ*, pp. 66-70.

320. *JPV*, p. 112.

321. *OISJ*, pp. 66-70.

322. *Ibid.*; *ERE*, VII, p. 466.



first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Sāmba and Dāminī respectively.³²³ He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture³²⁴ on Samet Śikhara.³²⁵

Aranātha — the eighteenth *tīrthaṅkara*

According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, Aranātha, the eighteenth *tīrthaṅkara*, was born at Gajapura; but the Digambara tradition holds that he was born at Hastinapura.³²⁶ His father Sudarśana was the king of Hastinapura³²⁷, and his mother's name was Devi³²⁸ or Mahādevī³²⁹ or Mittrā.³³⁰ According to the Jaina tradition, Aranātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Sarvārthasiddha.³³¹ He married at the insistence of his father³³² and ruled for long as a *cakravartin*.³³³ Subsequently, he abdicated the throne to live the life of an ascetic. He became a *kevalin* under a mango tree³³⁴ at Gajapura after undergoing hard penance for three years.³³⁵

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 30 poles and he lived for 84,000 common years.³³⁶ His complexion has been described as golden.³³⁷ His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Kumbha and Rakṣitā respectively.³³⁸ He

323. *OISJ*, pp. 66-70.

324. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

325. *TSPC*, IV, p. 10; *JPV*, p. 112.

326. *JAA*, I, p. 15.

327. *JPV*, p. 113; *TSPC*, IV, pp. 12-13.

328. *TSPC*, IV, pp. 12-13.

329. *JPV*, p. 113.

330. *Ibid.*

331. *OISJ*, pp. 66-70.

332. *TSPC*, IV, p. 14.

333. *JPV*, p. 113; *TSPC*, IV, p. 14.

334. *Ibid.*; *OISJ*, pp. 66-70.

335. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

336. *OISJ*, pp. 66-70.

337. *Ibid.*; *ERE*, VII, p. 466.

338. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-70.





attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture³³⁹ on Samet Śikhara.³⁴⁰

Malli — the nineteenth tīrthāṅkara

According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, Malli, the nineteenth *tīrthāṅkara*, was a woman.³⁴¹ But according to the Digambara tradition, Malli was a male.³⁴² The Digambaras hold that a woman cannot achieve *mokṣa* and they name this *tīrthāṅkara* as Mallinātha.³⁴³ The Digambara view seems to have been accepted in iconography because the images of Malli do not have feminine features.³⁴⁴ According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, Malli remained celibate and attained *kaivalya* on the day of her consecration itself.³⁴⁵ Mallinātha's father Kumbha was the king of Mithilā and his mother's name was Prabhāvatī.³⁴⁶ According to the Jaina tradition, Malli descended for incarnation from the heaven Jayantadevaloka.³⁴⁷

According to the Jaina tradition, Mallinātha's height was 25 poles and he lived for 55,000 common years.³⁴⁸ His complexion has been described as blue.³⁴⁹ Malli became a *kevalin* under an *aśoka* tree.³⁵⁰ His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Abhikṣaka and Bandhumatī respectively.³⁵¹ He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture³⁵² on Samet Śikhara.³⁵³

339. *OISJ*, p. 66.

340. *JAA*, I, p. 15.

341. *Ibid.*, p. 15 fn. 1; *JPV*, p. 113; *TSPC*, IV, pp. 54-5.

342. *Ibid.*, p. 16 fn; *Ibid.*, p. 113.

343. *Ibid.*, *ibid.*

344. *JJ*, p. 77.

345. *JPV*, p. 113.

346. *Ibid.*; *TSPC*, IV, pp. 53-4.

347. *OISJ*, pp. 66-70.

348. *Ibid.*

349. *ERE*, VII, p. 466.

350. *OISJ*, pp. 66-70.

351. *Ibid.*

352. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

353. *JAA*, I, p. 15; *TSPC*, IV, p. 71.

Munisuvṛata — the twentieth tīrthamkara

Munisuvṛata, the twentieth tīrthamkara, was born at Rājagṛha.³⁵⁴ According to the Jaina tradition, Munisuvṛata was a contemporary of Rāma Dāśarathī.³⁵⁵ His father Sumitra³⁵⁶, who belonged to the Harivamśa dynasty of the kṣatriyas³⁵⁷, was the king of Rājagṛha, and his mother's name was Padmāvati.³⁵⁸ According to the Jaina tradition, Munisuvṛata descended for incarnation from the heaven Aparājitadevaloka.³⁵⁹ He renounced the throne after a long period of kingship and took to asceticism. He became a *kevalin* under a *campaka* tree³⁶⁰ at Rājagṛha after undergoing hard penance for eleven months.³⁶¹

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 20 poles and he lived for 30,000 common years.³⁶² His complexion has been mentioned as black.³⁶³ His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Malli and Puṣpavati respectively.³⁶⁴ He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture³⁶⁵ on Samet Śikhara.³⁶⁶

Naminātha — the twenty-first tīrthamkara

Naminātha, the twenty-first tīrthamkara, also called Nimi or Nimeśvara,³⁶⁷

354. *JAA*, I, p. 16; *OISJ*, pp. 66-70; *TSPC*, IV, pp. 79-80.

355. *JPV*, p. 114; *JOLR*, p. 28; *JAA*, I, Editorial, p. 7.

356. *Ibid.*, p. 114; *OISJ*, pp. 66-70; *TSPC*, IV, pp. 79-80.

357. *TSPC*, IV, pp. 79-80; *OISJ*, p. 65.

358. *JPV*, p. 114; *TSPC*, IV, pp. 79-80.

359. *OISJ*, pp. 66-70.

360. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-70; *JPV*, p. 114.

361. *JPV*, p. 114.

362. *OISJ*, pp. 66-70.

363. *ERE*, VII, p. 466.

364. *OISJ*, pp. 66-71.

365. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

366. *Ibid.*; *JAA*, I, p. 16.

367. *Ibid.*, p. 71.



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was born at Mithilā.³⁶⁸ But according to another tradition he was born at Mathurā.³⁶⁹ His father Vijaya was the king of Mithilā and his mother's name was Vaprā³⁷⁰ or Vipritā.³⁷¹ According to the Jaina tradition, Naminātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Prāṇatadevaloka.³⁷² He ruled for long and subsequently took to a life of asceticism. He became a *kevalin* under a *bakula*³⁷³ or *jambū* tree³⁷⁴ at Mithilā after undergoing penance for nine months.³⁷⁵

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 15 poles and he lived for 10,000 common years.³⁷⁶ His complexion has been mentioned as golden.³⁷⁷ His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Śubha and Anilā respectively.³⁷⁸ He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture³⁷⁹ on Samet Śikhara.³⁸⁰

Neminātha — the twenty-second tīrthamkara

Neminātha, the twenty-second *tīrthamkara*, also called Ariṣṭanemi,³⁸¹ belonged to the Harivamśa³⁸² or the Yādava³⁸³ dynasty of the kṣatriyas and was the cousin of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa³⁸⁴ of *Mahābhārata* fame. Neminātha was born at

368. *Jl*, p. 79; *JAA*, I, p. 16; *TSPC*, IV, pp. 353-4.

369. *Ibid.*, p. 80; *OISJ*, pp. 66-71.

370. *JPV*, p. 114; *TSPC*, IV, pp. 353-4.

371. *Ibid.*, p. 114.

372. *OISJ*, pp. 66-71.

373. *Ibid.*; *JPV*, p. 116.

374. *JPV*, p. 116.

375. *Ibid.*

376. *OISJ*, pp. 66-71.

377. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 16.

378. *OISJ*, pp. 66-71.

379. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

380. *Ibid.*; *JAA*, I, p. 16.

381. *Ibid.*, p. 71; *Ibid.*

382. *Ibid.*, p. 65; *HP*, Editorial; *JAA*, I, p. 50.

383. *HP*, Editorial; *CUHI*, I, p. 220.

384. *Ibid.*; *JAA*, I, p. 50.



Śaurīpura³⁸⁵ or Śāuryapura.³⁸⁶ His father Samudravijaya was the king of Dwaraka³⁸⁷, and his mother's name was Śivā Devī.³⁸⁸ According to the Jaina tradition, Neminātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Aparājitadevaloka.³⁸⁹ Animal-slaughter for the marriage feast grieved him and he decided to remain celibate.³⁹⁰ He took to asceticism and became a *kevalin* under a *vetasa* tree³⁹¹ after undergoing penance for fifty-six days.³⁹²

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 10 poles and he lived for 1,000 common years.³⁹³ His complexion has been mentioned as black.³⁹⁴ His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Varadatta and Yakṣadinnā respectively.³⁹⁵ He attained *mokṣa* in the *padmāsana* posture³⁹⁶ on Mount Girnar.³⁹⁷

To the life of Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third *tīrthamkara*, and Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth *tīrthamkara*, we shall turn in the next chapter.

Antiquity of Jainism

Very few subjects have generated as much discussion among scholars as the antiquity of Jainism. Broadly speaking, there are three schools of thought regarding its antiquity. According to the Jaina tradition, Ṛṣabha was the first *jina* and the first *tīrthamkara*,³⁹⁸ and was born more than one hundred billion

385. *OISJ*, pp. 66-71; *HP*, pp. 478-82; *JAA*, I, p. 50.

386. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*

387. *JPV*, p. 117; *JL*, p. 81.

388. *Ibid.*; *OISJ*, pp. 66-71; *HP*, pp. 478-82.

389. *OISJ*, pp. 66-71.

390. *JPV*, p. 117; *JAA*, I, p. 17; *HP*, pp. 616-34.

391. *OISJ*, pp. 66-71.

392. *HP*, p. 644.

393. *OISJ*, pp. 66-71.

394. *ERE*, VII, p. 466.

395. *OISJ*, pp. 66-71.

396. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

397. *Ibid.*, p. 66; *JAA*, I, p. 17; *HP*, pp. 644-5.

398. *LDJC*, p. 19.



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oceans of years ago.³⁹⁹ The Jaina tradition also holds that Ṛṣabha lived for two million *pūrva* (great) years as a prince and six million three thousand *pūrva* years as a king.⁴⁰⁰ According to the second school of thought, Jainism was founded by Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third *tīrthamkara*, 'who lived in the ninth-eighth century BC'.⁴⁰¹ According to the third school of thought, Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth *tīrthamkara*, 'who lived in the sixth century BC',⁴⁰² was the founder of Jainism,⁴⁰³ and this view persists in some quarters.⁴⁰⁴

An overwhelming majority of historians doubt the historicity of the first twenty-two *tīrthamkaras*. Their arguments are as follows:

1. There is no historical evidence regarding the existence of the first twenty-two *tīrthamkaras*;⁴⁰⁵ they, therefore, belong to mythology rather than to history.⁴⁰⁶
2. The number of Jaina *tīrthamkaras* is not original;⁴⁰⁷ it is canonically the same as given by the Hindus and Buddhists for their respective incarnations.⁴⁰⁸
3. The first twenty-two *tīrthamkaras* were legendary figures who were probably introduced to balance the number of the *jinas* with the number of the Buddhas.⁴⁰⁹

399. *OISJ*, p. 7.

400. *HJM*, p. 57.

401. *JAA*, I, p. 16; *JOLR*, p. 14.

402. *GD*, p. 108; *JSAI*, pp. 32 ff.

403. *CHI*, I, p. 153; *AI (M)*, p. 167; *IP*, p. 69; *EWA*, VIII, p. 786; A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, 1954, p. 287.

404. *JOLR*, Preface, i.

405. *JSS*, p. 9; *LDJC*, p. 19.

406. *ERE*, VII, p. 466.

407. *Ji*, p. 36.

408. *Ibid.*; *OISJ*, p. 8.

409. *LDJC*, p. 19.



4. Brāhmanical ideas may have given rise to the doctrine of twenty-five Buddhas and twenty-four *jīnas*, and these are later additions in Buddhism and Jainism.⁴¹⁰
5. The long duration of the careers of the first twenty-two *tīrthamkaras* and the intermediate periods between them as embodied in the Jaina tradition are unbelievable and unimaginable.⁴¹¹
6. The tale that the period of the first twenty-two *tīrthamkaras* covered millions of years before Christ is unacceptable to modern historians.⁴¹² S.B. Deo writes,

... it is not possible to accept the historicity of these twenty-two *tīrthamkaras*, for the distances between them as well as their longevity is not only given in unbelievable numbers, but also in a descending sequence which gives the whole an appearance of a deliberate planning of mythology rather than of a sound historical chronology.⁴¹³

For instance, it is held that Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third *tīrthamkara*, lived 84,000 years after the death of the twenty-second *tīrthamkara*.⁴¹⁴

7. Jaina scholars refer to names from the Vedas which are identical with the names of some *jīnas*; but it may be said that these are the names of Vedic ṛṣis.⁴¹⁵
8. There is a reference to a person named Rṣabha in the Brāhmanical literature. But he cannot be identified with the Jaina *tīrthamkara* of the same name, because according to the Jaina tradition '*tīrthamkara*

410. *OISJ*, p. 8.

411. *JAA*, I, p. 14 fn 1; *Jl*, p. 36; *OISJ*, p. 7; *CHI*, I, p. 153.

412. *SJA*, pp. 3-4.

413. *HJM*, pp. 59-60.

414. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

415. *Jl*, p. 36.



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Ṛṣabha lived millions and millions years ago'.⁴¹⁶

9. The historicity of early *tīrthamkaras* cannot be proved from the non-Jaina literary records of the second millennium BC.⁴¹⁷



These arguments are extremely potent. But it would be unfair to view the first twenty-two *tīrthamkaras* as imaginary persons. The Jainas wrote the *Purāna* about the life of Ṛṣabha and the *Uttarapurāna* about the life of other *jinas*.⁴¹⁸ These works were written to reveal the lives of the *jinas* to the followers of Jainism. It is difficult to believe that this vast literature which was produced to unfold information about the *jinas* dealt with imaginary persons.⁴¹⁹ The period and the height assigned to these *tīrthamkaras* are, undoubtedly, extremely exaggerated and unbelievable. But these should be viewed in a literal and not figurative sense. The enormous length of time and the height assigned to the *jinas*, were, probably suggestive of the hoary antiquity of Jainism and super human features of these pontiffs.⁴²⁰

We make a start with the historicity of Ṛṣabha whom the Jainas regard as the first of the *tīrthamkaras*. Details of Ṛṣabha's life are embodied in both the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara literature. *Ādi Purāna* of the Digambaras and two Śvetāmbara works — Bhadrabāhu's *Kalpasūtra* and Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita* — contain an account of Ṛṣabha's life.⁴²¹ The Jaina texts *Samavāya* and *Āvaśayka Nirvyukti* also contain a reference to Ṛṣabha.⁴²² Ṛṣabha's name occurs in the Brāhmanical literature also. The Vedas make a mention of Ṛṣabha,⁴²³ and some scholars opine that this person is none other than the Jaina *tīrthamkara* Ṛṣabha.⁴²⁴

416. *OISJ*, p. 7; *HJM*, p. 57.

417. *Jl*, p. 36.

418. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

419. *Ibid.*

420. *JAA*, I, p. 14 fn 1.

421. *Jl*, p. 50.

422. *LDJC*, p. 371.

423. *JAA*, I, Preface, vii; *JOLR*, pp. 41-2; *CUHI*, I, p. 185.

424. *Ibid.*, *CUHI*, I, p. 185.

The story of Ṛṣabha also occurs in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*⁴²⁵ and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*.⁴²⁶ In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*⁴²⁷ and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*⁴²⁸ he is mentioned as an incarnation of Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa.⁴²⁹ Ṛṣabha's story as given in these works is identical with his story as given in the Jaina sacred literature.⁴³⁰ These Purāṇas mention Ṛṣabha as a great ascetic or *tapasvī*.⁴³¹ The description of ascetic Ṛṣabha embodied in these Purāṇas is closely identical with the ascetic discipline prescribed for a *tapasvī* or ascetic in the Jaina literature.⁴³²

The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* make a mention of Ṛṣabha who used to wander naked and desisted from religious rites.⁴³³ This description compares favourably with the Jaina account of the first *tīrthamkara* Ṛṣabha.⁴³⁴ In fact, the recorded traditions about Ṛṣabha are so varied, and his images, particularly those belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period, are so abundant that it seems difficult to deny his historical existence.⁴³⁵ Even Hermann Jacobi, who clearly doubted the historicity of the first twenty-two *tīrthamkaras*,⁴³⁶ opined that there may be something historical in the Jaina tradition which makes Ṛṣabha the first *tīrthamkara*.⁴³⁷

The Brāhmanical texts, although some of them belong to a later period,

425. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 5, 3-6; *HJM*, p. 39; *Jl*, p. 50; *CUHI*, I, p. 185.

426. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, tr. H.H. Wilson, vol. I, 1980, pp. 245-7; *HJM*, p. 39; *CUHI*, I, p. 185.

427. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 5, 3-6; *Jl*, p. 50; *CUHI*, I, p. 185.

428. *CUHI*, I, p. 185.

429. *Ibid.*, p. 185.

430. *Ibid.*; *HJM*, p. 58.

431. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 5, 3-6; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, *op. cit.*, pp. 245-6; *CUHI*, I, p. 185.

432. *CUHI*, I, p. 185.

433. See *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, *op. cit.*, p. 246 and fn; *ACHI*, p. 100.

434. *CUHI*, I, p. 185.

435. *Jl*, p. 37.

436. *ERE*, VII, p. 466.

437. Jacobi cited in *JOLR*, p. 40.



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make a mention of some other *jinas* also. The *Bhāgavata Purāna* makes a mention of Sumati,⁴³⁸ the fifth Jaina *tīrthamkara*, and calls him the son of Bharata,⁴³⁹ who was the son of R̥sabha.⁴⁴⁰ The *Bhāgavata Purāna* adds that this Sumati will be 'irreligiously worshipped by some infidels as a divinity'.⁴⁴¹ There is some similarity in the Brāhmanical and Jaina accounts of Sumati.⁴⁴² But it is also important to note that according to the Jaina texts, *tīrthamkara* Sumati was the son of Megha.⁴⁴³

The names of Ajita, the second *tīrthamkara*, and Supārśva, the seventh *tīrthamkara*, also seem to find mention in the Vedas.⁴⁴⁴ According to some scholars — K.P. Jain,⁴⁴⁵ Hira Lal Jain,⁴⁴⁶ Jyoti Prasad Jain,⁴⁴⁷ N.N. Basu,⁴⁴⁸ Fuhrer,⁴⁴⁹ L.D. Barnett,⁴⁵⁰ H.S. Bhattacharya⁴⁵¹ and P. Banerjee⁴⁵² — Neminātha or Ariṣṭanemi, the twenty-second *tīrthamkara*, was a historical person. P. Banerji writes,

Though nothing can be said definitely about the historicity of the early *tīrthamkaras*, yet there can hardly be any doubt that

438. *Bhāgavata Purāna*, 5, 15; *Viṣṇu Purāna*, *op. cit.*, p. 246 and notes.

439. *Ibid.*, 5, 15; *Ibid.*, p. 246 and notes.

440. *Viṣṇu Purāna*, *op. cit.*, pp. 245-6.

441. *Ibid.*, p. 246 and notes; *HJM*, p. 39.

442. *HJM*, p. 39.

443. *TSPC*, II, pp. 277-81; *JJ*, p. 58; *JPV*, p. 99.

444. *JOLR*, p. 29.

445. *HJM*, p. 59 fn 6.

446. *HP*, Editorial.

447. *JOLR*, p. 23.

448. *Ibid.*, p. 20 fn 3.

449. *Ibid.* fn 4.

450. *Ibid.* fn 5.

451. *Ibid.*, p. 21 fn 2.

452. P. Banerjee, *Early Indian Religions*, p. 147, cited in A.K. Mittal, *Political and Cultural History of India from Indus Valley Civilisation to 1206 AD*, 1992, p. 155 fn 2.



Vardhamāna Mahāvīra's two immediate predecessors were historical persons.⁴⁵³

According to the Jaina tradition, Neminātha was a cousin of Kṛṣṇa. The tradition associating Neminātha with Kṛṣṇa appears to be very old. Several images of the Kuṣāṇa and the post-Kuṣāṇa period represent Neminātha in the company of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma.⁴⁵⁴ Jinaprabha Sūri's *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, a Jaina text of the fourteenth century, also tells that Neminātha had a specially honoured place in Mathurā.⁴⁵⁵ Hira Lal Jain opined that during the *Mahābhārata* period Neminātha was the head of the order that ranged itself against Vedic sacrifices.⁴⁵⁶ He probably drew this conclusion from the fact that 'Neminātha is said to have emphasised the principle of *ahimsā*'.⁴⁵⁷ Kṛṣṇa's historicity is universally accepted.⁴⁵⁸ Therefore, some scholars opine that the historicity of Neminātha, 'who according to the Jaina tradition was Kṛṣṇa's cousin',⁴⁵⁹ should also be accepted.⁴⁶⁰ In short, the tradition regarding the historicity of Neminātha is fairly strong.

Some scholars hold that the *Ṛgveda* contains a clear reference to Ṛṣabha,⁴⁶¹ and that Keśī of the *Ṛgveda* and Ṛṣabha of the *Bhāgavata Purāna* is the same person.⁴⁶² It may, therefore, be reasonable to assume that probably Ṛṣabha lived in the *Ṛgvedic* Age and that 'Jainism is as old as Vedic religion'.⁴⁶³ In other words, like Hinduism, Jainism originated in the *Ṛgvedic* Age. The dating of the

453. P. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

454. *JAA*, I, p. 50; *MM* no. 34. 2488.

455. *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, p. 86; *MS*, p. 2; *JAA*, I, p. 50.

456. *CUHI*, I, p. 220.

457. *HP*, pp. 616-34; *JAA*, I, p. 17.

458. *CMHI*, II, p. 380; *Krishna The Divine Lover*, ed. David, R. Godine, 1982, p. 104; A.D. Pusalker, *Studies in the Epics and Puranas*, 1955, pp. 49ff.

459. *HP*, Editorial; *SIJA*, p. 4; *JAA*, I, Preface, vii.

460. *HJM*, p. 59 fn 6; *JOLR*, p. 20 fn 3.

461. *JAA*, I, Preface, vii; *JOLR*, pp. 29, 41, 42; *CUHI*, I, p. 185.

462. Hira Lal Jain, *Bhāratiya Samskṛti Mein Jain Dharma Kā Yogadāna*, 1962, pp. 13-16.

463. *Ibid.*, p. 17; *CUHI*, I, p. 185.



Jaina Tīrthamkaras and antiquity of Jainism



Ṛgvedic period has been a subject of much controversy. Max Muller proposed in 1859 that the Aryans arrived in India around 1500 BC, and that the *Ṛgveda* was composed between 1200-1000 BC.⁴⁶⁴ His theory was stoutly opposed by scholars like Winternitz, Buhler, Macdonell, Muir, etc., and scholars like Winternitz, Whitney, Pargiter and Goldstucker protested against this arbitrary fixation.⁴⁶⁵ Winternitz assigned the composition of the *Ṛgveda* to 2500 BC.⁴⁶⁶ But the bulk of eminent historians holds that the Ṛgvedic period began about 2000 BC.⁴⁶⁷ It may, thus, be assumed that Ṛṣabha lived sometime in the Ṛgvedic period, which began around 2000 BC or 2500 BC.

According to the Jaina tradition, Neminātha was a cousin of Kṛṣṇa. In other words, Neminātha lived in the *Mahābhārata* period. There is no unanimity among historians and archaeologists regarding the date of the Bhārata War. But it is generally accepted that this war was fought between 1400 BC and 1000 BC.⁴⁶⁸ Neminātha must have lived at some period between these two dates. The *Kalpasūtra* gives the life of only four *tīrthamkaras* — Ṛṣabha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra — and, merely provides a list of the remaining twenty *tīrthamkaras*.⁴⁶⁹ According to the *Kalpasūtra*, the remaining twenty *tīrthamkaras* lived between the ages of Ṛṣabha and Neminātha.⁴⁷⁰

Therefore, the first twenty-two *tīrthamkaras* — from the first *tīrthamkara* Ṛṣabha to the twenty-second *tīrthamkara* Neminātha — must have lived in quick succession to one another during 2500 BC and 1000 BC. The historicity

464. *Historical Archaeology of India, A Dialogue between Archaeologists and Historians*, ed. Amit Ray and Samir Mukherjee, 1990, p. 29

465. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

466. D.R. Bhandarkar, *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture*, 1940, p. 2.

467. R.C. Dutt, *Early Hindu Civilisation*, 1927, p. 1; B.N. Puri, *Indian History, A Review*, 1960, p. 10; H.G. Rawlinson, *India — A Short Cultural History*, 1952, p. 19; P.N. Bose, *Epochs of Civilisation*, 1913, p. 113.

468. AOIU, p. 251.

469. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Notes on Jaina Art*, Peckham, pp. 2-5.

470. *Ibid.*

of Pārśva, the twenty-third *tīrthamkara*, and Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth *tīrthamkara*, is beyond doubt. The life span of Pārśvanātha has been calculated as 877-777 BC,⁴⁷¹ i.e., he lived in the ninth-eighth century BC. It is, thus, clear that there is no huge interval of time between Neminātha, the twenty-second *tīrthamkara*, and Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third *tīrthamkara*. According to the Jaina tradition, Mahāvīra died two hundred fifty years after Pārśvanātha's *nirvāṇa*,⁴⁷² i.e., in 527 BC.⁴⁷³ The foregoing account makes it clear that probably the twenty-four Jaina *tīrthamkaras* lived between 2500 BC and 527 BC.

Very little information exists regarding the life of the *tīrthamkaras* who followed Ṛṣabha except Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra.⁴⁷⁴ But there is nothing unbelievable in the Jaina belief in twenty-four *tīrthamkaras*.⁴⁷⁵ Probably, the influence of the first twenty-two *tīrthamkaras* was confined to a small number of followers.⁴⁷⁶ The followers preserved the names of these *tīrthamkaras*, but failed to maintain a complete record of their life.⁴⁷⁷ It is certain that the Jaina tradition of twenty-four *tīrthamkaras* is an ancient one.⁴⁷⁸ Archaeological excavations conducted at Kaṅkāli Tīlā, Mathurā in late nineteenth century have brought to light immense archaeological material, including inscriptions and images of many *tīrthamkaras*. It proves that as early as the first-second century AD, the Jainas not only believed in the historicity of Ṛṣabha and some other *jīnas*, but also worshipped them in concrete form. We shall deal with this in detail when we take up the history of Jainism in Mathurā later in this book.

471. *JOLR*, p. 14; *JAA*, I, p. 16.

472. *CHI*, I, p. 153; *CUHI*, I, p. 185; *JAA*, I, p. 16; *JOLR*, p. 14; *SIJA*, p. 40; *AOIU*, p. 411; *JSAI*, p. 32.

473. *JSAI*, p. 35; *JAA*, I, p. 16; *JSS*, p. 22; *CUHI*, I, pp. 220-1; *JJ*, p. 89; *ACHI*, p. 101.

474. Hira Lal Jain, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

475. *JOLR*, pp. 16-17, p. 17 fn 1.

476. *CHAI*, III, p. 274.

477. *Ibid.*

478. *ROAI*, p. 112.





3

Pārśvanātha and Vardhamāna Mahāvīra

EVEN as late as the middle of the twentieth century, some eminent historians doubted the historicity of Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third *tīrthamkara*, and held that 'Vardhamāna Mahāvīra was the founder of Jainism'.¹

The historicity of Pārśvanātha

The historicity of Pārśvanātha is now almost universally accepted.² Scholars like Hermann Jacobi,³ Jarl Charpentier,⁴ R.C. Majumdar, H.C. Raychaudhuri, K.K. Datta,⁵ A.M. Ghatage,⁶ M.N. Deshpande,⁷ U.P. Shah,⁸ J.C. Jain,⁹ J.P. Jain,¹⁰ Muni Uttam Kamal Jain,¹¹ and numerous others¹² hold that Pārśvanātha was a historical person, and some like Rhys Davids,¹³

1. A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, 1954, p. 287; *IP*, p. 69; *EWA*, VIII, p. 786.
2. *ACHI*, p. 101.
3. *ERE*, VII, p. 466.
4. *CHI*, I, p. 153.
5. *AAHI (AI)*, p. 86.
6. *AOIU*, p. 411.
7. *JAA*, I, pp. 16-17.
8. *SIJA*, p. 40.
9. *LDJC*, pp. 23-4.
10. *JOLR*, p. 23.
11. *JSS*, pp. 9, 12, 13.
12. *CUHI*, I, pp. 185, 220; *JSS*, p. 9 fn.1, pp. 12-13 fn.17.
13. *JJ*, p. 81 fn. 3.

Harmsworth,¹⁴ B.C. Law¹⁵ and others¹⁶ consider him the founder of Jainism. The historicity of Pārśvanātha is not difficult to prove. Much literature has clustered around his name. The well-known Jaina text, the *Kalpasūtra*, stated to have been written by the pontiff Bhadrabāhu (perhaps somewhat before 300 BC), contains an account of the life of Pārśvanātha in the chapter entitled 'The life of the Jinas'.¹⁷ We learn from the Jaina work *Ācārāṅga-Sūtra*¹⁸ that Mahāvīra's parents followed the faith of Pārśvanātha.¹⁹ The Jaina text *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* mentions the names of many ascetics belonging to the sect of Pārśvanātha, who were present at the time of Mahāvīra's wanderings as an ascetic.²⁰ The Jaina text *Bhagavatī*²¹ contains the discussion which took place between Mahāvīra and a follower of Pārśvanātha named Gāṅgeya.²²

The followers of Pārśvanātha were known as Nirgranthas. Hermann Jacobi proved on the strength of references in Pāli literature that the Nirgranthas or the followers of Pārśva existed before the time of Mahāvīra.²³ One of the arguments advanced by Jacobi to prove the historical existence of Pārśvanātha deserves special notice. He has made a reference to a Buddhist sūtra which mistakenly attributes to Mahāvīra the religion of the four vows.²⁴ We know it that it was Pārśva who propounded the religion of the four vows

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14. *JOLR*, p. 15 fn. 2.
 15. *Ibid.*, p. 16 fn. 2.
 16. *CHI*, I, p. 153.
 17. *Ibid.*, p. 154.
 18. *Ācārāṅga-Sūtra*, II.3.401, p. 389, cited in *LDJC*, p. 20 fn.10.
 19. *LDJC*, p. 20; *SIJA*, p. 40; *JAA*, I, p. 16; *AOIU*, p. 412.
 20. *Ibid.*
 21. *Bhagavatī*, 9.32 cited in *LDJC*, p. 20 fn. 15.
 22. *LDJC*, p. 20.
 23. *SBE*, Introductions, vols. XXII and XLV; *LDJC*, P. 21; *RI*, p. 283 fn. 2.
 24. *AOIU*, p. 412.



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or the four-point religion or the four-fold path,²⁵ i.e., *cāturyāma dharma*²⁶ and not Mahāvīra. The occurrence of this mistake in a Buddhist sūtra proves that the followers of Pārśva existed in the time of Mahāvīra.²⁷ We learn from the Jaina text *Bhagavatī*²⁸ that at a place called Tuṅgiyā five hundred pupils of Pārśva embraced the five *mahāvratas* (five-point path) of Mahāvīra.²⁹

The famous dialogue between Keśin, a disciple of Pārśva, and Gautama or Indrabhūti, a disciple of Mahāvīra, which occurs in chapter XXIII of the *Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra*, one of the earliest texts of the Jaina canon, almost conclusively proves that Pārśva was a historical person.³⁰ Pārśvanātha's followers existed in the time of Mahāvīra and also a few centuries after the latter's death.³¹ The religion of Pārśva was popular among some sections of society. Dharmananda Kosambi, a well-known scholar of Buddhism, is of opinion that before his attainment of enlightenment Gautama Buddha had entered the order founded by Pārśvanātha for sometime.³² Gautama Buddha's own statements bear testimony to the opinion expressed by Kosambi.³³ A study of Buddhist literature reveals the fact that in the early part of his ascetic life Gautama Buddha himself observed the ascetic practices which have been prescribed for a Jaina ascetic.³⁴ The historicity of Pārśvanātha is beyond doubt. There is truth in the Jaina tradition that Mahāvīra was not the founder of Jainism; he in fact, was a reformer of the order of the Nirgranthas founded by Pārśvanātha.³⁵

25. *AOIU*, p. 412.

26. *JSS*, p. 10.

27. *AOIU*, p. 412.

28. *Bhagavatī*, pp. 136 ff. cited in *JSS*, p. 19 fn. 2.

29. *HJM*, pp. 63-4; *JSS*, p. 19.

30. *JAA*, I, p. 16; *JSS*, p. 13; *AOIU*, p. 412; *LDJC*, p. 21.

31. *SIJA*, p. 40.

32. *JSS*, p. 11.

33. *Ibid.*

34. *CUHI*, I, p. 185.

35. *LDJC*, pp. 22-3; *AOIU*, p. 412; *JSS*, p. 21.



Background of Pārśvanātha

There were two principal streams of thought in ancient India. The current of thought which believed in the authority of the Vedas and the sanctity of Vedic rituals was known as Brāhmaṇical. The stream of thought which opposed the Brāhmaṇical thought and practices was known as Śramaṇic.³⁶

Śramaṇa is a peculiarly Jaina term which is used to designate a Jaina monk.³⁷ The Śramaṇic culture had its distinct peculiarities. The śramaṇas held a number of primitive views like a pessimistic outlook on life, an animistic belief in the presence of soul in all things, the doctrine of the transmigration of soul, the potency of *karma*, etc. Pārśvanātha's ideology was Śramaṇic. The order to which he belonged may be called the śramaṇa *saṅgha*.³⁸ The doctrine of *ahimsā* on which Pārśvanātha laid stress was not a new doctrine. It was probably as old as the Vedas.³⁹ Neminātha, the twenty-second *tīrthamkara*, is also said to have emphasised the doctrine of *ahimsā*.⁴⁰

Life of Pārśvanātha

The life and teachings of Pārśvanātha should be viewed in the light of this background. Pārśvanātha was born to Aśvasena, the king of Benares, and his queen Vāmā,⁴¹ who was also known as Brahmā.⁴² The name Aśvasena does not occur in the Brāhmaṇic literature.⁴³ The only king of this name which finds mention in epic literature is a Nāga king.⁴⁴ Pārśvanātha was married to the daughter of the king of Kośala⁴⁵ or to the daughter of the king

36. *JSAI*, p. 4.

37. *Ibid.*

38. *CUHI*, I, p. 220.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 188.

40. *HP*, pp. 616-34; *JAA*, I, p. 17; *JPV*, p. 117.

41. *CHI*, I, p. 154; *LDJC*, p. 19; *JSS*, p. 9; *AOIU*, p. 411.

42. *JI*, p. 82.

43. *CHI*, p. 154.

44. *Ibid.*; K.A.N. Sastri, *History of India*, Part I, p. 45.

45. *JI*, pp. 82-3.



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of Pāñcāla.⁴⁶ According to the *Kalpasūtra*, Pārśvanātha spent thirty years of his life as a householder in great happiness and splendour; after that he renounced all his wealth and became an ascetic.⁴⁷ He attained the perfect knowledge of a prophet after intense meditation for eighty-four days.⁴⁸ After becoming a *kevalin* he lived for about seventy years in the state of most exalted perfection and sainthood.⁴⁹ He attained *mokṣa* on the top of Samet Śikhara.⁵⁰

From the biographical details of Pārśvanātha, we learn that he visited Ahicchatra,⁵¹ which is Ramnagar in Bareilly district of Uttar Pradesh;⁵² Hathināura⁵³ or Hatthināpura,⁵⁴ which is Hastinapura in the Meerut district of Uttar Pradesh;⁵⁵ Śrāvastī,⁵⁶ which is Sahet-Mahet in Gonda-Bahraich district of Uttar Pradesh;⁵⁷ Rāyagiha,⁵⁸ which is Rajgir in Bihar-Sharif district;⁵⁹ Kośāmbī,⁶⁰ which is Kosam near Allahabad;⁶¹ Sāgeya;⁶² which is Saket or Ayodhya;⁶³ Āmalakappā,⁶⁴ which is a place near Vaiśālī in Vaiśālī

46. *JSS*, p. 14.

47. *Kalpasūtra* 6.149-69; *CHI*, I, p. 154; *HJM*, p. 60.

48. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*

49. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*

50. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*; *OISJ*, p. 66.

51. *HJM*, p. 60; *JAA*, I, p. 16; *LDJC*, p. 19.

52. *HGAI*, p. 63; *GD*, p. 2; *GEAMI*, I, p. 8.

53. *JAA*, I, p. 16.

54. *LDJC*, p. 19; *HJM*, p. 60.

55. *HGAI*, p. 81; *JAA*, I, p. 16.

56. *HJM*, p. 61; *LDJC*, p. 19; *JAA*, I, p. 16.

57. *HGAI*, p. 124; *GD*, p. 190; *ibid.*

58. *HJM*, p. 60; *LDJC*, p. 19; *ibid.*

59. *Ibid.* fn. 17; *JAA*, I, p. 16; *HGAI*, pp. 254-5.

60. *HJM*, p. 60; *JAA*, I, p. 16; *LDJC*, p. 19.

61. *HGAI*, p. 99.

62. *HJM*, p. 61; *JSS*, p. 9; *LDJC*, p. 19; *JAA*, I, p. 16.

63. *HGAI*, p. 67.

64. *HJM*, p. 60; *LDJC*, p. 19; *JAA*, I, p. 16.



district of Bihar,⁶⁵ and Kamillapura,⁶⁶ which is Kampil in the Farrukhabad district of Uttar Pradesh.⁶⁷ Systematic archaeological excavations have been made at Rajghat (Varāṇasī), Ahicchatra, Hastinapura and Kośāmbī.⁶⁸ These places were in existence long before the sixth century BC.⁶⁹ It is, therefore, credible that these places were associated with the activities of Pārśvanātha,⁷⁰ who lived in the ninth-eighth century BC.⁷¹

Pārśvanātha is said to have died 250 years before the death of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra.⁷² The date of Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa* (death) is the sheet anchor of Jaina chronology; all dates, anterior and posterior, are counted from this event, which is the starting point of the current Jaina or Mahāvīra era.⁷³ The Jainas are almost unanimous in holding that Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa* took place in 527 BC,⁷⁴ and a large number of historians have expressed agreement with this date.⁷⁵ Pārśvanātha, thus, died in 777 BC, i.e., 250 years before the death of Mahāvīra. Pārśva is said to have lived for one hundred years.⁷⁶ It is, therefore, clear that Pārśvanātha lived from 877 BC to 777 BC.⁷⁷

65. *HGAI*, p. 203; *HJM*, p. 60 fn. 13; *JAA*, I, p. 16.

66. *JAA*, I, p. 16; *HJM*, p. 60; *LDJC*, p. 19.

67. *HGAI*, p. 92; *HJM*, p. 60 fn 15; *JAA*, I, p. 16.

68. *JAA*, I, p. 16.

69. *Ibid.*

70. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

71. *Ibid.*, p. 16; *JOLR*, p. 14.

72. *CHI*, I, p. 153; *CUHI*, I, p. 185; *JAA*, I, p. 16; *JOLR*, p. 14; *SIJA*, p. 40; *AOIU*, p. 411; *JSAI*, p. 32.

73. *JSAI*, p. 32.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

75. *Ibid.*; *JAA*, I, p. 16; *JSS*, p. 22; *CUHI*, I, pp. 220-1; *JI*, p. 89; *ACHI*, p. 101.

76. *CHI*, I, p. 154; *AOIU*, p. 411; *JI*, p. 83; *JSS*, p. 14; *LDJC*, p. 19; *Kalpasūtra*, 6.149-69; *JAA*, I, p. 16; *JOLR*, p. 14.

77. *JAA*, I, p. 16; *JOLR*, p. 14.



The teachings of Pārśvanātha

Pārśvanātha believed in the eternity of matter.⁷⁸ His followers preached that self-control causes the cessation of *karma*, and penance leads to its annihilation.⁷⁹ He laid special emphasis on *ahimsā* (non-violence).⁸⁰ Pārśvanātha propounded the *cāturyāma dharma* or a four-point religion.⁸¹ The four-fold path of Pārśva enjoined on his followers four great vows, i.e., (1) not to injure life; (2) to be truthful; (3) not to steal; and (4) non-possession.⁸² Mahāvīra converted the four-fold path of Pārśva into five *mahāvratas* by adding the doctrine of chastity or celibacy to it.⁸³

It would be wrong to think that the four-fold religion preached by Pārśvanātha did not include the doctrine of celibacy. In fact, the principle of celibacy is automatically implied in non-possession.⁸⁴ Pārśva allowed his disciples to wear an upper and an under garment; Mahāvīra, on the other hand, prescribed complete nudity.⁸⁵ But even this difference was outward and superficial rather than real.⁸⁶ In fact, the fundamental principles of Pārśva and Mahāvīra were substantially identical.⁸⁷

Both Pārśva and Mahāvīra believed that right knowledge, right faith and right conduct were essential for the attainment of *mokṣa*. The discussion between Keśin, a disciple of Pārśva, and Gautama or Indrabhūti, a disciple of Mahāvīra, which is embodied in chapter twenty-three of the *Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra*, is significant to note. In reply to a question by Keśin,

78. *AOIU*, p. 411.

79. *Ibid.*

80. *Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra*, 23.12, cited in *JSS*, p. 10 fn. 5; *LDJC*, p. 23; *AOIU*, p. 411; *CHI*, I, p. 154; *JSS*, p. 10.

81. *Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra*, 23.12, *op. cit.*; *JSS*, p. 10.

82. *Ibid.*, 23.12, *op. cit.*; *JSS*, p. 10; *LDJC*, p. 23; *CHI*, I, p. 154; *AOIU*, pp. 411-12.

83. *Ibid.*, 23.12; *JSS*, p. 10 fn. 9; *CHI*, I, p. 154; *AOIU*, pp. 411-12.

84. *Uttarādhyayana*, 23, cited in *JSS*, p. 14 fn. 23; *AOIU*, pp. 411-12; *JSS*, p. 14.

85. *CHI*, I, p. 154; *JSS*, pp. 10-11; *LDJC*, p. 23.

86. *LDJC*, p. 23; *JSS*, p. 11.

87. *Ibid.*



Gautama said that right knowledge, right faith and right conduct were the true means to liberation and not outward symbols.⁸⁸ It is, therefore, not surprising to learn from chapter twenty-three of the *Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra* that many followers of the tradition of Pārśva embraced the five *mahāvratas* of Mahāvīra because they felt that the doctrines of both were similar.⁸⁹ The division of the Jaina Church into the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara did not occur in Mahāvīra's lifetime; it, in fact, appeared long after his death. The Jaina tradition has preserved only those points of Pārśva's teachings which differed from those of Mahāvīra; all common points in their teachings have been ignored.⁹⁰

The contribution of Pārśvanātha

Pārśvanātha divided his followers into four parts — monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen — and also appointed *gaṇadhara*s to run the organisation.⁹¹ The foundation of four orders (*gaṇas*), each having a head (*gaṇadhara*), was probably the best arrangement that Pārśvanātha could make for the organisation of the Jaina Church.⁹² The religion of Pārśvanātha was meant for all; he did not believe in distinctions based on caste and creed.⁹³ He was a powerful religious teacher who raised his voice against caste system and merciless slaughter of animals.⁹⁴ As a well-wisher of women, he gave them freedom by opening the doors of his organisation for them.⁹⁵

Pārśvanātha propagated his Nirgrantha Dharma among the wild tribes

88. *Ibid.*; *JSS*, pp. 11-13; *AOIU*, p. 412.

89. *JSS*, p. 11 fn. 11.

90. *AOIU*, p. 412.

91. *HJM*, p. 62; *JSS*, p. 9.

92. *LDJC*, p. 23.

93. *Ibid.*, p. 22; *JSS*, p. 9.

94. *Ibid.*

95. *LDJC*, p. 22.



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of West Bengal also.⁹⁶ The 'Sarākas'⁹⁷ of Singhabhuma, Manbhuma and Lohardaga in the Ranchi district of Bihar still worship him.⁹⁸ They belong to the line of ancient Jaina *śrāvakas*, but have embraced Hinduism.⁹⁹ Some of them still profess Jainism. The Sarākas of Manbhuma are Hindus; but they are strict vegetarians.¹⁰⁰ They drink filtered water and do not take meals after dusk.¹⁰¹

The discovery of images of Pārśvanātha in Bengal and Bihar is evidence of his popularity in these regions. It is an index of his popularity that Samet Śikhara, which stands in the Hazaribagh district of Bihar, is now called Pārśvanātha Hill. For unknown reasons Pārśvanātha seems to be more popular than other *tīrthamkaras* in West Bengal.¹⁰² Apparently, the Bengalis have identified Jainism with Pārśvanātha.¹⁰³ This confusion can be a product of their ignorance; it can also be the outcome of a persistent tradition.¹⁰⁴ Pārśvanātha was a member of the royal family of Kāśī or Benares. He was son-in-law of the king of Pāñcāla or Kośala. Therefore, Jainism must have enjoyed some royal patronage in Pārśva's time.¹⁰⁵ Pārśvanātha seems to have enjoyed a large following. According to the *Kalpasūtra*, his followers consisted of 16,000 monks, 38,000 nuns, 164,000 laymen and 327,000 laywomen.¹⁰⁶

96. *JSS*, p. 12.

97. The word 'Sarāka' appears to be Apabhramśa of the word *śrāvaka*, which is a typical word in Jainism. See *JSS*, p. 12 fn. 14.

98. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

99. *Ibid.*

100. *Ibid.*

101. *Ibid.*

102. *CHAI*, III, p. 275 fn. 1.

103. *Ibid.*

104. *Ibid.*

105. *HJM*, p. 61.

106. *Ibid.*; *JSS*, p. 14.



Vardhmāna Mahāvīra

Pārśvanātha's successor Vardhamāna Mahāvīra was the last of the twenty-four Jaina *tīrthamkaras*. Before unfolding his life and teachings it is essential to study the conditions of his time, i.e., the sixth century BC.

Background of Mahāvīra

The sixth century BC was a period of great intellectual and spiritual ferment.¹⁰⁷ Freedom of religious speculation, of which we get the first fruits in the earlier Upaniṣads, was the special characteristic of this period.¹⁰⁸ Mystics and sophists of all kinds roamed through the Ganga Valley.¹⁰⁹ A class of wandering ascetics, freed from the obligations of prevailing religious ideas and practices, thought out anew the fundamental problems of life.¹¹⁰ The ascetic orders and brotherhoods multiplied;¹¹¹ they questioned the sanctity of the Vedic lore, the utility of rituals and the claims of the brāhmaṇas to spiritual superiority.¹¹² They leaned towards new systems of philosophy.¹¹³ Sixty-three different philosophical schools, most of which were unorthodox in nature, existed in the sixth century BC, proving thereby that the revolt against the Vedic religion had begun long before that period.¹¹⁴

The ascetics advocated some form of mental discipline and asceticism as a means to salvation.¹¹⁵ Eastern India saw the rise of a class, which although believing in the doctrine of the transmigration of soul and *karma*, rejected the authority of the Vedas and of Vedic priests, denounced animal sacrifices

107. A.L. Basham, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

108. *AOIU*, p. 360.

109. A.L. Basham, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

110. *AOIU*, p. 360.

111. *HOIC*, I, p. 155.

112. K.A.N. Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

113. *HOIC*, I, p. 155.

114. R.D. Banerji, *Prehistoric, Ancient and Hindu India*, Bombay, 1950, p. 52.

115. A.L. Basham, *op. cit.*, p. 45.



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which constituted so large a part of the Brāhmanic ritual, and even denied the existence of God, and consequently, the efficacy of divine grace.¹¹⁶

The Jaina Aṅga texts reveal the existence of a number of wandering communities, the members of which entered monkhood and gave up all contact with society.¹¹⁷ The existence of these communities is corroborated by the oldest Buddhist texts, the accounts of Megasthenes and the edicts of Aśoka.¹¹⁸ Among all the wandering communities, a place of prominence was attributed to a class of wandering mendicants called śramaṇas.¹¹⁹ The śramaṇas like other wandering communities gave up worldly life; they led a wandering life and stayed at one place only in the rainy season.¹²⁰ They maintained themselves by begging food, avoided injury to living beings and did not acknowledge caste barriers.¹²¹ They declared that right conduct was the way to get out of the meshes of *karma* and *samsāra*, and that right conduct also included the practice of *ahimsā*.¹²² We have already stated that Pārśvanātha had established a four-fold order of monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen, and many ascetics belonging to his order were active in the time of Mahāvīra also. The life and teachings of Mahāvīra should be viewed in the light of these developments.

Life of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra

Some authentic facts of Mahāvīra's life can be collected from the Ardha-Māgadhī canon, i.e., *Ācārāṅga*, *Bhagavatī* and *Kalpasūtra*.¹²³ The oldest existing biography of Mahāvīra is embodied in the *Kalpasūtra*.¹²⁴ The Jaina

116. *AAHI*, p. 84.
117. *HJM*, p. 44.
118. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-5.
119. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
120. *Ibid.*
121. *Ibid.*
122. *AAHI*, p. 84.
123. *AOIU*, p. 413.
124. *CHI*, I, p. 156.

texts like *Uttara Purāṇa*, *Vardhamāncarita* and *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita* yield abundant material regarding his life.¹²⁵ Passages in some old Jaina canonical works,¹²⁶ and Buddhist scriptures also provide valuable hints about his life.¹²⁷

Mahāvīra was born at Kuṇḍagrāma, a suburb of Vaiśālī, now called Basukunda,¹²⁸ in 599 BC.¹²⁹ He belonged to the Nāya clan which is known as Nāta in Pali and Jñātri in Sanskrit.¹³⁰ His father Siddhārtha was a wealthy kṣatriya nobleman,¹³¹ head of a warrior clan called the Jñātrkas.¹³² and also chief of Kuṇḍapura.¹³³ Mahāvīra's mother Triśalā,¹³⁴ a kṣatriya lady,¹³⁵ also called Priyakāriṇī,¹³⁶ was the sister of Ceṭaka, an eminent Licchavi prince of Vaiśālī.¹³⁷

According to the Jaina tradition, Siddhārtha and Triśalā had one daughter and two sons, the younger of whom was named Vardhamāna.¹³⁸ We learn from the *Kalpasūtra*¹³⁹ and *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita*¹⁴⁰ that Mahāvīra's original name was Vardhamāna. The tale that Mahāvīra was conceived by a brāhmaṇa lady named Devānandā, and that his embryo was

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125. *Jl*, p. 86.
 126. *CHI*, I, p. 157.
 127. *Ibid.*
 128. *Ibid.*; *AOIU*, p. 413; *JAA*, I, p. 22.
 129. *CUHI*, I, p. 220; *JSS*, p. 20; *JSAI*, p. 53; *JAA*, I, p. 22.
 130. *AOIU*, p. 413.
 131. *Ibid.*; *CHI*, I, p. 157.
 132. *CHI*, I, p. 157.
 133. *AAHI*, p. 84.
 134. *Ibid.*; *AOIU*, p. 413; *CHI*, I, p. 157.
 135. *AAHI*, p. 84.
 136. *ACHI*, p. 101; *JSAI*, p. 34.
 137. *AOIU*, p. 413; *CHI*, I, p. 157.
 138. *CHI*, I, p. 157.
 139. *Ibid.*; *JSS*, p. 20 fn. 7.
 140. *TSPC*, VI, p. 34.



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later transferred from the womb of Devānandā to that of Triśalā by Naigameṣa is believed only by the Śvetāmbara Jainas.¹⁴¹ And, although a sculpture from Mathurā represents this scene,¹⁴² the Digambaras treat this story as a fabrication. Vardhamāna's more popular name, i.e., Mahāvīra is said to have been bestowed on him by gods.¹⁴³ The Jaina canon gives him a number of suggestive epithets also, i.e., Nāyaputta¹⁴⁴ called Nātaputta in Pali,¹⁴⁵ meaning 'a scion of the Nāya clan', Kāśava on account of his *gotra*, Vesāliya after his place of birth, and Videhadinna after his native country.¹⁴⁶ But he is most frequently referred to as 'the venerable ascetic Mahāvīra'.¹⁴⁷

Triśalā was related to the ruling families of Vaiśālī and Magadha.¹⁴⁸ Due to his marriage with the Licchavi princess Triśalā, Siddhārtha became a relative of Bimbisāra, the powerful ruler of Magadha, who had married Cellanā, daughter of Ceṭaka, the ruler of Vaiśālī.¹⁴⁹ According to the Digambaras, Mahāvīra remained celibate.¹⁵⁰ But the Śvetāmbara tradition views that Mahāvīra was married to Yaśodā,¹⁵¹ who was the daughter of king Samaravīra.¹⁵² Mahāvīra had a daughter named Aṇojjā or Priyadarśanā from this marriage.¹⁵³ She was married to Jamālī,¹⁵⁴ who later became a

141. *CHI*, I, pp. 157-8; *TSPC*, VI, pp. 25-7.

142. *AOIU*, p. 413; *MCH*, p. 354.

143. *Ibid.*; *CHAI*, III, p. 276.

144. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*

145. *ACHI*, p. 101.

146. *CHAI*, III, p. 276; *AOIU*, p. 413.

147. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*

148. *AAHI*, p. 84.

149. *CHI*, I, p. 157.

150. *JSS*, p. 20 fn. 8; *HJM*, p. 66 fn. 57; *CHAI*, III, p. 277.

151. *AAHI*, p. 85; *JSS*, p. 20; *AOIU*, p. 413; *CHI*, I, p. 158; *TSPC*, VI, pp. 35-6.

152. *JSS*, p. 20; *TSPC*, VI, p. 34.

153. *AOIU*, p. 413; *HJM*, pp. 65-6; *CHAI*, III, p. 277.

154. *Ibid.*; *CHI*, I, p. 158.



disciple of Mahāvīra and caused the first schism in the Jaina Church.¹⁵⁵ Jamālī's name does not occur in older Jaina texts; it is mentioned only in the texts of *Āvaśyaka* tradition.¹⁵⁶ The absence of his name in early books of the Jaina canon may be due to the fact that he played an ignominious role by creating a schism in the Jaina Church.¹⁵⁷

Mahāvīra's mind was averse to secular matters.¹⁵⁸ He had a reflective mind from his childhood, and although the education and training meant for the princes of his time was provided to him, consciousness dawned upon him that the world is transitory in nature.¹⁵⁹ After the death of his parents, Mahāvīra renounced his home with the permission of his elder brother Nandivardhana, and embarked upon the life of a homeless monk.¹⁶⁰ He was in the thirtieth year of his life at that time.¹⁶¹ Unlike Gautama Buddha, Mahāvīra had no need to wander in search of a teacher who could suggest him the true path.¹⁶² Mahāvīra had a predecessor in Pārśvanātha to look for enlightenment,¹⁶³ and he became a Jaina monk.¹⁶⁴ Mahāvīra's parents and the whole clan of Nāya kṣatriyas are said to have been the followers of the tenets of Pārśvanātha.¹⁶⁵ Probably, after renouncing the world, Mahāvīra first joined Pārśvanātha's sect, but soon took upon himself the role of its reformer.¹⁶⁶ The first book of the Jaina canon, i.e., the *Ācārāṅga-Sūtra* has

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155. *HJM*, p. 79; *Ibid.*
 156. *AOIU*, p. 413; *CHAI*, III, p. 277.
 157. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*
 158. *CUHI*, I, p. 220.
 159. *Ibid.*
 160. *CHI*, I, p. 158; *AOIU*, p. 413.
 161. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*; *CHAI*, III, p. 277.
 162. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *ACHI*, p. 101.
 163. *ACHI*, p. 101.
 164. *ERE*, VII, p. 466.
 165. *Ibid.*, p. 466 fn. 1.
 166. *Ibid.*



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preserved a ballad,¹⁶⁷ which gives an account of the years during which Mahāvīra led the life of hardest asceticism and prepared himself for the attainment of highest spiritual knowledge.¹⁶⁸ This fine ballad gives us a beautiful picture of the way in which Mahāvīra performed his meditation and spent his time in austerities, and also of rough treatment he received from unfriendly people.¹⁶⁹

Mahāvīra left his home at the beginning of winter; this shows his inclination towards severe asceticism.¹⁷⁰ Thirteen months later, also in winter, he abandoned his clothing and began to wander as a naked monk.¹⁷¹ In this period his thought matured.¹⁷² He attributed life (*jīva*) not only to animals and plants, but also to material objects like earth and water; assumed the real cause of worldly misery to be *karma*, engendered by indulgence in sensual pleasure, and the essential misery of life to be due to the endless cycle of birth and death.¹⁷³ His own behaviour furnished an example to be followed by monks in their religious life.¹⁷⁴ This ballad also suggests that after a period of two years and two months he decided on a wandering mode of existence which lasted twelve years.¹⁷⁵

For half of this period Mahāvīra lived with a mendicant friar named Gosāla, who subsequently left him and became the head of the Ājīvika sect.¹⁷⁶ The Jaina tradition tells us that Mahāvīra was born with three types of knowledge and acquired the fourth at the beginning of his monkhood.¹⁷⁷ In the

167. This ballad has been translated in *Sacred Books of the East (SBE)*, vol. XXII, pp. 79 ff.

168. *CHI*, I, p. 158.

169. *AOIU*, pp. 413-14.

170. *Ibid.*, p. 413.

171. *Ibid.*

172. *Ibid.*

173. *Ibid.*, p. 414.

174. *Ibid.*

175. *Ibid.*; *CHI*, I, pp. 158-9; *AAHI*, p. 85.

176. *Ibid.*, pp. 414-15; *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*

177. *Ibid.*, p. 414.



thirteenth year of his penance Mahāvīra retired to the northern bank of the river Rjupālikā outside Jṛmbhikagrāma, a little known locality in eastern India, and attained the highest spiritual knowledge called *kevala-jñāna*.¹⁷⁸ He was now a *kevalin* (omniscient), a *jina* (conqueror) and *mahāvīra* (the great hero).¹⁷⁹ At this time Vardhamāna, now styled Mahāvīra or *jina*, was forty-two years old; and from this age he entered upon a new stage of life, i.e., the life of a religious teacher and the head of a sect called the Nirgranthas or 'free from fetters', a designation which was later replaced by the term Jainas or the followers of the *jina*.¹⁸⁰ Mahāvīra was a Nirgrantha monk and also a scion of the Jñātrka clan; therefore, his opponents, the Buddhist, called him Niggantha Nātputta in Pāli canon,¹⁸¹ and Nirgrantho Jñātsputraḥ in Sanskrit.¹⁸² This fact is now universally accepted that Niggantha Nātputta of the sacred books of the Buddhists was Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, who was a contemporary of Gautama Buddha.¹⁸³

The acquisition of perfect knowledge entailed the continuation of a wandering mode of life and constant preaching of his doctrines to all kinds of men. He wandered for eight months in the year and spent four months of the rainy season in some famous town of eastern India.¹⁸⁴ According to the Jaina tradition, Mahāvīra spent one or more than one season at Campā, Vaiśālī, Rājgrha, Mithilā and Śrāvastī.¹⁸⁵ Mahāvīra propagated his faith for thirty years,¹⁸⁶ and during the span of his missionary activities he moved from place to place.¹⁸⁷ The *Harivamśa Purāṇa* contains the names of the places

178. AOIU, p. 414; CHI, I, p. 159; AAHI, p. 85.

179. CHI, I, pp. 159-60; *ibid.*, p. 85.

180. *Ibid.*, p. 160; *Ibid.*

181. CHI, I, p. 160; ACHI, p. 101.

182. *Ibid.*, p. 160.

183. *Ibid.*

184. AOIU, p. 414-15.

185. *Ibid.*, p. 415.

186. LDJC, p. 24; JSS, p. 20; AAHI, p. 85; CHI, I, p. 160.

187. JAA, I, pp. 22-3; HJM, pp. 67-9.



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which Mahāvīra visited for the purpose of propagating his religion.¹⁸⁸ Many of these places have been identified; but there are many which cannot be located.¹⁸⁹

Some of the places Mahāvīra is said to have visited are — Bhadrīka¹⁹⁰ or Bhaddīya,¹⁹¹ which is modern Monghyr¹⁹² in Bihar; Campā, which is Campanagar or Campapur¹⁹³ near Bhagalpur¹⁹⁴ in Bihar; Ladha, which covers a large part of West Bengal these days;¹⁹⁵ Subbhabhūmi, which is Singhabhum in Bengal;¹⁹⁶ Mithilā, which is Janakpur in Nepal Tarai;¹⁹⁷ Purimtāla, which is Purulia in Bihar¹⁹⁸ or Prayag, i.e., Allahabad in Uttar Pradesh;¹⁹⁹ Vārāṇasī in Uttar Pradesh²⁰⁰ and Kauśāmbī,²⁰¹ which is Kosam near Allahabad in Uttar Pradesh.²⁰²

It is, thus, clear that Mahāvīra preached Jainism in parts of Bihar, western districts of West Bengal and eastern parts of Uttar Pradesh.²⁰³ He visited all great towns of north and south Bihar, principally dwelling in the kingdoms of Magadha and Aṅga.²⁰⁴ It appears that the fields of influence of

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188. *JSAI*, p. 34 fn. 5.
189. *JAA*, I, pp. 22-3; *HJM*, pp. 67-9.
190. *Ibid.*
191. *HJM*, p. 67.
192. *Ibid.*; *JAA*, I, pp. 22-3.
193. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*
194. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*
195. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
196. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
197. *Ibid.*, p. 68; *JAA*, I, pp. 22-3.
198. *Ibid.*
199. *JAA*, I, pp. 22-3.
200. *Ibid.*, *HJM*, p. 69.
201. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*, p. 68.
202. *HGAI*, p. 99.
203. *JAA*, I, p. 23.
204. *CHI*, I, p. 160.



both Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra were more or less the same.²⁰⁵ It is possible that in the intervening period between Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra, some religious chaos had occurred; therefore, Mahāvīra had to devote his entire missionary career in reorganising Jainism in the region where it had earlier been propagated by Pārśvanātha.²⁰⁶

According to some Jaina traditions, Mahāvīra visited even more distant places.²⁰⁷ On the authority of *Harivamśa Purāṇa*, a late work, K.P. Jain has expressed the view that Mahāvīra had toured extensively in Rajputana, Punjab, south India, and north-western countries like Kamboja and Vālhika.²⁰⁸ Nothing certain can be said about this.²⁰⁹ Mahāvīra is said to have ordained numerous kings, queens, princes, princesses,²¹⁰ tradesmen, high officials²¹¹ and others, including persons said to belong to low castes.²¹²

Mahāvīra died in 527 BC at the age of seventy-two²¹³ at a place called Majjhima Pāvā or modern Pavapuri in the Patna district.²¹⁴ He died in the house of king Hastipāla.²¹⁵ This indicates that contrary to his usual practice, Mahāvīra probably resided inside the town at that time because of illness.²¹⁶ We are told that on the night of his death the kings of Malla and Licchavi clans celebrated the lamp festival in his honour.²¹⁷ The Jaina tradition traces

205. *JAA*, I, p. 23.

206. *Ibid.*

207. *Ibid.*

208. *HJM*, pp. 69-70 fn. 92.

209. *Ibid.*

210. *JAA*, I, p. 23; *HJM*, pp. 70-1.

211. *LDJC*, p. 24.

212. *JSS*, p. 21.

213. *ACHI*, p. 101.

214. *AOIU*, p. 415.

215. *Ibid.*

216. *Ibid.*

217. *Ibid.*; *ACHI*, p. 101; *HOIC*, I, p. 162.



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the origin of *Dipavali*, the Hindu festival, from this event.²¹⁸ It is important to note that the Digambaras deny the authenticity of the details of Mahāvīra's life as embodied in the *Ācārāṅga*, the *Kalpasūtra* and the *Bhagavatī* and, therefore, their account of his life is slightly different.²¹⁹

Teachings of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra

Mahāvīra's career was one of supreme detachment; therefore, he was rightly called Nirgrantha, i.e., a person without chains, internal or external. He preached what he lived. All living beings want to live, and he believed that they have the right to live.²²⁰ Thus, the sanctity of life in all forms constituted the basis of his moral values.²²¹ Like Pārśvanātha, Mahāvīra believed in the eternity of matter.²²² He agreed with Pārśvanātha in holding that self-control is essential for the cessation of *karma*, and also that penance leads to its destruction.²²³ Mahāvīra agreed with the four vows enjoined on his disciples by Pārśvanātha, and added the vow of chastity to them. Like Pārśva, Mahāvīra attached great importance to the doctrine of *ahimsā*.²²⁴ Mahāvīra also believed that by following the three-fold path of right belief, right knowledge and right conduct liberation from the cycle of birth and death can be achieved.²²⁵

Contribution of Mahāvīra

The religion advocated by Mahāvīra was not his creation.²²⁶ He was a



218. *ACHI*, p. 101; *CHAI*, III, p. 281, *TSPC*, VI, p. 351.

219. *CHAI*, III, p. 275.

220. *ACHI*, p. 101.

221. *Ibid.*

222. *AOIU*, p. 411.

223. *Ibid.*

224. *LDJC*, p. 23; *JSS*, p. 21.

225. *Ibid.*, pp. 23-4; *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11; *AAHI*, p. 86.

226. *HJM*, p. 72; *ERE*, VII, p. 466.

reformer rather than the founder of Jainism.²²⁷ As a reformer of an existing religion, Mahāvīra added a few doctrines to those of his predecessor Pārśvanātha.²²⁸ Pārśvanātha had taught four vows; Mahāvīra taught five. Though celibacy, i.e., the vow added by Mahāvīra formed part of Pārśva's vow of non-possession,²²⁹ Mahāvīra probably made it a separate vow.²³⁰ It is highly probable that confession of sin before the teacher was an innovation of Mahāvīra.²³¹ Mahāvīra had told his disciples that it was he who laid down the principle of nudity.²³² But we learn from the Jaina and non-Jaina accounts that Ṛṣabha also lived naked in the later stage of his life.²³³ Mahāvīra made some reforms in the ethical teachings; but it is difficult to ascertain the additions he made to the ontological and psychological system of Pārśvanātha.²³⁴ Most of the features of Jainism suggestive of its primitiveness were already in existence; Mahāvīra merely adopted them.²³⁵

Jacobi has minimised the contribution of Mahāvīra by stating that unlike Gautama Buddha, who was the founder of a religion, Mahāvīra was merely a reformer of an existing religion.²³⁶ This is an under-assessment of Mahāvīra's role and contribution. He organised the moral and disciplinary aspects of the existing Jaina Church.²³⁷ In all likelihood, Mahāvīra codified an unsystematic mass of belief into a set of rigid rules of conduct for monks and laymen.²³⁸ It

227. *HJM*, pp. 72-3; *Ibid.*, p. 466; *AOIU* p. 412; *JSS*, p. 21; *LDJC*, p. 22; *CHI*, I, p. 154; *GD*, p. 108.

228. *AOIU*, p. 420.

229. *HJM*, p. 72; *JSS*, p. 14.

230. *AOIU*, p. 420.

231. *Ibid.*

232. *HJM*, p. 73.

233. *Ibid.*; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, *op. cit.*, p. 246 and fn.

234. *AOIU*, p. 420.

235. *Ibid.*

236. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *HJM*, p. 76.

237. *HJM*, p. 72.

238. *AOIU*, p. 420.



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was Mahāvīra who showed a decided inclination for the enumeration and classification of rules of conduct.²³⁹

After attaining omniscience he expressed it to the people in their own language, i.e., Ardha-Māgadhī.²⁴⁰ Besides the local people, Mahāvīra absorbed almost the entire following of Pārśvanātha in his Church.²⁴¹ The practical genius of Mahāvīra is abundantly evident from his reorganisation of the four-fold order of the followers comprising monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen.²⁴² He led a touring life and came in contact with people belonging to various castes, creeds, etc.²⁴³ He, thus, built a strong laity which displayed extraordinary devotion towards him and went to the extent of even deifying him.²⁴⁴ In the system established by Mahāvīra both laymen and laywomen could aspire to monkhood by accepting the discipline of the Jaina Church in stages.²⁴⁵ Thus, unlike Buddhism, Jainism produced a succession of godly men and women through the ages who could endure the storm and stress that drove Buddhism out of India.²⁴⁶ The moral injunctions prohibiting the eating of animal foods, drinking, gambling, hunting, stealing, adultery and debauchery, have produced high-souled men and women from the Jaina laity.²⁴⁷ Even these days the Jainas sing the praises of the ideal domestic woman, the chaste Sulasā.²⁴⁸ Some scholars have attributed the doctrine of Syādvāda to Mahāvīra.²⁴⁹



239. *AOIU*, p. 42.

240. *HJM*, p. 77.

241. *Ibid.*

242. *HOIC*, I, p. 164; *JSS*, p. 21.

243. *HJM*, p. 77.

244. *Ibid.*

245. *HOIC*, I, p. 164.

246. *Ibid.*

247. *Ibid.*

248. *Ibid.*

249. *JSS*, p. 21.

Mahāvīra's principal contribution was to popularise the principle of *ahimsā*; on the basis of this he elaborated the ethical code for both monks and householders, and to provide a background to it, he put forth the philosophy of the seven realities (*tattvas*).²⁵⁰ He admitted all aspirants to the Jaina community, irrespective of their caste and sex, and inaugurated a system of peaceful proselytisation.²⁵¹ Mahāvīra left behind him a strongly organised religious order. He had eleven *ganadhara*s (chief disciples or heads of schools) who seem to have kept the organisation of the Jaina Church under proper discipline.²⁵² The organisational skill of Mahāvīra and devotion of the *ganadhara*s kept the Jaina Church in good shape.²⁵³ Due to the incessant efforts of the religious order left behind by Mahāvīra, animal sacrifices lessened and the doctrine of *ahimsā* gained popularity.²⁵⁴

Mahāvīra appears to have enjoyed considerable following. According to Jaina tradition, at the time of Mahāvīra's death his followers numbered 14,000 monks, 36,000 nuns, and nearly half a million layfollowers²⁵⁵ — 159,000 laymen and 318,000 laywomen.²⁵⁶ The monks were headed by Indrabhūti; the nuns by Candanā; the laymen were headed by Śankhaśataka, and the laywomen by Sulasā and Revatī.²⁵⁷ The numerical strength of the Jains kept on increasing and Jainism spread to various parts of India.²⁵⁸

250. CUHI, I, p. 220.

251. *Ibid.*, pp. 220-1.

252. JAA, I, p. 23.

253. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

254. CUHI, I, p. 221.

255. HJM, p. 70; JSS, p. 22.

256. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*

257. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*

258. CUHI, I, p. 221.





4

Post-Mahāvīra Period and the Contribution of Jainism to Indian Culture

MAHĀVĪRA was the head of the entire Jaina community comprising the four orders, i.e., the monks, the nuns, the laymen and the laywomen.¹ He had built-up an excellent cadre of chief disciples or heads of schools known as *gaṇadhāras*. These *gaṇadhāras* numbered eleven.² All of them were brāhmaṇas;³ two of them belonged to cities, i.e., Rājagrha and Mithilā, and the rest seem to have come from small settlements in Bihar.⁴ Each *gaṇadhāra* had several junior disciples under him.⁵ All of them were well-versed in the Jaina canon, i.e., the twelve *aṅgas* and the fourteen *pūrvas*.⁶ Nine of these eleven *gaṇadhāras* died in the life-time of Mahāvīra; the two to survive were Indrabhūti Gautama (Indabhūi Goyama) and Sudharmana (Suhamma).⁷ Indrabhūti Gautama died twelve years after the death of Mahāvīra.⁸ But Sudharmana lived for twenty years after Mahāvīra's death.⁹ According to one tradition, Indrabhūti Gautama became the head of the Jaina Church

1. *LDJC*, pp. 24-5; *CHAI*, III, p. 282; *CMHI*, II, p. 355.
2. *HJM*, p. 77; *LDJC*, p. 25; *JAA*, I, p. 23.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 77; *JAA*, I, pp. 23-4.
4. *JAA*, I, pp. 23-4.
5. *HJM*, p. 77.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
7. *Ibid.*; *CHAI*, III, p. 281.
8. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*
9. *HJM*, p. 78.

after the death of Mahāvīra,¹⁰ and held office for twelve years, i.e., till the time of his death.¹¹ But according to other accounts, he never held office because he had become a *kevalin*.¹²

It appears that Sudharmana became the head of the Jaina Church after the death of Mahāvīra.¹³ The Nirgrantha śramaṇas of the present time are spiritual descendants of Sudharmana.¹⁴ Sudharmana held office for twelve years; he was followed by his pupil Jambūsvāmī, who led the Jaina community for twenty-four years.¹⁵ Mahāvīra had narrated the Jaina canon to Sudharmana; it appears that the latter narrated it to his pupil Jambūsvāmī.¹⁶ Jambūsvāmī was the last of the *kevalins*;¹⁷ both omniscience and *mokṣa* were closed to the mortals after him.¹⁸ The six leaders who followed Jambūsvāmī came to be known as *śruta-kevalins*; they lacked the omniscience of the *kevalins*, but possessed complete knowledge of the scripture.¹⁹ They were followed by *daśapūrvīs*, i.e., leaders who knew ten *pūrvas* of the twelfth *aṅga*.²⁰ According to an estimate Jambūsvāmī attained *mokṣa* in 403 BC.²¹ He was succeeded by Prabhava who was succeeded by Śāyambhava.²² Śāyambhava was succeeded by Yaśobhadra.²³ The next leader was

10. *CMHI*, II, p. 355; *CHAI*, III, p. 282.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 355-6; *HJM*, p. 78.

14. *HJM*, p. 78; *CHAI*, III, p. 282.

15. *CMHI*, II, p. 356; *Ibid.*

16. *HJM*, p. 78.

17. *TSPC*, VI, p. 354; *CMHI*, II, p. 356; *CHAI*, III, p. 282.

18. *CMHI*, II, p. 356; *CHAI*, III, p. 282.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 356.

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*; According to another view he died in 463 BC, i.e., 64 years after Mahāvīra's death. See *CHAI*, III, pp. 281-2.

22. *CMHI*, II, p. 356; *CHAI*, III, p. 282.

23. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*



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Sambhūtivijaya who was succeeded by Bhadrabāhu in 317 BC.²⁴

Spread of Jainism

Available evidence tends to reveal that about 300 BC the Jainas were probably losing their position in eastern India.²⁵ They, therefore, decided to migrate to other parts of India.²⁶ In fact, the spread of Jainism was a product of various migrations.²⁷ It is essential to have an idea of the original extent of Jainism before we turn to the spread of Jainism to various parts of India.

The wanderings of Mahāvīra give us an idea of the original extent of Jainism. It included the kingdoms of Kośala, Videha, Magadha and Aṅga²⁸ in eastern India. The kingdom of Kośala in Mahāvīra's time corresponded to modern Awadha.²⁹ It was a big kingdom and its total extent was only a little less than that of France of present times.³⁰ Videha, too, was a large kingdom. Its capital was Mithilā.³¹ The kingdom of Magadha corresponded roughly to south Bihar,³² and consisted of the modern districts of Patna and Gaya.³³ The kingdom of Aṅga, situated in east Bihar, roughly corresponded to the present districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr,³⁴ and its capital was Campā.³⁵

The six centuries which followed the death of Mahāvīra saw the spread of Jainism to north, west and south India. It maintained its progress and by

24. *CMHI*, II, p. 356; *CHAI*, III, p. 282. According to another view, Bhadrabāhu succeeded Sambhūtivijaya in 357 BC. See *CHAI*, III, p. 282.
25. *CHI*, I, p. 167.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 167 ff; *AOIU*, pp. 417 ff; *HJM*, p. 577.
28. *AOIU*, p. 417.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 4; *AAHI*, p. 56; *CHI*, I, p. 182.
30. *CHI*, I, p. 178.
31. *AOIU*, p. 2.
32. *AAHI*, p. 56.
33. *Ibid.*; *CHI*, I, p. 182.
34. *AOIU*, p. 3.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 3.



the end of the third century AD this religion took firm roots throughout India. Jainism started from its original home in Magadha, and gradually spread to Kalinga to the south-east of Magadha, to Mathurā and Malwa to its west, and the Deccan and south India to its south.³⁶ Magadha was apparently the most important seat of Jainism in the third century BC.³⁷ But it lost its hold over Magadha and became prominent in west and south India.³⁸ Jainism had won royal patronage in north India. But although it gradually lost kingly support in north, it continued to enjoy the patronage of the middle classes, like merchants and bankers, for a long time in north India.³⁹ After the end of the sixth century AD, India to the south of the Vindhyas became the principal stronghold of Jainism.⁴⁰

The advent of the Gupta dynasty (fourth century AD to sixth century AD) marked the beginning of decline for both Jainism and Buddhism. The paucity of epigraphic records about Jainism in this period and lack of Jaina literary evidence clearly indicate that it was not very prosperous in those days, and this is partly confirmed by the absence of any reference to it in the description of the Chinese traveller Fahien.⁴¹ But some inscriptions of the Gupta period indicate that Jainism continued to be popular among the middle classes.

Jainism in Bihar and Bengal

Jainism was a popular religion in Bihar in the time of Pārśvanātha and Mahāvira. But, gradually, it lost much of its influence in this land.⁴² Bengal seems to have come under the influence of Jainism at an early period. It seems certain that the Sarāka community found in several parts of Bengal

36. CA, p. 403.

37. CMHI, II, p. 355.

38. CA, pp. 403-4.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 404.

40. *Ibid*

41. *Ibid.*

42. *Ibid.*, p. 405.



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originally denoted the Jaina *śrāvakas* or lay-worshippers.⁴³ They later embraced Hinduism, but retained a few characteristic traits of Jainism.⁴⁴ Mahāvīra was cruelly treated by the people of Lāḍha, which has been identified with Radha in West Bengal.⁴⁵ Jainism, however, had followers in West Bengal. This is evident from the discovery of Jaina images from Bengal.⁴⁶ The Paharpur copper-plates of AD 478 furnish evidence of the existence of a Jaina *vihāra* and Digambara Jainas in Bengal during the Gupta period.⁴⁷ The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang, who visited India in the seventh century AD, noticed a large number of Digambara Jainas in Bengal in the course of his visit to eastern India.⁴⁸

Jainism in Kalinga

One early migration of the Jaina community led it to Kalinga or Orissa. This is proved by the famous inscription of Kharvela, the king of Orissa.⁴⁹ Evidence of this is found in the Śvetāmbara tradition also. It tells that a dreadful famine in Magadha drove the Jaina monks to Kalinga.⁵⁰ Kharvela was a devout Jaina.⁵¹ He is said to have lived in the second century BC⁵² or the first century BC.⁵³ Kharvela raised the status of Jainism to that of a state religion.⁵⁴ Kalinga, thus, became an important seat of Jainism⁵⁵ and it

43. CHAI, III, p. 285.

44. *Ibid.*

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Ibid.*

47. *EI*, XX, pp. 59-64; *CA*, p. 405; *CHAI*, III, p. 285.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 60; Samuel Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, p. 195; *CA*, p. 405.

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 71-89; *AOIU*, p. 418; *CMHI*, II, p. 362.

50. *AOIU*, p. 418.

51. *EI*, XX, pp. 71-89; *CHI*, I, p. 164; *AOIU*, p. 213.

52. *AOIU*, p. 215; *CMH*, II, p. 362.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 216.

54. *HJM*, p. 92.



flourished there for a long time.⁵⁶ In fact, Kharvela's Hāthīgumphā cave inscription is the first definite evidence of the history of Jainism in Orissa.⁵⁷ There is a reference in the Hāthīgumbhā inscription to the removal of a *jina* image from Kalinga to Pātaliputra by the Magadhan king Nanda at the time of his invasion of Kalinga.⁵⁸ The Nanda kings ruled in the fourth century BC. It is, thus, evident that Jainism existed in an established form in Kalinga even before the time of the Nanda rulers of Magadha.⁵⁹

The Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills of Orissa are strewn with caves for the monks. Some of them contain inscriptions which may go back to the Mauryan age.⁶⁰ They provide sufficient evidence that Jainism was in a flourishing condition in Orissa in the second-third century BC.⁶¹ The Satghara caves in Bihar and Navmuni and Ananta caves of Orissa contain beautiful friezes and symbols pertaining to the Jaina *tīrthamkaras*.⁶² The Rānīgumphā cave sculptures of Orissa exhibit the procession of Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third *tīrthamkara*.⁶³ The caves of Orissa contain worn-out images of other *tīrthamkaras* also.⁶⁴ In the seventh century AD the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang found considerable number of Jainas in Orissa.⁶⁵ Generally speaking, royal patronage to Jainism in Kalinga lasted up to the sixteenth century AD.⁶⁶ But it never recovered the position it enjoyed during the reign of Kharvela.⁶⁷

55. *CMHI*, II, p. 362.

56. *AOIU*, p. 418.

57. *HJM*, p. 92.

58. *EI*, XX, pp. 71-89.

59. *HJM*, p. 93.

60. *Ibid.*

61. *Ibid.*

62. *Ibid.*

63. *Ibid.*

64. *Ibid.*

65. *CHAI*, III, p. 287.

66. *HJM*, p. 97.

67. *CHAI*, III, p. 287.



Jainism in Uttar Pradesh

One of the migrations of the Jaina community brought it to Mathurā at an early period.⁶⁸ Jainism obtained a firm footing in Mathurā by the second century BC,⁶⁹ and in the early centuries of the Christian era this city became the most renowned centre of Jainism in north India.⁷⁰ We shall turn to the history of Jainism in Mathurā in the following chapters of this book.

Jainism in Bundelkhand

Khajuraho, a village in the Chatarpur district of Madhya Pradesh,⁷¹ was the capital of the Candella dynasty of Bundelkhand from the ninth century AD to the thirteenth century AD.⁷² Eighty-five temples were constructed at Khajuraho⁷³ between AD 950 and AD 1050.⁷⁴ Nearly one-third of the extant temples at Khajuraho,⁷⁵ which number twenty⁷⁶ or between twenty and thirty⁷⁷ or more than thirty,⁷⁸ are Jaina temples.⁷⁹ According to V.A. Smith, Khajuraho temples were erected by the order of the Candella rulers.⁸⁰ But Percy Brown is of opinion that the Candella rulers merely extended patronage



68. AOIU, p. 418; CMHI, II, p.363.
69. JAA, I, p. 51; CHI, I, p. 167.
70. CMHI, II, p. 355.
71. Vidya Prakash, *Khajuraho — A Study in the Cultural Conditions of Chandella Society*, 1967, p. 1.
72. ASIAR (1922-3), p. 83.
73. *Mārg*, vol. X, p. 19; Louis Fredric, *Indian Temples and Sculptures*, 1959, p. 294.
74. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, 1927, p. 109; *Mārg*, vol. X, p. 1; N.S. Bose, *History of the Candellas of Jejakhbukti*, 1956, p. 162.
75. Vidya Prakash, *op. cit.*, p. 10; N.S. Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 163; HIEA, p. 452.
76. *Mārg*, X, p.19; Max-Pol Fouchet, *The Erotic Sculpture of India*, p. 68; *The Art of the Chandelas*, ed. A. Goswami, 1957, Foreword.
77. HOFA, p. 28.
78. Vidya Prakash, *op. cit.*, p. 8; HIEA, p. 452.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 10; *Ibid.*, p. 452; N.S. Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 163.
80. N.S. *op. cit.*, p. 163.

to these temples.⁸¹ The fact that numerous Jaina temples were constructed at Khajuraho is indicative of the popularity of Jainism in this part of Bundelkhand in the early medieval period. The discovery of Jaina sculptures from Gwalior⁸² also furnishes proof of the existence or popularity of Jainism in Bundelkhand in the medieval period. Considerable Jaina antiquities have been discovered at Deogadh also.⁸³

Jainism in Malwa

Malwa or the region around Ujjain⁸⁴ also became a stronghold of Jainism.⁸⁵ Samprati, a grandson of the Maurya king Aśoka, was the ruler of Ujjain.⁸⁶ And, if we believe in the story of Samprati's conversion to Jainism,⁸⁷ the spread of this religion to Malwa must be placed as early as the second century BC.⁸⁸ The famous story of Kālkācārya, the Jaina saint, implies the spread of Jainism in Malwa in the first century BC.⁸⁹

Jainism appears to have been popular among the middle classes in Malwa and the region near it even in the Gupta period. The Udayagiri inscription of Malwa (AD 426), belonging to the reign of the Gupta ruler Kumaragupta, records the erection of a statue of Pārśva by a private individual.⁹⁰ The Kahaum inscription of the time of the Gupta ruler Skandagupta (bearing AD 461) refers to the installation of images of five

81. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture, Buddhist and Hindu Periods*, 2nd rev. and enlarged edn., p. 133.

82. *HIEA*, pp. 243-5; *HOFA*, p. 268.

83. *JPV*, p. 21.

84. *AOIU*, p. 418.

85. *CHI*, I, p. 167; *AOIU*, p. 418; *CMHI*, II, p. 363.

86. *HJM*, p. 91.

87. *Ibid.*; *AOIU*, p. 418.

88. *AOIU*, p. 418.

89. *Ibid.*

90. *CII*, III, p. 251; *CA*, p. 404; *CHAI*, III, p. 286.



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Jaina *tīrthamkaras* in the village of Kakubha, i.e., modern Kahaum.⁹¹

Jainism in Rajasthan

Scholars have discovered about 1200 Jaina inscriptions from various parts of Rajasthan.⁹² The earliest of these inscriptions seems to belong to the fifth century BC.⁹³ Jainism appears to have spread to Rajasthan in the second century BC.⁹⁴ Prevalence of Jainism in Rajasthan can be attested by the inscriptions of the Cahamanas, Cudasamas, Guhils, Rawals, Rathods, and the rulers of the Surya dynasty.⁹⁵ Most of these rulers were devotees of Sūrya and Śiva, but they do not seem to have obstructed devotion to Jainism.⁹⁶

Gujarat and Rajasthan were among the notable strongholds of Jainism, particularly of the Śvetāmbaras, and they are more numerous in these states than other regions of India. Jainism owed its popularity in this part of India mainly to the patronage of the Cālukya rulers of Gujarat, whose kingdom at one time extended over the whole of modern Gujarat and a large part of Rajasthan.⁹⁷ The Gurjara-Pratihāras, the earliest great royal dynasty of Rajasthan, appear to have been patrons of Jainism, because King Vatsarāja of this dynasty is mentioned in the Jaina work *Kuvalayamālā* composed in AD 778 and the *Harivamśa Purāṇa* of Jinasena composed in AD 783.⁹⁸ Rajput rulers of many other dynasties are said to have patronised Jainism in Rajasthan.⁹⁹

91. *CH*, III, pp. 65-8; *CA*., pp. 404-5; *CHAI*, III, p. 286.

92. *JIR*, p. 3.

93. *Ibid.*

94. *Ibid.*, Preface, vii.

95. *HJM*, p. 114.

96. *Ibid.*, p. 114.

97. *CHAI*, III, p. 292.

98. *Ibid.*

99. *JIR*, pp. 200ff.



Jainism in Gujarat

According to the Jaina tradition, the association of Jainism with Gujarat goes back to remote antiquity. Neminātha, the twenty-second *tīrthamkara*, is said to have died on Mount Girnar in Gujarat. The migration of the Jainas from the kingdom of Magadha to western India probably began about 300 BC; they settled in western parts of India like Gujarat, and have retained their settlements to the present times.¹⁰⁰ The famous Junagarh inscription of Rudrasimha I¹⁰¹ or Rudradāman,¹⁰² which belongs to the second century AD, contains the earliest reference to the Jaina monks claiming the attainment of perfect knowledge.¹⁰³ The Bawa Pyara caves at Junagarh contain Jaina symbols like the *svastika*, *bhadrāsana*, *nandipada*, *mīnayugala* and others, which bear resemblance with those found on the *āyāga-paṭṭas* discovered from the site of the Jaina *stūpa* of Mathurā.¹⁰⁴ Another indication of the early Jaina settlement in Kathiawad is provided by the Jaina images found at Dhank.¹⁰⁵ Scholars have identified these images with the figures of Ādinātha, Śāntinātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra.¹⁰⁶ The caves found at Dhank which contain these sculptures belong to about the second century AD.¹⁰⁷ It, therefore, seems certain that Jainism obtained a strong foothold in Gujarat by the second century AD.¹⁰⁸

The presence of the Jainas in Gujarat in the early medieval period is indicated by literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence.¹⁰⁹ The early

100. *CHI*, I, p. 167.

101. *AOIU*, pp. 418-19.

102. *Ibid.*

103. *Ibid.*

104. *HJM*, p. 110.

105. *Ibid.*; *AOIU*, pp. 418-19.

106. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

107. *AOIU*, pp. 418-19.

108. *Ibid.*

109. *CA*, p. 406.



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royal dynasties of Gujarat did not show any noticeable favour to Jainism and it remained the religion of the merchant classes. Much of the work of preaching and preserving this faith was done by the monks. But due to the patronage of the kings, Jainism attained splendour in Gujarat in the eleventh and the twelfth century AD.¹¹⁰ Jaina influence at the court of the Cālukya kings of Gujarat can be noticed from the time of the founder of this dynasty.

During the reign of Bhima I, his minister Vimala built the magnificent Ādinātha temple at Mount Abu. Jainism became more dominant at the Calukya court during the reign of Siddharaja and his successor Kumarapala. Under the influence of Hemacandra (AD 1088-1172), the most learned man of his time, Kumarapala enriched Gujarat with numerous Jaina shrines.¹¹¹ During Kumarapala's reign, Gujarat became a stronghold of Jainism in respect of followers as well as institutions.¹¹² The secret of this success was not fanatic zeal, but the promotion of understanding between different faiths.¹¹³ The promotion of understanding between different faiths is the corner-stone of Jainism, and it was particularly emphasised by Hemacandra in word as well as in deed.¹¹⁴ The continuity of Jainism and the prosperity of its followers in Gujarat are evident from the construction of the magnificent Neminātha temple at Mount Abu by Tejapala, who was a minister of the Calukya king Somasimhadeva.¹¹⁵ The temple of Ādinātha at Mount Abu was completed in AD 1032 and that of Neminātha in AD 1232.¹¹⁶

Jainism in the Deccan and south India

From the available evidence nothing certain can be said about the state of

110. CA, p. 406.

111. SFE, p. 428.

112. *Ibid.*; ACH, p. 102.

113. *Ibid.*, p. 428.

114. *Ibid.*

115. *Ibid.*

116. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesion Art*, 1927, p. 111.



Jainism in the Deccan at least from the fourth century BC to the beginning of the Christian era.¹¹⁷ Jaina literary evidence credits the spread of Jainism from Ujjain to the Deccan and further south to Aśoka's grandson Samprati; but we have no evidence to corroborate the Jaina tradition.¹¹⁸ But this is certain that the ruling dynasties of the Deccan provided greater support to Jainism than their counterparts in north India.¹¹⁹ It is only from the time of the Calukya rulers and their successors that we get a fairly clear picture of the state of Jainism in the Deccan.¹²⁰ Epigraphic and archaeological evidence indicates that Jainism was in a flourishing condition in the Deccan from AD 500 to 950.¹²¹ Jainism enjoyed the patronage of many Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers,¹²² some of whom were devout Jains.¹²³ Some feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers also extended patronage to Jainism.¹²⁴ Dr. A.S. Altekar is of opinion that probably one-third of the population of the Deccan professed Jainism between the eighth century AD and the tenth century AD.¹²⁵

The spread or extension of Jainism to south India is generally attributed to the migration of the Digambaras to this part of the country.¹²⁶ We have already stated that Bhadrabāhu, the last of the *śruta-kevalins*, became the head of the Jaina Church in 317 BC. Bhadrabāhu predicted that a famine of twelve years' duration would ravage north India; he, therefore, decided to migrate to south India with his followers.¹²⁷ Scholars of south Indian history have mostly accepted the late Digambara tradition that the great famine of

117. *HJM*, p. 114.

118. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

119. *CA*, pp. 403-6.

120. *HJM*, p. 116.

121. *AOIK*, p. 287; *JSAI*, pp. 245-7.

122. *HJM*, p. 117; *Ibid.*, p. 247; *ACHI*, p. 102; *MJ*, p. 30.

123. *Ibid.*; *ACHI*, p. 102.

124. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

125. Dr. A.S. Altekar, cited in *AOIK*, p. 287 and *JSAI*, p. 247.

126. *AOIU*, p. 419; *MJ*, pp. 3-4.

127. *Ibid.*; *CHAI*, III, p. 282; *HJM*, p. 81.



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Magadha compelled Bhadrabāhu to seek shelter in south India; he along with his followers and his royal disciple Candragupta Maurya migrated to south India, and this led to the establishment of the Digambara community in Mysore, with Śravaṇa Belgōla as its centre.¹²⁸ B.A. Saletore writes,

Southern tradition, which is corroborated by literary and epigraphic evidence, connects the advent of Jainism into Karnāṭaka and south India with the immigration of the Jainas under Bhadrabāhu and his disciple Candragupta Maurya.¹²⁹

According to many Jaina authors, Bhadrabāhu died in Karnāṭaka in 297 BC.¹³⁰ But many authors discredit this account,¹³¹ and assert that Bhadrabāhu retired to Nepal.¹³²

According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, the Jaina migration to south India began from Ujjaiyini in Malwa, and this is corroborated by the early Digambara tradition.¹³³ Among the different sects of south India, the Senagaṇa of the Mulasamgha may have been the first migrating group of the Jainas.¹³⁴ The route of their migration is suggested to be along the western coast, from Gujarat, through Maharashtra to Karnāṭaka, and from there to the extreme south.¹³⁵ H.D. Sankalia is of opinion that it may not be wrong to suppose that the first wave of Jainism passed over Gujarat-Kathiawad when Bhadrabāhu went to the south in the fourth century BC.¹³⁶ In fact, the evidence regarding the Jaina migration to south India does not lead to any definite conclusion. Some scholars hold that Jainism reached the Andhra region from the north



128. *AOIU*, p. 419; *HJM*, p. 83.
129. *MJ*, pp. 3-4.
130. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
131. *CHAI*, III, p. 282.
132. *HJM*, p. 19; *LDJC*, p. 32; *CHI*, I, p. 165.
133. *AOIU*, p. 419.
134. *Ibid.*
135. *Ibid.*
136. H.D. Sankalia, cited in *HJM*, p. 110 fn. 297.

as early as the sixth century BC, and that its association with the Tamil region dates from the fourth century BC.¹³⁷

But this is certain that Jainism was one of the powerful influences that moulded the religious and cultural life of south India in the ancient and medieval period of its history.¹³⁸ Jainism played a significant role in the political life of south India also. Epigraphic records and literature of Karnataka, Telugu and Tamil lands reveal that Jainism made a remarkable contribution to the success and stability of many kingdoms in south India, including the magnificent Vijayanagara empire.¹³⁹ Karnataka was the favourite resort of Jainism in south India for nearly one thousand years; the area from Bidar in the north to Mysore in the south in Karnataka is replete with the antiquities of Jainism.¹⁴⁰ These antiquities bear testimony to the glory of Jainism in this part of India. For nearly twelve centuries (second century AD to thirteenth century AD), Jainism guided the fortunes of some of the most powerful and well-known royal families of Karnataka.¹⁴¹ Many rulers of the Gaṅga,¹⁴² the Kadamba,¹⁴³ the Rāṣṭrakūṭa¹⁴⁴ and the western Calukya¹⁴⁵ dynasties of south India patronised Jainism. It was also patronised by the feudatories of the kings of Karnataka.¹⁴⁶

Jainism in other parts of India

We have already stated that both Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra had preached

137. *JISI*, Preface, ix.

138. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

139. *MJ*, p. 2.

140. *JISI*, Preface x.

141. *MJ*, p. 6.

142. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-30; *JSAL*, p. 247; *CA*, pp. 406-7; *CHAI*, III, p. 289; *HJM*, pp. 123-4; *ACHI*, p. 102.

143. *Ibid.*, p. 30; *HJM*, pp. 124-6; *JSAL*, p. 247; *ACHI*, p. 102.

144. *HJM*, p. 117; *JSAL*, p. 247; *MJ*, p. 30; *ACHI*, p. 102.

145. *SFE*, p. 429; *JSAL*, p. 247; *MJ*, p. 42; *CHAI*, III, p. 289; *HJM*, pp. 119-20; *ACHI*, p. 102.

146. *MJ*, p. 87.



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Jainism in the eastern parts of Uttar Pradesh. Subsequently, it spread to western Uttar Pradesh also. The discovery of Jaina images in large numbers from Fatehpur Sikri and Kagaraul in west Uttar Pradesh and from many places in Haryana have furnished evidence of the prevalence of Jainism in these regions also.¹⁴⁷ There are indications that Jainism spread to other parts of north India also, including the Punjab.¹⁴⁸ It is important to note that the spread of Jainism was not confined to India. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang, who visited India in the seventh century AD, found the followers of Jainism even beyond the frontiers of India, i.e., in Kapiśā.¹⁴⁹

Schisms in the Jaina Church

The tendency to form a dissenting opinion was prevalent in the lifetime of Mahāvīra. His disciple Gosāla had separated from him and founded the Ājīvika sect.¹⁵⁰ Two schisms (*nihnavas*) are said to have occurred in Mahāvīra's lifetime.¹⁵¹ The trend continued. In all, seven¹⁵² or eight,¹⁵³ schisms occurred in the Jaina Church. According to the Śvetāmbaras, there were eight schisms in the Jaina Church; the first of these was caused by Mahāvīra's son-in-law Jamāli, and the eighth schism gave rise to the Digambara sect.¹⁵⁴ But the Digambaras seem to be ignorant of the earlier schisms; they hold that it was the rise of the sect of Ardhaphālaks under Bhadrabāhu which developed into the Śvetāmbara sect in AD 80.¹⁵⁵

It has already been stated that Bhadrabāhu, who had become the head

147. *Amar Ujālā*, Āgrā, April, 2000.

148. *CHAI*, III, p. 286.

149. S. Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 63; *HOIC*, I, p. 167; *OISJ*, p. 4 fn. 4.

150. *AOIU*, pp. 414-15; *AAHI*, p. 85; *CHI*, I, pp. 158-9.

151. *LDJC*, pp. 25-6; *JAA*, I, p. 24; *HJM*, p. 79.

152. *AOIU*, p. 416; *JSS* p. 23; *LDJC*, pp. 25-6.

153. *ERE*, VII, p. 473; *HJM*, p. 78.

154. *Ibid.*, p. 473.

155. *Ibid.*



of the Jaina church in 317 BC, had predicted that a famine of twelve years' duration would ravage northern India. Therefore, Bhadrabāhu entrusted the monks who did not wish to follow him to the charge of his colleague Sthūlabhadra, and migrated to south India with 12,000 followers.¹⁵⁶ After reaching Śravaṇa Belgōla in Mysore, Bhadrabāhu designated Viśākha as his successor, and ended his life by starvation.¹⁵⁷ It is generally believed by the Jaina authors that Bhadrabāhu died in Karnataka in 297 BC.¹⁵⁸ But some others hold that he retired to Nepal where he spent his time in austerities.¹⁵⁹

The famine raged in north India. The monks who had stayed back adopted some modifications in the rules of their conduct.¹⁶⁰ They wore white robes and also a peculiar head-dress known as *ardhaphālaka*.¹⁶¹ When the famine ended and normal conditions returned, some of the monks who had migrated to the south and had remained faithful to the law of nudity, came back to north India.¹⁶² They objected to the new modes, introduced by the monks who had stayed back in north India.¹⁶³ Viśākha and Sthūlabhadra tried hard to keep them together; but separatist tendencies proved stronger, and this led to a definitive schism between the two groups in about AD 80.¹⁶⁴ Those who wore white dress and the headgear called *ardhaphālaka* came to be known as *Ardhaphālakas*, and later as the *Śvetāambaras*, and those who believed in nudity came to be known as the *Digambaras*.¹⁶⁵ The story outlined above is embodied in *Bhadrabāhucarita* of Ratnanandin, a work of the

156. *CMHI*, II, p. 356; *CHAI*, III, p. 282.

157. *Ibid.*, p. 356.

158. *MJ*, p. 3.

159. *HJM*, p. 19; *LDJC*, p. 32; *CHI*, I, p. 165.

160. *CMHI*, II, p. 357.

161. *Ibid.*

162. *Ibid.*

163. *Ibid.*

164. *Ibid.*

165. *Ibid.*



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fifteenth century AD, and scholars like Jacobi are inclined to accept it as true.¹⁶⁶

The causes of dissent in most of these schisms pertained to minor points in the doctrines of Jainism. Therefore, these schisms left no permanent mark on the Jaina community. But the last schism produced serious consequences. It was a split which divided the Jaina community into two sects — the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara — and each of these two sects claimed greater authenticity than the other. This split left a mark on the pattern of the development of Jainism, on its regional spread, monastic practices, iconography, etc.¹⁶⁷ After this division became well-established, the differences between the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras centred around numerous subjects.

Causes of the split in Jainism

The Śvetāmbara and the Digambara accounts are at variance with each other regarding the causes of this split.¹⁶⁸ These accounts appear to be products of sectarian hatred.¹⁶⁹ Literary writings and early sculptures prove that¹⁷⁰ most of the differences between the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras were outcome of historical growth.¹⁷¹ The Jainas who lived in various parts of India remained isolated from each other for long because of the vastness of the country; they, therefore, developed different beliefs and customs, and became aware of these differences about the end of the first century AD.¹⁷² According to one tradition, this split occurred in AD 79 and according to another in AD 82.¹⁷³ In view of this some date about AD 80 should be accepted



166. *CMHI*, II, pp. 356-7.

167. *HJM*, pp. 79ff.; *AOIU*, p. 416; *ACHI*, p. 102.

168. *LDJC*, pp. 26-9; *JSS*, pp. 39-45; *HJM*, pp. 80-3; *JIR*, pp. 54-5.

169. *AOIU*, p. 416; *HJM*, p. 83.

170. *Ibid.*, p. 416.

171. *Ibid.*; *ERE*, VII, p. 473; *JSS*, p. 45; *LDJC*, p. 28.

172. *ERE*, VII, p. 473.

173. *GD*, p. 108; *CHAI*, III, p. 297 fn. 4; *JIR*, p. 54; *CMHI*, II, p. 362.

as the date which divided the Jaina community into two sects, i.e., the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara.¹⁷⁴

It is important to note that prior to this split the Jainas had lived together without any apparent discord.¹⁷⁵ It is, therefore, pertinent to ponder over the causes of this split. It has often been suggested that the divergent practice of wearing a white robe or going out naked caused this split, and this gave these two sects their names; — those who put on white robes came to be known as the Śvetāmbaras, and those who preferred or believed in the practice of nudity were called the Digambaras.¹⁷⁶ This split is also assigned to differences between the practices of Mahāvīra and Pārśva, or to the more austere life of Mahāvīra's pupil Gosāla, and also to the events caused by the great famine in Magadha resulting in the migration of a section of the Jaina community to south India.¹⁷⁷

There is little substance in these reasonings. Both sects of Jainism hold that Gosāla's teachings had nothing to do with this split.¹⁷⁸ Reconciliation regarding the use of clothes and the practice of nudity had already been achieved in the lifetime of Mahāvīra.¹⁷⁹ Option allowing two modes of behaviour known as Jinakalpa and Sthavirakalpa was also open to the Jainas.¹⁸⁰ It appears that isolated groups of Jainas who insisted on the harder course of life had existed from the very beginning.¹⁸¹ The split in the Jaina community possibly arose due to subsequent differences regarding ascetic practices.¹⁸²

174. *CMHI*, II, p. 357. According to the Śvetāmbaras, the split occurred in AD 142. See *CHAI*, III, p. 282; *CMHI*, II, p. 362.

175. *CMHI*, II, p. 357.

176. *HJM*, p. 83.

177. *Ibid.*

178. *Ibid.*; *AOIU*, p. 413.

179. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*; *LDJC*, p. 28.

180. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*

181. *HJM*, pp. 83-4; *AOIU*, p. 413.

182. *ACHI*, pp. 101-2.



The Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras

The points of difference between the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras are numerous.

1. The Śvetāmbaras believe in the tale that Mahāvīra's embryo was transferred from the womb of the brāhmaṇa lady Devānandā, wife of Ṛṣabha, to that of Triśalā.¹⁸³ But the Digambaras reject this story.¹⁸⁴
2. According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, Mahāvīra was married to Yaśodā.¹⁸⁵ But the Digambaras hold that he remained celibate all through his life.¹⁸⁶
3. The Śvetāmbaras hold that a woman can attain salvation.¹⁸⁷ But the Digambaras believe that a woman can not be a *tīrthamkara*.¹⁸⁸
4. According to the Śvetāmbaras, Malli, the nineteenth *tīrthamkara*, was a woman.¹⁸⁹ But the Digambaras hold that Malli was a male¹⁹⁰ and call him Mallinātha.¹⁹¹
5. The Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras generally agree in the details regarding the *tīrthamkaras*.¹⁹² But they differ in respect of the names of the *yakṣas* and the *yakṣiṇīs* attached to the *tīrthamkaras*.¹⁹³
6. The Digambaras enlist most of the sixteen vidyādevīs or goddesses of

183. *CHI*, I, pp. 157-8.

184. *Ibid.*

185. *Ibid.*, p. 158; *JSS*, p. 20; *AOIU*, p. 413; *AAHI*, p. 85.

186. *JSS*, p. 20 fn. 8; *HJM*, p. 66 fn. 57; *CHAI*, III, p. 277.

187. *JPV*, p. 183; *JAA*, I, p. 15 fn. 1; *Jl*, pp. 14-15.

188. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16 fn; *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15; *OISJ*, p. 4 fn. 2.

189. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*, p. 15 fn1; *Ibid.*

190. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*, p. 16 fn; *Ibid.*; pp. 14-15, 77.

191. *Jl*, pp. 14-15, 77; *JAA*, I, p. 16 fn.

192. *OISJ*, p. 64.

193. *Ibid.*



knowledge among the *yakṣiṇīs*, but the Śvetāmbaras include only a few of them.¹⁹⁴

7. Another belief peculiar to the Digambaras is that after obtaining *kevala-jñāna* a saint can sustain life without nourishment.¹⁹⁵
8. According to the present Digambara custom, a priest in a Digambara temple must be a Jaina, but in a Śvetāmbara temple the priest can be, and usually is, a brāhmaṇa.¹⁹⁶
9. The Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras also differ on the number of moveable and immoveable beings.¹⁹⁷
10. The Digambara images of the *tīrthamkaras* are represented nude,¹⁹⁸ but the Śvetāmbaras represent the images of the *tīrthamkaras* clothed and decorated with crowns and ornaments.¹⁹⁹
11. The Śvetāmbaras are extremely careful of all animal life, but the Digambaras are moderately careful.²⁰⁰
12. The Digambaras bathe their images profusely, but the Śvetāmbaras use very little water for bathing their images.²⁰¹
13. The Digambaras bathe and worship their images at night, but the Śvetāmbaras are opposed to this practice; they do not even light lamps in their temples.²⁰²

194. *OISJ*, pp. 64-5.

195. *CHAI*, III, p. 298 fn. 2.

196. *Ibid.*, p. 299 fn. 1.

197. *AOIU*, p. 416.

198. *OISJ*, p. 65; *Jl*, pp. 14-15; *DJI*, p. 34.

199. *Ibid.*, *Ibid.*, *Ibid.*

200. *DJI*, p. 35.

201. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

202. *Ibid.*, p. 36. Some Jaina customs and practices appear to vary from region to region. Some Śvetāmbara and Digambara practices mentioned by James Burgess in '*Digambara Jaina Iconography*' (*DJI*), are probably prevalent among the South Indian Jains only. See *DJI*, pp. 34-6.



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14. The Digambaras wash their images with the *pañcāmṛta*, but the Śvetāmbaras do not observe this practice.²⁰³
15. The Digambaras say their prayers in the Hindu fashion, but the Śvetāmbaras close their mouth or tie a cloth over their lips.²⁰⁴
16. The Digambaras paint their caste-marks on their foreheads, but the Śvetāmbaras do not.²⁰⁵
17. Although the Digambaras hold in high esteem the tradition about the twelve *aṅgas* and the fourteen *pūrvas*, they disown the Jaina canon as fixed by the Śvetāmbaras.²⁰⁶
18. The Śvetāmbaras assert that there are 12 heavens and 64 Indras, but the Digambaras maintain that there are 16 heavens and 100 olympian monarchs.²⁰⁷
19. The Śvetāmbaras allow their teachers to eat out of vessels, but the Digambara teachers take food in their hands from their disciples.²⁰⁸
20. The Śvetāmbaras use flowers, sweets, etc., in their *pūjā*; the Digambaras use spices, dry fruits, etc., for this purpose.²⁰⁹
21. The Digambaras consider absolute nudity as an indispensable sign of holiness, but the advance of civilisation has compelled them to depart from the practice of nudity.²¹⁰ It is difficult to ascertain as to when the present custom of wearing clothes started among the Digambaras. From the account of Hiuen-Tsang, the Chinese traveller, it appears that the Digambaras were faithful to the law of nudity even up to the

203. *DJI*, p. 36.

204. *Ibid.*

205. *Ibid.* This is a custom among south Indian Jains. See *AOIK*, p. 295.

206. *HJM*, p. 34.

207. *Jl*, pp. 14-15.

208. *Ibid.*

209. *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

210. *OISJ*, p. 2 fn. 2.



beginning of the seventh century AD.²¹¹

Sub-divisions of the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras

The Jainas are divided into the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras. These two sects are sub-divided into numerous schools and groups.²¹² Some Jaina sects are opposed to idol-worship.²¹³ For example, the Loṅkā sect, the Sthānakavāsī sect,²¹⁴ the Tāraṇpanthī sect of the Digambaras and the Terāpanthī sect of the Śvetāmbaras do not worship idols.²¹⁵ K.C. Jain is of opinion that Muslim invasions of India affected Jainism in two ways; — these invasions united the Jainas for self-defence, and also drove away many Jainas from idolatry.²¹⁶ But the fact should not be lost sight of that reform movements have been a characteristic feature of Indian life from an early period; the Jainas who opposed idol-worship had no need to look to Islam for inspiration.²¹⁷

The Yāpanīyas and the Draviḍa Saṃgha

Another sect of Jainism was called the Yāpanīya. It has been held that this sect arose in the early centuries of the Christian era after the Jaina community's division into the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras.²¹⁸ This sect existed for about two centuries and its influence was confined to Karnataka.²¹⁹ The Draviḍa Saṃgha was another sect of Jainism and its influence was confined to the Tamil land.²²⁰ It appears to have been an off-shoot of the Mula

211. *OISJ*, p. 2 fn. 2.

212. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2; *JSS*, pp. 49 ff; *JIR*, pp. 90-1.

213. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JL*, p. 15; *JIR*, pp. 90-3.

214. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*

215. *JIR*, pp. 90-3.

216. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

217. *ROAI*, p. 123.

218. *CHAI*, III, p. 299.

219. *Ibid.*

220. *Ibid.*



Samgha.²²¹ The Draviḍa Samgha also proved short lived.²²²

Estimate of the split in Jainism

The division of the Jaina community into the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras affected the monks as well as the laity.²²³ But the basic religious principles remained the same for both the sects.²²⁴ Almost all points of difference were minor, if not trivial.²²⁵ Consequently, although there was a split, the crack was not wide enough to demolish the edifice.²²⁶ The Jainas differed on some minor points of doctrine and discipline, but on the whole they adhered to the main principles of Jainism.²²⁷ Less serious doctrinal differences among the Christians led to prolonged bloody conflicts in Europe, but strict adherence to *ahimsā* prevented the Jainas from similar acts.²²⁸ In fact, the points of difference were thrashed out in a debating hall. Some minor changes occurred in Jainism, but no fundamental change is visible up to the present times.²²⁹ In spite of their differences, the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras are one regarding the arrangement of their communities, doctrine, discipline and cult, at least in respect of more important points, and, thus, one can always speak of Jainism as a whole.²³⁰

Jainism passed through many storms and upheavals from time to time. But it did not perish. It is still a living religion. This reveals the adaptability of Jainism to constantly changing environments.²³¹ One of the chief causes

221. *CHAI*, III, p. 299.

222. *Ibid.*, pp. 299-300.

223. *ACHI*, p. 102.

224. *Ibid.*; *JSS*, p. 141; *ERE*, VII, p. 473.

225. *CHAI*, III, p. 299.

226. *Ibid.*

227. *JSS*, p. 141.

228. *CHAI*, III, p. 299.

229. *AOIU*, p. 420.

230. *OISJ*, p. 3.

231. S.D. Jha, *op. cit.*, Retrospect.



of the survival of Jainism is the inflexible conservatism of its followers. The Jainas have stuck to their original doctrines and institutions. The religious life of the Jainas is substantially the same as it was two thousand years ago.²³² But the proverbial conservatism of Jainism has been allied to dynamism.²³³ It has adapted itself to changing circumstances.²³⁴ For instance, Jainism made an effective rapprochement with Hinduism.²³⁵ It is because of its power of adaptability that Jainism has preserved its entity and identity through the ages.²³⁶ Jainism did not snap the bonds between the laity and the monks. It also did not put its destiny in the hands of the monks and monastic establishments completely.²³⁷ Unlike Buddhism, Jainism insisted upon the active participation of the laity in the affairs of the Jaina Church.²³⁸ It was because of these qualities that Jainism could face occasional Hindu opposition and Muslim persecution to survive to the present times.²³⁹

The Councils and the compilation of the Jaina canon

The Jaina tradition attributes the canon to the *arhats*.²⁴⁰ According to the Jaina belief, the ultimate source of all knowledge is the *Dvādasāṅga-śruta*, which was taught by the various *tīrthamkaras*, the last of whom was Mahāvīra.²⁴¹ The Jaina canon is divided into two parts — the Śvetāmbara canon and the Digambara canon.

232. *CHI*, I, p. 169; *IP*, p. 71.

233. S.D. Jha, *op. cit.*, Retrospect.

234. *Ibid.*

235. *HOIC*, I, p. 167.

236. S.D. Jha, *op. cit.*, Retrospect.

237. *HOIC*, I, p. 167.

238. *Ibid.*, pp. 164-7; *IP*, p. 71.

239. *HOIC*, I, p. 167.

240. *HJM*, p. 18.

241. *JSAI*, p. 14.



The Śvetāmbara canon

There is no unanimity among scholars regarding the number of books which constitute the canon of the Śvetāmbara Jainas.²⁴² Scholars like Winternitz and Weber hold that the canon of the Śvetāmbaras consists of 12 *Āngas*, 12 *Upāṅgas*, 10 *Paiṅṅas*, 6 *Cheya-suttas*, 4 *Mūla-suttas*, and two miscellaneous texts called *Nandi* and *Aṇuyogdāra*.²⁴³ This view is generally accepted by scholars.²⁴⁴

The Śvetāmbara canon together with its exegetical literature was the outcome of a literary activity which extended from the date of the Pāṭaliputra Council²⁴⁵ to the seventeenth century AD.²⁴⁶ Scholars like Winternitz and Jacobi treat this canon as authentic because the traditions embodied in it are corroborated by the inscriptions found at Mathurā and other evidence.²⁴⁷ But this group of texts called 'Siddhānta' or 'Āgama' is disowned by the Digambaras who treat it as unauthoritative.²⁴⁸ Taking into consideration the researches of scholars like Jacobi, Weber, Winternitz, Charpentier and others, the Śvetāmbara canon can be arranged in order of descending antiquity into the following manner (1) the *Āngas* (2) the *Mūla-sūtras*, (3) the *Cheda-sūtras*, and lastly (4) the *Upāṅgas* and the rest of the canon.²⁴⁹

The Digambara canon

The Digambara canon may be broadly divided into the *Āngas*, the *Āṅgbāhyas*

242. *HJM*, p. 16.

243. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-18.

244. *Ibid.*, p. 16; *LDJC*, p. 31.

245. The Pāṭaliputra Council was summoned by Sthūlabhadra in the third century BC. See *HJM*, p. 18.

246. *HJM*, p. 34.

247. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-3.

248. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

249. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-34.



and the *Anuyogas*.²⁵⁰ The Digambaras also call the *Anuyogas* as 'the four Vedas'.²⁵¹

Background of the Jaina Councils

It has been already stated that according to the Jaina belief the Jaina canon was taught by Mahāvīra and the *tīrthamkaras* who preceded him. It is said that either the *gaṇadhara*s of Mahāvīra²⁵² or his chief disciple Indrabhūti Gautama arranged and classified his teachings into twelve principal divisions called the *Anga*.²⁵³ The most important of these *āṅgas* was the twelfth; it was called the *Dṛṣṭi-pravāda* and had five sections.²⁵⁴ The biggest and the most important of these five sections dealt with the *pūrvas* which were fourteen in number.²⁵⁵ According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, the original Jaina doctrine was contained in the fourteen *pūrvas* or old texts, and this was taught by Mahāvīra to his *gaṇadhara*s.²⁵⁶ Unfortunately, the knowledge of these texts was gradually lost²⁵⁷, and only a single *gaṇadhara* possessed the knowledge of the *pūrvas*.²⁵⁸ The work of the Jaina councils should be viewed in the light of these conditions.

The Council of Pāṭaliputra

The loss of the Jaina canon is attributed to the terrible famine which occurred in Magadha during the reign of Candragupta Maurya. It has already been stated that due to famine conditions one section of the Jaina Church migrated to south India under the leadership of Bhadrabāhu, and the other preferred

250. *HJM*, pp. 35-8.

251. *Ibid.*, p. 36; *DJI*, pp. 31-2.

252. *LDJC*, p. 32; *HJM*, p. 18.

253. *JSAI*, p. 14.

254. *Ibid.*

255. *Ibid.*

256. *HJM*, p. 18; *LDJC*, p. 32.

257. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*; *JSAI*, p. 14.

258. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*



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to stay in north India under the leadership of Sthūlabhadra. After the end of the famine and restoration of normal conditions, a council was summoned at Pāṭaliputa²⁵⁹, early in the third century BC by Sthūlabhadra to collect and co-ordinate the extant portions of the canon, because famine conditions had perhaps made it impossible for the monks to recollect and study their texts properly.²⁶⁰

The Pāṭaliputra Council found that the knowledge of the *pūrvas* was lost and that nobody except Bhadrabāhu, who was practising austerities somewhere in Nepal, knew them.²⁶¹ The council requested him to reveal his knowledge to others, but he refused to do so.²⁶² He agreed to teach the *pūrvas* when he was threatened with excommunication. But of the five hundred monks sent to him for the purpose only Sthūlabhadra learnt all the fourteen *pūrvas* from Bhadrabāhu.²⁶³ But Sthūlabhadra was ordered by Bhadrabāhu not to teach the last four *pūrvas* to his successors; consequently, their knowledge was lost to posterity.²⁶⁴

The canon fixed by the Pāṭaliputra Council was rejected by the monks who returned to north India from the south. They held that the entire group of the *aṅgas* and the *pūrvas* was lost for good.²⁶⁵ The Digambaras, therefore, hold that the canon collected by the Pāṭaliputra Council was not genuine. It is not possible to know the exact nature of the canon that was settled by the Pāṭaliputra Council;²⁶⁶ it appears that it could collect only the *aṅgas* and the ten *pūrvas*.²⁶⁷

259. *HJM*, p. 18; *LDJC*, p. 32; *AOIU*, p. 422; *CMHI*, II, pp. 357-8.

260. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

261. *Ibid.*, p. 19; *LDJC*, p. 32.

262. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

263. *Ibid.*; *LDJC*, p. 32; *AOIU*, p. 422.

264. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*

265. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

266. *AOIU*, p. 422.

267. *HJM*, p. 19.



The Mathurā Council

A few centuries later the Jaina canon suffered loss once again. Many Jaina monks died as a result of a great famine in the fourth century AD.²⁶⁸ Therefore, after the end of the famine a council was held at Mathurā under the presidentship of Arya Skandila and collected available knowledge of the Jaina canon.²⁶⁹ The Jaina canon compiled by this council is known as Māthurī Vācanā.²⁷⁰

The Valabhī Council

According to some scholars, simultaneously another council was held at Valabhī under the presidentship of Nāgārjuna Sūri, who seems to have been a contemporary of Arya Skandila;²⁷¹ this council compiled and carefully edited that part of the Jaina canon which had been forgotten.²⁷² But it appears that Arya Skandila and Nāgārjuna Sūri could not meet for its final verification, and the difference seems to have continued.²⁷³

The Second Council of Valabhī

The present form of the Śvetāmbara canon owes its compilation and classification to another council at Valabhī which was held in the fifth century AD, 980 or 993 years after Mahāvīra's death.²⁷⁴ This council met under the presidentship of Devardhigaṇin Kṣamāśramaṇa. In this council the entire Jaina canonical literature was written according to the version of the Mathurā Council,²⁷⁵ and variants from the followers of Nāgārjuna Sūri

268. *HJM*; p. 20; *LDJC*, pp. 32-3.

269. *Ibid.*, p. 20; *Ibid.*, p. 33.

270. *Ibid.*, p. 21; *Ibid.*, p. 33.

271. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*

272. *LDJC*, p. 33.

273. *Ibid.*; *HJM*, p. 21.

274. *Ibid.*; *ibid.* It was held in AD 512 or AD 525. See *CA*, p. 410. The popular view is that it was held in the fifth century AD.

275. *Ibid.*, p. 33.



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and others were also recorded.²⁷⁶ But this council failed to trace the twelfth *āṅga* which was said to have contained the *pūrvas*.²⁷⁷

Review of the Jaina canon

The traditional Jaina canon, thus, consists of two sets — the Śvetāmbara canon and the Digambara canon. The Digambaras claim to have preserved in their canonical texts most of the twelfth *āṅga* and its *pūrvas* together with fragments from the other *āṅgas*.²⁷⁸ The Śvetāmbaras claim that they have preserved most of the remaining eleven *āṅgas* in their *sūtras*.²⁷⁹ A comparative study of the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara canon reveals considerable similarity. Both of them inherited and drew from a common stock which existed before the split in the Jaina Saṅgha; this is proved by many verses and passages which are common in both sets.²⁸⁰

The tradition about the *āṅgas* and the fourteen *pūrvas* is common to both sects of Jainism; both hold the *āṅgas* in equal esteem.²⁸¹ The names of some of the texts of the *Āṅgabāhīras* of the Digambaras and the *Mūla-sūtras* and the *Cheda-sūtras* of the Śvetāmbaras are similar.²⁸² Examples can be multiplied.²⁸³

Contribution of Jainism

In the course of its long history Jainism has made a remarkable contribution to Indian culture. The period from the fifth century AD to the tenth century

276. *LDJC*, p. 33; *HJM*, p. 21; *CA*, p. 411. The Jaina canon took its final shape in the Second Council at Valabhī. See *CA*, p. 411.

277. *HJM*, p. 21.

278. *JSAL*, p. 15.

279. *Ibid.*

280. *Ibid.*

281. *HJM*, p. 36.

282. *Ibid.*

283. For further similarity between the canon of the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras see *HJM*, pp. 36-7.



AD was the most flourishing in the history of Jainism, at least in south India,²⁸⁴ and the greatest contribution of Jainism to Indian culture was made in the period which extended from the first century BC to the tenth century AD.²⁸⁵

AHIMSĀ

The most important contribution of Jainism in the cultural field is the doctrine of *ahimsā*. Jainism preached the doctrine of *ahimsā* in a more extreme form than Buddhism, but it produced no emasculating effects upon its followers.²⁸⁶ Jainism produced men who turned *ahimsā* into a philosophy of action; records exist which reveal that the Jaina kings and generals distinguished themselves on the battlefield, and also that they were not averse to warfare in pursuance of the Jaina precept of doing one's duty.²⁸⁷ A.S. Altekar writes,

In the face of the achievements of Jaina princes and generals of our period, we can hardly subscribe to the theory that Jainism and Buddhism were chiefly responsible for the military emasculation of the population that led to the fall of Hindu India.²⁸⁸

In fact, Jainism produced military generals like Kharvela in Kalinga,²⁸⁹ Camunda Raya and Śantinatha in Karnataka,²⁹⁰ Kumarapala in Gujarat,²⁹¹ Śamśera Bahadur, etc., in Rajasthan.²⁹² There is ample evidence of the fact

284. *JSAI*, p. 245; *AOIK*, p. 287.

285. *Ibid.*, p. 229.

286. *AOIK*, p. 293; *JSAI*, p. 248.

287. *Ibid.*, p. 293.

288. A.S. Altekar, cited in *JSAI*, p. 248.

289. *AOIU*, p. 213; *CMHI*, II, p. 115; *EI*, XX, pp. 71-89.

290. *MJ*, pp. 108ff; *CHAI*, III, pp. 289-92.

291. *SFE*, pp. 76-7.

292. *JIR*, pp. 218-20.



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that the Jainas used to enlist in the army in large numbers and distinguish themselves on the battlefield.²⁹³



Gradually, the doctrine of *ahimsā* brought to an end the practice of animal sacrifices in *yajñas* and other Vedic rites.²⁹⁴ It also popularised vegetarian diet in a large part of India.²⁹⁵ Respect for the life of living beings which the Jainas showed in their daily lives is said to have influenced the Hindus of the south; they stopped animal sacrifices in their ceremonies and rites and promulgated the cult of *ahimsā* in their literature.²⁹⁶ *Ahimsā* became the guiding principle and the regulating force in Rajasthan.²⁹⁷

The doctrine of *ahimsā* deeply influenced the life and thought of Akbar, the great Mughal emperor.²⁹⁸ Epigraphical evidence exists that a Śvetāmbara *ācārya* named Hīravijaya Sūri²⁹⁹ had a great influence on Akbar.³⁰⁰ Akbar was keen to understand the doctrines of Jainism, and in 1582, he invited Hīravijaya Sūri of Gujarat to his court.³⁰¹ Hīravijaya Sūri lived at his court for two years,³⁰² and Akbar bestowed the title *jagadguru* on him.³⁰³ Due to Hīravijaya's influence, Akbar prohibited animal slaughter³⁰⁴ near Jaina holy places,³⁰⁵ freed these places from taxes,³⁰⁶ released many prisoners, and gave

293. *JSAI*, p. 248.

294. *AOIK*, p. 294.

295. *Ibid.*, p. 294; *JIR*, p. 234.

296. *MJ*, pp. 269-70.

297. *JIR*, p. 234.

298. A.L. Srivastava, *Bhārat Kā Itihāsa (AD 1000-1707)*, 1979, pp. 468-9.

299. *HJM*, p. 135; A.L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 468; S.R. Sharma, *Bhārat Main Mughal Sāmrājya*, 1973, p. 280.

300. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*

301. A.L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 468.

302. *Ibid.*

303. *Ibid.*; S.R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 280; *HJM*, p. 135.

304. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*

305. *HJM*, p. 135.

306. *Ibid.*

up meat-eating on some days in the year.³⁰⁷ Akbar also came in contact with Jaina *ācāryas* like Jinacandra,³⁰⁸ Siddhicandra,³⁰⁹ Bhānucandra,³¹⁰ Śānticandra, Vijayasena Sūri, Jayasoma Upādhyāya,³¹¹ etc. Akbar was so deeply influenced by the teachings of the Jaina monks that he gave up hunting, of which he was extremely fond of, almost gave up meat-eating and prohibited slaughter of animals and birds for about six months in the year.³¹² Slaughter of animals and birds on prohibited days meant capital punishment in Akbar's time.³¹³ Akbar issued *firman*s to the governors of all provinces of the Mughal empire in India and local officials to strictly enforce the orders issued by him.³¹⁴

In 1582, Akbar promulgated a religion named Din-i-Ilahi; meat-eating was almost prohibited for the members of Din-i-Ilahi; they were also prohibited from the use of vessels belonging to professionals like butchers and fishermen.³¹⁵ In 1591, Akbar invited the renowned Jaina *ācārya* Jinacandra Sūri to his court.³¹⁶ Jinacandra Sūri reached Lahore in 1591, and was cordially received by Akbar in that city.³¹⁷ Jinacandra explained the doctrines of Jainism to Akbar. Akbar was delighted and bestowed the title *yugapradhān* on Jinacandra Sūri.³¹⁸ Jinacandra spent *cāturmāsa* at Lahore and accompanied Akbar during the latter's visit to Kashmir in 1592.³¹⁹ Both Hīravijaya Sūri and

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307. A.L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 468.
 308. *HJM*, p. 135; A.L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 468.
 309. *Ibid.*; S.R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 280.
 310. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; A.L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 468.
 311. A.L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 468.
 312. *Ibid.*, p. 469.
 313. *Ibid.*
 314. *Ibid.*
 315. *Ibid.*, pp. 465-6.
 316. *Ibid.*, p. 468.
 317. *Ibid.*
 318. *Ibid.*
 319. *Ibid.*



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Jinacandra Sūri left a lasting impression on Akbar.³²⁰

HUMANITARIANISM AND MORAL LIFE

Jainism preaches love and compassion towards all living beings, human beings as well as animals, birds and insects. This ideal has produced a deep impress on Indian life. In Rajasthan the Jaina practice of feeding and sustaining the birds and the ants has been widely adopted by the Hindus.³²¹ The Jainas have established a large number of animal houses called Piñjaḍā Pol for the protection of animals.³²² The Jainas in south India made it a principle to provide food, protection, medicine and education to the needy.³²³ Jainism has exercised a healthy influence on the moral life of the people.³²⁴ Through the ages, the Jainas have established and maintained charitable institutions of various kinds in the country.³²⁵ The Jainas have established and maintained institutions like public libraries, educational institutions,³²⁶ dispensaries,³²⁷ *dharmasālās*,³²⁸ houses for animal protection,³²⁹ trusts for public welfare, etc.

The most precious gifts of Jainism to Indian culture are profound reverence for all forms of life and the way of austerity.³³⁰ Perhaps the greatest contribution of Jainism to the Indian culture, and to the world as a whole, is the advocacy of an ideal, i.e., perfection of man. Jainism has laid superlative

320. A.L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 468.

321. *JIR*, p. 234.

322. *RI*, p. 296.

323. *MJ*, p. 269.

324. *JIR*, p. 233.

325. *CUHI*, I p. 222.

326. *JIR*, p. 235.

327. *CUHI*, I, p. 222; *JIR*, p. 236.

328. *Ibid.*, p. 222.

329. *RI*, p. 296; *CUHI*, I, p. 222.

330. *HOIC*, I, p. 162.



stress on man's purity and on his conquest of the body and the senses.³³¹ The moral injunctions prohibiting the eating of animal foods, drinking, gambling, hunting, stealing, adultery and debauchery produced high-souled men and women from the Jaina laity who became role models for the Indian society.³³²

Numerous Jaina monks were held in admiration because of their noble, austere, selfless and scholarly life even by the Muslim rulers. It is a different matter that their lives did not inspire them. Many Śvetāmbara and Digmbara monks were honoured by Muslim rulers like Muhammad Ghorī, Alauddin Khalji, Muhammad Tughlaq, Firoz Tughlaq and Sikandar Sur.³³³ Akbar was deeply influenced by Jainism. His son Jahangir issued orders for the protection of Śatruñjaya, and conferred the title *mahātapā* on Jaina scholar Vijayadeva Sūri and the title *yugapradhān* on the Jaina monk Jinasiṃha Sūri.³³⁴

PHILOSOPHY

Jainism has made a significant contribution in the field of philosophy also. In the field of philosophy the greatest contribution of Jainism is *Anekāntavāda* or the theory of Indefiniteness of Being, and a dialectical method called *Syādvāda*, which upholds this theory. Jainism attaches such importance to this method that *Syādvāda* is frequently used as a synonym for it.³³⁵ *Anekāntavāda* and *Syādvāda* have elicited high praise from Indian and foreign scholars.

MONASTIC SYSTEM

The monastic rule is Jainism's greatest creation.³³⁶ It is a severe rule which is dominated by the conception of non-violence, a conception probably

331. *HOIC*, I, p. 162.

332. *Ibid.*, p. 164.

333. *HJM*, p. 135.

334. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

335. *ERE*, VII, p. 468.

336. *ROAI*, p. 125.



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created by Jainism.³³⁷ The practical genius of Mahāvīra is abundantly evident from his establishment of a four-fold order of followers. In this system both laymen and laywomen could aspire to monkhood by accepting its discipline in stages.³³⁸ Thus, unlike Buddhism, Jainism could produce through the ages a large number of high-souled men and women, who could endure the storm and stress that drove Buddhism out of India.³³⁹ The sage in Jainism could come from even the castes which were viewed as extremely low.³⁴⁰ There was a hierarchy of monks in the Jaina Church (*saṅgha*). Jainism insisted upon the active participation of the laity in monastic life. A layman or a laywoman could become a monk or a nun by improvement of moral standard and approximating to the ideal of conduct prescribed for the Jaina monks and nuns.³⁴¹

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

The literary activities of the Jainas in a regular form commenced from about the beginning of the Christian era.³⁴² The Jaina literary activity, which may be called the Sarasvatī movement, began sometime in the first half of the second century BC, and was an accomplished fact by the end of the first century AD.³⁴³ The period from the second century AD to the twelfth century AD may be called the golden age of the Jaina literary activity,³⁴⁴ and during this period numerous Jaina authors from Samantabhadra to Hemacandra,³⁴⁵ enriched the religious and secular literature of India by their compositions in many languages.

337. *ROAI*, p. 125.

338. *HOIC*, I, p. 164.

339. *Ibid.*

340. *Ibid.*

341. *Ibid.*

342. *JSAI*, p. 15.

343. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

344. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

345. *Ibid.*



The literary activity of the Jainas has embraced an extremely wide field. Jaina authors have produced religious as well as secular literature. They have written numerous books on religion and philosophy.³⁴⁶ They also produced narrative literature in the form of *kathās*, *kathākośas*, epics, *caritas*,³⁴⁷ *Purāṇas*,³⁴⁸ *prabhandas* and *praśastis*.³⁴⁹ They also wrote socio-political histories, historical biographies, *pattāvalis* of the various Jaina ascetic congregations, commentaries on non-Jaina works, etc.³⁵⁰ The Jainas also produced works on poetry in the form of *kāvya*s, *mahākāvya*s and small poems³⁵¹ They also wrote on technical and scientific subjects like poetics, grammar, lexicography geography, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, politics, etc.³⁵²

By producing literature in many Indian languages like Ardha-Magadhi, Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, etc., Jainism has played an important role in the linguistic development of India. Prākṛt languages owe a lot to Jainism. The Jainas produced rich literature in Apabhraṁśa,³⁵³ and most of the surviving literature in this language is the creation of Jaina authors.³⁵⁴ Apabhraṁśa is a language which is a link between the classical languages, i.e., Sanskrit and Prākṛt and the modern vernacular languages of India.³⁵⁵ Apabhraṁśa represents an important stage in the development of Indo-Aryan languages — a stage ‘in which the Prākṛts die and out of them the *bhāṣās* or the vernaculars are born’.³⁵⁶ Many modern Indian languages like

346. *JIR*, pp. 152-3; *AOIK*, p. 292.

347. *CA*, pp. 291ff; *JIR*, pp. 153-60; *JSAI*, pp. 20-2.

348. *JIR*, p. 153; *JSAI*, pp. 22-5.

349. *JSAI*, pp. 18-19.

350. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-28.

351. *CA*, pp. 313-17; *JIR*, p. 166.

352. *Ibid.*, pp. 317-24; *Ibid.*, pp. 172-7; *MJ*, p. 266; *JSAI*, pp. 16ff.

353. *CUHI*, I, pp. 222-3; *Ibid.*, p. 151; *JSAI*, p. 13.

354. *JIR*, p. 151.

355. *CUHI*, I, p. 223.

356. *SFE*, p. 351.



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Hindi, Gujarati, Rajasthani, Marathi, etc., have developed from Apabhramśa.³⁵⁷ The Jainas have made a handsome contribution to the development of Gujarati and Rajasthani, and Jaina influence can be seen on Marathi and Sindhi also.³⁵⁸

Jainism wielded influence in the Kannada land for long. Jaina authors contributed a glorious chapter to Kannada literature.³⁵⁹ In fact, the honour of creating Kannada literature and its enrichment with classics of abiding value goes to Jaina authors.³⁶⁰ The Jainas also made immense contribution to the development of Tamil literature. Most of the major and minor epics, which are the pride of Tamil literature, have been composed by the Jainas.³⁶¹ The Jainas also made a significant contribution to Sanskrit literature. In fact, Jaina authors gradually adopted Sanskrit as the principal medium of expression in the composition of literature, religious as well as secular.³⁶² Almost all early Jaina writers of south India were profound Sanskrit scholars.³⁶³

In fine, Jainism made a notable contribution to the development of the literature of many Indian languages including Tamil, Telugu and Kannada. Some of the most renowned classics in Tamil, Telugu and Kannada were penned by Jaina authors.³⁶⁴ The Jainas gave to the Tamil people their didactic classics like the *Kuraḷ* and *Nāḷadiyār*, some major and minor *kāvya*s and other works.³⁶⁵ *Campū* is an elaborate and artificial form in Sanskrit literature, calculated to afford to the poet ample opportunity to display his



357. AOIK, p. 212; JIR, p. 151.

358. JIR, p. 151.

359. CA, p. 327. Also see MJ, pp. 262-3; JSAI, p. 13; JIR, p. 151; IP, p. 77; CUHI, pp. 222-3.

360. AOIK, p. 292.

361. Ibid.

362. AOIU, p. 284; IP, p. 77; JIR, p. 151; JSAI, p. 13.

363. MJ, p. 263.

364. Ibid.; IP, p. 77; JIR, p. 151.

365. Ibid., p. 263.

erudition and command over both prose and poetry in a single composition.³⁶⁶ The Jainas gave to the Telugu and Kannada literature the *Campū kāvyas* or poems in a variety of composite metres interspersed with paragraphs in prose.³⁶⁷

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Plastic Art

Jainism has made a significant contribution in the domain of Indian art, particularly architecture. In ancient India art was the hand-maid of religion.³⁶⁸ The Jaina temples and idols were built to satisfy the religious fervour of the devotees, and the Jainas invested immense money and labour to make them beautiful.³⁶⁹ A huge mass of Jaina images, made of stone, metal and other materials, belonging to the ancient and medieval period of Indian history, has been discovered from various places in Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, like Lohanipur, Mathurā, Śravaṇa Belgōla, Rajgir, Udayagiri, Fatehpur Sikri, Kahaum, Deogadh, Gwalior, Chanderi, Khajuraho, etc.

The images of the Jaina *tīrthamkaras* have been described as cold and frozen,³⁷⁰ stiff in pose, devoid of expression and grace,³⁷¹ characterised by puppet-like rigidity, primitive bareness³⁷² and uniformity of pattern.³⁷³ It is held that the images of the Jaina *tīrthamkaras* present a stark contrast to the sublime gentleness and serene grace of the figure of the Buddha, and to the

366. AOIK, p. 187.

367. MJ, p. 263.

368. R.C. Sharma, *Buddhist Art of Mathurā*, 1984, Foreword; JAA, I, p. 35.

369. JAA, I, p. 35.

370. H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. I, 1955, p. 15.

371. JAA, I, p. 67.

372. H. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

373. JSAI, p. 231; HOFA, Introduction, p. 11.



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divine strength and lavish charm of the images of the Hindu gods.³⁷⁴ There is much truth in this criticism. But the iconography of the Jaina *tīrthamkaras* should be judged in the light of the doctrines of Jainism.

The Jaina *tīrthamkaras* were great ascetics. In fact, the image of the *tīrthamkara* is a vehicle of the ritual tradition of Jainism,³⁷⁵ which prescribed his portrayal as an ascetic. It is because of this prescription that a cold and frozen atmosphere hovers around the images of the *jinas*.³⁷⁶ Nudity is a monastic rule for the Digambara Jaina ascetics. The Jaina sculpture is the only art in India in which absolutely unclothed figures are found. This nakedness represents a condition of absolute detachment from the world.³⁷⁷

But in the representation of lesser deities of the Jaina pantheon, and in carving secular scenes from contemporary life, the artist was not bound by any prescribed formulae, and enjoyed the freedom to display his artistic genius.³⁷⁸ The female figures carved on the pillars of the Jaina *stūpa* at Mathurā rank among the masterpieces of the Mathurā school of art.³⁷⁹ The figures of lively and joyful women carved on these pillars bear testimony to the fact that in spite of its rigid course of discipline the Jaina community of Mathurā gave a free hand to the artist in the display of his artistic genius.³⁸⁰ Many Jaina sculptures discovered from Kāṅkālī Ṭilā, Mathurā possess artistic merit.³⁸¹ The Jaina images of the first and the second century AD found from Mathurā are stiff in pose and lack expression and grace.³⁸² But the *tīrthamkara* figures of Mathurā belonging to the Gupta period are



374. H. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

375. *JSAI*, p. 231; *JAA*, I, pp. 67-8; *EWA*, VIII, p. 786.

376. H. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

377. *Ibid.*

378. *JSAI*, p. 231.

379. P.K. Agrawala, *Mathura Railing Pillars*, 1966, p. 2.

380. *JAA*, I, p. 59.

381. *JS*, Introduction, p. 5.

382. *JAA*, I, p. 67.

masterpieces of sculptural art. Serene spiritual beauty is writ large on the faces of these *tīrthamkara* figures.³⁸³ The Jaina *āyāga-paṭṭas* or votive tablets (tablets of homage) found from Mathurā rank among the most beautiful specimens of the Mathurā school of sculpture; they are exceedingly well-conceived and the compositions convey the meaning of the symbolism they seek to represent.³⁸⁴

The Jainas produced a different type of sculpture at Gwalior. The most striking part of the Jaina remains of Gwalior are a series of caves or rock-cut sculptures that are excavated on the rock on all sides; some of these figures are colossal — greater in size than others found in north India.³⁸⁵ The gigantic colossi of Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa and other places in south India are perhaps the most artistic of the Jaina sculptures.³⁸⁶ The colossal monolithic Jaina statues of the south are counted among the wonders of the world.³⁸⁷ The colossal Jaina statue at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa standing on top of a hill is 57 feet high and has been cut from a single block of gneiss.³⁸⁸ The aura of this statue has elicited high praise from art critics.³⁸⁹ There are similar colossi at Yenur and Karkala. V.A. Smith writes,

Undoubtedly the most remarkable of the Jaina statues are the celebrated colossi of southern India, the largest free-standing statues in Asia — at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa in Mysore, and at Karkala and Yenur or Venur in South Kanara. All three being set on the top of eminences are visible from miles around.³⁹⁰

383. State Museum, Lucknow no. J. 104; *Mārg*, Mathurā No., p. 56; *JAA*, I, pp. 67-8; R.C. Sharma, *Jaina Sculptures of the Gupta Age in the State Museum*, Lucknow, p. 152.

384. V.S. Agrawala, *Studies in Indian Art*, Vārāṇasī, 1965, pp. 178-9.

385. *HIEA*, pp. 243-5.

386. *HOFA*, Introduction, p. 11.

387. *IGI*, II, p. 122.

388. *Ibid.*

389. *JAA*, I, p. 37.



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Reference may also be made to the five groups of Jaina images cut in relief on the face of the steep cliff below the fort of Gwalior; they were executed between AD 1440 and 1473.³⁹¹ Some of these images are colossal; one of them is 57 feet high.³⁹²

Architecture

In the field of architecture the contribution of Jainism has been truly memorable. Jainism did not create a separate architecture.³⁹³ It drew from and always depended on Hindu architecture.³⁹⁴ In the construction of temples the Jainas followed the structural pattern of the Hindus.³⁹⁵ The Jainas adopted the local building traditions for their edifices.³⁹⁶ The Hindu and the Jaina temples at Khajuraho are alike.³⁹⁷ But the Jaina temples were not exact carbon copies of the Hindu temples; they differed from them in some respects because the theistic requirements of Jainism are somewhat different from those of Hinduism.³⁹⁸ For instance, departure from the style of Hindu architecture can be seen in some Jaina temples of Karnataka.³⁹⁹

The Jainas had a passion for religious-building, and through the ages, they built numerous temples, some of which can be called the pride of India. The Jainas chose beautiful sites for the construction of such edifices. It was



390. *HOFA*, p. 268.

391. *Ibid.*

392. *Ibid.*

393. *AJAA*, p. 319; E.B. Havell, *The Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India*, 1915, p. 175.

394. *Ibid.*, p. 319.

395. H. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 134; E.B. Havell, *oc. cit.*, pp. 65-6.

396. E.B. Havell, *op. cit.*, p. 175; *AJAA*, pp. 319-20.

397. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture, Buddhist and Hindu*, 2nd edn., p. 136; *HOFA*, p. 23; *HIEA*, pp. 245-6.

398. *AJAA*, pp. 319-20.

399. *IGI*, II, p. 170.

love of the picturesque that prompted the Jainas to build their temples on hill-tops.⁴⁰⁰ The Jainas not only erected temples; they also built temple-cities — cities consisting of temples alone — picturesquely situated on the hills of Girnar in Kathiawad and Śātruñjaya or Palitana in Gujarat.⁴⁰¹ Other picturesquely situated Jaina temple groups are at Raṇapur in Jodhpur and Parasnatha in Bengal.⁴⁰² The Jaina temples were built in an ornate style. The Jaina temples of Gujarat and Mount Abu in Rajasthan were built in an ornate style. The Jaina passion for ornamentation reached its peak in the temples of west India. The Jaina temples in Karnataka are almost equally ornate in a different fashion.⁴⁰³

The exquisite temples of Mount Abu, built in the western or Gujarati⁴⁰⁴ or the Maru Gurjar style,⁴⁰⁵ a beautiful variation of⁴⁰⁶ the north Indian or the Indo-Aryan style⁴⁰⁷, are the most notable achievements of the Jainas in the domain of art.⁴⁰⁸ The Jaina temples at Mount Abu are deservedly famous.⁴⁰⁹ The most outstanding of the Jaina temples at Mount Abu are the Vimal Shah and the Tejapala temples which were constructed in AD 1032 and AD 1232 respectively.⁴¹⁰ Built entirely of white marble these temples are domed shrines with pillared halls.⁴¹¹ These are the finest models of this style; the beauty and delicacy of carving and the richness of designs in both these temples are

400. *HIEA*, p. 240.

401. *HIEA*, pp. 226 ff; A.K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, 1927, p. 112.

402. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-13.

403. *HOFA*, Introduction, p. 11.

404. *Ibid.*, and p. 32.

405. *AJAA*, p. 319.

406. *HOFA*, p. 32.

407. *Ibid.*

408. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 11.

409. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

410. *Ibid.*

411. *Ibid.*



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breathhtaking.⁴¹² The remarkable temples dedicated to Jaina worship at Mount Abu carry to its highest perfection the Indian genius for the invention of graceful patterns and their application to the decoration of masonry.⁴¹³ The beauty of the ceilings, pillars, doorways, niches and panels of the Jaina temples at Mount Abu is mind boggling.⁴¹⁴

In decorative sculpture, as distinguished from individual statuary, the Jainas encouraged work of a high order of excellence and beauty, employed to adorn with the utmost possible magnificence the pillared chambers which were their favourite form of architecture.⁴¹⁵ Nothing in the world can surpass for richness and delicacy of detail the marble columns and ceilings of the Mount Abu temples, and it would be easy to fill a large volume with illustrations of more or less similar exquisite work in many localities.⁴¹⁶ In fact, the Jaina temples at Mount Abu eclipse all monuments in India in aesthetic exuberance.⁴¹⁷ The whiteness of marble in these temples symbolises the passionless purity of this ascetic faith.⁴¹⁸ The astounding profuseness of the marvellous traceries of the fairly ceilings of these temples have put to shade the pendants of the Westminster Abbey.⁴¹⁹

The Jaina temples of west India represent in material form the concept of the ultimate and eternity as put forth by Jainism.⁴²⁰ Of the Jaina temples at Palitana, Fergusson writes,

It is by watching the methods still followed in designing buildings in that remote locality that we become aware how it is that the uncultivated

412. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. iii, H. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 268; *HOFA*, p. 32.

413. *IGI*, II, p. 124.

414. H. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

415. *HOFA*, p. 270.

416. *Ibid.*

417. O.C. Gangoly, *Indian Architecture*, p. 44.

418. *Ibid.*

419. *Ibid.*

420. *AJAA*, p. 378.



Hindu can rise in architecture to a degree of originality and conception which has not been attained in Europe since the Middle Ages, but which might easily be recovered by following the same process.⁴²¹

By this time the patronage of Jainism had passed into the hands of the merchants and the common people; therefore, the architecture of the Jaina temples of Mount Abu can be called the architecture of the people.⁴²²

Nearly one-third of the extant temples at Khajuraho are Jaina temples. Architecturally, the older temples at Khajuraho may justly be regarded as the most beautiful in form as well as the most elegant in detail among the temples of northern India; the only others that can be compared with them is the earlier group at Bhubaneswar in Orissa.⁴²³ Fergusson remarks about the Jaina temple of Pārśvanātha at Khajuraho,

There is nothing probably in Hindu architecture that surpasses the richness of its three-storeyed base combined with the extreme elegance of outline and delicate detail of the upper part.⁴²⁴

Percy Brown writes about a ruined Jaina temple at Khajuraho,

In its dismantled condition one can only admire the elegance of its pillars and the richness of the carved doorway. Some of the pillars are most gracefully proportioned, tall slender shafts, octagonal below and circular above, clasped around at intervals with girdles of delicate carving and surmounted by an appropriate bracket capital.⁴²⁵

The Jainas also excelled in the construction of free-standing pillars called *māna-stambhas* which were almost invariably erected near the temples,

421. *HIEA*, p. 228.

422. H. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

423. *IGI*, II, pp. 179-80.

424. *HIEA*, p. 246.

425. Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-7.



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particularly in the south. They were a characteristic feature of the Jaina temples of south India, and in no other part of the country the *māna-stambhas* were as elaborately carved as in the south.⁴²⁶ The Jaina free-standing pillars have been lavishly praised by connoisseurs of art. The Jainas built many free-standing pillars in Kanara in south India. V.A. Smith felt that in the whole range of Indian art there is perhaps nothing equal to the Kanara pillars as far as good taste is concerned.⁴²⁷

A variation of the free-standing pillars are the commemorative towers, i.e., *kīrti-stambhas* of north India. There are two such *stambhas* at Chittor in Rajasthan. One of them is the 'tower of fame' which dates from about AD 900.⁴²⁸ Another tower of this kind at Chittor was finished in AD 1468.⁴²⁹ It is a 'pillar of victory' like the column of Trajan at Rome. It is 122 feet high and consists of nine storeys, the whole being covered with ornamental sculpture.⁴³⁰ The Jaina *kīrti-stambha* at Chittor is a masterpiece of carving,⁴³¹ and according to Fergusson, as an architectural object it is of infinitely better taste than the column of Trajan at Rome.⁴³²

The Jainas also built rock-cut caves. There are two groups of Jaina rock-cut caves on the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills in Orissa.⁴³³ These caves were built for the habitation of Jaina ascetics.⁴³⁴ Of these, the Hāthīgumphā cave on the Udayagiri hills appears to have been built in the second century BC.⁴³⁵ Some others like the Ananta, Rānī and Gaṇeśa gumphās probably date

426. *IP*, p. 77.

427. *HOFA*, p. 14.

428. *IP*, p. 77.

429. *Ibid.*

430. *Ibid.*, *IGI*, II, p. 124.

431. H. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 266-8.

432. *HIEA*, pp. 253-4; *IP*, p. 77.

433. *SIJA*, p. 6.

434. *JAA*, I, p. 76.

435. *SIJA*, p. 6.



from 150 BC to 50 BC.⁴³⁶ The interiors of the Jaina caves of Orissa are austere plain, but the facades of some of the caves are richly decorated.⁴³⁷ Rānī-gumphā is the most spacious and elaborately carved of all Orissan caves.⁴³⁸

The Jains were also associated with the construction of the *stūpas*. Jaina traditions refer to the practice of erecting *stūpas* over the ashes of the *jinas*.⁴³⁹ The prejudice that all *stūpas* and railings must necessarily be Buddhist has probably prevented the recognition of Jaina structures as such, and upto the present day only two undoubted Jaina *stūpas* have been recorded.⁴⁴⁰ One Jaina *stūpa* existed at Vaiśālī, and this was dedicated to the *jina* Munisuvrata.⁴⁴¹ The other Jaina *stūpa* was the celebrated *stūpa* at Kaṅkālī Ṭilā, Mathurā. To the history and architecture of this *stūpa* we shall turn later in this book.

436. *SIJA*, p. 7.

437. *JAA*, I, p. 82.

438. *SIJA*, p. 7.

439. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

440. *IGI*, II, p. 111.

441. *SIJA*, p. 62; *JAA*, I, Editorial, p. 7.





5

Jainism in Mathurā Second century BC to eleventh century AD

MATHURĀ—the heart of Braj — and described as one of the seven holy cities of India in the *Garuḍa Purāṇa*,¹ has been a sacred city to the Hindus from very early times. This city has been held in high esteem by the Jains also. Tradition recorded in later Jaina texts associates Mathurā with many *tīrthamkaras*. According to *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, a fourteenth-century work made known by Buhler,² a *stūpa* was built at Mathurā in honour of Supārśvanātha, the seventh *tīrthamkara*.³ Another Jaina tradition describes Mathurā as the birth place of Naminātha, the twenty-first *tīrthamkara*.⁴ Neminātha (Ariṣṭanemi), the twenty-second *tīrthamkara*, who was a cousin of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, was closely associated with Mathurā,⁵ and according to *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, he had a specially honoured place in this city.⁶ Many images of the Kuṣāṇa and post-Kuṣāṇa period represent Neminātha in the company of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma.⁷ Vardhamāna Mahāvīra is said to have visited Mathurā.⁸ Jambūsvāmī, the last *kevalin*, is believed to have performed penance in this city.

1. *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, 2.28.3 cited in A.B.L. Awasthi, *Garuḍa Purāṇa Ek Adhyayana*, 1968, p. 15; P.D. Mittal, *Braj Kā Sāmskr̥tika Itihāsa*, vol. I, 1966, p. 22 fn. 2.
2. *JS*, p. 13; *Yaśastilaka*, p. 432.
3. *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, pp. 17ff; *MS*, pp.1-2; *JAA*, I, p. 50.
4. *Jl*, p. 80; *JAA*, I, p. 50.
5. *MS*, p. 2; *Ibid*.
6. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*; *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, p. 86.
7. *MM* no. 34. 2488; *JAA*, I, p. 50.
8. *LDJC*, p. 309; *MCH*, p. 211.

The spread of Jainism to various parts of India was the consequence of numerous migrations of the Jainas from eastern India.⁹ One such migration or extension of the Jaina community brought it to Mathurā at an early period.¹⁰ Archaeological excavations have established that Jainism obtained a firm footing in Mathurā by the second century BC,¹¹ and that from this time it had a continuous history in this city up to the eleventh century AD.¹² In fact, in the early centuries of the Christian era, Mathurā became the most renowned centre of Jainism in northern India.¹³

Archaeological excavations at Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā, Mathurā

Except the Jaina traditions which furnished some information, nothing specific was known about the state and history of Jainism in Mathurā even as late as AD 1870. But archaeological excavations conducted at Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā, Mathurā by Cunningham, Harding, Growse, Burgess and Fuhrer from about 1870 to 1896,¹⁴ opened the flood-gates for writing on the history of Jainism in Mathurā on scientific lines. These excavations have unearthed immense Jaina antiquities like sculptures, pillars, *āyāga-paṭṭas*, capitals, umbrellas, railing posts, copings, cross-bars, component parts of gateways, bracket-figures and other architectural pieces from this mound.¹⁵ These excavations unearthed a large number of dedicatory inscriptions also.¹⁶ The earliest of these dedicatory inscriptions belongs to the second century BC,¹⁷ and the last to the eleventh century AD.¹⁸ These dedicatory inscriptions provide a fairly clear picture of the

9. *CHI*, I, pp. 167ff; *AOIU*, pp. 417ff; *HJM*, p. 577.

10. *AOIU*, p. 418; *CMHI*, II, p. 363.

11. *JS*, Introduction, pp. 1ff; *JAA*, I p. 51.

12. *Ibid.*, Introduction, pp. 3-5; *ASIAR* (1906-7), p. 141; *MI*, p. 42; *JSAI*, pp. 230-1.

13. *CMHI*, II, p. 355.

14. *MI*, p. 39.

15. *JS*, Introduction, pp. 1ff; *JAA*, I, p. 52.

16. *EI*, X, Appendix, Lüders List, pp. 2ff.

17. *EI*, II, p. 195 and inscription no. 1; *EI*, II, pp. 198-9.

18. *JS*, Introduction, pp. 3-5.



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history and state of Jainism in Mathurā from the second century BC to the eleventh century AD.

The Kankālī Ṭilā, occasionally called Jaini Ṭilā,¹⁹ stands between the Bhūteśvara crossing and B.S.A. College in the south-west part of Mathurā. This mound has derived its present name from a small modern temple dedicated to a Hindu goddess called Kaṅkālī Devī,²⁰ who is a form of goddess Durgā.²¹ This mound is nearly rectangular in shape; it is approximately 500 feet long and 350 feet wide.²² But Cunningham gave its dimensions as 400 feet long and 300 feet wide.²³

General A. Cunningham, the first Director-General of Archaeological Survey of India,²⁴ excavated the western end of Kankālī Ṭilā in March and November in 1871.²⁵ He conducted excavations at this mound in 1881-2 and 1882-3 also.²⁶ Harding, a predecessor of F.S. Growse as Magistrate of Mathurā, also made some excavations at Kaṅkālī Ṭilā.²⁷ F.S. Growse, who worked as Magistrate and later as Collector of Mathurā district,²⁸ conducted excavation on the northern portion of this mound in 1875.²⁹ James Burgess and A. Fuhrer of the Archaeological Survey of India,³⁰ conducted excavations at the eastern

19. *JS*, Introduction, p. 1; *MI*, p. 40; *MDM*, p. 116.

20. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*, p. 117.

21. *GD*, p. 128.

22. *JS*, Introduction, p. 1.

23. *ASIAR*, III, p. 19; *MI*, p. 39; *JS*, Introduction, p. 1.

24. F.R. Allchin, *The Archaeology of Early Historic South Asia: The Emergence of Cities and States*, 1995, p. 5.

25. *ASIAR*, III, pp. 13ff; *JS*, Introduction, p. 1.

26. *Ibid.*, XVII, p. 111; *ASIAR*, XX, plates III and IV; *JS*, Introduction, p. 2.

27. *JS*, Introduction, p. 1; *MI*, p. 39.

28. Pamphlet of Government Museum, Mathurā. F.S. Growse founded the museum which is now called Government Museum, Mathurā.

29. *JS*, Introduction, p. 1.

30. *DJI*, Introduction; *MI*, p. 41; *MCH*, p. 108.



end of Kaṅkāli Tīlā at different times from 1888 to 1896.³¹ It was Fuhrer who discovered the largest number of Jaina antiquities from this mound. Fuhrer's principal excavations at Kaṅkāli Tīlā were conducted in 1888-9, 1889-90 and 1890-1.³² He made some excavations at this site in 1896 also.³³

Fuhrer's excavations brought to light remnants of a Jaina *stūpa*, and of two Jaina temples also.³⁴ But it is important to note that numerous Jaina antiquities which included inscriptions, images of the *tīrthamkaras* and pillars of *stūpa* railings had already been excavated by A. Cunningham.³⁵ Excavations at Kaṅkāli Tīlā had stopped after Cunningham's work at this site in 1882-3. But this work was resumed in 1888, first under the direction of Burgess, and thereafter under Fuhrer,³⁶ for the fulfilment of a specific need. This need arose because European scholars were engaged in a serious debate about the authenticity of the Jaina traditions at that time.

Jainism attracted notice of European scholars about the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1858, Albrecht Weber argued that the Jainas were Buddhist schismatics.³⁷ Christian Lassen also theorised in the 1860s that the Jainas were descendants of the Buddhists.³⁸ But Colebrooke, Prinsep, Stevenson, E. Thomas and some other scholars held that Jainism is older than Buddhism.³⁹ These conflicting viewpoints led to a debate among European scholars. Between 1879 and 1884, Hermann Jacobi, one of the participants in this debate, undertook the refutation of the thesis that Jainism arose out of Buddhism. On the strength of references in Pali literature, Jacobi successfully

31. *JS*, Introduction, p. 1; *MI*, p. 40.

32. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 2; *Ibid.*

33. *MI*, p. 40.

34. *EI*, I, p. 380; *ASIAR*, 1906-7, p. 141; *MI*, p. 40; *JS*, Introduction, pp. 2-3.

35. *ASIAR*, III, pp. 13ff; *JS*, Introduction, pp. 1-2.

36. *MI*, p. 40; *MCH*, p. 107.

37. *MCH*, p. 104.

38. *Ibid.*

39. *CHI*, I, p. 152.



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proved that Jainism did not arise out of Buddhism, and that the Nirgranthas (the Jainas) existed before the time of Gautama Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, and his contemporary Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the successor of Pārśvanātha. Jacobi's presentation was convincing, and from 1884 onwards the theory that Jainism arose out of Buddhism fell in general disrepute.⁴⁰ Jacobi's arguments were based solely on literary evidence. Therefore, this debate continued.

Barth, a participant in this debate, doubted the authenticity of the Jaina literary evidence prior to the fixation of the Śvetāmbara canon in the fifth century AD. This set the stage for the entry of J.G. Buhler in this debate. He was knowledgeable about Jainism and during seventeen years of his stay in India (1863-80), he had collected and sent to Europe most of the Jaina literature which was used by Jacobi and Weber in their writings.⁴¹ In the beginning Buhler had agreed with the viewpoint of Lassen and Barth.⁴² But in 1879, he entered this debate as an opponent of Barth.⁴³ Cunningham had already discovered some images of the Jaina *tīrthamkaras* from Kaṅkāli Ṭilā, and also some inscriptions which bore the words Vardhamāna and Mahāvīra.⁴⁴ He had drawn an enthusiastic conclusion, as early as 1873, that there was tangible evidence in support of the truth embodied in the Jaina traditions.⁴⁵

But Buhler wanted many more inscriptions to remove Barth's doubts about the authenticity of the early Jaina tradition. Buhler, therefore, asked James Burgess in September, 1887 to resume excavations at Kaṅkāli Ṭilā during the next working season.⁴⁶ Burgess agreed and resumed excavation work at Kaṅkāli Ṭilā in January, 1888.⁴⁷ The resumption of excavations at



40. *MCH*, p. 104.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

42. *OISJ*, pp. 23-5 fn. 1.

43. *MCH*, p. 106.

44. *ASIAR*, III, pp. 13ff

45. *Ibid.*, p. 46; *MCH* p. 106.

46. *MCH*, p. 106.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 107; *MI*, p. 40.

Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā, first under Burgess, and thereafter under the direction of Fuhrer, should be viewed in the light of this background. Jaina antiquities kept on emerging from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā from 1888 to 1891.

Fuhrer's excavations in 1888-9 unearthed from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā or its immediate neighbourhood ten inscribed images of the *jinas* belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period, four of these being most important in respect of the history of Jainism; thirty-four pieces of sculpture forming parts of a Śvetāmbara Jaina temple of the time of the Kuṣāṇa king Huiṣka; an image of Mahāvīra surrounded by the remaining twenty-three *tīrthamkaras*;⁴⁸ two colossal images of *jina* Padmaprabhanātha dated vs 1038 and 1134;⁴⁹ four basements of Jaina images bearing vs 1134, and numerous Buddhist antiquities.⁵⁰ In 1889-90, Fuhrer excavated from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā the remnants of a Jaina *stūpa* and also of a Jaina temple belonging to the Digambara sect.⁵¹ During the working season of 1889-90, Fuhrer also excavated eighty images of the *tīrthamkaras*, one hundred twenty pieces of stone railings, many miscellaneous sculptures, and numerous inscriptions, seventeen of which belong to the Kuṣāṇa period.⁵²

Fuhrer's excavation work at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā brought to light an overwhelmingly immense number of Jaina antiquities in 1890-1.⁵³ In the winter season of 1890-1, Fuhrer forwarded to the Lucknow Museum seven hundred thirty-seven fine pieces of Jaina sculptures, comprising beautifully finished panels, doorways, *toranas*, columns, complete railings with copings and bars, images of the *tīrthamkaras*, etc.⁵⁴ Among the sculptures found was a *torana* bearing a relief which represents a *stūpa* worshipped by Kinnaras and Garuḍas or Suparṇas.⁵⁵ The excavation work conducted at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā by Fuhrer in 1890-1 was far

48. *JS*, p. 52 and plate XCIV.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 53 and plates XCV and XCVI.

50. *Ibid.*, Introduction, pp. 2-3.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

52. *Ibid.*

53. *Ibid.*

54. *Ibid.*

55. *Ibid.*, p. 3 fn. 2 and plate XV.



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more important in results than done in 1888-9 and 1889-90, and the Jaina antiquities discovered during this working season made significant addition to the extant knowledge of Indian history and art.⁵⁶

Some Jaina sculptures were discovered from Śitalā Ghāṭī, Rānī-Kī-Mandī and Manoharpurā localities of Mathurā also.⁵⁷ The bulk of sculptures found from Kaṅkāli Ṭilā were sent to Agra and were placed in the Riddel Museum which existed there at that time.⁵⁸ The Riddel Museum was broken in 1875 or shortly before it, and the greater part of its holdings was removed to Allahabad.⁵⁹ The reconstituted Provincial Museum at Lucknow opened on 1 July, 1884, and most of the sculptures which had gone to Allahabad from Agra were transferred to the Lucknow Museum.⁶⁰ In short, most of the Jaina antiquities excavated from Kaṅkāli Ṭilā were forwarded to the Lucknow Museum⁶¹ or placed in the grounds of the Mathurā Museum.⁶²

The excavations at Kaṅkāli Ṭilā unearthed a large number of Jaina inscriptions. Sixty-two of the seven hundred thirty-seven sculptures discovered by Fuhrer from Kaṅkāli Ṭilā bore inscriptions which ranged in dates from 150 BC to AD 1023.⁶³ Fuhrer kept on sending impressions and photographs of the inscriptions discovered from Kaṅkāli Ṭilā to Buhler.⁶⁴ Buhler translated and interpreted these inscriptions and published a selection from them in *Eigraphia Indica*.⁶⁵ Thirty-five Jaina inscriptions discovered from Kaṅkāli Ṭilā, Mathurā were published by Buhler in volume I of *Epigraphia Indica* under the title 'New

56. *JS*, Introduction, p. 3.

57. *JAA*, I, p. 52 fn. 6; *ASIAR*, 1906-7, p. 141.

58. *ASIAR*, 1906-7, p. 141.

59. *Ibid.*

60. *Ibid.*

61. *Ibid.*; *MI*, p. 41.

62. *MI*, p. 41.

63. *JS*, Introduction, p. 3.

64. *EI*, I, p. 371 fn. 2; *EI*, II, p. 195 fn 1; *JS*, Introduction, p. 4.

65. *JS* Introduction, p. 4; *MCH*, p. 107.



Jaina Inscriptions from Mathurā⁶⁶ and 'Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathurā'.⁶⁷ Forty-one Jaina inscriptions discovered from Mathurā and edited by Buhler were published in volume II of *Epigraphia Indica* under the title 'Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathurā'.⁶⁸

The discovery of Jaina inscriptions in such large numbers from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā delighted Buhler. Buhler needed ammunition in the form of inscriptions to combat the arguments of Barth and others, who doubted the authenticity of the Jaina traditions. These inscriptions provided the evidence Buhler looked for. This epigraphical evidence made it clear that Jainism did not arise out of Buddhism, and also that the authenticity of some Jaina traditions was beyond question. In his book entitled *On the Indian Sect of the Jainas*, Buhler enthusiastically wrote,

Old historical traditions and inscriptions prove the independent existence of the sect of the Jainas even during the first five centuries after Buddha's death, and among the inscriptions are some which clear the Jaina tradition not only from the suspicion of fraud but bear powerful witness to its honesty.⁶⁹

Fuhrer excavated numerous Jaina inscriptions, sculptures and architectural pieces from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā. It was a major achievement. Buhler rendered invaluable service by translating, interpreting and editing the Jaina inscriptions discovered from Mathurā. Consequently, a great deal of the history and state of Jainiam came to light. But a lot remained obscured due to the indifference and negligence of Fuhrer. Buhler needed Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā, and Fuhrer's excavations at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā were primarily and principally directed to achieve this end. Of the numerous mounds in Mathurā, Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā was the only one which was completely explored, but Fuhrer

66. *EI*, I, pp. 371-93.

67. *Ibid.*, pp. 393-7.

68. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 195-212.

69. *OISJ*, p. 23.



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devoted excessive importance to inscriptions, and completely ignored the architectural aspect.⁷⁰

Buhler died in a boating accident in Europe in 1898.⁷¹ Due to his sudden death the possibility of a synthetic account of the evidence from Mathurā, which he alone of scholars in Europe knew thoroughly, ceased to exist.⁷² To make the matters worse, Fuhrer abruptly resigned from his job in the Archaeological Survey of India in 1898.⁷³ Fuhrer had announced a monograph on the Jaina remains at Mathurā.⁷⁴ But he left behind only one hundred two plates,⁷⁵ and these too without explanatory notes,⁷⁶ when he resigned from service in 1898.⁷⁷ Unfortunately, no record of operations was published; therefore, no proof exists as to the exact find-location of most of the objects of Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā.⁷⁸ Without any systematic account by Buhler, and without Fuhrer's personal remembrance of what had been done at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, scholars do not have any idea of the actual find-location of most of the antiquities excavated from this site, and it appears that Fuhrer did not maintain a record of his operations.⁷⁹

The task to prepare a book on the archaeological material excavated from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā was undertaken by V.A. Smith. He had not been associated with the excavation work that had been conducted at this site. Owing to Fuhrer's indifference and negligence, the materials on the basis of which he had to produce a book on the subject, were sketchy and imperfect. However, after

70. *ASIAR*, 1906-7, p. 140.

71. *MCH*, p. 108.

72. *Ibid.*

73. *Ibid.*; *MI*, p. 41.

74. *MI*, p. 41; *JS*, Preface.

75. *Ibid.*

76. *Ibid.*; *JS*, Preface.

77. *Ibid.*

78. *Ibid.*

79. *MCH*, p. 109.



being consulted by Sir Antony MacDonnell,⁸⁰ V.A. Smith edited the plates left behind by Fuhrer in 1901.⁸¹ V.A. Smith produced a book entitled *The Jaina Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā* in 1901 on the subject. This book was reviewed by Foucher who stated that he himself saw in the Lucknow Museum the archaeological specimens figuring on these plates.⁸² V.A. Smith published as plate I 'a General Plan' of the excavated part of the Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā, showing the remains of a great number of buildings.⁸³ These, however, cannot be identified, the exception being the foundations of the Jaina brick-stūpa, situated at the eastern end of the Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā.⁸⁴

The material at the command of V.A. Smith was inadequate and incomplete. And, he regretfully mentioned this fact many times in the aforesaid book.⁸⁵ Therefore, the account embodied in V.A. Smith's *The Jaina Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā* remained inadequate and incomplete. Fuhrer had maintained no record of his operations. Smith had not been associated with the excavation work conducted at Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā. It was, therefore, a case of one blind person providing light to the other blind. The fault lay with Fuhrer and not Smith. In view of these unfortunate happenings a researcher on the history of Jainism in Mathurā feels handicapped.

Jainism in Mathurā — the early phase

According to the Jaina tradition, Mathurā was a principal seat of Jainism.⁸⁶ The discovery of immense Jaina antiquities from Mathurā, especially from the Kaṅkāli mound, bears testimony to the truth embodied in this Jaina tradition.

80. *MI*, p. 41; *JS*, Preface.

81. *Ibid.*

82. *Ibid.*, fn 6.

83. *JS*, Plate I; *MI*, p. 41. Sir Antony MacDonnell was the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and Chief Commissioner of Oudh. See *JS*, Preface.

84. *MI*, p. 41.

85. *JS*, Preface, Introduction, pp. 2 ff; *MCH*, p. 109.

86. *Vividha-Tirtha-Kalpa*, Mathurāpurī Kalpa, pp.17 ff; *Yaśastilaka*, pp. 416, 432, 433; *LDJC*, pp. 308-9; *OISJ*, p. 42.



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Most of the Jaina antiquities excavated from this mound belong to the Kuṣāṇa period.⁸⁷ There is no unanimity among historians regarding the chronology of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty. According to one view the Kuṣāṇa kings ruled at Mathurā from the middle of the first century AD to AD 176.⁸⁸ On the basis of finds from Kaṅkāli Ṭilā, the Kuṣāṇa period may justly be described as the golden age of the history of Jainism in Mathurā.



Jainism attained its peak at Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period. But its history in this city began much earlier. The exact date of the settlement of the Jainas at Mathurā is difficult to ascertain. The earliest dedicatory Jaina inscription discovered at Mathurā belongs to the middle of the second century BC.⁸⁹ But it is certain that the Jaina community had settled at Mathurā much earlier than the second century BC. The earliest Jaina antiquities excavated from Kaṅkāli Ṭilā or any other site in Mathurā, are the remnants of a *stūpa* which appears to have existed in this city for many centuries. We, therefore, begin the history of Jainism in Mathurā with the history of the Jaina *stūpa* which was built at Kaṅkāli Ṭilā.

The Jaina *stūpa* at Kaṅkāli Ṭilā, Mathurā

The *stūpa* was an early form of the structural architecture of the Jainas. Jaina traditions refer to the practice of erecting *stūpas* over the ashes of the *jinas*.⁹⁰ The excavations at Kaṅkāli Ṭilā have provided unmistakable evidence that at least one Jaina *stūpa*, if not more, was built at this site in Mathurā. It was Fuhrer who excavated the remnants of a Jaina *stūpa* from Kaṅkāli Ṭilā in 1889-90.⁹¹ The General Plan of the excavated part of Kaṅkāli Ṭilā published by V.A. Smith clearly shows the position of the Jaina *stūpa*,⁹² as also its

87. See *EI*, X, Appendix, Lüders List, pp. 2 ff.

88. R.C. Sharma, *The Splendour of Mathurā Art and Museum*, 1994, p. 27.

89. *EI*, II, p. 195 and Inscription no. 1, pp. 198-9; *EI*, X, Appendix, Lüders List, no. 93, p. 17.

90. *SIIA*, p. 9.

91. *JS*, Introduction, p. 3.

92. *JS*, p. 8 and Plate I.

foundations.⁹³ From available evidence it appears that there was a Jaina establishment at Kankālī Ṭīlā; it grew up around this *stūpa*, which was an object of supreme veneration for the Jainas.⁹⁴

Jaina traditions are not unanimous regarding the origin of the *stūpa* at Mathurā. There are two principal accounts dealing with its origin. One of them is embodied in Somadeva's *Yaśastilakacampū*, 'a Jaina romance composed in AD 959',⁹⁵ and the other in Jinaprabha Sūri's *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, 'a fourteenth-century work made known by Buhler'.⁹⁶ According to Jinaprabha Sūri, a golden *stūpa* adorned with precious stones was erected at Mathurā in honour of Supārśvanātha, the seventh *tīrthamkara*, by goddess Kuberā at the desire of two ascetics named Dharmaruci and Dharmaghoṣa.⁹⁷ In the time of Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third *tīrthamkara*, the golden *stūpa* was encased in bricks as a safeguard against pillage, and a stone sculpture of this *jina* was installed outside it.⁹⁸ Thirteen hundred years after Mahāvīra's perfection,⁹⁹ i.e., in the eighth century AD,¹⁰⁰ it was restored by Bappabhaṭṭi Sūri in honour of Pārśvanātha.¹⁰¹

But Somadeva, who lived about four hundred years earlier than Jinaprabha Sūri, has given a different account. According to him, this *stūpa* was built by saint Vajrakumāra during the reign of Pūtikvāhana, and in his work *Yaśastilakacampū* there is no mention that it was ever built of gold.¹⁰² The accounts left behind by Somadeva and Jinaprabha Sūri convey the impression that only one Jaina *stūpa* was built at Mathurā. But as per Digambara texts

93. *MI*, p. 41.

94. *JAA*, I, p. 53.

95. *Yaśastilaka*, Preface, vii.

96. *Ibid.*, p. 432; *JS*, p. 13.

97. *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, Mathurāpuri Kalpa, pp. 17 ff; *JS*, p. 13; *Yaśastilaka*, p. 432.

98. *Ibid.*, pp. 17 ff; *JS*, p. 13; *SIJA*, pp. 62-3.

99. *Ibid.*, pp. 17 ff; *JS*, p. 13.

100. *JS*, p. 13; *Yaśastilaka*, p. 432.

101. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*

102. *Yaśastilaka*, pp. 432-3.



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like *Brhat-Kathā-Kośa* of Hariṣena (AD 932), five Jaina *stūpas* were erected in this city.¹⁰³ The Paharpur Copper-Plate dated in the Gupta year 159 (AD 478) contains the term *pañcastūpa-nikāya*, which is an expression connected with the Jainas.¹⁰⁴ It has been held that the term *pañca-stūpa-nikāya* or *pañca-stūpānvaya* is connected with Mathurā.¹⁰⁵ In his work *Jambūsvāmī-caritra*, Rajmalla (vs 1632) refers to the repair of Mathurā *stūpas*.¹⁰⁶ On the basis of these references U.P. Shah opines that five Jaina *stūpas* existed in and around Mathurā, the oldest and most famous being the *stūpa* called *devanirmita*, i.e., built by gods.¹⁰⁷

Archaeological material excavated from Kankālī Ṭilā also lends support to the view that more than one Jaina *stūpa* existed at Mathurā. There are many representations of a *stūpa* on the antiquities discovered at Mathurā.¹⁰⁸ Debala Mitra is of the view that the reliefs and dismembered stones of gateways and railings indicate that probably more than one *stūpa* existed at Kankālī Ṭilā, or a single *stūpa* underwent restorations and embellishments at frequent intervals.¹⁰⁹ Literary and archaeological evidence, thus, points to the existence of more than one Jaina *stūpa* at Mathurā. But only a single *stūpa* seems to have been built at Kankālī Ṭilā. It was called *devanirmita*. It appears to have remained in existence for more than 1500 years. It was this *stūpa* which underwent restorations and embellishments from time to time.

According to Jinaprabha Sūri, the *stūpa* at Mathurā was built in honour of Supārśva, the seventh *tīrthamkara*. This view appears to be incorrect. The Jaina inscriptions excavated from Kankālī mound do not contain reference to Supārśvanātha.¹¹⁰ The Digambara tradition also does not specify this *stūpa* as

103. *SIJA*, p. 63 and fn 1; *JAA*, I, p. 54 fn 1.

104. *EI*, XX, pp. 59-64.

105. *Introduction to Harivamśa*, vol. I, pp. 20 ff, cited in *SIJA*, p. 63 fn 4.

106. *SIJA*, p. 63.

107. *Ibid.*

108. *JAA*, I, pp. 54ff and Plates.

109. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

110. *EI*, X, Appendix, *Lüders List*, pp. 2 ff; *SIJA*, p. 12 fn. 1.



dedicated to Supārśva.¹¹¹ In fact, Jinaprabha Sūri is the only writer to say that this *stūpa* was built in honour of Supārśva.¹¹² We agree with U.P. Shah's view that 'the Jaina *stūpa* at Kaṅkāli mound in Mathurā was dedicated to Pārśvanātha and not Supārśvanātha'.¹¹³ This view is not without foundation. We find numerous references to this *Jina* in the Jaina inscriptions excavated from Kaṅkāli Tīlā.¹¹⁴ Images of Pārśvanātha have also been unearthed from this mound.¹¹⁵ Even Jinaprabha Sūri states that a stone sculpture of Pārśvanātha was later installed in front of this *stūpa*.¹¹⁶ It appears that either the copyists of Jinaprabha Sūri's *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa* or this author himself, who belonged to a much later period, committed the error of describing the *stūpa* of Pārśvanātha as the *stūpa* dedicated to Supārśvanātha.¹¹⁷ But there is evidence of the existence of more than one Jaina *stūpa* at Mathurā. In view of this it would not be unreasonable to presume that probably a *stūpa* dedicated to Supārśvanātha also existed in this city.¹¹⁸

Opinions vary regarding the antiquity of the Jaina *stūpa* of Mathurā. The exact date of its erection is difficult to ascertain. But it is certain that it was built many centuries before Christ. An inscription dated 79 (AD 157) or 49 (AD 127) on the pedestal of a missing image mentions the installation of an image of *arhat* Nandyāvarta at the so-called *vodva stūpa* built by gods, i.e., *devanirmita*.¹¹⁹ On the basis of this inscription some scholars have opined that this *stūpa* was built at a very early period; it was so old in the second century

111. *SIJA*, p. 63.

112. *Ibid.*

113. *Ibid.*, pp. 12 fn 1, 63.

114. *EI*, II, No. 29 and Plate; *EI*, X, Appendix, No. 110.

115. *MCH*, Plate 34.III and 34.IVa; *JPV*, pp. 46-9; *MS*, pp. 22-4.

116. *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, pp. 17ff.; *JS*, p. 13; *SIJA*, pp. 62-3.

117. *SIJA*, p. 12 fn. 1.

118. *Ibid.*

119. *EI*, II, no. 20; *EI*, X, *Lüders List*, no. 47; *JAA*, I, p. 53; *ASIAR*, 1906-7, p. 141; *MI*, pp. 41-2; *JS*, p. 4 fn. 1, p. 12 Plate VI.



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AD that its origin was forgotten by the people and, therefore, its construction came to be assigned by gods.¹²⁰

U.P. Shah is of opinion that the original Jaina *stūpa* of Mathurā was a brick-*stūpa* dedicated to the memory of Pārśvanātha, who died two hundred fifty years before Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa*,¹²¹ i.e., in the eighth century BC. He, therefore, opines that the construction of this brick-*stūpa* should be assigned to the eighth century BC.¹²² V.A. Smith also holds that this brick-*stūpa* was originally built in the time of Pārśvanātha.¹²³ He opines that 'the date 600 BC for its original construction is not too early'.¹²⁴ In other words, according to V.A. Smith, this *stūpa* was built in the seventh century BC. In fact, the antiquity of the Jaina *stūpa* built at Kānkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā needs a deeper probe.

Excavations have revealed that the Jaina *stūpa* unearthed from Kānkālī Ṭīlā was a brick-*stūpa*.¹²⁵ It probably enshrined the relics of Pārśvanātha, who died in the eighth century BC.¹²⁶ The earliest Indian buildings made of bricks to which approximate dates can be assigned are the *stūpas* at Piparava and Kushinagar in Uttar Pradesh, built over the relics of the Buddha, and the recently excavated *stūpa* at Rajgir in Bihar, which also enshrines the relics of Gautama Buddha. Very strong reasons exist for assigning the *stūpa* at Piparava to 450 BC in round numbers,¹²⁷ i.e., the middle of the fifth century BC. The *stūpa* recently excavated at Rajgir was also built in the fifth century BC,¹²⁸ and the same is true of the Buddhist *stūpa* built at Kushinagar.

In other words, the construction of brick-*stūpas* in northern India did not

120. JS, Introduction, p. 4 fn. 1; MI, pp. 41-2; JAA, I, p. 53.

121. SIJA, p. 63.

122. Ibid., p. 64.

123. JS, p. 13.

124. Ibid.

125. EI, I, p. 380; MI, p. 40; ASIAR (1906-7), p. 141, JS, p. 13; SIJA, pp. 63-4.

126. SIJA, p. 12.

127. IGI, II, p. 102.

128. The Times of India, 5 June, 2000.



begin before the fifth century BC. It is, thus, evident that the Jaina *stūpa* at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā would not have been built of burnt bricks in the eighth century BC as presumed by U.P. Shah, or in the seventh century BC as presumed by V.A. Smith. The *stūpa* at Piparava is a product of solid masonry.¹²⁹ The same is true of the *stūpas* at Rajgir and Kushinagar. With the exception of these three *stūpas*, 'no kiln-burnt bricks have been found in northern India which belong to a period earlier than the fourth century BC'.¹³⁰ Even the bricks used in the construction of the buildings of Aśoka in the third century BC are unwieldy in size, and their inferior quality is indicative of lack of experience in brick making.¹³¹ In fact, the origin of the Jaina brick-*stūpa* at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā could not have been different in nature or date from the Buddhist *stūpas*.¹³² The components and representation of *stūpas* found from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā do not reveal any characteristic that is not known in contemporary Buddhist *stūpas*.¹³³ Structurally, the *torāṇas* of the Mathurā *stūpas* did not differ from those of the Buddhist *stūpas* of Sanchi and Bharhut.¹³⁴ In other words, the Jaina *stūpa* at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā was almost similar to the Buddhist *stūpas* of Sanchi and Bharhut in respect of style and ornamentation. It is, thus, evident that the Jaina brick-*stūpa* of Mathurā would not have been built earlier than the *stūpa* of Bharhut 'which was built in the third century BC'¹³⁵ or the *stūpa* of Sanchi 'which was originally built in the third century BC'.¹³⁶ In fact, the appellation *devanirmita* used for the Jaina brick-*stūpa* should not lead us very far into antiquity; it is

129. *JS*, p. 10; *IGI*, II, p. 102.

130. *CHI*, I, p. 617.

131. *Ibid.*

132. *JAA*, I, Editorial, pp. 6-7.

133. *Ibid.*

134. *ASIAR*, 1906-7, p. 147.

135. A. Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bharhut*, 1962, p. 14. Some scholars hold that the *stūpa* of Bharhut was built in the second century BC.

136. John Marshall, *A Guide to Sanchi*, 1918, p. 31. Some scholars hold that the *stūpa* of Sanchi was built in the first century BC



probably indicative of the fact that it was held in great veneration by the Jaina devotees.¹³⁷

The foregoing discussion on the antiquity of the Jaina *stūpa* at Kaṅkāli Tīlā does not end at this point. It has to be discussed from yet another angle. The rough drawing of the plan of this *stūpa* reveals that this was not a product of solid brick-work.¹³⁸ Many spaces within the framework of this *stūpa* were probably filled in with clay.¹³⁹ It is, thus, evident that part of this brick-*stūpa* was built of clay. The bricks used in the construction of this *stūpa* were of many sizes.¹⁴⁰ Some of them were about 15" square and 6" thick; some others were long and comparatively narrow.¹⁴¹ The smallest bricks were about 7" broad and 2" thick.¹⁴² The smaller bricks were better burnt than the larger ones.¹⁴³

In view of these facts it is not unreasonable to assume that the Jaina *stūpa* at Kaṅkāli Tīlā, which probably enshrined the relics of Pārśvanātha, was originally built of clay in the eighth century BC. But it was converted into a brick-*stūpa* when burnt bricks, too, became a medium of construction in north India. It is certain that the Jaina *stūpa* of Mathurā was neither built of burnt bricks nor converted into a brick-*stūpa* in the fifth century BC. It will be shown in the next chapter that it was built on the model of the Buddhist *stūpas* of Bharhut and Sanchi. It was, thus, a contemporary or near-contemporary of the *stūpas* of Sanchi and Bharhut. The Jaina brick-*stūpa* at Kaṅkāli Tīlā was a successor of the clay-*stūpa* built in honour of Pārśvanātha in the eighth century BC. It is important to note that the *stūpas* of solid brick-work, like the



137. *JAA*, I, Editorial, p. 7.

138. *JS*, p. 10 Plate III; *JAA*, I, p. 53.

139. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*

140. *Ibid.*, p. 11 Plates IV and V.

141. *Ibid.*

142. *Ibid.*

143. *Ibid.*

stūpa of Piparava, were rare.¹⁴⁴ Prior to the fifth century BC, the *stūpas* were built of clay; subsequently, earth was replaced by kiln-baked brick slabs to provide strength and longevity to these structures.¹⁴⁵

The *stūpa* at Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā, which was an object of supreme veneration for the Jaina community, and around which a big Jaina establishment had grown, enjoyed a very long life. Somadeva's *Yaśastilakacampū*, composed in AD 959, reveals that it was in existence at the time of the composition of this text, and was even then known as *devanirmita*.¹⁴⁶ Epigraphic sources reveal that this *stūpa* termed *devanirmita* due to its hoary antiquity¹⁴⁷, continued to exist at least up to AD 979.¹⁴⁸

Unfortunately, the *stūpa* at Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā became an object of dispute between the Jainas and the Buddhists.¹⁴⁹ We learn from the Jaina tradition recorded in *Vyavahārasūtra Bhāṣya*, *Bṛhat-Kathākośa* of Hariṣena, *Yaśastilakacampū* of Somadeva, and *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa* of Jinaprabha Sūri that the Buddhists entered into a dispute with the Jainas for the possession of the *stūpa* at Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā.¹⁵⁰ The controversy regarding the ownership of this *stūpa* raged for about six months, but the issue was decided in favour of the Jainas by the king.¹⁵¹

We have already stated that some Buddhist antiquities also came to light as a result of excavations conducted at Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā. The discovery of some Buddhist antiquities, too, from this site needs explanation. There is no doubt that originally Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā was sanctified by the construction of a Jaina

144. *JS*, p. 10.

145. *IGI*, II, p. 102; V.S. Agrawala, *Mathurā Kalā*, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

146. *Yaśastilaka*, p. 433; *JAA*, I, p. 53.

147. SML no. J.20; *MCH*, p. 332.

148. *Ibid.*, no. J. 236; *Ibid.*

149. *LDJC*, p. 309.

150. V.S. Agrawala, *Studies in Indian Art*, 1965, p. 167.

151. *Ibid.*



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stūpa.¹⁵² Subsequently, when this spot gained importance, the Buddhists who were a powerful community at Mathurā during the first and the second century AD, seem to have appropriated a portion of Kaṅkāli Ṭilā for building a monument sacred to their religion.¹⁵³ It was because of this temporary trespass that some Buddhist sculptures, too, were discovered from Kaṅkāli Ṭilā.¹⁵⁴

The legend of the Jaina *stūpa* as recorded by Somadeva in his *Yaśastilakacampū* reveals that rivalry existed between the Jainas and the Buddhists at Mathurā.¹⁵⁵ We are told that the Buddhist wife of Pūtikavāhana tried to abolish the eight-day festival of the Jainas at Mathurā, and replace it by a celebration in honour of the Buddha.¹⁵⁶ But her attempt was foiled by Vajrakumāra, and the great Jaina festival at Mathurā continued without obstacle.¹⁵⁷ We shall turn to the architecture of the Jaina *stūpa* at Kaṅkāli Ṭilā in the next chapter.

The Jaina temples and monasteries (vihāras) at Kaṅkāli Ṭilā

As a result of Fuhrer's excavations the remnants of two Jaina temples also came to light at Kaṅkāli Ṭilā. According to Fuhrer, one of these temples belonged to the Śvetāmbara sect and the other to the Digambara sect.¹⁵⁸ A Jaina shrine or temple (*pāsāda*) existed at Mathurā as early as the second century BC. This is proved by an inscription incised on a large ornamental rectangular slab, which is a record of the dedication of a *pāsāda toraṇa* by a śrāvaka named Uttaradāsaka.¹⁵⁹ This inscription does not contain a date. But on linguistic and palaeographic grounds it has been assigned to the second century BC.¹⁶⁰ Another inscription

152. V.S. Agarwala, *Studies in Indian Art*, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

153. *Ibid.*

154. *Ibid.*

155. *Yaśastilaka*, p. 434.

156. *Ibid.*

157. *Ibid.*

158. *JS*, Introduction, pp. 2-3.

159. *EI*, II, no. 1 and Plate; *EI*, X, Appendix, Lüders List, no. 93.

160. *EI*, II, p. 195; *HJM*, p. 99.



incised on the back of a broken sculptured *torana* records the gift of a temple by Dhāmghoṣā, a female disciple of venerable Jayasena.¹⁶¹ This inscription has been dated to about the beginning of the Christian era.¹⁶² Because two Jaina temples were discovered from Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā, the natural inference from these inscriptions is that one of them was built before 150 BC, and the other about the beginning of the Christian era.¹⁶³

Most of the Jaina inscriptions which came to light in 1889 were discovered from the central temple at Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā.¹⁶⁴ According to Fuhrer, this temple belonged to the Śvetāmbara sect.¹⁶⁵ He formed this opinion on the basis of two inscribed images dated vs 1038 and vs 1134.¹⁶⁶ The images discovered from the site of this temple are, however, nude.¹⁶⁷ According to Fuhrer, the second or western Jaina temple, which was excavated in 1889-90, belonged to the Digambara sect, and the finds of 1890 were discovered mainly from the site of this temple.¹⁶⁸

Fuhrer conducted his excavations at Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā in an extremely negligent manner. Therefore, no account of his researches at Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā is available; the only exception is the meagre information which is embodied in his Museum Reports for those years.¹⁶⁹ It is because of this negligence that V.A. Smith could not indicate the spots where these temples stood at Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā when he published the plan of this site in his book.¹⁷⁰ The two Jaina temples built at

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161. *EL*, II, no. 4 and Plate; *EI*, X, Appendix, Lüders List no. 99; *JAA*, I, pp. 51-2; SML no. J 540.
162. *JS*, Introduction, p. 3; *JAA*, I, pp. 51-2.
163. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 3.
164. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
165. *Ibid.*
166. *Ibid.*
167. *Ibid.*
168. *Ibid.*
169. *ASIAR*, 1906-7, pp. 140-1.
170. *JS*, p. 8. Plate I; *MI*, p. 41.



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Kankālī Ṭilā also enjoyed a long life. Epigraphic sources reveal that these temples were in existence as late as the eleventh century AD.¹⁷¹

One of the fragmentary *āyāga-paṭṭas*, presently in the collection of Government Museum, Mathurā, contains the word *vihāra*.¹⁷² It is certain that *vihāras* (monasteries), too, were built for the residence of the Jaina monks.¹⁷³ Inscriptions reveal that many more Jaina shrines existed at Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period. These shrines will be outlined in the next chapter. To the architecture of these structures, too, we shall turn in the next chapter.

The Jaina life at Mathurā

THE SPLIT IN THE JAINA CHURCH

We have already stated that the remnants of two Jaina temples were exposed as a result of Fuhrer's excavations at Kankālī Ṭilā and that he described one of them as belonging to the Śvetāmbara sect and the other to the Digambara sect. The bulk of Jaina inscriptions excavated from Kankālī Ṭilā belongs to the Kuṣāṇa period and has been assigned to the first and the second century AD.¹⁷⁴ According to one view, the split which divided the Jainas into the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras occurred in either AD 79 or AD 82,¹⁷⁵ i.e., in the first century AD, and according to the other, this split occurred in AD 142,¹⁷⁶ i.e., in the second century AD. From Fuhrer's statements it appears that during this period the Jainas of Mathurā were also divided into the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras. Buhler, who translated, interpreted and edited the Jaina inscriptions sent by Fuhrer,¹⁷⁷ expressed the view that the inscriptions from Kankālī Ṭilā reveal

171. *JS*, Introduction, p. 4.

172. *JAA*, I, p. 52.

173. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

174. *EI*, X, Appendix, Lüders List, pp. 2 ff; *JS*, Introduction, pp. 1 ff; *OISJ*, p. 42; *LDJC*, p. 28; *EI*, I, p. 371.

175. *GD*, p. 108; *CHAI*, III, p. 297 fn. 4; *JIR*, p. 54; *CMHI*, II, p. 362.

176. *CHAI*, III, p. 282; *CMHI*, II, p. 362.

177. *EI*, I, p. 371 fn. 2; *EI*, II, p. 195 fn. 1.



that the Jainas of Mathurā were Śvetāmbaras, and that the schism which divided the Jainas into two sects occurred long before the beginning of the Christian era.¹⁷⁸

It is necessary to make mention of three *tirthamkara* images excavated from Kaṅkālī Ṭilā for an examination of Fuhrer's view. Excavations conducted at this mound brought to light two colossal images of *tirthamkara* Padmaprabhanātha dated vs 1038 and vs. 1134,¹⁷⁹ corresponding to AD 981 and AD 1077 respectively,¹⁸⁰ and an image of four-fold Vardhamāna fashioned in vs 1080, corresponding to AD 1023.¹⁸¹ According to Fuhrer, these inscribed images of Padmaprabhanātha came from the central temple at Kaṅkālī Ṭilā,¹⁸² and were donative gifts of the Śvetāmbara community.¹⁸³ The four-fold image of Vardhamāna was discovered from the site of the second temple, which according to Nagari inscriptions was in the hands of the Digambara community as late as vs 1080 or AD 1023.¹⁸⁴

Buhler derived his conclusions on two grounds. The first of the two Jaina temples excavated from Kaṅkālī Ṭilā was assigned to the second century BC, and the second to about the beginning of the Christian era. Because Fuhrer described one of these two temples as a Śvetāmbara and the other as a Digambara edifice, Buhler thought that the split in the Jaina community occurred long before the beginning of the Christian era, and not in the first or second century AD. Inscriptions have revealed that the Jaina community of Mathurā was divided into sections called *gaṇa*, *sākhā* and *kula*.¹⁸⁵ Because

178. *OISJ*, p. 44.

179. *JS*, Introduction, pp. 2-3 and Plates XCV and XCVI; A. Fuhrer, *North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions*, 1891, p. 106.

180. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 2 fn 2.

181. *Ibid.*, p. 47 Figure 3.

182. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 6.

183. A. Fuhrer, *op. cit.*, p. 106; *JS*, Introduction, p. 6.

184. *JS*, Introduction, p. 6.

185. *OISJ*, pp. 42-3.



exactly the same division of the Jainas is contained in a list in the *Kalpasūtra*, one of the canonical works of the Śvetāmbaras, Buhler concluded that the Jaina community of Mathurā belonged to the Śvetāmbara sect.¹⁸⁶

Buhler derived many wrong conclusions from his study of the Jaina inscriptions discovered at Mathurā. We have already stated that the earliest of Jaina inscriptions discovered at Mathurā belongs to the second century BC, and the last to the eleventh century AD. No one of these inscriptions contains hint of the division of the Jaina community into the Śvetāmbara sect and the Digambara sect at Mathurā.¹⁸⁷ The split in the Jaina Church was a gradual process,¹⁸⁸ and, if there was a split at Mathurā too, it at least did not find manifestation in the Jaina inscriptions of this city.

Fuhrer had stated that the inscribed images of *tīrthamkara* Padmaprabhanātha dated vs 1038 and vs 1134 were discovered from the central temple, and this belonged to the Śvetāmbara sect.¹⁸⁹ But these images are nude.¹⁹⁰ In fact, all *tīrthamkara* images of the Kuṣāṇa period discovered at Mathurā are nude.¹⁹¹ The nudity of these images has led scholars to two conclusions. Cunningham opines that the nudity of the *jina* images of the Kuṣāṇa period is indicative of the fact that they belonged to the Digambara sect.¹⁹² On the other hand, B.C. Bhattacharya and U.P. Shah hold that the difference between the images of the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras in respect of drapery and nudity did not exist in the Kuṣāṇa period.¹⁹³

The *Kalpasūtra* is believed to have been composed by Bhadrabāhu around 300 BC. The Jainas were not divided into the Śvetāmbara sect and the



186. *OISJ*, 42-3.

187. See *EI*, X, Appendix, pp. 2 ff; also see *LDJC*, p. 28.

188. *ERE*, VII, p. 473; *AOIU*, p. 416; *JSS*, p. 45; *LDJC*, p. 28.

189. A. Fuhrer, *op. cit.*, p. 106; *JS*, Introduction, p. 6.

190. *JS*, Introduction, p. 6.

191. *ASIAR*, III, pp. 45-6; *SIJA*, p. 11.

192. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-6.

193. *JJ*, p. 42; *SIJA*, p. 11.

Digambara sect at the time of the composition of the *Kalpasūtra*. Therefore, Buhler's conclusion that 'the division of the Jainas at Mathurā in *gaṇa*, *kula* and *sākhā* in the Kuṣāṇa period on the lines of a list embodied in the *Kalpasūtra* is evidence of the fact that the Jainas of this city were Śvetāmbaras'¹⁹⁴ does not stand to reason. The split in the Jaina community of Mathurā, as will be seen later, occurred at a much later period. The two Jaina sects appear to have lived in harmony in this city. The inscriptions discovered at Mathurā do not contain hint of the split in the Jaina Church. We find no mention of ill-will or dispute between the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras at Mathurā in contemporary literature also.

The Jaina life in the Kuṣāṇa period

STATE OF JAINISM IN MATHURĀ

Brāhmanism was the original religion of Mathurā. Available data proves that five or six centuries before Christ Mathurā was a predominantly Hindu city.¹⁹⁵ After the advent of Jainism and Buddhism Mathurā became a multi-religious city. Brāhmanism retained its popularity in this city.¹⁹⁶ But inscriptions and sculptures bear testimony to the fact that Jainism and Buddhism were also popular in Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period.¹⁹⁷

Available archaeological data is a pointer that Jainism was in a flourishing state in Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period,¹⁹⁸ and, if the number of inscriptions belonging to this period discovered from this city is made the criterion of judgement, Jainism appears to have been as popular at Mathurā as Buddhism, if not more, during the period under review.¹⁹⁹ In fact, the Jaina inscriptions

194. *OISJ*, pp. 44-5.

195. P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra*, vol. IV, 1953, p. 689.

196. *MCH*, p. 64; V.S. Agrawala, *Masterpieces of Mathurā Sculpture*, 1985, p. 1.

197. *El*, X, Appendix, pp. 2 ff.

198. *Ibid.*, pp. 2 ff; *JS*, Introduction, pp. 1 ff; *JAA*, I, p. 52; *HJM*, p. 100.

199. *ASIAR*, III, p. 46; *AJAA*, p. 81.



of the Kuṣāṇa period discovered at Mathurā far exceed the contemporary inscriptions of other religions found from this city.²⁰⁰

There is no evidence that Jainism enjoyed the patronage of the Kuṣāṇa rulers.²⁰¹ The credit for the popularity of Jainism at Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period goes to its splendid monastic organisation and the religious zeal and fervour of its adherents. The religious policy of the Kuṣāṇa rulers was tolerant. The majority of the Mathurā Jainas belonged to the trading classes. The Kuṣāṇa kings needed the support of the trading classes for the stability and success of their empire. Therefore, they adopted a tolerant attitude towards Jainism. The liberal religious policy of the Kuṣāṇa rulers indirectly contributed to the rise of Jainism at Mathurā.

THE JAINA COMMUNITY AT MATHURĀ

Jainism drew its followers at Mathurā from all sections of society. The majority of the Jainas belonged to the trading classes. But some of them belonged to professions or groups which were not rated high.²⁰² The Jaina inscriptions discovered at Mathurā are dedicatory inscriptions. They reveal that the Jaina donors of images, *āyāga-paṭṭas*, temples, etc., belonged to a wide variety of groups and professions. The inscriptions discovered at Mathurā mention the Jaina donors as daughter-in-law of the ironmonger,²⁰³ wife of a caravan leader,²⁰⁴ wife of a dyer,²⁰⁵ mother of the perfumer,²⁰⁶ the perfumer,²⁰⁷ the

200. *EI*, X, Appendix, pp. 2 ff; *JPV*, p. 18; *AJAA*, p. 81; J.E. Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The Scythian Period*, 1949, p. 149 fn 16.

201. *JPV*, p. 18; Bhaskar Chattopadhyaya, *Kuṣāṇa State and Indian Society*, 1975, p. 171.

202. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 102; *MM*, no.Q.2; B.N. Puri, *India Under the Kuṣāṇas*, 1965, p. 149.

203. *Ibid.*, no. 29.

204. *Ibid.*, no. 30.

205. *Ibid.*, no. 32.

206. *Ibid.*, no. 37.

207. *Ibid.*, no. 39.



banker,²⁰⁸ wife of the village headman,²⁰⁹ worker in metal,²¹⁰ wife of the perfumer,²¹¹ daughter of treasurer,²¹² daughter-in-law of the perfumer,²¹³ son of a *vātsī*,²¹⁴ the goldsmith,²¹⁵ wife of the cotton dealer,²¹⁶ son of a *gaupṭī*,²¹⁷ son of a *maudgalī*,²¹⁸ wife of the dancer,²¹⁹ son of a *kausikī*,²²⁰ the member of the committee (*goṣṭhī*),²²¹ the courtesan,²²² etc.

The Jaina community was pious and affluent. The monuments built at Mathurā by the Jaina community provide ample evidence of its religious zeal and affluence.²²³ The Jainas loved to carve images and erect religious buildings. A Jaina text informs that the citizens of Mathurā and ninety-six villages adjoining this city installed Jaina idols in their houses and court-yards.²²⁴ The Jaina community of Mathurā had a large number of female lay-worshippers who did not lag behind their male counterparts in religious fervour and passion for producing images and religious edifices. The inscriptions excavated from Kankālī Tīlā are replete with the names of Jaina female lay-worshippers, who made donations in the form of images, *devakulas*, temples, reservoirs, stone slabs, etc.

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208. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 41.
 209. *Ibid.*, no. 48.
 210. *Ibid.*, no. 53.
 211. *Ibid.*, no. 68.
 212. *Ibid.*, no. 74.
 213. *Ibid.*, no. 76.
 214. *Ibid.*, no. 93.
 215. *Ibid.*, no. 95.
 216. *MI*, p. 47 no. 15.
 217. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 96.
 218. *Ibid.*, no. 97.
 219. *Ibid.*, no. 100.
 220. *Ibid.*, no. 105.
 221. *Ibid.*, no. 53.
 222. *Ibid.*, no. 102.
 223. *JAA*, I, p. 52.
 224. *LDJC*, pp. 255, 309.



Jainism in Mathurā

We learn from an inscription excavated from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā that Dhāmghoṣā (Dharmaghoṣā), a female disciple of venerable Jayasena, made a donation in the form of a temple (*pāsāda*).²²⁵ Another inscription speaks of the donation of an image of Mahāvīra, and of a shrine (*devakula*) by a lady named Ujhatikā.²²⁶ An inscription incised on a sculptured slab,²²⁷ which forms part of the collection of Government Museum, Mathurā,²²⁸ reveals that a courtesan named Vāsu, daughter of courtesan Loṇaśobhikā (Lavaṇaśobhikā), together with some of her relatives, made a donation in the form of a shrine (*devakula*), an *āyāgasabhā*, a reservoir and stone slabs (*śilā-paṭṭa*) to the *arhat* temple of the Nirgranthas for the worship of the *arhats*.²²⁹

The Jaina inscriptions excavated from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā contain some unusual female names like Ujhatikā,²³⁰ Okhārikā,²³¹ Okhā,²³² Oghā²³³ and Akakā.²³⁴ The occurrence of such names suggests that some foreigners, too, had converted to Jainism.²³⁵ Jainism stands for the salvation of all men — considered high or low.²³⁶ It opened its arms even to those aliens who were despised as the *mleccha* in India.²³⁷ Jainism had in its fold many foreigners, too, and they had been mainly converted from among the Scythian immigrants.²³⁸ The spread of the Digambara sect in an island in the Indian Ocean, called Jainabhadri, and,



225. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 99.

226. *Ibid.*, no. 78.

227. *MM* no. Q.2.

228. *Ibid.*

229. *Ibid.*

230. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 78., *JPV.*, p. 18.

231. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

232. *Ibid.*

233. *Ibid.*, no. 29; *JPV*, p. 18; B.N. Puri, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

234. *Ibid.*, no. 48; *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*

235. *JPV*, p. 18; B.N. Puri, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

236. *OISJ*, p. 3.

237. *Ibid.*

238. *EWA*, VIII, p. 787.

Arabia, indicates that the Jainas were familiar with the idea of the conversion of foreigners.²³⁹ Hiuen Tsang's account makes it clear that Jainism had won converts in Kapiśā, i.e., beyond the borders of India in the north-west.²⁴⁰ Numerous foreigners lived in Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period. The females named Ujhatikā, Okhārikā, etc., if they were foreigners, as appears from their names, probably converted to Jainism from among these immigrants.

The Jainas were called Nirgranthas in Mathurā even during the Kuṣāṇa period.²⁴¹ The *tīrthamkaras* and the *siddhas* were held in great esteem by the Jainas. The donation made by a Jaina in the form of an image was often inscribed with an invocation of a particular *arhat*,²⁴² or the *arhats* and the *siddhas*.²⁴³ We do not find use of the epithets *jina*, *tīrthamkara* and *tīrthakara* in the Jaina inscriptions discovered at Mathurā.²⁴⁴ The epithets used for the *jina* or the *tīrthakara* were *arhat*²⁴⁵ or *arahamtas (arhats)*²⁴⁶ or *bhagavata*.²⁴⁷ The Buddhists also used the epithet *bhagavata* for the Buddha at Mathurā.²⁴⁸

Construction of temples and setting up of the images of the *tīrthamkaras* and *āyāga-paṭṭas* was the most significant aspect of the religious life of the Jainas at Mathurā. It was a holy task in which all Jainas — male and female, high and low — participated with pleasure. The Jaina inscriptions of Mathurā reveal that the bulk of donations by Jaina lay-devotees, male and female, was made at the request or command of the Jaina preceptors belonging to the various schools.²⁴⁹ The religious zeal of the Jaina monks and nuns knew no

239. *OISJ*, p. 4 fn 4.

240. Samuel Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 263; *HOIC*, I, p. 167; *OISJ*, p. 4 fn 4.

241. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 102.

242. *Ibid.*, no. 59.

243. *Ibid.*, no. 57.

244. *Ibid.*, Appendix, pp. 2 ff.

245. *Ibid.*, nos. 47, 59, etc.

246. *Ibid.*, no. 57.

247. *Ibid.*, nos. 24, 26, 27.

248. *Ibid.*, no. 43.

249. *Ibid.*, nos. 16, 18, 20, etc.





bounds. They either requested or issued commands to the Jaina lay-devotees to make donations in the form of images, etc., and their command or request or wish for the same was fulfilled by their male and female disciples.²⁵⁰

It appears certain that the Jaina inscriptions discovered at Mathurā were composed either by the preceptors (monks and nuns), who acted as spiritual directors of the lay-devotees, or by the pupils of the preceptors.²⁵¹ This fact does not find mention in these inscriptions,²⁵² but in numerous later inscriptions of the same character we find the names of the *yatis* who composed them.²⁵³ The Jaina inscriptions of Mathurā are replete with the names of male and female donors and their relatives; they also mention the names of the male and female preceptors along with their schools, at whose command or request the donations were made.²⁵⁴

The Jaina images were installed in the temples,²⁵⁵ houses and courtyards.²⁵⁶ Probably, they were installed in open spaces also.²⁵⁷ It appears that the Jaina temple at Mathurā had a main shrine called the *devakula*, an *āyāga-sabhā* or a sacred hall or place, and a reservoir (*prapā*).²⁵⁸ Stone slabs called *āyāga-paṭṭa* or *śilā-paṭṭa* were also installed in the temples for worship.²⁵⁹ The Jaina temples were probably residences of the ascetics also.²⁶⁰ The Jaina images were sometimes installed at the *stūpa* also.²⁶¹ The temple of the *arhats*

250. *EI*, X, Appendix, nos. 16, 50, etc.

251. *EI*, I, p. 377.

252. *Ibid.*

253. *Ibid.*

254. *Ibid.*, X, Appendix, nos. 16, 24, 27-9, etc.

255. *Ibid.*, Appendix, no. 78.

256. *LDJC*, pp. 255, 309.

257. *JAA*, I, p. 52.

258. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 102; B.N. Puri, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

259. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

260. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

261. *Ibid.*, no. 47.

(*arhatāyatana*) at Mathurā²⁶² appears to have been a famous or important shrine.

The Jaina *stūpa* at Kaṅkāli Ṭilā was built many centuries before Christ. The natural inference is that *stūpa*-worship was in vogue in this city even before the establishment of the Kuṣāṇa rule in the first century AD. The dedication of an image of *arhat* Nandyāvarta (Aranātha) at the so-called *vodva stūpa* at Mathurā by a female lay-worshipper named Dinā (Dattā)²⁶³ provides evidence of *stūpa*-worship among the Jainas in the Kuṣāṇa period also. Image-worship was in vogue among the Jainas at Mathurā even before the commencement of the Christian era. The existence of a Jaina temple in this city in the second century BC provides unmistakable evidence of this practice. Worship of the *jinas* was an established practice among the Jainas at Mathurā in the first and the second century AD. Donation of the images of *arhats* Rṣabha,²⁶⁴ Śāntinātha,²⁶⁵ Ariṣṭanemi,²⁶⁶ Pārśvanātha,²⁶⁷ Mahāvira,²⁶⁸ etc., by the Jaina lay-devotees during this period bears testimony to this fact. Male and female deities of the Jaina pantheon like Naigmeṣa and Sarasvatī were also worshipped during this period. A Jaina worker in metal at Mathurā donated an image of Sarasvatī,²⁶⁹ the goddess of learning in Hinduism and Jainism. This image of Sarasvatī, which forms part of the collection of State Museum, Lucknow,²⁷⁰ is the oldest image of this goddess discovered in India.²⁷¹ This discovery proves that worship of Sarasvatī was also in vogue among the Jainas

262. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 47.

263. *Ibid.*

264. *Ibid.*, nos. 56, 117, 121, etc.

265. *Ibid.*, no. 27.

266. *Ibid.*, no. 26.

267. *Ibid.*, no. 110.

268. *Ibid.*, nos. 18, 28, 31, etc.

269. *Ibid.*, no. 54.

270. SML no. J.24; *JAA*, I, Plate 20.

271. *SIJA*, p. 11; *JAA*, I, p. 67.



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of this city in the Kuṣāṇa period.²⁷²

The Jaina lay-worshippers donated numerous *āyāga-paṭṭas*²⁷³ which, too, were objects of worship.²⁷⁴ Architectural and sculptural antiquities brought to light by excavations at Mathurā reveal that the Jainas worshipped the images of the *arhats* in the *kāyotsarga* and the *dhyānastha-mudrā*; they also worshipped the *stūpa*, the *dharmacakra*, the *āyāga-paṭṭa*, the *dhvaja*-pillar, auspicious symbols like the *svastika*, the *śrīvatsa* mark, the full-blown lotus, a pair of fish, minor male and female deities, etc., in this city.²⁷⁵ *Yakṣa*-worship, *nāga*-worship and tree-worship also formed part of the religious life of the Jainas.²⁷⁶

THE JAINA MONASTIC ORGANISATION AT MATHURĀ

The Jaina Church at Mathurā was a splendidly organised institution. The inscriptions reveal that support for Jainism in this city came mainly from the trading classes of society like workers in metal, ironmongers, perfumers, goldsmiths, cotton dealers, bankers, etc. The Jaina Church in this city enjoyed the support of a strong, affluent and well-organised body of lay-followers. The *catuvarṇa samgha* or the community of the four orders,²⁷⁷ consisting of the monks, the nuns, and the lay-followers, male and female, was in excellent shape. Donations in the form of an image were sometimes addressed to, or made to the community of the four orders.²⁷⁸ The Jaina monks and nuns were fired with unbounded missionary zeal. The inscriptions discovered at Mathurā reveal that the majority of donations by the Jaina male and female lay-followers were made at the request or command of the monks and the nuns.²⁷⁹ The Jaina order of monks was well-organised, and was strongly supported also.



272. *SIJA*, p. 11.

273. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 94.

274. *SIJA*, p. 11; *JAA*, I, pp. 63-5.

275. *EI*, X, Appendix pp. 2ff; *SIJA*, pp. 10-11.

276. V.S. Agrawala, *Ancient Indian Folk Cults*, 1970, pp. 104, 116, 180.

277. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 57.

278. *Ibid.*

279. *Ibid.*, pp. 2ff.

The order of the nuns was equally well-organised and supported. The role of female lay-devotees was also significant. They were requested or ordered by the nuns to make donations. And, they complied with devotion.²⁸⁰ Female lay-devotees did not renounce domestic life,²⁸¹ but remained firm in their religious belief.

We learn from the *Kalpasūtra* that the Jaina monks were divided into units or divisions called the *gaṇas*, the *kulas* and the *sākhās*.²⁸² The *gaṇa* meant the school; its sub-divisions were called the *kula* and the *sākhā*.²⁸³ Some of the *gaṇas* mentioned in the *Kalpasūtra* derived their names from the name of the originator or the originators of the *gaṇa*.²⁸⁴ Some of the *kulas* and the *sākhās* derived their names from regions, and some from persons.²⁸⁵ The practice of dividing the Jaina monks into units called the *gaṇa*, the *kula* and the *sākhā* originated in the second century BC or earlier.²⁸⁶ It must have been in vogue at the time of Bhadrabāhu's composition of the *Kalpasūtra*.

A large number of Jaina inscriptions of Mathurā contains the names of the donors; they also mention the names of the preceptors or religious teachers at whose request or command the donations were made; the names of the *gaṇas*, the *kulas* and the *sākhās* to which these preceptors belonged also find mention in these inscriptions.²⁸⁷ These epigraphs reveal that the Jaina monks at Mathurā were organised on the lines mentioned in the *Kalpasūtra*. They were divided into units called the *gaṇa*, the *kula*, the *sākhā* and the *sambhoga*. We do not find mention of the unit called the *sambhoga* in the *Kalpasūtra*.²⁸⁸

280. *EI*, X, Appendix, nos. 20, 22, 27, etc.

281. *Ibid.*, appendix, nos. 24, 28, 32.

282. *OISJ*, pp. 42-3; *HJM*, pp. 515-19.

283. *Ibid.*, pp. 42-3.

284. *HJM*, p. 518.

285. *Ibid.*

286. *Ibid.*, p. 519.

287. *EI*, X, Appendix, pp. 2 ff; *OISJ*, p. 42.

288. *HJM*, p. 519.



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Buhler, too, did not mention this unit in his writings on this subject.²⁸⁹ But we find frequent mention of the unit called the *sambhoga* in the Jaina inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇa period discovered at Mathurā. The fragment of a Jaina inscription in mixed dialect discovered from Kaṅkāli Tīlā, Mathurā reads:

Dedication by Mittrā (Mitrā), first wife of . . . daughter-in-law of the ironmonger . . . daughter of the . . . at the request of the preacher (*vāchaka*) . . ., the pupil of . . . the preacher, . . ., who was the companion of the *ganin* . . ., who was the pupil of . . . out of the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa*, the Brahmdāsika *kula*, the Uchchairnāgarīśākhā, the Śrīgr̥ha *sambhoga*.²⁹⁰

The statements about the Jaina religious teachers and their schools embodied in the Jaina inscriptions of Mathurā are important for the study of the early history of Jainism.²⁹¹ Buhler's study of these epigraphs revealed that out of the eight *gaṇas* mentioned in the Sthavirāvali of the *Kalpasūtra*, three or possibly four *gaṇas* existed in Mathurā in the Kuṣāṇa period.²⁹² He also found that out of the numerous *kulas* and *śākhās* mentioned in the *Kalpasūtra*, twenty existed in Mathurā in the Kuṣāṇa period.²⁹³ Buhler's view that the Jainas in Mathurā belonged to the Śvetāmbara sect during the Kuṣāṇa period was formed on the basis of this similarity.²⁹⁴ We have already stated that there is no hint of the split in the Jaina Church of Mathurā in this city's inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇa period.

The eight *gaṇas* mentioned in the *Kalpasūtra* are — (1) the Cāraṇa *gaṇa*, (2) The Godāsa *gaṇa*, (3) the Koḍiya *gaṇa*, (4) the Māṇava *gaṇa*, (5) the Uddeha *gaṇa*, (6) the Uḍuvāḍiya *gaṇa* (7) the Uttarabalissaha *gaṇa* and (8) the Vesavāḍiya *gaṇa*.²⁹⁵ Out of these eight *gaṇas*, three — (1) The Vāraṇa *gaṇa*,²⁹⁶



289. *OISJ*, pp. 42-3.

290. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 29.

291. *OISJ*, p. 58.

292. *Ibid.*, pp. 58-60.

293. *Ibid.*

294. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

called the Cāraṇa *gaṇa* in the *Kalpasūtra*;²⁹⁷ (2) the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa*,²⁹⁸ called the Koḍiya *gaṇa* in the *Kalpasūtra*;²⁹⁹ and (3) the Odehikīya³⁰⁰ or the Uddehikīya *gaṇa*,³⁰¹ called the Uddeha *gaṇa* in the *Kalpasūtra*,³⁰² flourished in Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period.³⁰³ The *Kalpasūtra* mentions the Mehiya *kula* as one of the *kulas* of the Vesavāḍiya *gaṇa*.³⁰⁴ We find mention of the Mehika or Maighika *kula* in one of the Jaina inscriptions discovered at Kankālī Ṭilā, Mathurā.³⁰⁵ This is the reason for assuming that probably, the Vesavāḍiya *gaṇa* also existed in Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period.³⁰⁶

According to the *Kalpasūtra*, Śrīgupta of the Hārīta *gotra* founded the Cāraṇa *gaṇa*, and it was divided into four *śākhās* and seven *kulas*.³⁰⁷ The four *śākhās* of the Cāraṇa *gaṇa* mentioned in the *Kalpasūtra* are — (1) The Gavedhuyā *śākhā*, (2) the Hāriyamālāgārī *śākhā*, (3) the Samkāsīā *śākhā* and (4) the Vajjanāgarī *śākhā*.³⁰⁸ Three of these four *śākhās* of the Cāraṇa or the Vāraṇa *gaṇa* — (1) Samkāsīā³⁰⁹ (2) Hāriyamālāgārī³¹⁰ and (3) Vajjanāgarī³¹¹ -

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295. *HJM*, pp. 515-18.
 296. *EI*, X, Appendix, nos. 58, 116, etc.
 297. *OISJ*, p. 59; *HJM*, p. 515.
 298. *EI*, X, Appendix, nos. 22, 24, etc.
 299. *OISJ*, p. 58; *HJM*, p. 516.
 300. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 76.
 301. *Ibid.*
 302. *HJM*, p. 517.
 303. *EI*, X, Appendix, pp. 2 ff., nos. 54, 56, 76, 58, 116.
 304. *HJM*, p. 518.
 305. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 70.
 306. *OISJ*, p. 58; *HJM*, p. 518.
 307. *Ibid.*, p. 59; *Ibid.*, p. 515.
 308. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*
 309. *EI*, II, no. 36; *HJM*, p. 515.
 310. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 42.
 311. *Ibid.*, no. 16.



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with slight variation in name, existed at Mathurā in the first and second century AD.³¹²

The seven *kulas* of the Cāraṇa *gaṇa* mentioned in the *Kalpasūtra* are — (1) the Ajjavedāya *kula*, (2) the Hāllīja *kula*, (3) the Kaṇhasaha *kula*, (4) the Māllīja *kula*, (5) the Pudhammiya *kula*, (6) the Pūsamittīja *kula* and (7) the Vathalīja *kula*.³¹³ The *kulas* of the Vāraṇa *gaṇa* which existed in Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period were — (1) the Ārya Hāṭṭikīya *kula*³¹⁴ (2) the Praitivarmika *kula*,³¹⁵ (3) the Puṣyamitrīya *kula*,³¹⁶ (4) The Ārya Cetika *kula*,³¹⁷ (5) the Ārya Bhista *kula*³¹⁸ (6) The Ārya Kaniyāsika *kula*³¹⁹ and (7) the Nādika or Nādika *kula*.³²⁰ One *sambhoga* of the Vāraṇa *gaṇa* also existed in Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period. It was the Ārya Śrīkīya *sambhoga*.³²¹

The *Kalpasūtra* informs that the Koḍiya *gaṇa* was founded by Suṣṭhita and Supratibuddha.³²² The four *sākhās* of this *gaṇa* are — (1) the Majjihimillā *sākhā*, (2) the Vairī *sākhā*, (3) the Vajjāharī *sākhā*, and (4) the Uccānāgarī *sākhā*.³²³ The Koṭṭiya *gaṇa* is mentioned in a large number of Jaina inscriptions of Mathurā.³²⁴ It was one of the oldest and most respected *gaṇas*.³²⁵ Buhler opined that this *gaṇa* originated in 250 BC³²⁶ and was the only *gaṇa* which

312. *EI*, X, Appendix, pp. 2ff; *HJM*, p. 515.

313. *HJM*, p. 515; *OISJ*, p. 59.

314. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 16.

315. *Ibid.*, no. 31.

316. *Ibid.*, no. 34.

317. *Ibid.*, no. 16.

318. *Ibid.*, no. 50.

319. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 113.

320. *Ibid.*, no. 117.

321. *Ibid.*, no. 50.

322. *OISJ*, pp. 58-9.

323. *HJM*, p. 516.

324. *EI*, X, Appendix, pp. 2ff.

325. *HJM*, p. 518.

326. *EI*, I, p. 379-80.



existed as late as the fourteenth century AD.³²⁷ All *sākhās* of the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa* called — (1) the Ucchanāgarī *sākhā*,³²⁸ (2) the Madhyamā *sākhā*,³²⁹ (3) the Vajranāgarī *sākhā*³³⁰ and (4) the Vairī or Vajrī *sākhā*³³¹ or the Ārya Vajrī *sākhā*³³² or the Vairī Vajrī *sākhā*³³³ — existed in Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period.

The *Kalpasūtra* mentions four *kulas* of the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa* — (1) the Bambhalijja *kula*, (2) the Vānījja *kula*, (3) the Paṇhavāhaṇaya *kula* and (4) the Vathalijja *kula*.³³⁴ The *kulas* of the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa* which existed in Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period were — (1) the Brahmādāsika *kula*,³³⁵ (2) the Sthānikīya *kula*,³³⁶ (3) the Vātsaliya *kula*,³³⁷ (4) the Sthānīya *kula*³³⁸ and (5) the Praśnavāhanaka *kula*.³³⁹ This *gaṇa* had one *sambhoga* also. It was called the Śrīgr̥ha *sambhoga* at Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period.³⁴⁰

The *gaṇa* called Uddeha in the *Kalpasūtra*³⁴¹ was known as the Uddehikīya *gaṇa*³⁴² or the Ārya Uddehikīya *gaṇa*³⁴³ at Mathurā. There are only two references to this *gaṇa* in the Jaina inscriptions of Mathurā. The *Kalpasūtra*

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327. *EI*, I, p. 379.
 328. *Ibid.*, X, Appendix, nos. 19, 20, etc.
 329. *Ibid.*, no. 73.
 330. *Ibid.*, no. 16.
 331. *Ibid.*, no. 22.
 332. *Ibid.*, no. 27.
 333. *Ibid.*, no. 28.
 334. *HJM*, p. 516.
 335. *EI*, X, Appendix, nos. 19, 20, etc.
 336. *EI*, I, no. 8; *EI*, II, no. 29.
 337. *EI*, X, Appendix, nos. 22, 27, etc.
 338. *EI*, II, no. 23.
 339. *HJM*, pp. 516-18.
 340. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 27.
 341. *HJM*, p. 517.
 342. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 76.
 343. *Ibid.*, no. 21.



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makes mention of four *śākhās* of this *gaṇa*.³⁴⁴ Only one *śākhā* of this *gaṇa* existed at Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period.³⁴⁵ It was called the Paitāputrika *śākhā*.³⁴⁶ According to the *Kalpasūtra*, the Uddeha *gaṇa* had six *kulas*.³⁴⁷ The two *kulas* of this *gaṇa* which existed at Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period were — (1) the Ārya Nāgabhūtikīya *kula*³⁴⁸ and (2) the Paridhāsika *kula*.³⁴⁹

According to the *Kalpasūtra*, the Vesavāḍiya *gaṇa* had four *kulas* and four *śākhās*.³⁵⁰ One of them was called the Mehiya *kula*.³⁵¹ Probably, this *kula* was called the Mehika or Maighika *kula* at Mathurā. We find mention of the Mehika or the Maighika *kula* in one of the Jaina inscriptions of Mathurā of the Kuṣāṇa period.³⁵² It is probable that the Vesavāḍiya *gaṇa*, too, existed at Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period.

The Jaina inscriptions of Mathurā probably provide the earliest information regarding the hierarchy in the Jaina Church. We find repeated mention of the titles *gaṇin*,³⁵³ *vācaka*,³⁵⁴ *śraddhacara*,³⁵⁵ *śraddhacari*,³⁵⁶ *amtevāsin*,³⁵⁷ *amtevāsini*,³⁵⁸ or *amtevāsikni*³⁵⁹ in the Jaina inscriptions discovered at Mathurā. The titles *gaṇin*, *amtevāsin* and *vācaka* find mention in literature also.

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344. *HJM*, p. 517.
345. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 76.
346. *Ibid.* no. 76.
347. *HJM*, p. 517.
348. *EI*, I, no. 19.
349. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 76.
350. *HJM*, p. 518.
351. *Ibid.*
352. *EI*, I, no. 2.
353. *Ibid.*, nos. 4, 6, etc.
354. *EI*, X, Appendix, nos. 22, 27, etc.
355. *Ibid.*, no. 29.
356. *EI*, I, no. 1; *EI*, II, no. 11.
357. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 93.
358. *Ibid.*, no. 99.
359. *Ibid.*, no. 67.



The title *gaṇin* was used for the head of the *gaṇa* or the school.³⁶⁰ The title *vācaka* was used for the preacher³⁶¹ or the teacher.³⁶² The title *vācaka* mentioned in these inscriptions is pointer of the fact that as early as the first century AD, the Jaina Church at Mathurā possessed a class of teachers who were duty bound to read and explain religious texts to the junior monks. The title *vācanācārya* was current in Jainism even in the vs 1677,³⁶³ and the title *vācaka* is in use among the Jainas even these days.³⁶⁴

The *ācārya*, or the senior monk, was called *arya*³⁶⁵ or *arrya*³⁶⁶ or *ārya*.³⁶⁷ Sometimes even the nuns were called *ārya*³⁶⁸ instead of *āryā*. The ordinary monk was called *samana*,³⁶⁹ i.e., *śramaṇa*. The lay-devotee was called *sāvaka*,³⁷⁰ i.e., *śrāvaka*. The female lay-devotee was called *samana-sāvikā*,³⁷¹ i.e., *śramaṇasāvikā*. Generally speaking, all Jaina monks were called *ārya*. The title *ārya* was used for the *gaṇin* also.³⁷² The *ācārya* or the monk was called *bhadata* or *bhadanta* also.³⁷³ The ordinary male disciple was called *amteväsi*³⁷⁴ or *śiṣya*.³⁷⁵ The ordinary female disciple was called *amteväsinī*³⁷⁶ or

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360. *OISJ*, p. 42.
 361. *EI*, I, nos. 3, 4, etc.
 362. *OISJ*, p. 42.
 363. *HJM*, p. 514 fn 6.
 364. *OISJ*, p. 42.
 365. *EI*, II, no. 20.
 366. *ASLAR*, III, no. 3.
 367. *EI*, I, no. 19.
 368. *Ibid.*, no. 2.
 369. *EI*, II, no. 1.
 370. *EI*, I, no. 30.
 371. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 102.
 372. *EI*, I, no. 19.
 373. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 99.
 374. *Ibid.*, no. 93.
 375. *EI*, I, nos. 9, 30, etc.



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*amtevāsikini*³⁷⁷ or *śiṣyani*.³⁷⁸ She was also called *sāvikā*,³⁷⁹ i.e., *śrāvikā*. The nuns were called *ayikā*³⁸⁰ also.

Very few Jaina inscriptions belonging to the post-Kuṣāṇa period have come to light at Mathurā. Therefore, it is not possible to throw light on the organisation of the Jaina Church in this city after the end of the Kuṣāṇa period. An inscription of the Gupta period³⁸¹ seems to indicate that probably the *gaṇas* and their sub-divisions existed during this period also. In the inscriptions of the medieval period the titles *ācārya*, *gaṇin*, *upādhyāya*, *sūri* and *bhattāraka* find repeated mention.³⁸² Probably, these titles gained currency in Mathurā also. Two peculiar titles embodied in the Jaina inscriptions are *śraddhacara* and *śraddhacarī*. In the inscriptions the *śraddhacara* is mentioned as the companion of the monk.³⁸³ It is reasonable to assume that the *śraddhacara* was the colleague of the monk, or his disciple. The inscriptions mention the *śraddhacarī* as the female companion of the nun.³⁸⁴ The *śraddhacarī* must have been a colleague or the disciple of the nun.

Mathurā in Jaina literature

Jaina literature is full of stories and references regarding the state of Jainism in Mathurā. These texts describe Mathurā as a centre of heretical ascetics.³⁸⁵ According to some Jaina texts, Mathurā — also called Uttara Mahurā — was the capital city of Śūrasena country, and this country was acceptable to the



376. *EI*, II, no. 4.

377. *Ibid.*, no. 21.

378. *EI*, I, no. 1.

379. *EI*, II, no. 2.

380. *Ibid.*, no. 21.

381. *EI*, II, no. XXXIX.

382. *HJM*, p. 514.

383. *EI*, I, no. 4.

384. *EI*, I, no.1; *EI*, II, no. 11.

385. *LDJC*, p. 255.

Jaina monks for sojourn.³⁸⁶ Jainism was, undoubtedly, in a flourishing state in Mathurā in the first century and the second century AD. But due to the absence of relevant data it is difficult to assign a definite period to the happenings in Mathurā described in the Jaina texts.

The accounts left behind by Jinaprabha Sūri and Somadeva leave us in no doubt that the Jainas viewed Mathurā as a sacred city. In his *Yaśastilakacampū* Somadeva makes mention of Urvilā, a queen of Mathurā, who used to send the *rathayātrā* of the *jina* on the occasion of the *Aṣṭāhika-mahotsava*.³⁸⁷ According to Jinaprabha Sūri's *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, goddess Kuberā told the Jainas of Mathurā to worship the *jina* in their homes, and therefore, the practice of placing the image of the *jina* over the door-way was instituted in this city.³⁸⁸ Hariṣena's *Bṛhat-kathā-kośa* tells that Mathurā was full of lofty Jaina temples.³⁸⁹ He also mentions the Jaina *rathayātrā* festival of Mathurā, and tells that five Jaina *stūpas* were built in this city after the defeat of the Buddhists in the controversy with the Jainas.³⁹⁰

Another Jaina text tells that Mathurā was a great centre of Jainism, and that ninety-six villages were attached to this city.³⁹¹ It also tells that people installed the images of the *arhats* in their homes and court-yards in this city and the villages attached to it.³⁹² We learn from the Jaina texts that there were many gardens in Mathurā, one of which was called *bhamḍīra*.³⁹³ It contained the shrine of *yakṣa* Sudarśana.³⁹⁴ We are told that Mathurā was renowned for pilgrimage to the temple of *yakṣa bhamḍīra*.³⁹⁵ Pārśvanātha is said to have

386. *MCH*, p. 210.

387. *Yaśastilaka*, pp. 416-17; *MCH*, p. 210.

388. *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, pp. 17ff; *Ibid.*

389. *MCH*, p. 211.

390. *Ibid.*

391. *LDJC*, pp. 255, 309.

392. *Ibid.*

393. *Vividha-Tīrtha Kalpa*, pp. 17ff; *LDJC*, p. 255 fn 6; *MCH*, p. 211.

394. *MCH*, p. 211.

395. *Ibid.*; *LDJC*, p. 255.



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visited the garden called *bhamḍīra*.³⁹⁶ Probably, Mahāvīra also stayed in this garden³⁹⁷ in the course of his visit to Mathurā.³⁹⁸ This garden was, undoubtedly, held in great esteem by the Jainas. A Jaina inscription excavated at Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā is a record of the installation of an *āyāga-paṭṭa* at *bhamḍīra* by a goldsmith.³⁹⁹ *Yakṣa*-worship was a feature of Jaina religious life,⁴⁰⁰ and Pārśvanātha's visit to the *bhamḍīra* garden,⁴⁰¹ which contained the shrine of *yakṣa* Sudarśana,⁴⁰² is probably an indication of a thriving *yakṣa* cult at Mathurā.⁴⁰³

Some terracotta seals bearing *tri-ratna* symbol, which form part of the collection of Government Museum, Mathurā,⁴⁰⁴ have come to light in this city. Such seals were probably built to serve as mementoes for the Jaina pilgrims to this city. In the Jaina texts we also find mention of the didactic tale of *śrāvaka* Jīṇadāsa of Mathurā whose two bulls named Kambala and Sambala also performed *vr̥tas* with him.⁴⁰⁵ The Jaina literature also makes mention of a Yavana king of Mathurā who murdered a Jaina monk named Daṁḍa.⁴⁰⁶ We are also told that this king, subsequently, became a Jaina monk to make amends for this crime.⁴⁰⁷ Two famous Jaina monks — *ācārya* Maṅgū and *ācārya* Rakkhiya — also visited Mathurā.⁴⁰⁸ Jambūsvāmī, the last *kevalin*, is said to have performed penance in this city.

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396. *MCH*, p. 211.
397. *JAA*, I, pp. 63-4.
398. *Vivāgasūya*, p. 45, cited in *JAA*, I, p. 50.
399. *EI*, X, Appendix no. 95.
400. V.S. Agrawala, *Ancient Indian . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
401. *MCH*, p. 211.
402. *Ibid.*; *LDJC*, p. 255.
403. *Ibid.*, p. 211.
404. *MM* no. 2462.
405. *MCH*, p. 211.
406. *Ibid.*
407. *Ibid.*
408. *JDJC*, p. 255.



Jainism in Mathurā — Post-Kuṣāṇa period

The Kuṣāṇa period was an age of great economic prosperity for Mathurā. Many important trade routes passed through this city.⁴⁰⁹ In the Jaina literature Mathurā is mentioned as a *thalpaṭṭan* where goods were carried by land route.⁴¹⁰ This city was a great emporium, and its people lived by trade and not agriculture.⁴¹¹ The majority of the Jains in Mathurā belonged to the trading classes. It was the flourishing trade at Mathurā which accounted for the affluence of the Jaina community in this city. Economic prosperity enabled the Jains to build and maintain magnificent religious edifices in Mathurā.

The disintegration of the Kuṣāṇa empire disrupted the political and economic patterns which had handsomely contributed to Mathurā's economic prosperity, and this city gradually sank to the level of a regional town.⁴¹² The decline in the fortunes of Mathurā must have affected the Jaina trading classes also. Therefore, there was a sharp decline in the building activities of the Jains at Mathurā. After the downfall of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty no new Jaina religious building appears to have been constructed at Mathurā up to the eleventh century AD. Excavations at Mathurā have unearthed 84 Jaina inscriptions assignable to the Kuṣāṇa period.⁴¹³ These inscriptions are a record of the Jaina donations in Mathurā made in the form of images, temples, *āyāga-paṭṭas*, etc.

The post-Kuṣāṇa period was characterised by a revolutionary decline in the number of Jaina donations in Mathurā. It is evident from the fact that only 6 Jaina inscriptions of the post-Kuṣāṇa period have come to light at Mathurā.⁴¹⁴ These facts are indicative of decline in the popularity of Jainism in the post-Kuṣāṇa period at Mathurā. But it would be wrong to presume that Jainism lost

409. *MCH*, pp. 46-54; Moti Chandra, *Sārthavāha*, 1953, pp. 4ff

410. *LDJC*, p. 309.

411. *Ibid.*

412. *MCH*, p. 54.

413. *EI*, X, pp. 2 ff; *JPV*, p. 18; *Scythian Period*, *op. cit.*, p. 149 fn 16.

414. *JS*, Introduction, pp. 1 ff; *EI*, II, nos. XXXVIII-XL, XLI.



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appeal in Mathurā after the second century AD. Subsequent history is illustrative of the fact that unlike Buddhism, which was almost completely wiped out of existence in this city after the seventh century AD, Jainism remained a living religion in Mathurā up to the eleventh century AD.

Mathurā fell under the rule of the Nāga dynasty after the extinction of the Kuṣāṇa empire. There is no evidence that the Nāga rulers extended patronage to Jainism.⁴¹⁵ Mathurā became a part of the Gupta empire after the downfall of the Nāgas of Mathurā.⁴¹⁶ The majority of the Gupta rulers were devout Hindus. But they were tolerant of other religions. Neither Jainism nor Buddhism suffered at their hands. Literary and archaeological sources reveal that Hinduism was in a flourishing state in Mathurā during the Gupta period. These sources reveal that Buddhism, which had become a popular religion at Mathurā within a decade or two after the conclusion of the second Buddhist Council at Vaiśālī,⁴¹⁷ was a fairly popular religion in Mathurā in the Gupta period also. The Chinese traveller Fahien, who saw twenty Buddhist monasteries housing about three thousand monks,⁴¹⁸ and six Buddhist *stūpas* at Mathurā,⁴¹⁹ made no mention of Jainism in this city.⁴²⁰

But Fahien's silence should not lead us to the conclusion that Jainism did not exist in Mathurā during the Gupta period. Only three Jaina inscriptions of the Gupta period have come to light at Mathurā.⁴²¹ But the discovery of 59 Jaina sculptures of the Gupta period at Mathurā⁴²² is evidence that Jainism had not lost its appeal in this city. A council was held at Mathurā under the presidentship of Ārya Skandil for the fixation of the Jaina canon in the fourth

415. *JPV*, p. 19.

416. *CII*, III, nos. 1, 4, 63.

417. *CMHI*, II, pp. 82-3.

418. *The Travels of Fa-Hsien*, tr. H.A. Giles, 1956, p. 20.

419. Samuel Beal, *op. cit.*, Introduction, xxxvii-xxxviii.

420. *JPV*, p. 19.

421. *EI*, II, no. XXXVIII-XL.

422. *JAA*, I, p. 107.



century AD.⁴²³ This is another evidence of the fact that in spite of decline in popularity Jainism continued to survive at Mathurā during the Gupta period.

The Huna invasions of the sixth century AD destroyed many art treasures of Mathurā, and also initiated the process of Buddhism's decline in this city.⁴²⁴ Buddhism was in existence at Mathurā when the Chinese traveller Huein Tsang visited it in the seventh century AD.⁴²⁵ But by the end of the tenth century AD the vigorous cults of Hinduism, which included worship of Śiva, Śakti and Viṣṇu, absorbed Buddhism.⁴²⁶ It is clear from the accounts of the Muslim historians of the eleventh century AD that Mathurā was a Hindu city devoted to Vaiṣṇavism, particularly to the Kṛṣṇa cult.⁴²⁷ Contemporary Muslim historians make no mention of Jainism and Buddhism in Mathurā in the eleventh century AD. In fact, Buddhism had become non-existent in this city by this time.

But archaeological material unearthed from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā bears testimony to the fact that Jainism existed in Mathurā even in the eleventh century AD. The Jaina *stūpa* at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā was in existence when Somadeva composed his *Yaśastilakacampū* in AD 959. It was still called *devanirmita*. An antiquity in the collection of State Museum, Lucknow furnishes evidence that this *stūpa* was in existence at least up to AD 979.⁴²⁸ A great misfortune enveloped Mathurā in the first quarter of the eleventh century AD. Mahmud of Ghazni invaded Mathurā in AD 1018 and wrought havoc in this city, which was plundered, burnt and destroyed.⁴²⁹ But somehow the two Jaina temples at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā

423. *HJM*, p. 20; *LDJC*, p. 33; *JPV*, p. 19.

424. R.C. Sharma, *The Buddhist Art of Mathurā*, 1984, p. 35; N. Dutt and K.D. Bajpai, *Development of Buddhism in Uttar Pradesh*, 1956, p. 391.

425. Watters, *On Yuwan Chaung's Travels in India*, vol. I, 1904, pp. 301-13.

426. *SFE*, Foreword, xxi.

427. *Alberuni's India*, ed. Sachau, vol. I, 1914, pp. 199, 401; Elliot and Dowson, II, pp. 44-5; John Briggs, tr. Ferishta's work, vol. I, 1908, p. 58.

428. SML no. J. 236; *MCH*, p. 332.

429. Elliot and Dowson, II, pp. 44-5; John Briggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-9.



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escaped destruction. The Jaina donative inscription dated vs 1080, i.e., AD 1023, and the colossal image of *tīrthamkara* Padmaprabhanātha dated vs 1134, i.e., AD 1077, prove that the two Jaina temples at Kaṅkāḷā Ṭīlā, Mathurā — one built in the second century BC and the other about the beginning of the Christian era — escaped destruction at the time of Mahmud of Ghazni's invasion of this city in AD 1018, and were centres of Jaina worship during the greater part of the eleventh century AD.⁴³⁰

Neither literature nor archaeology holds the clue to the subsequent fate of these Jaina temples. Either time took toll of them or 'they suffered destruction at some later date'.⁴³¹ These temples stood in the vicinity of the Jaina *stūpa* at Kaṅkāḷī Ṭīlā. The Jaina *stūpa*, if it stood intact at the time of Mahmud of Ghazni's invasion of Mathurā in AD 1018, too, would have escaped destruction. The expression *mathurāstūpastutaya* used in Jinaprabha Sūri's *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, composed between AD 1307 and AD 1340, seems to convey the impression that the *stūpa* at Kaṅkāḷī Ṭīlā was in existence as late as the first half of the fourteenth century AD.⁴³² Mathurā was in a state of ruin for many centuries after Mahmud of Ghazni's invasion. It appears doubtful that this *stūpa* managed to exist as late as the fourteenth century AD. We shall turn to this in the last chapter of the book.



430. *JS*, Introduction, pp. 3-4; *Yaśastilaka*, p. 433; *EI*, II, p. 211 fn 35.

431. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4; *Ibid.*, p. 433.

432. *MCH*, pp. 210-11.



6

Jaina Art and Architecture at Mathurā **Second Century BC to Eleventh Century AD**

THERE IS NO room for the worship of a Creator God in the philosophy of Jainism. Yet, during the course of about 2500 years the Jainas have produced innumerable images and numerous shrines in honour of the *tīrthamkaras* in various parts of India. Mathurā — the principal seat of Jainism in north India in the early centuries of the Christian era¹ and the oldest and most renowned centre of Jaina art² — developed as the leading centre of Jaina art and architecture even before the beginning of the Christian era. This city played a significant role in the development of Jaina iconography.³ In fact, the history of Jaina iconography is intimately connected with the history of Jaina iconography of Mathurā.

Character of the Jaina art of Mathurā

Archaeological excavations have brought to light a large number of Jaina antiquities, sculptural as well as architectural. The study of this immense archaeological material has highlighted the fact that the Jaina art of Mathurā was not sectarian in character.⁴ As elsewhere in India, the Jaina art of Mathurā bore a striking resemblance with the Hindu and Buddhist art.⁵

1. *CMHI*, II, p. 355.
2. *ISP*, p. 1.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *IGI*, II, p. 110; *SJJA*, p. 3; *JS*, Introduction, pp. 1-6.
5. *JAA*, I, Editorial, pp. 3ff.

In ancient India all religions — Brāhmanism, Jainism and Buddhism — used the art of the age and drew from the common store-house of symbolic and conventional devices.⁶ Therefore, no Jaina artistic or architectonic creation can be studied and described in isolation from the mainstream of Indian art and architecture.⁷

Jainism has its distinct religious and mythological concepts. Therefore, the Jainas produced sculptural forms which are not found in the creations of Hinduism and Buddhism.⁸ But even in the production of such sculptures the Jainas adopted the style of the region and the period.⁹ Therefore, by Jaina art is meant specimens of art which were created under the patronage of the Jainas.¹⁰

Background of the Jaina art of Mathurā

A large number of *tīrthamkara* images were carved at Mathurā during the period under review. But it would be wrong to assume that this city took the lead in the carving of *jina* images. It has been held by some scholars that the figures of the *tīrthamkaras* were chiselled as early as the period of Harappan civilisation. This view has been held on the basis of the discovery of a nude torso from Harappa and some seals at Mohen-jo-daro which contain depiction of human figures standing in a posture, which is closely analogous to the standing meditative posture called the *kāyotsarga-mudrā* in Jainism.¹¹ But there is no indisputable evidence that the figures depicted are *tīrthamkara* figures.¹²

According to Jinaprabha Sūri, a stone sculpture of Pārśvanātha was installed in front of the Jaina *stūpa* at Mathurā at the behest of goddess

6. *IGI*, II, p. 110; *SIJA*, p. 3; *JS*, Introduction, p. 6.

7. *JAA*, I, Editorial, p. 3.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. *SIJA*, p. 3.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 3 fn 1.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 3; *JAA*, I, Editorial, p. 3.



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Kuberā after that *tīrthamkara*'s departure from this city.¹³ This story suggests that a stone image of Pārśvanātha was carved as early as the ninth-eighth century BC. But no image of Pārśvanātha assignable to this period has come to light at Mathurā. U.P. Shah holds that a sandalwood portrait sculpture of Mahāvīra was carved in that *tīrthamkara*'s lifetime.¹⁴ Many scholars do not agree with this view. A. Ghosh writes,

That the practice was prevalent at the time of Mahāvīra himself is not established: the legend of the queen of Uddāyana of Vītabhayapattana (unknown from any other source), a contemporary of Mahāvīra himself, having worshipped a sandalwood statue of the *tīrthamkara*, has its counterpart in the legend of Buddha's contemporary Udayana of Kauśāmbī having installed an image of Buddha prepared out of the same material.¹⁵

But there is unmistakable evidence that the image of the *jīna* was chiselled in the third century BC if not in the fourth century BC. There is a reference in the Hāthīgumphā inscription to the removal of a *jīna* image from Kalinga to Pāṭaliputra by the Magadhan king Nanda at the time of his invasion of Kalinga.¹⁶ The Nanda kings ruled in the fourth century BC.¹⁷ It is, thus, evident from the Hāthīgumphā inscription that the practice of chiselling *tīrthamkara* images was in vogue in the fourth century BC. A highly polished torso of a *jīna* image has been discovered from Lohanipur near Patna.¹⁸ The Lohanipur *jīna* image is a contemporary or near-contemporary of the *yakṣa* statues.¹⁹ It was carved on the stylistic pattern of the *yakṣa* statues.²⁰ The

13. *Vividha-Tirtha-Kalpa*, pp. 17ff; *SIJA*, pp. 62-3.

14. *SIJA*, p. 4.

15. *JAA*, I, Editorial, p. 4 fn 1; also see *JPV*, p. 16.

16. *EI*, XX, pp. 71-89.

17. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, ed., *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, 1952, p. 12.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 425; *SIJA*, p. 5; *JAA*, I, Editorial, p. 3.

19. *JAA*, I, pp. 3-4.

20. *Ibid.*



yakṣa figures were chiselled in the third century BC.²¹ It is, thus, certain that the Lohanipur *jina* image, too, was carved in the third century BC. No image of the Buddha or of a Brāhmanical deity has been discovered so far which may be called as ancient as the Lohanipur *jina* image.²² In the light of these facts it appears almost certain that it was Jainism which took the lead in carving images for veneration.²³

A study of Jaina antiquities discovered at Mathurā reveals that the interest of the artists of this city and of their Jaina clientele revolved mainly round the production of the images of the *tīrthamkaras*, and that they took negligible interest in sculptures which depicted incidents from their life. Therefore, we find an extremely limited depiction of incidents from the life of the *jinās* in the plastic art of Mathurā.²⁴

Predecessors of *tīrthamkara* images of Mathurā

The Jaina devotees needed the images of the *jinās* for worship, and the artists of Mathurā produced them in large numbers. But these images did not spring to life at once. Like Brāhmanism and Buddhism, image-worship in Jainism was preceded by worship of symbols.²⁵ The *tīrthamkara* figures of Mathurā had their predecessors in sacred symbols like the *stūpa*, the pillar and the *āyāga-paṭṭa* or the *śilā-paṭṭa*.²⁶

THE STŪPA

The *stūpa* was an object of Jaina worship. The depiction of *stūpa*-worship was one of the favourite themes of the sculptors of Mathurā. Excavations at

21. V.S. Agrawala, *Pre-Kuṣāṇa Art of Mathurā*, 1984, p. 17; R.C. Sharma, *The Splendour* . . . , *op. cit.*, p. 36.

22. *JAA*, I, Editorial, p. 3.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

25. *MCH*, p. 333.

26. *Ibid.*



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Mathurā have brought to light a number of Jaina sculptures which contain depiction of *stūpa*-worship, realistically as well as artistically.²⁷

THE PILLAR

The pillar known as *cetiya-stambha* was also an object of Jaina worship at Mathurā.²⁸ Therefore, construction of pillars at Mathurā was a logical outcome of the Jaina urge for pillar-worship. One of the corner uprights assignable to the second century BC discovered at Mathurā, depicts a lion pillar within a railing being worshipped by a male and a female devotee.²⁹ There is nothing specifically Jaina in this depiction. But depiction of lion pillars of this type on Jaina art objects called *āyāga-paṭṭas* or *śilā-paṭṭas*³⁰ is indicative of the practice of pillar-worship in Jainism in this period. The artists of Mathurā also built elephant pillars for Jaina worship. This is manifest from a Jaina inscription of Mathurā belonging to the time of the Kuṣāṇa king Huiṣka, which records the setting-up of an elephant named Namdiviśāla for the worship of the *arhats*.³¹

THE ŚILĀ-PATṬAS OR ĀYĀGA-PATṬAS

The word *āyāga-paṭṭa* frequently occurs in the Jaina dedicatory inscriptions exposed by excavations at Mathurā.³² The word *śilā-paṭṭa* also finds mention in one of the Jaina inscriptions discovered from this city.³³ *Āyāga-paṭṭa* is a compound word. *Paṭṭa* means a slab or a tablet. The list of names embodied in the Jaina text entitled *Aṅgavijjā*,³⁴ and a passage in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of



27. MM no. Q. 2, etc.

28. MCH, p. 333.

29. SML no. J.268; MCH, p. 333.

30. MM no. Q. 2.

31. EI, X, Appendix, no. 41.

32. Ibid., pp. 2ff.

33. Ibid., Appendix, no. 102; MM no. Q. 2.

34. MCH, p. 333.

Vālmiki, make it clear that *āyāga* was a sacred place.³⁵ The meaning of the word *āyāga-paṭṭa* is, thus, a slab or tablet installed in a sacred place. *Āyāga-paṭṭas* were stone slabs, square or rectangular in shape. Archaeological excavations conducted at Mathurā have brought to light twenty-seven stone tablets, mostly square and sometimes rectangular in shape.³⁶ In the Jaina inscriptions discovered at Mathurā, these stone tablets have been named *āyāga-paṭṭas*³⁷ and *śilā-paṭṭas*³⁸ installed for the worship of the *arhats*.³⁹

These *āyāga-paṭṭas* form a class of their own.⁴⁰ Most of them have been assigned to pre-Kuṣāṇa period on stylistic and paleographic grounds.⁴¹ But some of them, probably, belong to the Kuṣāṇa period.⁴² The *āyāga-paṭṭas* were handmaids of religion and their religious character is proved by the inscriptions incised on them. They clearly state that these stone slabs were installed for worship of the *arhats*.⁴³ Their religious character is also evident from the depiction of the *stūpa*,⁴⁴ figures of the *tīrthamkaras*,⁴⁵ *caitya-vṛkṣa*,⁴⁶ *dharma-cakra*⁴⁷ and auspicious symbols⁴⁸ on some of them.

The *āyāga-paṭṭas* were installed at sacred places or spots. According to

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35. *MCH*, p. 333; *EI*, I, p. 396 fn 28.
 36. *Ibid.*, p. 333.
 37. *EI*, X, Appendix, nos. 94, 103, etc.
 38. *Ibid.*, no. 102.
 39. *Ibid.*, nos. 102, 100, 105, etc.
 40. *JAA*, I, p. 64.
 41. *JS*, pp. 14-21; *JAA*, I, p. 64; *MCH*, p. 333.
 42. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*
 43. *EI*, II, p. 314; *EI*, X, Appendix nos. 102, 100, 105; *MM* no. Q. 2.
 44. *MM* no. Q. 2; *SML* no. J.250.
 45. *SML* no. J.253.
 46. *JS*, Plate IX, p. 16.
 47. *SML* no. J. 248; *SIJA*, p. 77.
 48. *SML* nos. J.248, J.250, J.252; *MCH*, p. 333.



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V.S. Agrawala⁴⁹ and Debala Mitra,⁵⁰ a tympanum in the collection of National Museum,⁵¹ indicates that the *āyāga-paṭṭas* were installed on high and solid platforms in slanting position in the premises of the *stūpa*. The *āyāga-paṭṭas* were not mere ornamental slabs;⁵² they were objects of worship in themselves.⁵³ According to Debala Mitra, the manner in which sprinkling of flowers is depicted on two of the four *āyāga-paṭṭas* in the tympanum in collection of National Museum, lends support to the presumption that *āyāga-paṭṭas* were objects of worship in themselves.⁵⁴

V.S. Agrawala holds that the *āyāga-paṭṭas*, perhaps sixteen in number, were originally objects of worship in themselves; but subsequently, they became a medium for worship of the *stūpa*, and flowers and other offerings were directly placed on them.⁵⁵ N.P. Joshi offers a slightly different suggestion. He opines that some *āyāga-paṭṭas*, i.e., SML No. J.248,⁵⁶ SML No. J.250⁵⁷ and NM. No. J.249 discovered at Mathurā are still in mint condition, and do not show any sign that flowers and other offerings were placed on them for centuries.⁵⁸ In his opinion the *āyāga-paṭṭas* were probably fixed at same high spot and were meant to be seen and adored from distance.⁵⁹

Inscriptions and literature throw more light on this subject. A Jaina inscription discovered at Mathurā clearly states that a courtesan named Vāsu donated a *śilā-paṭṭa* or stone slab for installation in *arhatāyatana* or the



49. V.S. Agrawala, *Bhāratīya Kalā*, 1966, pp. 280-1.

50. *JAA*, I, p. 63.

51. NM no. J.555; *JAA*, I, Plates 12, 13.

52. *JAA*, I, p. 64.

53. V.S. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pp. 280-1.

54. *JAA*, I, p. 64.

55. V.S. Agrawala, *Bhāratīya Kalā*, *op. cit.*, pp. 280-1.

56. *JAA*, I, Plate 16.

57. *Ibid.*, Plate 14.

58. *MCH*, p. 333.

59. *Ibid.*

temple of the *arhats*.⁶⁰ It is, therefore, evident that the *āyāga-paṭṭas* or the *śilā-paṭṭas* were installed in the temples also. The *āyāga-paṭṭas* were also installed in the gardens or the spots considered sacred by the Jainas. This is evident from the Jaina inscription excavated at Kankālī Ṭilā which records the installation of the *āyāga-paṭṭas* in *bhamḍīra* by a goldsmith.⁶¹ We learn from *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa* of Jinaprabha Sūri that *bhamḍīra* was a garden in Mathurā.⁶² This garden contained the shrine of *yakṣa* Sudarśana⁶³ and was visited by Pārśvanātha.⁶⁴ Probably, Mahāvīra also halted in this garden during his visit to Mathurā.⁶⁵ It is evident that the *āyāga-paṭṭas* were installed in the *bhamḍīra* garden because the visit of Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra had sanctified it.

The word *āyāga-sabhā* also occurs in one of the Jaina inscriptions that have come to light at Mathurā.⁶⁶ It appears certain that the *āyāga-sabhā* was a sacred place or shrine. It is difficult to exactly define the Jaina shrine called the *āyāga-sabhā*. Probably, it was akin to a later Jaina shrine called *paṣadhaśālā* where a person kept fast or sat in meditation to practise some *tapa* or propitiate a deity.⁶⁷ U.P. Shah is of opinion that probably the *āyāga-paṭṭas* were installed and worshipped in the *āyāga-sabhā* also.⁶⁸ According to him, there was no difference between the *śilā-paṭṭa* and the *āyāga-paṭṭa*; the stone slab called the *śilā-paṭṭa* in the Jaina texts were mentioned as the *āyāga-paṭṭa* in some of the Jaina inscriptions discovered at Mathurā.⁶⁹ He

60. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 102; MM no. Q. 2.

61. *Ibid.*, no. 95.

62. *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, pp. 17ff; *LDJC*, p. 255 fn 26.

63. *MCH*, p. 211.

64. *Ibid.*

65. *JAA*, I, pp. 63-4.

66. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 102; MM no. Q. 2.

67. *SJA*, p. 84.

68. *Ibid.*

69. *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.



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opines that the *śilā-paṭṭas* were placed on a small platform at the foot of the *urkṣas* sacred to the *yakṣas* and the *nāgas*.⁷⁰ Tree-worship was an ancient practice and it took the form of worship of the *śilā-paṭṭas* in Jainism.⁷¹ U.P. Shah suggests that the stone slabs called the *āyāga-paṭṭa* in the Jaina inscriptions of Mathurā evolved from the stone slabs called the *śilā-paṭṭa* in the Jaina canons.⁷²

The foregoing discussion leads us to the conclusion that the stone slabs or tablets called the *śilā-paṭṭa* in the Jaina canons and one of the Jaina inscriptions of Mathurā, and the *āyāga-paṭṭa* in many epigraphs of this city, were objects of worship in themselves. The *āyāga-paṭṭas* were installed on high solid platforms near the main *stūpa*, probably in front of its four cardinal sides.⁷³ They were also fixed at some high spot so as to be seen and adored from distance.⁷⁴ They were also installed in the temples, *āyāga-sabhās*, sacred gardens, and under trees considered sacred by the Jains.

The *āyāga-paṭṭas* excavated at Mathurā are splendid objects of the Jaina art of this city. These stone slabs depict beautiful carving. Except a few, the *āyāga-paṭṭas* were carved on one side and not both.⁷⁴ The carving on these stone slabs is luxuriant and bears testimony to the skill and zeal of the sculptors who carved them.⁷⁵ The artists beautified the *āyāga-paṭṭas* by compositions of rare excellence.⁷⁶ From the point of view of art the *āyāga-paṭṭas* from Mathurā rank among some of the most beautiful specimens of the celebrated Mathurā school of sculpture; they are exceedingly well-conceived and the composition conveys the meaning of the symbolism they seek to represent.⁷⁷

70. *SIJA*, pp. 69-70.

71. *Ibid.*

72. *Ibid.*

73. *JAA*, I, p. 63.

74. *MCH*, p. 333.

75. *JAA*, I, p. 64.

76. *Ibid.*

77. V.S. Agrawala, *Studies . . . , op. cit.*, pp. 178-9.



The artists carved a large number of religious and secular symbols on the *āyāga-paṭṭas*. Auspicious symbols called the *aṣṭa-maṅgalas* in Jainism were also carved. The *aṣṭa-maṅgalas* — *svastika*, *śrīvatsa*, *nandyāvarta* (cross with circular arms), *varddhamānaka* (powder-flask), *bhadrāsana* (sacred seat), *kalāśa* (full-vase), *darpaṇa* (mirror), and *matsya* or *matsya-yugma* (fish or pair of fish) — are known to Jaina worship from ancient times, and are often referred to in the Jaina canonical and other texts as decorating tops of architraves or ramparts, or placed on *caitya*-trees, platforms, painted on walls, etc.⁷⁸ Some of the Mathurā *āyāga-paṭṭas* contain total or partial depiction of the *aṣṭa-maṅgalas*.⁷⁹ The study of the Mathurā *āyāga-paṭṭas*, however, reveals that the set of eight auspicious symbols called the *aṣṭa-maṅgalas* was not finally settled upto the Kuṣāṇa period.⁸⁰ The tradition of eight auspicious symbols as depicted on the Mathurā *āyāga-paṭṭas*, especially on the *āyāga-paṭṭa* donated by Sihanādika,⁸¹ is slightly different from the later tradition.⁸² It is evident that in the representation of the eight auspicious symbols, the artists of Mathurā followed the older tradition, which is slightly different from the tradition recorded in the Jaina canons available these days.⁸³

Some of the symbols carved on these *āyāga-paṭṭas* are the *kalpavṛkṣa*,⁸⁴ the full vase,⁸⁵ the *stūpa*,⁸⁶ coiled reptiles with human bodies,⁸⁷ dragons,⁸⁸

78. *SIJA*, p. 109.

79. *Ibid.*, pp. 109-10.

80. *SIJA*, p. 110.

81. SML no. J.249.

82. *SIJA*, p. 110.

83. *Ibid.*, pp. 110-11.

84. SML nos. J.250, J.252; *MCH*, p. 333.

85. *Ibid.*, no. J.252; *ibid.*

86. MM no. Q.2.

87. SML no. J.248, no. J.250; *MCH*, p. 333.

88. *Ibid.*, no. J.252; *ibid.*



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creepers coming out of the jars,⁸⁹ etc. The artists of Mathurā used many Indian and foreign motifs for the beautification of the *āyāga-paṭṭas*. Motifs like vine creepers, *maṅgalas*, winged animals, dancing figures, etc., can be noticed in the border frame of these stone slabs.⁹⁰ Some sacred objects like the wheel and *nandyāvarta* were carved along with decorative motifs in the inner field of the *āyāga-paṭṭas*.⁹¹ In some slabs miniature figures of seated *jīnas* were also depicted.⁹² The *āyāga-paṭṭas* of this variety belong to a class of their own. They illustrate an admixture of symbol-worship and image-worship.

The *āyāga-paṭṭas*, which are the oldest objects of the Jaina art of Mathurā,⁹³ rank among the finest creations of the sculptural art of this city. Production of these homage slabs was an innovation of the artists of Mathurā and was confined to this city.⁹⁴ Numerous *āyāga-paṭṭas* were produced at Mathurā during the pre-Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa period because these formed part of the religious donations of the Jainas. Excavations have not exposed any *āyāga-paṭṭa* which may be assigned to the post-Kuṣāṇa period. It is clear that the era of the carving of independent stone images of the Jaina deities which commenced in the Kuṣāṇa period announced the closure of the era of the *āyāga-paṭṭas*.

Tirthamkara images of Mathurā: Pre-Kuṣāṇa period

The earliest representation of the *tirthamkaras* at Mathurā occurs on an architectural object which was originally a lintel in the second century BC, but was subsequently transformed into a railing pillar.⁹⁵ Available portions of the

89. SML no. J.686a; *MCH*, p. 333.

90. *MCH*, p. 333.

91. *Ibid.*, pp. 333-4.

92. MM no. 47. 49; *JAA*, I, Plate 15.

93. *ISP*, p. 1.

94. *Ibid.*

95. SML no. J.354 and J.609; *MCH*, p. 335.



lintel seem to have been divided into two parts; the first one shows *apsarā* Nīlāñjanā dancing in the royal court, and the second depicts two *jinas* seated in meditation.⁹⁶ Subsequently, the figures of the *tīrthamkaras* were carved on the *āyāga-paṭṭas*. One of these *āyāga-paṭṭas* can be assigned to 50 BC.⁹⁷ This *āyāga-paṭṭa* depicts the nude figure of a *jina* who is seated cross-legged with his hands on the lap.⁹⁸ This figure depicts plain hair and loose cross-legging.⁹⁹ The *śrīvatsa* mark on the chest of the *jinas* was an innovation introduced by the artists of Mathurā in the Kuṣāṇa period.¹⁰⁰ This mark as well as the nimbus, characteristics of the later *jina* figures of Mathurā, are conspicuous by their absence in the aforesaid miniature *jina* figure.¹⁰¹ The *lāñchanas* (congnizances or distinctive marks) of the various *jinas* had not been determined at this stage of Jaina iconography.¹⁰² But, this figure can be identified as the figure of Pārśvanātha because of 'the seven-hooded serpent-canopy manifest over the head of the *jina*'.¹⁰³

Tīrthamkara images of Mathurā: The Kuṣāṇa period

The figures of the *jinas* were the most significant products of the Jaina iconography of Mathurā in the Kuṣāṇa period. The Jaina texts of the Kuṣāṇa period do not contain guidelines in respect of the production of the *jina* image.¹⁰⁴ But early Jaina works like *Āvaṣyaka Nirvyūha* (*gāthā* 969) suggest that the *jinas* are represented in the world in the posture in which they left it.¹⁰⁵ We learn from other Jaina texts that twenty-one *tīrthamkaras* attained

96. SML no. J.354 and J.609; *MCH*, p. 335.

97. *Ibid.*, no. J.253; *Ibid.*, Plate 34.1 and p. 335.

98. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*

99. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*

100. *ISP*, p. 1.

101. SML no. J.253; *MCH*, p. 335.

102. *JAA*, I, p. 65; *JPV*, p. 250; R.C. Sharma, *Jaina Sculptures . . . op. cit.*, p. 145.

103. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*

104. *MCH*, pp. 335-6.

105. *Ibid.*, p. 353.



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nirvāṇa in the standing posture, and three, i.e., Ṛṣabha, Nemi and Mahāvīra left this world in the sitting posture.¹⁰⁶ The figures or images of the Buddha were carved in many postures — the earth-touching posture, (the *bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā*), the protection posture (the *abhaya-mudrā*), the meditative posture (the *dhyāna-mudrā*), the turning of the wheel posture (the *dharmacakra-pravartana-mudrā*), etc.¹⁰⁷

But the artists of Mathurā carved the images of the *jinas* in only two postures — the seated meditative posture called the *dhyānastha-mudrā* or the *padmāsana-mudrā*, and the standing meditative posture called the *kāyotsarga-mudrā* in Jainism.¹⁰⁸ It appears that the sculptors of Mathurā followed the guidelines embodied in the early Jaina texts by carving the images of the *jinas* in only two postures. But they did not follow these guidelines in their entirety. It is evident from many *tīrthamkara* images of the Kuṣāṇa period carved at Mathurā.

Among the twenty-four *tīrthamkaras*, Ṛṣabha, Nemi and Mahāvīra are said to have attained *nirvāṇa* in the sitting posture. Therefore, in view of the guidelines embodied in the early Jaina texts, the images of these three *tīrthamkaras* should have been chiselled in the seated meditative posture only. But the sculptors of Mathurā carved the images of Ṛṣabha¹⁰⁹ and Mahāvīra¹¹⁰ in the *kāyotsarga*-posture also during the Kuṣāṇa period. Sambhavanātha is said to have left this world in the standing posture. But the sculptors of Mathurā carved his image both in the standing¹¹¹ and the seated¹¹² meditative posture during this period. Pārśvanātha had attained

106. *MCH*; p. 353; *OISJ*, p. 66.

107. R.C. Sharma, *Jaina Sculptures... op. cit.*, p. 145; N. Dutt and K.D. Bajpai, *Development of Buddhism in Uttar Pradesh*, 1956, pp. 384-5.

108. *Ibid.*, p. 145; *JPV*, p. 48.

109. *MM* no. B. 36; *JUPHS*, III, p. 9.

110. *SML* nos. J.2, J.9; *MCH*, p. 353.

111. *SML* no. J.13; *MCH*, p. 353.

112. *SML* no. J.19; *ibid.*



nirvāṇa in the standing posture. But the sculptors of Mathurā chiselled his image in the seated posture during the Kuṣāṇa period.¹¹³ It is evident that they followed a different tradition in carving the images of the *jinās*.

Most of the *jina* figures in this city were produced in the seated meditative posture. This is evident from the fact that out of 119 *tīrthamkara* figures assignable to the Kuṣāṇa period which have come to light at Mathurā, 93 are in the seated meditative posture.¹¹⁴ A principal characteristic of the *jina* figures of Mathurā of the Kuṣāṇa period is their nudity. Except for a few sculptures belonging to the *Ardhaphālaka* sect of Jainism,¹¹⁵ all Jaina figures of Mathurā belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period are entirely nude.¹¹⁶ The depiction of partly clothed Jaina monks in all bas-reliefs of Mathurā except one is indicative of the fact that a large number of Jainas in this city belonged to the *Ardhaphālaka* sect of Jainism in the pre-Christian period and the early centuries of the Christian era.¹¹⁷ Among the *tīrthamkaras* only Ṛṣabha and Mahāvīra are said to have preached complete nudity. Therefore, the existence of the *Ardhaphālaka* sect in Mathurā during the aforesaid period does not cause surprise.

Complete nudity of the *jina* images of Mathurā of the Kuṣāṇa period led A. Cunningham to the conclusion that they belonged to the Digmabara sect.¹¹⁸ But we agree with the view of B.C. Bhattacharya¹¹⁹ and U.P. Shah¹²⁰

113. *SML* no. J.25+113; *ibid.*

114. *MCH*, p. 332.

115. *MS*, p. 24.

116. *Ibid.*; *SIJA*, p. 11; *JPV*, p. 48.

117. *MCH*, p. 347. It may, however, be pointed out that depiction of partly clothed Jaina monks in the bas-reliefs is not a conclusive evidence of a distinct division of the Jainas into the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras at Mathurā in the pre-Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa period.

118. *ASIAR*, III, p. 46.

119. *Jl*, p. 42.

120. *SIJA*, p. 11.



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that the difference between the *jina* images of the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras in respect of drapery and nudity did not exist in the Kuṣāṇa period.¹²¹ The *jina* images of Mathurā of the Gupta period, too, are nude. We have already stated that there is no hint of the split in the Jaina Church in the inscriptions discovered at Mathurā. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that the points of difference between the images of the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras are posterior to even the Gupta period.

The *lāñchanas* of the various *jinas* had not evolved during the Kuṣāṇa period. Therefore, it is very difficult to differentiate one *tīrthamkara* from the other in this huge mass of *jina* figures. Two factors have helped in the identification of some *jinas*. Many *tīrthamkara* images of this period bear inscriptions. Very often the name of the *tīrthamkara* is also mentioned in the inscription incised on the figure.¹²² Such inscriptions have helped in the identification of the *jinas* whose images were carved at Mathurā during this period. The characteristics associated with the *jinas* have also helped in the identification of their images. Pārśvanātha has been identified on the basis of the seven-hooded serpent-conopy over his head in the figures.¹²³ Ṛṣabha has been identified on the basis of locks of hair falling on his shoulders in the figures.¹²⁴ Neminātha has been recognised on the basis of his representation in the company of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma in the figures.¹²⁵

The inscriptions excavated at Mathurā contain the names of *arhats* Ṛṣabha,¹²⁶ Ariṣṭanemi,¹²⁷ Śāntinātha,¹²⁸ Pārśva,¹²⁹ Sambhavanātha,¹³⁰

121. *Jl*, p. 42; *SJA*, p. 11.

122. R.C. Sharma, *Jaina Sculptures . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

123. *Ibid.*, p. 145; *MS*, p. 23; *JAA*, I, p. 65; *JPV*, p. 46.

124. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*

125. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

126. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 56.

127. *Ibid.*, no. 26.

128. *Ibid.*, no. 27.

129. *Ibid.*, no. 110.

130. *MCH*, p. 357; *JAA*, I, p. 66 fn. 1.



Vardhamāna Mahāvīra¹³¹ and Nandyāvarta.¹³² It is, thus, certain that the images of these seven *jinas* were carved at Mathurā during this period. On the basis of his study of the early Jaina icons of Mathurā, N.P. Joshi has opined that *tīrthamkara* Sumatinātha, too, was known to the sculptors of Mathurā during the period under review.¹³³

Main characteristics of the *tīrthamkara* images of Mathurā: The Kuṣāṇa period

Available material indicates that the *tīrthamkara* images of this period were of medium size. But colossal figures of the *jinas* were also produced.¹³⁴ There is very little difference between the seated and standing *jina* figures of Mathurā of the Kuṣāṇa period in respect of arrangement of hair, depiction of auspicious marks on the body, carving of the neck, nimbus, etc.¹³⁵ The heads of the *jinas* in these figures are either bald¹³⁶ or characterised by small curls.¹³⁷ Facial expression is conspicuous by its absence in the *tīrthamkara* figures of this period.¹³⁸ Smile is the only expression manifest in these figures and, this too, is rare.¹³⁹ The earliest depiction of the *śrīvatsa* mark on the chest of the *tīrthamkara* figure occurs on Mathurā *āyāga-paṭṭas* of the first century BC.¹⁴⁰ The *śrīvatsa* symbol became an inalienable part of the bulk of *jina* figures at Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period.¹⁴¹ The caduceus-like

131. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 18.

132. *Ibid.*, no. 47.

133. *MCH*, p. 357.

134. *Ibid.*, p. 339.

135. *Ibid.*

136. *MS*, p. 23.

137. *MM* no. 1531; *JUPHS*, III, p. 15.

138. *MS*, p. 23.

139. *Ibid.*; R.C. Sharma, *Jaina Sculptures . . . op. cit.*, p. 144.

140. *JPV*, p. 80 fn 1.

141. *JUPHS*, III, *MM* nos. B. 71, B. 70, B. 2, B. 3, etc.

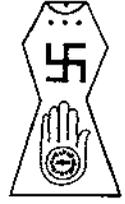


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symbol (called the *śrīvatsa* mark)¹⁴² on the chest of the *jina* figure was an innovation of the sculptors of Mathurā. This practice became widespread. Mathurā took the lead; the rest of the country followed it.¹⁴³ Sometimes the sculptors of Mathurā carved the sacred *śrīvatsa* symbol on the foreparts of the fingers of the *jina* figure also.¹⁴⁴

The *jina* images of this period have open eyes;¹⁴⁵ the eye-balls, too, can be noticed in some of the images of this period.¹⁴⁶ Another remarkable feature of the seated *jina* figure of Mathurā of this period is depiction of *dharma-cakra* on the palms and both *dharma-cakra* and *tri-ratna* on the soles.¹⁴⁷ In the earliest seated *jina* figures of Mathurā cross-legging is very loose.¹⁴⁸ But the seated *jina* figures of the Kuṣāṇa period display *padmāsana* or tight cross-legging.¹⁴⁹ The seated *jina* figures of this period bear *ūrṇa*, i.e., the round mark between the eye-brows.¹⁵⁰

Generally speaking, the heads of the seated *jina* figures of this period are either bald or characterised by small curls. But hair arrangements, like notched hair and hair combed back, can also be noticed in some of the *jina* figures of this period.¹⁵¹ The seated figure of Pārśvanātha depicted on the Mathurā *āyāga-paṭṭa* assigned to the first century BC is characterised by the absence of nimbus.¹⁵² But nimbus became a characteristic feature of some seated *jina* figures of Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period.¹⁵³ The *jina* figures



142. *MS*, p. 23.

143. *JPV*, p. 80 fn 1.

144. *MS*, p. 23.

145. *MCH*, p. 339.

146. *Ibid.*; *MS*, p. 23.

147. *JUPHS*, III, MM nos. B. 3, B. 4, B. 5, B. 27, etc.

148. SML no. J.354, J.609; *MCH*, p. 335.

149. *JUPHS*, III, MM nos. 490, etc.

150. *Ibid.*; MM nos. 1940, etc.

151. *MCH*, p. 339.

152. SML no. J.253.

153. *JUPHS*, III, MM nos. B. 71, B. 70, B. 16, etc.

of this period are often displayed seated on the lion throne.¹⁵⁴ This depiction is indicative of their *cakravartin* status.¹⁵⁵ Generally speaking, *uṣṇīṣa* is conspicuous by its absence in the *jīna* figures of this period.¹⁵⁶

The Jaina iconography of Mathurā of this period throws a hint that among the twenty-four *jīnas*, four were held specially sacred by the Jaina community of this city.¹⁵⁷ This is evident from the discovery of quadruple images,¹⁵⁸ called *pratimā-sarvatobhadrikā* in the Jaina inscriptions,¹⁵⁹ and *caumukha-pratimā* in later periods.¹⁶⁰ Twenty-eight figures of this type ranging in date from Śaka year 5¹⁶¹, probably of the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka,¹⁶² to the year 74, have come to light at Mathurā.¹⁶³ These images present the figure of a *tīrthamkara* on each of the four sides of a stone block.¹⁶⁴ Two of the four images in many *sarvatobhadrikā-pratimās* of Mathurā of this period can be easily identified as figures of Ṛṣabha and Pārśva on the basis of locks of hair and serpent-hoods respectively.¹⁶⁵ Of the remaining two *jīnas*, one has been recognised as Mahāvīra.¹⁶⁶ The other may be Neminātha, who being the cousin of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma was greatly esteemed at Mathurā.¹⁶⁷

U.P. Shah opines that *sarvatobhadrikā-pratimās* of Mathurā were based

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154. *Ibid.*, MM nos. B. 17, B. 18, etc.
 155. *MS*, p. 24.
 156. *JUPHS*, III, MM no. B. 57, etc.
 157. *JAA*, I, p. 66.
 158. *Ibid.*
 159. *El*, X, Appendix no. 24; *JAA*, I, p. 66; *SIJA*, p. 11.
 160. *JAA*, I, p. 66; *SIJA*, p. 12.
 161. *MCH*, p. 353.
 162. *JAA*, I, p. 66.
 163. *MCH*, p. 353.
 164. *JAA*, I, p. 66.
 165. *Ibid.*; *SIJA*, p. 11; *MCH*, p. 354.
 166. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
 167. *Ibid.*



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on the ancient Jaina tradition called *samavasaraṇa*.¹⁶⁸ In accordance with this tradition, high platforms were erected for the sermons of the *jīnas*; the image of one of the *jīnas* was installed in the centre of the platform, and the images of the same *jīna* were installed on its remaining three sides in order to make him visible to the entire audience.¹⁶⁹ He also opines that representation of four different *jīnas* on four sides of the *sarvatobhadrikā-pratimās* of Mathurā was an advancement on the original conception of a *samavasaraṇa* or *caumukha* sculpture.¹⁷⁰

The facts highlighted by N.P. Joshi's study of these quadruple images deserve notice in this connection. In three of these quadruple images,¹⁷¹ the image of Ṛṣabha, and in three of them,¹⁷² the image of both Ṛṣabha and Pārśva, are conspicuous by their absence.¹⁷³ According to Joshi, these six images indicate that the sculptor intended to display either the same *jīna* on four sides, or depict four different *jīnas* other than Ṛṣabha and Pārśva on four sides of these *caumukha* images.¹⁷⁴

These quadruple images were probably installed in open space within the sacred precincts of the main *stūpa*. In a summary representation which occurs on a slab, possibly an *āyāga-paṭṭa*,¹⁷⁵ four seated *tīrthamkīaras* — two each on either side of a *stūpa* — one of whom is Pārśvanātha — are represented in the upper register. This representation conveys the impression of four images which were either installed in front of the four cardinal directions of a *stūpa* or were set up within the *stūpa*-niches facing the cardinal directions.¹⁷⁶ We learn from one of the inscriptions that these

168. *SIJA*, p. 11; *MCH*, p. 353.

169. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

170. *Ibid.*

171. *JUPHS*, III, MM nos. B. 70, B. 71; SML no. J.235; *MCH*, p. 354.

172. SML nos. J.241, J.242; MM no. 45.3214; *MCH*, p. 354.

173. *MCH*, p. 354.

174. *Ibid.*

175. SML no. J.623; *JAA*, I, pp. 57, 66.

176. *JAA*, I, p. 66.



quadruple images were installed on a *śilā-stambbha*, i.e., a pillar.¹⁷⁷

Many images of the Kuṣāṇa and post-Kuṣāṇa period represent Neminātha in the company of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. One such image of the late Kuṣāṇa period shows Balarāma with seven hoods and four hands; the upper right hand holds a *hala* (plough), the lower left hand being akimbo.¹⁷⁸ Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa carries in the upper left hand a *gadā* (mace) and a *cakra* (wheel) in the upper right hand.¹⁷⁹ This image also contains representation of the leaves of *vetasa* tree, the *kevala*-tree of Neminātha.¹⁸⁰

Evaluation of the *tīrthamkara* images of Mathurā: The Kuṣāṇa period

The *tīrthamkara* images of Mathurā belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period look cold and frozen.¹⁸¹ They are devoid of expression and grace.¹⁸² These images present a stark contrast to the sublime gentleness and serene grace of the figure of the Buddha, and to the divine grace and lavish charm of the images of the Hindu gods.¹⁸³ They are characterised by puppet-like rigidity, primitive nakedness¹⁸⁴ and uniformity of pattern.¹⁸⁵ These images are generally stiff in pose.¹⁸⁶ They have open eyes,¹⁸⁷ and sometimes even the eye-balls can be seen in these figures.¹⁸⁸ These *tīrthamkara* images have heavy shoulders and

177. SML no., J.234; *MCH*, p. 353.

178. *JUPHS*, III, MM no. 2502.

179. *Ibid.*

180. *Ibid.*

181. H. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

182. *JAA*, I, p. 67.

183. H. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

184. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

185. *JAA*, I, p. 37; *HOFA*, Introduction, p. 11.

186. *Ibid.*, p. 67; *SIJA*, p. 12; *MCH*, p. 339.

187. *MS*, p. 23; *MCH*, p. 339.

188. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*



broad chest, and are characterised by archaic stolidity.¹⁸⁹ In short, the *jina* images of Mathurā of the first and second century AD possess little artistic merit.

But the *jina* iconography of this period should be judged in the light of the doctrines of Jainism. These images are vehicles of the traditions of Jainism,¹⁹⁰ which prescribed their depiction as ascetics.¹⁹¹ Jainism is a votary of asceticism, and these figures look like figures of ascetics. It is because of the restraint embodied in the Jaina religious tradition that 'a cold and frozen atmosphere hovers around the *jina* images'¹⁹² of Mathurā of this period. The nudity of these figures represents the condition of absolute detachment from the world.¹⁹³

The sculptor of the Kuṣāṇa period was fairly adept in carving human figure. But he failed to express the true character of the *jinas*, who were renowned for their serenity, spiritual strength, firmness of will and disciplined life.¹⁹⁴ Facial expressions in these creations are almost non-existent,¹⁹⁵ the only exception being smile which, too, is rare.¹⁹⁶ The limbs of these figures, too, are mostly flat and disproportionate.¹⁹⁷ But considerable progress was made in the carving of the *jina* image by the end of the Kuṣāṇa period, and the sculptors of Mathurā did full justice to this figure in the Gupta period.

Other Jaina sculptures of Mathurā: The Kuṣāṇa period

There is an extremely limited depiction of incidents from the life of the *jinas*

189. *JAA*, I, p. 67.

190. *JSAI*, p. 231; *EWA*, VIII, p. 786; *JAA*, I, pp. 67-8.

191. *JAA*, I, pp. 67-8.

192. H. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

193. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

194. *JAA*, I, p. 68.

195. *MS*, p. 23.

196. *Ibid.*

197. *JAA*, I, p. 68.



in the Jaina art of Mathurā during the period under review. One such depiction occurs on a lintel of the Śuṅga period; it has been interpreted as Mahāvīra's birth-celebration by V.S. Agrawala,¹⁹⁸ and as the dance of *apsarā* Nilāñjanā before king R̥ṣabha by U.P. Shah¹⁹⁹ and N.P. Joshi.²⁰⁰ A depiction on a plaque discovered at Kaṅkālī Tīlā²⁰¹ shows the goat-headed male deity Naigmeṣa seated on a high seat and being adored by a *caurī* bearer and a lady with wings; in the corner is a woman who carries a child in one hand.²⁰² Naigameṣa is said to have played an important role in the transfer of Mahāvīra's embryo from the womb of Devānandā to that of Triśalā. According to Jyoti Prasad Jain, this representation is a reference to the transfer of the newly-born babes of Devakī in Kaṁsa's prison to the bosom of Alakā, wife of Sudraṣṭa, a merchant of Bhadrilapura.²⁰³ But according to N.P. Joshi, this depiction is either a reference to the transfer of Mahāvīra's embryo, or to Satyabhāmā's (wife of Kṛṣṇa) worship of Naigmeṣa²⁰⁴ for the birth of a son.²⁰⁵ Production of the images of Naigmeṣa was quite popular in this period. Ten images of this Jaina male deity have come to light at Mathurā; but we find no representation of Naigmeṣa in the post-Kuṣāṇa Jaina sculptural art of this city.²⁰⁶

Two female figures of this period deserve special attention. One of the Jaina dedicatory inscriptions of Mathurā of the period of Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa mentions the installation of an image of Āryavatī by a lady named

198. *SIJA*, p. 11 fn 4.

199. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

200. *MCH*, p. 335.

201. SML no. J.626; *MCH*, p. 354.

202. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

203. *JAA*, I, p. 65 fn 2.

204. Naigameṣa is closely associated with children. See *MCH*, p. 354; *EI*, II, p. 315.

205. *MCH*, p. 354.

206. *Ibid.*



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Āmohinī.²⁰⁷ Āryavatī has been described as the mother of a *jina*,²⁰⁸ probably of Mahāvīra.²⁰⁹ She enjoyed divine status,²¹⁰ because her right hand is raised in *abhaya-mudrā*.²¹¹ Attendants carrying flywhisks and an umbrella are also manifest in the image of Āryavatī.²¹²

One of the donative gifts of a Jaina devotee of the Kuṣāṇa period was an image of Sarasvatī,²¹³ the goddess of learning in Hinduism and Jainism. Seated squat with knees drawn up above an oblong pedestal, this goddess, specifically named Sarasvatī, holds a book in her left hand which rests on the waist.²¹⁴ The broken palm of the right hand, which was raised to the shoulder, most probably held a rosary.²¹⁵

Depiction of the monks, the nuns, etc.: The Kuṣāṇa period

The pedestals of numerous seated and standing *jina* figures of Mathurā belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period have a bas-relief in front in between two lions at either end of the pedestal.²¹⁶ The bas-relief depicts the *dharmacakra*,²¹⁷ devotees²¹⁸ or worshippers,²¹⁹ male and female,²²⁰ children,²²¹ male devotees

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207. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 59.
208. *MCH*, p. 356; *SIJA*, p. 11.
209. *SIJA*, p. 11; *JAA*, I, p. 67.
210. *MCH*, p. 356.
211. *SML* no. J.1; *MCH*, p. 356; *JAA*, I, p. 67.
212. *Ibid.*; *MCH*, p. 356.
213. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 54.; *SML* no. J.24.
214. *SML* no. J.24; *JAA*, I, p. 67; *MCH*, p. 356.
215. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*
216. *JUPHS*, III, MM nos. B. 75, 1388, etc.
217. *Ibid.*, MM nos. 490, B. 4, etc.
218. *Ibid.*, MM nos. B. 71, etc.
219. *Ibid.*, MM nos. B. 29, etc.
220. *JUPHS*, III, MM nos. B. 4, etc.
221. *MCH*, p. 347.



with their retinue and attendants,²²² female donor or donors with their retinue,²²³ monks and nuns.²²⁴ Most of the monks depicted in the bas-reliefs are partially clad and appear to belong to the *Ardhaphālaka* sect.²²⁵ We find mention of numerous male and female donors in the Jaina dedicatory inscriptions discovered at Mathurā.²²⁶ Many of them contain the names of Jaina ladies, along with the names of their family members, and of the monks and the nuns at whose request or behest these female lay devotees had made donations in the form of images, *āyāga-paṭṭas*, etc.²²⁷ It is highly probable that the aforesaid bas-relief on the pedestal of the seated *jīna* figure depicts male and female donors, their family members, attendants or servants, monks, nuns, etc.

Female figures in the Jaina art of Mathurā: Pre-Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa period

The Mathurā school of sculptural art, which mainly followed the art traditions of Sanchi and Bharhut,²²⁸ more nearly those of the latter,²²⁹ came into existence in the first century AD.²³⁰ It had its predecessor in the pre-Kuṣāṇa art of this city. Female figures carved on the railing pillars, which formed part of the Jaina *stūpa* or *stūpas* of Mathurā,²³¹ rank among the finest creations of the celebrated Mathurā school of sculpture.²³² In fact, they rank among the

222. *MCH*, p. 347.

223. *Ibid.*

224. *Ibid.*

225. *Ibid.*

226. *EI*, X, Appendix, pp. 2ff.

227. *Ibid.*, pp. 2ff.

228. A.K. Coomāraswamy, *History . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 37; S.K. Saraswati, *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, 1957, p. 62; V.S. Agrawala, *Bhāratiya Kalā*, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

229. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

230. R.C. Sharma, *The Splendour . . .*, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-7.

231. P.K. Agrawala, *Mathurā Railing Pillars*, 1966, pp. 3ff.

232. V.S. Agarwala, *Mathurā Kalā*, *op. cit.*, p. 41.



most enchanting creations of the Indian art as a whole.²³³ Some of these rail posts belong to the third century BC²³⁴ or to the period a little later than that,²³⁵ and the others to the Kuṣāṇa period.²³⁶ The female figures on the rails, anterior to the commencement of the Christian era, are representatives of the pre-Kuṣāṇa art of Mathurā, and those carved in the first and the second century AD are products of the Kuṣāṇa art of this city.

In ancient India art was the handmaid of religion. But it was also art for the sake of art. The female figures carved on the railing pillars of the Jaina *stūpa* or *stūpas* of Mathurā furnish unmistakable evidence of the truth embodied in the latter statement. The sculptors of Mathurā loved to carve female figures, and they tried to make them as attractive, beautiful and feminine as was possible for them. These female figures carved in numerous bewitching postures and engaged in their favourite pastimes are pointers of the fact that in spite of its code of rigid discipline, which is manifest in the *tīrthamkara* figures, the Jaina community of Mathurā gave a free hand to the sculptors of this city as far as chiselling of female figures was concerned.²³⁷ These figures possess great artistic merit. They represent the sculptor's conception of female beauty. These well-proportioned figures also bear testimony to his professional skill.

The real charm of the Mathurā rail posts lies in the female figures carved on them. These figures have been conceived and executed in numerous poses and forms. The sculptors of Mathurā chose free vertical spaces on the face of the railing pillar for the display of their majestic art. These uprights depict women in numerous attractive and bewitching poses; but there is no hint of sensuous narration in these figures.²³⁸ It is a representation of joyous females



233. P.K. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

234. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

235. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

236. *JAA*, I, p. 59.

237. *Ibid.*

238. P.K. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6; V.S. Agrawala, *Studies . . . op. cit.*, p. 155.

— full of zest for life — who are busy in their favourite sports and pastimes. In fact, the female figures carved on these railing pillars should not be viewed only as documents of the plastic art of Mathurā; they are splendid specimens of plastic art, but they are also a mirror of the outlook, amusements, sports and pastimes of the women of that age.

In the terminology of art some of the women portrayed on these rails have been designated as *sālabhañjikās*,²³⁹ a term which originally denoted the motif — the woman plucking (and gathering) *sāla* flowers by standing under a blossoming *sāla* tree.²⁴⁰ These railing pillars depict numerous shades of contemporary female life — a female standing under an *aśoka* tree and gathering its flowers; a female playing with a ball; a female in dancing pose; a lady feeding a parrot; a female taking bath under a precipice; a woman drying her hair after bath; a female looking into a mirror; a woman arranging her hair by looking into a mirror; a lady playing on a harp; a female putting on her necklace; a woman unloosing her girdle, etc.²⁴¹ These female figures present an admirable mixture of art and realism.

Some of the railing pillars with female figures, discovered at Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā, appear to be a little earlier in period than the *toraṇa-sālabhañjikās* of the *stūpa* at Sanchi, and 'are superior in modelling to the railing pillar female figures of the *stūpa* at Bharhut'.²⁴²

Jaina art of Mathurā: Miscellaneous figures of the Kuṣāṇa period

The gateway-pillars of the Kuṣāṇa period are extremely rich in carving. One of these pillars bears an inscription recording the gift of a *toraṇa* by *śrāvikā* Balhastinī.²⁴³ The two faces of these pillars are compartmented into a

239. P.K. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 6; *JAA*, I, p. 60.

240. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

241. *JUPHS*, III, pp. 53 ff; P.K. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

242. *JAA*, I, p. 60; V.S. Agrawala, *Bhāratīya Kalā, op.cit.*, p. 267.

243. SML no. J, 532; *JAA*, I, p. 61 and Plate 11. B.



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succession of panels which are separated from one another by a railing-motif.²⁴⁴ The depiction on these panels is mostly mundane and consists of scenes of love, palace-life, drinking couple, a man attending to the coiffure of a woman, a woman decorating herself, dancing couple, etc.²⁴⁵ The treatment of these scenes is admirable.²⁴⁶ It is evident from these figures that in their portrayal the sculptor was not bound by the religious traditions of Jainism.²⁴⁷

Evaluation of the Jaina art of Mathurā: Pre-Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa period

The history of the *jina* iconography of this period is characterised by three stages of development. The figures of two *jinas* in seated meditative *mudrā* depicted on a lintel of the second century BC²⁴⁸ are the earliest known specimens of the *tīrthamkara* figures carved at Mathurā.²⁴⁹ In the next stage of development, the *tīrthamkara* image made its appearance on the *āyāga-paṭṭas*, one of which²⁵⁰ can be assigned to 50 BC.²⁵¹ This was followed by the production of independent stone images of the *jinas*, including *sarvatobhadrikā* images, during the Kuṣāṇa period.

Owing to the absence of distinctive symbols only a few of these *jina* figures have been recognised. Scholars are not unanimous in respect of their identification. According to Maruti Nandan Prasad Tiwari, the figures of six *jinas* — Rṣabha, Sambhava, Munisuvrata, Nemi, Pārśva and Mahāvira — were carved at Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period.²⁵² The Jaina inscriptions



244. SML no. J, 532; JAA, I, p. 61 and Plate 11. B.

245. *Ibid.*

246. *Ibid.*

247. JAA, I, p. 61.

248. SML no. J.349 and no. J.609.

249. MCH, p. 335.

250. SML no. J.253.

251. MCH, p. 335.

252. JPV, p. 49.

of Mathurā do not mention Munisuvṛata.²⁵³ One of them makes mention of *arhat* Nandyāvarta.²⁵⁴ The symbol *nandyāvarta* is the cognizance of Aranātha.²⁵⁵ Nandyāvarta — the cognizance of Aranātha — was wrongly read as Munisuvṛata by K.D. Bajpai.²⁵⁶

We have already stated that the Jaina inscriptions of Mathurā contain the names of seven *arhats* — Ṛṣabha, Sambhava, Śāntinātha, Nandyāvarta, Nemi, Pārśva and Mahāvīra. Therefore, Debala Mitra and N.P. Joshi hold that the names of at least seven *tīrthamkaras* were known to the sculptors of Mathurā. According to Debala Mitra, the images of Ṛṣabha, Sambhava, Śāntinātha, Aranātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Vardhamāna Mahāvīra were carved at Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period.²⁵⁷ But according to Joshi, the *jinās* depicted in these images are Ṛṣabha, Sambhava, Nemi, Śāntinātha, Sumatinātha, Pārśvanātha and Vardhamāna Mahāvīra.²⁵⁸

Mathurā played a significant role in the development of the iconography of the *jinās* during the period under review. This period witnessed the production of independent images of many *jinās*. Quadruple images called the *sarvatobhadrikā* or *caumukha pratimās* were also chiselled. The production of these images in this city began in the first century AD, and continued for many centuries.²⁵⁹ The introduction of the *śrīvatsa* symbol in the *jina* figure was an innovation of the sculptors of Mathurā.²⁶⁰ This symbol first occurred on the chest of Mathurā *tīrthamkara* figures in the first century BC,²⁶¹ and became a characteristic feature of the bulk of *jina* figures during the Kuṣāṇa

253. See *EI*, X, Appendix, pp. 2ff.

254. *Ibid.*, no. 47.

255. *JUPHS*, III, p. 23; *EI*, II, no. XX.

256. *JAA*, I, p. 66 fn 1.

257. *Ibid.*

258. *MCH*, p. 357.

259. *JPV*, p. 48.

260. *ISP*, p. 1; *JPV*, p. 46.

261. *JPV*, p. 80 fn 1.



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period.²⁶² The sculptors of Mathurā also initiated the practice of depicting the *prātihāryas*, the *dharmacakra* and other symbols on *tīrthamkara* figures during the period under review.²⁶³

The *lāñchanas* of various *jinas* had not evolved by this time, but some distinctive features were introduced in the figures of Ṛṣabha, Neminātha and Pārśvanātha. The sculptors of Mathurā depicted a single *caitya-vṛkṣa*, i.e., the *aśoka* tree in all *jina* figures of this period.²⁶⁴ Male and female adorers, too, made appearance in some *jina* figures of this period.²⁶⁵ This period further witnessed the depiction of some subordinate male and female deities of the pantheon of Jainism.²⁶⁶ The sculptor of Mathurā was bound by the religious traditions of Jainism in the production of the images of the *tīrthamkaras*. Probably, he also lacked the ability to give perfect shape to the figures of the *jinas*. Consequently, the *jina* images of the period under review lacked artistic merit. But the sculptor of Mathurā was not shackled in respect of the production of figures other than those of the *jinas*. Therefore, the female figures produced by the master sculptors of Mathurā in the Kuṣāṇa period became poetry in stone.

The Jaina art of Mathurā: The Gupta period

Jainism did not lose its appeal in Mathurā in the post-Kuṣāṇa period. But it was not as popular in this city as it was in the Kuṣāṇa period. This is evident from the number of Jaina sculptures that have come to light at Mathurā. Government Museum, Mathurā and State Museum, Lucknow are the principal repository of Jaina antiquities discovered at Mathurā; they possess only fifty-nine Jaina sculptures which can be definitely assigned to the

262. *JUPHS*, III, pp. 2-17.

263. *Ibid.*

264. *MCH*, p. 357.

265. *Ibid.*

266. *Ibid.*



Gupta period.²⁶⁷ Other museums in India and abroad, too, do not seem to possess Jaina sculptures of Mathurā of the Gupta period in considerable numbers.²⁶⁸

The Jaina sculptures of the Gupta period discovered at Mathurā consist of twenty-five *tīthamkara* images in the seated meditative *mudrā*, six *tīrthamkara* images in the standing meditative *mudrā*, twenty-three detached heads of *tīrthamkara* figures, and some fragmentary pieces.²⁶⁹ It is, thus, evident that as in the Kuṣāṇa period so in the Gupta period the images of the *jinās* in the seated posture were more popular than those in the standing posture.

The Jina figures of Mathurā: The Gupta period

The cognizances or *lāñchanas* of the various *tīrthamkaras* did not evolve even in the Gupta period.²⁷⁰ Therefore, the figures of the *jinās* have been recognised on the basis of inscriptions, hair styles, attendants and serpent-canopy.²⁷¹ It appears that images of only three *jinās* — Ṛṣabha,²⁷² Nemi²⁷³ and Pārśva²⁷⁴ — were carved at Mathurā during the Gupta period. The figures of Ṛṣabha have been identified on the basis of locks of hair,²⁷⁵ and inscription incised on the figure.²⁷⁶ The figure of Neminātha has been identified on the basis of his representation in the company of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma,²⁷⁷ and

267. *JAA*, 1, p. 107.

268. *Ibid.*

269. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

270. *Ibid.*, p. 116; R.C. Sharma, *Jaina Sculptures . . .*, *op.cit.*, pp. 145-6.

271. *Ibid.*

272. *MM* nos. B. 6, B 7; *JUPHS*, III, p. 18; *JPV*, p. 50; *JAA*, I, p. 108.

273. *SML* nos. J.89, J.121; *JAA*, I, pp. 108, 109; *JPV*, p. 50.

274. *SML* no. J.100; *JAA*, I, p. 109; *JPV*, p. 50.

275. *MM* nos. B. 6, 268; *JUPHS*, III, pp. 18, 22.

276. *Ibid.*, B. 6, 268; *Ibid.* p. 22.

277. *SML* no. J.121; *JPV*, p. 50.



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depiction of his attendant Balabhadra in one of the figures.²⁷⁸ The figure of Pārśvanātha has been identified on the basis of the seven-hooded serpent-canopy over the head.²⁷⁹ The four-fold *jina* figures lost popularity in the Gupta period. These images became rare.²⁸⁰ Only one four-fold *jina* image of the Gupta period has come to light at Mathurā.²⁸¹ This image forms part of the collection of Government Museum, Mathurā.²⁸² Another near-contemporary four-fold *jina* figure discovered at Mathurā belongs to the seventh-eighth century AD.²⁸³

Characteristic features of the *jina* figures of Mathurā: The Gupta period

The *jina* figures of Mathurā belonging to the Gupta period do not depict the *lāñchanas* of the *jinas*. But some guidelines had been laid in respect of the carving of the *jina* figure. Varāhmihira tells:

The distinguishing features of a *jina* figure are its long hanging arms, the *śrīvatsa* symbol, the peaceful appearance of form, youthful body and nudity.²⁸⁴

Nudity is one of the characteristic features of the *jina* figures carved at Mathurā during the Gupta period.²⁸⁵ The seat depicted in the pre-Gupta *jina* figures of Mathurā was plain.²⁸⁶ The character of the seat of the Jina changed

278. SML no. J.89; *JAA*, I, p. 108.

279. *JPV*, p. 50.

280. *JAA*, I, p. 116.

281. *JPV*, p. 50. The quadruple *jina* image (MM no. B.68) assigned to the Gupta period by Maruti Nandan Prasad Tiwari belongs to the Kuṣāṇa period. See *JUPHS*, III, p. 11.

282. MM no. B.68; *JUPHS*, III, p. 11.

283. MM no. B.75; *JAA*, I, p. 108; *JUPHS*, III, pp. 21-2.

284. *Jl*, p. 27 fn 2.

285. R.C. Sharma, *Jaina Sculptures . . .*, *op. cit.*, figures 3, 10, 11.

286. *JAA*, I, p. 111.



in the Gupta period.²⁸⁷ In one of the Mathurā figures of this period *jina* Ṛṣabhanātha is depicted seated cross-legged in meditation on a cushion which is placed on a throne supported by a pair of lions.²⁸⁸ The cushion or the *āsana* of the *jina* often bears ornamental patterns.²⁸⁹ Another characteristic feature of the seated *jina* figures of Mathurā assignable to the Gupta period is the depiction of a profusely decorated back-rest.²⁹⁰ This novelty was introduced by the sculptors of Mathurā during the Gupta period.²⁹¹ The bulk of *jina* figures of this period shows short schematic curls,²⁹² but notched hair²⁹³ and hair combed back²⁹⁴, can also be noticed in them.

The *śrīvatsa* symbol on the chest is another significant feature of the *jina* figures of this period.²⁹⁵ The sculptors of Mathurā devoted special attention to the ornamentation of the halo or the nimbus in the figure of the *jina*.²⁹⁶ It became customary to decorate the halo with motifs like lotus-petals, scroll-work, floral wreaths, scalloped border, leaf border, etc., in the Gupta period.²⁹⁷ The *ūrṇa* mark is conspicuous by its absence in the bulk of *jina* figures of this period.²⁹⁸ The pedestal of the *jina* figures of the Kuṣāṇa period is characterised by the depiction of the *dharmā-cakra* (the wheel). Illustration of the wheel can be noticed on the pedestals of the *jina* figures of the Gupta period also.²⁹⁹

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287. *JUPHS*, III, pp. 18 ff.
 288. *MM* no. B.7; *JUPHS*, III, p. 18.
 289. *Ibid.*, *ibid.*; *JAA*, I, p. 111.
 290. *SML* no. J.118; *JAA*, I, p. 111.
 291. *JAA*, I, p. 111.
 292. *MM* nos. B.44, B.45, B.46; *JUPHS*, III, p. 20.
 293. *MM* no. 2348; *JUPHS*, III, p. 24.
 294. *MM* no. 12. 268; *JAA*, I, p. 109 and Plate 47B.
 295. *Ibid.*, nos. 1, 488, 624, etc.; *JUPHS*, III, pp. 18, 23.
 296. *JUPHS*, III, pp. 18 ff.
 297. *Ibid.*
 298. *Ibid.*, *MM* no. B.44, p. 20; *JAA*, I, p. 109.
 299. *MM* nos. B.31, B.15, etc.; *JUPHS*, III, p. 19.



Besides depicting the *śrīvatsa* symbol on the chest,³⁰⁰ the sculptors of Mathurā carved the *dharma-cakra* on the palm and the sole in the figure of the *jina*.³⁰¹



Evaluation of the jina figures of Mathurā: The Gupta period

The plastic art of Mathurā of the Gupta period was the logical outcome of the art of the Kuṣāṇa period;³⁰² but it also marked an advance upon the latter.³⁰³ The celebrated Mathurā school of sculptural art attained peerless excellence during the Gupta period. This art was truly Indian, both in concept and execution. It was a period of heightened intellectual consciousness;³⁰⁴ and it revolutionised the concept of beauty and expression in art. Restraint, serenity and spiritualism reigned supreme in the plastic art of the Gupta period, and this new concept of beauty changed the character of the figure of the *jina* also. The *jina* figures of the Kuṣāṇa period were cold, stiff, disproportionate, heavy and voluminous. They lacked expression and grace.

But the figures of the *jinas* carved at Mathurā during the Gupta period were slim and youthful; they symbolised movement and flow of energy.³⁰⁵ The images of the *jinas* — great men who had attained immortal bliss — were differentiated from those of the worldly men.³⁰⁶ Small curly hair, elongated earlobes, long arms, etc., supposed to be symbols of great men (*mahā-puruṣa-lakṣaṇas*), became hall-marks of the *jina* figures of Mathurā in the Gupta period.³⁰⁷ The simple halo of the *jina* figure of the Kuṣāṇa period was replaced by a more elaborate and profusely ornamented halo in the Gupta period. The richness of the halo signified spread of knowledge from the body of the great

300. MM, nos. B.1, B.28, etc.; *JUPHS*, pp. 18, 19.

301. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

302. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *History . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 72; S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

303. V.S. Agrawala, *Studies . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

304. S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

305. R.C. Sharma, *Jaina Sculptures . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

306. *Ibid.*

307. *Ibid.*

man, i.e., the *jina*.³⁰⁸ Like the Brāhmaṇical and the Buddhist figures, the *tīrthamkaras* figures of the Gupta period demonstrate triumph of spiritualism over materialism. It was the Mathurā sculptor of the Gupta period who portrayed the true character of the *jinas* in his creations. Spiritual beauty and calm contemplation pervade the *jina* figures of the Gupta period. These figures have been aptly described as spiritually luminous.³⁰⁹

One of the *tīrthamkara* figures of Mathurā belonging to the Gupta period is highly illustrative of the character of the *jina* figures of this period. This figure, which forms part of the collection of State Museum, Lucknow,³¹⁰ is one of the finest creations of the Mathurā school of art.³¹¹ It depicts a *jina* seated in meditation. The expression on the face of this figure is suggestive of supreme bliss; it is a state which can be attained only after passions have been burnt by the fire of knowledge.³¹² It truly demonstrates the *jina's* conquest of the body, of the senses, and of the world-stuff. The master sculptor of Mathurā exquisitely conveyed this idea through this extraordinary *jina* figure of the Gupta period. This beautifully modelled figure was discovered from Kankālī Tīlā, Mathurā.³¹³

Other Jaina figures of Mathurā: The Gupta period

The era of *āyāga-paṭṭas* had ended at Mathurā. It is evident from the fact that no *āyāga-paṭṭa* assignable to the Gupta period has come to light at Mathurā.³¹⁴ The independent images of the Jaina deities like Sarasvatī, Balabhadra and Dharaṇendra, too, were not carved at Mathurā during the period under

308. R.C. Sharma, *Jaina Sculptures . . . , op. cit.*, p. 144.

309. *JAA*, I, p. 68.

310. SML no. J.104; R.C. Sharma, *Jaina Sculptures . . . op.cit.*, figure 7.

311. R.C. Sharma, *Jaina Sculptures . . . op. cit.*, p. 152.

312. *Ibid.*

313. *Ibid.*, p. 153.

314. *JPV*, p. 47.



review.³¹⁵ The images of the *sāsana-devas* and *sāsana-devīs* were also not chiselled.³¹⁶

The Jaina art of Mathurā: Post-Gupta period

The *lāñchanas* of the twenty-four *jinas* evolved in about the eighth-ninth century AD, and this development gave a new shape to the *jina* figures in about the ninth-tenth century AD.³¹⁷ Numerous images of the *jinas* were carved in the medieval period, including the four-fold image of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra already referred to. In respect of iconography the post-Gupta *jina* figures of Mathurā are superior to the earlier icons carved in this city.³¹⁸ But in the expression of ideas the Mathurā sculptor of the post-Gupta period could not match the excellence of the artist of the Gupta period.³¹⁹ The post-Gupta *jina* images of Mathurā are definitely inferior to those produced in the Gupta period in respect of depiction of expression.³²⁰ The medieval *jina* figures of Mathurā are characterised by depiction of *lāñchanas*, and some of them show the attendant *yakṣas* or *sāsana-devas* also.³²¹ The pedestal of one of the *tīrthamkara* figures of Mathurā of this period³²² depicts the fish — the *lāñchana* of Aranātha, the eighteenth *tīrthamkara*.³²³ *Uṣṇīṣa*,³²⁴ decorated umbrellas³²⁵ and flying *vidyādhara*s³²⁶ can also be noticed in the figures of this period. These features were borrowed from the Brāhmanical and Buddhist

315. *JAA*, I, p. 108.

316. *Ibid.*

317. *JPV*, p. 250.

318. *MS*, pp. 45-6.

319. *Ibid.*

320. *Ibid.*

321. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

322. *MM* no. 1388.

323. *Ibid.*, *JUPHS*, III, p. 23.

324. *MM* no. B.19; *ibid.*, p. 24.

325. *JUPHS*, III, pp. 24ff.

326. *MM* no. B.19; *JUPHS*, III, p. 24.



sculptures.³²⁷ All *jina* figures of Mathurā assignable to the pre-Kuṣāṇa, Kuṣāṇa and Gupta period are nude.

But not all post-Gupta *tīrthamkara* images of Mathurā are naked.³²⁸ It is evident that the difference between the *jina* images of the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras on the basis of drapery and nudity manifested in the medieval period. The four-fold or *caumukha* images of the *jinas* were also carved during the period under review. The fragment of a four-fold *jina* image discovered at Gopālakherā depicts the figures of Ādinātha and Supārśva.³²⁹ The Jaina iconography of the medieval period furnishes unmistakable evidence of the fact that the Jainas sincerely believed in the tradition of twenty-four *tīrthamkaras*. A medieval period stele discovered from Gūjar Ghātī, Mathurā depicts the figure of a standing Jaina *tīrthamkara*; the twenty-three miniature figures carved on this stele represent the other *jinas*.³³⁰

The *lāñchanas* of the twenty-four *jinas* having been evolved, the Mathurā sculptor of the Gupta period left nothing to imagination regarding the identification of the images of the various *tīrthamkaras*.³³¹ The pedestal of the *jina* figure depicted the *dharma-cakra* between two lions during the medieval period also.³³² The practice of depicting the *śrīvatsa* symbol on the chest and other sacred symbols on the palm and sole of the *jina* figure was customary.³³³ Two figures or images provide a fair glimpse of the medieval *jina* iconography of Mathurā. One of them depicts *tīrthamkara* Ādinātha,

327. MS, p. 46.

328. MM no. A.60. The images of the *jinas* belonging to the Śvetāmbara sect are clothed during the medieval period. See MM no. A.60; JUPHS, III, p. 24.

329. MM no. 559; JUPHS, III, p. 29.

330. *Ibid.*, no. 536; *ibid.*

331. MM nos. B.21, B.22, B.76, 559, etc.; *ibid.*, pp. 24-5, 28-9.

332. MM no. B.65; *ibid.*, p. 27.

333. *Ibid.*, nos. B.25, B.79, B.80, etc.; *ibid.*, pp. 26, 29. The *jina* figures of the Digambara sect of this period are nude. See MM nos. B.80, G.46; JUPHS, III, p. 29.





who is seated on a cushion in meditation.³³⁴ The *jina*'s seat is supported by two lions couchant between two broken pillars.³³⁵ A piece of cloth with garlands hangs down from the seat and its border touches the wheel below.³³⁶ Below the wheel is depicted a bull — the cognizance of *tīrthamkara* Ṛṣabha or Vṛṣabha.³³⁷ The lower portion of the sculpture is divided by four pilasters into three compartments; in the proper right and central compartment there are two, and in the compartment to the left, there are three standing figures of the *jinas*; immediately beneath the outer pilasters are two kneeling figures of human worshippers; on both sides of the projecting portion of the stone is a vertical row of five figures; of these four are *jinas* who are seated in meditation; the missing top portion of the slab probably contained eight more *tīrthamkara* figurines, making the total twenty-four, which is the traditional number of the Jaina *tīrthamkaras*; the lowermost figures in both rows are a male and a female, who are probably a *yakṣa* and a *yakṣi*; the latter holds a flower in each hand; a *Nagari* inscription in one line runs along the raised rim over the lions; it reads:

*om paṃḍita śrī — gaṇavara-devāya.*³³⁸

The second image depicts *tīrthamkara* Neminātha seated cross-legged in *dhyāna-mudrā* on a throne supported by two dwarf pillars and a pair of lions seated with one forepaw raised; from the throne an ornamental cloth hangs down between the two lions; under it is a wheel, and on the plain rim of the pedestal below it is a conch, which is the cognizance of Neminātha; to the right and left of the main figure there is an attendant standing with a fly-whisk in one hand, and on both sides of the halo, a couple of flying celestials — probably a *gandharva* and an *apsarā*, of which the male figure carries a garland as an offering, and the female seems to shower flowers.³³⁹

334. MM no. B. 21; *JUPHS*, III, p. 24.

335. *Ibid.*, no. B. 21; *ibid.*, p. 25.

336. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

337. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

338. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

339. MM no. B.77; *JUPHS*, III, p. 28.

The figures of the *jīnas* were the most significant products of the Jaina iconography of this period. But images of other Jaina deities were also carved. One of these figures depicts the Jaina male deity Kṣetrapāla.³⁴⁰ A *jugaliyā* figure shows Marudevī and her husband seated under a tree, possibly *kalpavṛkṣa*.³⁴¹ One of the characteristic features of Jaina religious life in the post-Gupta period, both in north and south India, was independent worship of Jaina *yakṣīs*.³⁴² Therefore, images of the *yakṣīs*, too, were chiselled for worship at Mathurā during the post-Gupta period.

Two beautiful images of Jaina female deities called the *yakṣīs* or the *sāsana-devīs* belonging to the medieval period have come to light at Mathurā. One buff sand stone image of the tenth century AD represents Cakreśvarī, the *yakṣī* of Rṣabhanātha.³⁴³ She stands on a lotus seat which is supported by her mount Garuḍa.³⁴⁴ The head of the figure is gone; the broken head is surrounded by an elaborated halo depicted in the shape of an expanded lotus-flower.³⁴⁵ Originally, the image must have had ten arms, each of which held a *cakra*.³⁴⁶ A female attendant stands on each side of the figure; the attendant to the right side holds a fly-whisk (*camara*), and that to the left holds a wreath.³⁴⁷ On both sides of this figure there is a flying figure which carries a garland.³⁴⁸ According to V.S. Agrawala and R.C. Sharma, this image of Cakreśvarī appears to be the Jaina version of the Brāhmanical female figure with ten arms, i.e., Vaiṣṇavī.³⁴⁹

Another buff sand stone image of the ninth-tenth century AD depicts

340. MS, p. 46 and figure 97.

341. MM no. 1111; JUPHS, III, p. 34; MS, p. 46.

342. MS, p. 46.

343. MM no. D.6; R.C. Sharma, *The Splendour . . . op.cit.*, pp. 158-9.

344. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*, pp. 158-9; JUPHS, III, p. 31.

345. JUPHS, III, p. 31.

346. *Ibid.*

347. *Ibid.*

348. *Ibid.*

349. *Ibid.*, III, p. 31; R.C. Sharma, *The Splendour . . . op. cit.*, p. 158.



Ambikā, the *yakṣī* of Neminātha, who is the Jaina counterpart of Pārvatī.³⁵⁰ Ambikā has an ornamental halo; she is seated on a lotus cushion which is supported by a couchant lion; she holds a bunch of flowers in her right hand; her left hand clasps a male child who is seated on her thigh and plays with the lower part of her necklace.³⁵¹ The image of Ambikā shows many deities — Gaṇeśa, Kubera, Viṣṇu, etc., and also the *caurī* bearing attendants.³⁵² The centre of top in this figure depicts a meditating *jina*, and the background shows beautifully chiselled flowers.³⁵³ The pedestal of the image illustrates eight female devotees in adoration.³⁵⁴

Lāñchanas and attendant yakṣas and yakṣīs of the twenty-four tīrthamkaras

The *lāñchanas* of the twenty-four *jinas* evolved in about the eighth-ninth century AD. These *lāñchanas* are embodied in Jaina texts like *Kahāvālī*, *Pravacanasāroddhāra*,³⁵⁵ *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* or *Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṅgraha*,³⁵⁶ etc. The Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras are in agreement regarding the *lāñchanas* of the *jinas* except those of four — Supārśva, Śītala, Anant and Aranātha.³⁵⁷ They also differ in respect of the attendant *yakṣas* and *yakṣīs* of many *jinas*.³⁵⁸ There is also a marked difference between the Digambara Jaina iconography of north and south India.³⁵⁹ The *lāñchanas* of the twenty-four *jinas* and statement of their attendant *yakṣas* and *yakṣīs* as given below should be viewed in the light of this background.



350. MM no. D.7; *JUPHS*, III, pp. 31-2; R.C. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

351. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*, p. 31.

352. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*, p. 32; R.C. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

353. *Ibid.*; R.C. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

354. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

355. *JPV*, p. 250.

356. *DJI*, Introduction, p. 9.

357. *JPV*, p. 250.

358. *JAA*, I, pp. 14-16.

359. *DJI*, Introduction, p. 9.

1. RṢABHANĀTHA

Rṣabhanātha's complexion is golden.³⁶⁰ His *lāñchana* is bull or Vṛṣabha.³⁶¹ His attendant *yakṣa* is Gomukha,³⁶² and the attendant *yakṣī* is Carkreśvari³⁶³ or Apraticakrā.³⁶⁴

2. AJITANĀTHA

Ajitanātha's complexion is golden.³⁶⁵ His *lāñchana* is elephant.³⁶⁶ His *yakṣa* is Mahāyakṣa.³⁶⁷ According to the Digambara tradition, his *yakṣī* is Rohiṇī.³⁶⁸ But according to the Śvetāmbara tradition, Ajitanātha's *yakṣī* is Ajitabalā³⁶⁹ or Ajitā or Vijayā.³⁷⁰

3. SAMBHAVANĀTHA

Sambhavanātha's complexion is golden.³⁷¹ His *lāñchana* is horse.³⁷² His *yakṣa* is Trimukha.³⁷³ According to the Digambara tradition, his *yakṣī* is Prajñapti.³⁷⁴ But according to the Śvetāmbara tradition, the name of his *yakṣī* is Duritāri.³⁷⁵

360. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 14; *OISJ*, p. 66.

361. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *JPV*, Appendix I, p. 254.

362. *DJI*, p. 21; *JPV*, Appendix I, p. 254; *JAA*, I, p. 14.

363. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*

364. *JPV*, Appendix I, p. 254.

365. *ERE*, VII, 466; *JAA*, I, p. 14.

366. *JAA*, I, p. 14; *JPV*, Appendix I, p. 254; *DJI*, p. 21.

367. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*

368. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*

369. *Ibid.*; *JPV*, p. 96; *OISJ*, pp. 66-7.

370. *JPV*, p. 96.

371. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 14; *OISJ*, pp. 66-7.

372. *JAA*, I, p. 14; *JPV*, p. 97.

373. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *DJI*, p. 21; *OISJ*, pp. 66-7.

374. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*

375. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *OISJ*, pp. 66-7.



4. ABHINANDANANĀTHA

Abhinandanānātha's complexion is golden.³⁷⁶ His *lāñchana* is ape.³⁷⁷ According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his *yakṣa* is Yakṣeśvara.³⁷⁸ But according to the Śvetāmbara tradition, the name of his *yakṣa* is Nāyaka.³⁷⁹ According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his *yakṣī* is Vajraśṛṅkhalā.³⁸⁰ But according to the Śvetāmbara tradition, the name of his *yakṣī* is Kālikā³⁸¹ or Kālī.³⁸²

5. SUMATINĀTHA

Sumatinātha's complexion is golden.³⁸³ His *lāñchana* is heron.³⁸⁴ The name of his *yakṣa* is Tumburu.³⁸⁵ According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Puruṣadattā³⁸⁶ or Naradattā.³⁸⁷ But according to the Śvetāmbara tradition, the name of his *yakṣī* is Mahākālī³⁸⁸ or Sammohinī.³⁸⁹

376. JAA, I, p. 14; ERE, VII, p. 466; OISJ, pp. 66-7.

377. *Ibid.*; JPV, p. 98; *ibid.*

378. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; DJI, p. 21; *ibid.*

379. *Ibid.*, p. 14; OISJ, pp. 66-7. According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, the name of his *yakṣa* has been given as *īvara* also. See JPV, Appendix I, p. 254.

380. JAA, I, p. 14; JPV, p. 98, OISJ, pp. 66-7.

381. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*

382. JPV, p. 98.

383. JAA, I, p. 14; OISJ, pp. 66-7; ERE, VII, p. 466.

384. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; JPV, p. 99.

385. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*; DJI, p. 21.

386. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; JPV, p. 99.

387. JPV, p. 99.

388. JAA, I, p. 14; OISJ, pp. 66-7; JPV, p. 99.

389. JPV, Appendix I, p. 254.



6. PADMAPRABHANĀTHA

Padmaprabhanātha's complexion is red.³⁹⁰ His *lāñchana* is lotus-flower.³⁹¹ The name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Kusuma.³⁹² According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Manovegā³⁹³ or Manoguptā.³⁹⁴ But according to the Śvetāmbara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Acyutā³⁹⁵ or Śyāmā³⁹⁶ or Mānasī.³⁹⁷

7. SUPĀRŚVANĀTHA

The complexion of Supārśvanātha is golden.³⁹⁸ As per the Digambara tradition, his *lāñchana* is nandyāvarta.³⁹⁹ But according to the Śvetāmbara tradition, his *lāñchana* is *svastika*.⁴⁰⁰ The Digambara tradition holds that the name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Varanandin.⁴⁰¹ But according to the Śvetāmbara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Mātāṅga.⁴⁰² In the Digambara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Kālī⁴⁰³ or Kālīkā.⁴⁰⁴ It is important

390. *JAA*, I, p. 15; *OISJ*, pp. 66-8; *ERE*, VII, p. 466.

391. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *JPV*, p. 100.

392. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*

393. *JAA*, I, p. 15; *OISJ*, pp. 66-8; *JPV*, p. 100.

394. *Ibid.*, *ibid.*, pp. 66-8.

395. *Ibid.*; *JPV*, p. 100.

396. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.

397. *JPV*, p. 100 and Appendix I, p. 254.

398. *JAA*, I, p. 15; *ERE*, VII, p. 466.

399. *Ibid.*; *JPV*, Appendix I, p. 254.

400. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

401. *Ibid.*

402. *Ibid.*; *JPV*, p. 101.

403. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

404. *JPV*, p. 101.



to point out that the Śvetāmbara tradition suggests Kālikā⁴⁰⁵ or Kālī⁴⁰⁶ as the name of the *yakṣī* of Abhinandanātha, the fourth *tīrthamkara*.⁴⁰⁷ According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, the name of Supārśva's attendant *yakṣī* is Śāntā.⁴⁰⁸

8. CANDRAPRABHANĀTHA

Candraprabha's complexion is white.⁴⁰⁹ The *lāñchana* of Candraprabha is half moon.⁴¹⁰ According to the Digāmbara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Vijaya or Śyāma.⁴¹¹ But as per the Śvetāmbara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Vijaya.⁴¹² According to the Digāmbara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Jvālāmālinī⁴¹³ or Jvālinī.⁴¹⁴ But the Śvetāmbara tradition records the name of his attendant *yakṣī* as Bhṛkuṭī⁴¹⁵ or Jvālā.⁴¹⁶

9. SUVIDHINĀTHA OR PUṢPADANTA

His complexion is white.⁴¹⁷ His *lāñchana* is alligator (*makara*).⁴¹⁸ The name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Ajīta⁴¹⁹ or Jaya.⁴²⁰ According to the Digāmbara

405. *JPV*, p. 98 and Appendix I, p. 254.

406. *Ibid.*, pp. 98, 254.

407. *Ibid.*

408. *Ibid.*, p. 254; *JAA*, I, p. 15.

409. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 15.

410. *JAA*, I, p. 15; *JPV*, p. 103.

411. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*, Appendix I, p. 254.

412. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

413. *Ibid.*

414. *JPV*, Appendix I, p. 254.

415. *Ibid.*; *JAA*, I, p. 15.

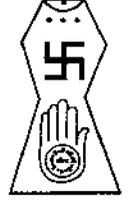
416. *Ibid.*, p. 254.

417. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 15.

418. *JAA*, I, p. 15; *JPV*, p. 254.

419. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

420. *JPV*, p. 254.



tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Mahākālī.⁴²¹ But as per the Śvetāmbara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Sutārakā⁴²² or Sutārā or Camdālikā.⁴²³

10. ŚĪTALANĀTHA

Śitalanātha's complexion is golden.⁴²⁴ According to the Digambara tradition, his *lāñchana* is *svastika*.⁴²⁵ But the Śvetāmbara tradition holds that his *lāñchana* is the *śrivatsa* symbol.⁴²⁶ The name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Brahma⁴²⁷ or Brahmā⁴²⁸ or Brahmeśvara.⁴²⁹ According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Mānavī.⁴³⁰ But the Śvetāmbara tradition records the name of his attendant *yakṣī* as Aśokā⁴³¹ or Gomedhikā.⁴³²

11. ŚREYĀMŚANĀTHA

The complexion of this *tīrthamkara* is golden.⁴³³ The *lāñchana* of the eleventh *tīrthamkara* is rhinoceros.⁴³⁴ According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Īsvara.⁴³⁵ But the Śvetāmbara tradition gives the

421. *Ibid.*; JAA, I, p. 15.

422. JAA, I, p. 15.

423. JPV, p. 104.

424. ERE, VII, p. 466; JAA, I, p. 15.

425. JAA, I, p. 15; JPV, p. 254.

426. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

427. JPV, p. 105.

428. *Ibid.*; JAA, I p. 15.

429. JAA, I, p. 15.

430. *Ibid.*; JPV, p. 254.

431. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*, p. 105.

432. JPV, p. 105.

433. ERE, VII, p. 466; JAA, I, p. 15.

434. JAA, I, p. 15; JPV, p. 105.

435. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*



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name of his attendant *yakṣa* as Yakṣeṭ⁴³⁶ or Yakṣarāja.⁴³⁷ According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Gaurī.⁴³⁸ But the Śvetāmbara tradition mentions the name of his attendant *yakṣī* as Mānavī.⁴³⁹ It may be pointed out that the Digambara tradition records Mānavī as the name of Śīṭalanātha's attendant *yakṣī*.⁴⁴⁰

12. VĀSUPŪJYA

The complexion of Vāsupūjya is red⁴⁴¹ and his *lāñchana* is buffalo.⁴⁴² The name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Kumāra.⁴⁴³ According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Gāndhārī.⁴⁴⁴ But the Śvetāmbara tradition views the name of his attendant *yakṣī* as Caṇḍā⁴⁴⁵ or Candrā or Ajitā.⁴⁴⁶

13. VIMALANĀTHA

The complexion of Vimalanātha is golden.⁴⁴⁷ His *lāñchana* is boar (*varāha*).⁴⁴⁸ The name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Śaṇamukha.⁴⁴⁹ According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Vairoṭī⁴⁵⁰ or Vairoṭyā.⁴⁵¹ But the



436. JAA, I, p. 15.

437. JPV, p. 105.

438. Ibid.; JAA, I, p. 15.

439. Ibid.; *ibid.*

440. JAA, I, p. 15.

441. ERE, VII, p. 466; JAA, I, p. 15.

442. JAA, I, p. 15; JPV, p. 106.

443. Ibid.; *ibid.*

444. Ibid.; *ibid.*

445. JAA, I, p. 15; JPV, p. 106.

446. JPV, p. 106.

447. ERE, VII, p. 466; JAA, I, p. 15.

448. JAA, I, p. 15; JPV, p. 106.

449. Ibid.; *ibid.*

450. Ibid.; *ibid.*, p. 254.

451. JPV, p. 106.

Śvetāmbara tradition mentions the name of his attendant *yakṣī* as Vīditā.⁴⁵²

14. ANANTANĀTHA

Anantanātha's complexion is golden.⁴⁵³ According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, his *lāñchana* is falcon,⁴⁵⁴ but the Digambara tradition suggests his cognizance as bear.⁴⁵⁵ The name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Pātāla.⁴⁵⁶ According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Anantamatī,⁴⁵⁷ but the Śvetāmbara tradition mentions her name as Ankuśā⁴⁵⁸ or Varabhṛtā.⁴⁵⁹

15. DHARMANĀTHA

The complexion of Dharmanātha is golden.⁴⁶⁰ His *lāñchana* is *vajra*.⁴⁶¹ The name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Kinnara.⁴⁶² According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Mānasī,⁴⁶³ but the Śvetāmbara tradition gives her name as Kandarpā.⁴⁶⁴

16. ŚĀNTINĀTHA

The complexion of Śāntinātha is golden.⁴⁶⁵ His *lāñchana* is deer.⁴⁶⁶ According

452. *Ibid.*, p. 254; *JAA*, I, p. 15.

453. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 15.

454. *JAA*, I, p. 15; *JPV*, p. 107.

455. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

456. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

457. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

458. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

459. *JPV*, p. 107.

460. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 15.

461. *JAA*, I, p. 15; *JPV*, p. 107.

462. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

463. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*, p. 254.

464. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

465. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 15.

466. *JAA*, I, p. 15; *JPV*, p. 108.



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to the Digambara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Kimpuruṣa,⁴⁶⁷ but the Śvetāmbara tradition mentions his name as Garuḍa⁴⁶⁸ or Vārāha.⁴⁶⁹ According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his *yakṣī* is Mahāmānasī,⁴⁷⁰ but the Śvetāmbara tradition gives her name as Nirvāṇī⁴⁷¹ or Dhāriṇī.⁴⁷²



17. KUNTHUNĀTHA

The complexion of Kunthunātha is golden,⁴⁷³ and his *lāñchana* is goat.⁴⁷⁴ The name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Gandharva.⁴⁷⁵ According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Vijayā⁴⁷⁶ or Jayā or Jayadevī.⁴⁷⁷ But the Śvetāmbara tradition mentions her name as Balā⁴⁷⁸ or Acyutā or Gāndhāriṇī.⁴⁷⁹

18. ARANĀTHA

Aranātha's complexion has been mentioned as yellow or golden.⁴⁸⁰ According to the Digambara tradition, the *lāñchana* of Aranātha is *tagara*-flower⁴⁸¹ or

467. JAA, p. 15.

468. *Ibid.*; JPV, p. 108.

469. JPV, p. 108.

470. *Ibid.*, p. 254; JAA, I, p. 15.

471. *Ibid.*, p. 108; *ibid.*

472. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

473. ERE, VII, p. 466; JAA, I, p. 15.

474. JPV, p. 112; *ibid.*

475. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

476. JAA, I, p. 15.

477. JPV, pp. 112, 254.

478. *Ibid.*; JAA, I, p. 15.

479. *Ibid.*, pp. 112, 254.

480. JAA, I, p. 15.

481. *Ibid.*

fish.⁴⁸² But the Śvetāmbara tradition mentions his *lāñchana* as the *nandyāvarta* symbol.⁴⁸³ The Digambara tradition gives the name of his attendant *yakṣa* as Kendra⁴⁸⁴ or Khendra,⁴⁸⁵ but according to the Śvetāmbara tradition, his name is Yakṣendra⁴⁸⁶ of Yakṣeśa.⁴⁸⁷ The Digambara tradition furnishes the name of his attendant *yakṣī* as Ajitā⁴⁸⁸ or Tarāvati or Vijayā.⁴⁸⁹ But the Śvetāmbara tradition mentions her name as Dhanā⁴⁹⁰ or Dhāriṇī or Kālī.⁴⁹¹

19. MALLINĀTHA OR MALLI

Malli's complexion is blue.⁴⁹² His or her *lāñchana* is pitcher (*kalaśa*).⁴⁹³ The name of this *tīrthamkara*'s attendant *yakṣa* is Kubera.⁴⁹⁴ The name of the attendant *yakṣī* mentioned in the Digambara tradition is Aparājitā,⁴⁹⁵ but according to the Śvetāmbara tradition, her name is Dharanapriyā.⁴⁹⁶ Her

482. *JAA*; *JPV*, p. 113.

483. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

484. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

485. *JPV*, p. 255.

486. *Ibid.*; *JAA*, I, p. 15.

487. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

488. *JAA*, I, p. 15.

489. *JPV*, p. 113.

490. *JAA*, I, p. 15.

491. *JPV*, pp. 113, 255.

492. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 15.

493. *JAA*, I, p. 15; *JPV*, p. 114. We have already stated that according to the Digambaras Malli was a male, but according to the Śvetāmbaras, Malli was a female. In sculpture Malli has been depicted as a male. But one image of Malli (SML no. J.885) depicts this *jina* as a female; this is probably the only image which depicts Malli as a female. See *JPV*, p. 114.

494. *JPV*, p. 114; *JAA*, I, p. 15.

495. *Ibid.*, p. 255; *ibid.*

496. *Ibid.*, *Ibid.*



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name has been mentioned as Vairoṭyā also.⁴⁹⁷

20. MUNISUVRATA

The complexion of this *tīrthamkara* has been mentioned as black.⁴⁹⁸ His *lāñchana* is tortoise.⁴⁹⁹ The name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Varuṇa.⁵⁰⁰ According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Bahurūpiṇī⁵⁰¹ or Bahurūpā,⁵⁰² but the Śvetāmbara tradition gives her name as Naradattā⁵⁰³ and Varadattā.⁵⁰⁴

21. NAMINĀTHA

The complexion of Naminātha is golden.⁵⁰⁵ His *lāñchana* is blue lotus.⁵⁰⁶ The name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Bhṛkuṭi.⁵⁰⁷ According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Cāmuṇḍī⁵⁰⁸ or Cāmuṇḍā.⁵⁰⁹ But the Śvetāmbara tradition gives her name as Gāndhārī⁵¹⁰ or Mālinī.⁵¹¹



497. *JPV*, p. 255; *JAA*, I, p. 15.

498. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 16.

499. *JPV*, p. 255; *ibid.*

500. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

501. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

502. *Ibid.*, p. 114.

503. *Ibid.*, p. 255; *JAA*, I, p. 16.

504. *Ibid.*, p. 255.

505. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 16.

506. *JPV*, p. 255; *JAA*, I, p. 16.

507. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

508. *JAA*, I, p. 16.

509. *JPV*, p. 255.

510. *Ibid.*; *JAA*, I, p. 16.

511. *Ibid.*, p. 117.

22. NEMINĀTHA OR ARIṢṬANEMI

Neminātha's complexion is black.⁵¹² His *lāñchana* is conch-shell.⁵¹³ According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Sarvāhaṇa,⁵¹⁴ but the Śvetāmbara tradition gives his name as Gomedha.⁵¹⁵ The Digambara tradition mentions the name of his attendant *yakṣī* as Kuṣmāṇḍinī,⁵¹⁶ but according to the Śvetāmbara tradition her name is Ambikā.⁵¹⁷

23. PĀRŚVANĀTHA

Pārśvanātha's complexion is blue.⁵¹⁸ His *lāñchana* is snake.⁵¹⁹ The name of his attendant *yakṣa* has been given as Dharaṇendra⁵²⁰ or Pārśva or Vāmana.⁵²¹ The name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Padmāvati.⁵²²

24. VARDHAMĀNA MAHĀVĪRA

Mahāvīra's complexion is golden.⁵²³ His *lāñchana* is lion.⁵²⁴ The name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Mātāṅga.⁵²⁵ The name of his attendant *yakṣī* is

512. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 16.

513. *JPV*, p. 255; *JAA*, I, p. 16.

514. *JAA*, I, p. 16.

515. *Ibid.*; *JPV*, p. 255.

516. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

517. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

518. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 16.

519. *JPV*, p. 255; *JAA*, I, p. 16.

520. The Digambara tradition gives the name of his *yakṣa* as Dharaṇendra. See *JAA*, I, p. 16 and also as Dharaṇa; See *JPV*, p. 255.

521. The Śvetāmbara tradition gives the name of his *yakṣa* as Pārśva or Vāmana. See *JPV*, p. 255.

522. *JPV*, p. 255; *JAA*, I, p. 16.

523. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *ibid.*

524. *JPV*, p. 136; *ibid.*

525. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*



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Siddhāyikā⁵²⁶ or Padmā.⁵²⁷ It may be pointed out that Mātāṅga has been mentioned as the *yakṣa* of Supārśvanātha also.⁵²⁸

The evolution of the *lāñchanas* of the twenty-four *jinas* added a new chapter to the history of Jaina iconography. The new image of the *jina* depicted his *lāñchana*, his attendant *yakṣa* and *yakṣī*, *aṣṭa-maṅgalas*, *dharma-cakra*, *nava-grhas*, figures of elephant, etc.⁵²⁹ In short, the *jina* figure attained completion in the ninth-tenth century AD.⁵³⁰

The Jaina architecture at Mathurā

The Jaina architectural activity at Mathurā began with the construction of the *stūpa* at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā in the pre-Kuṣāṇa period. But, strangely enough, it did not extend beyond the Kuṣāṇa period. This is evident from the fact that archaeological excavations at Mathurā have not exposed any Jaina architectural antiquity which can be assigned to the post-Kuṣāṇa period. Excavations at Mathurā have brought to light a large number of Jaina inscriptions,⁵³¹ and architectural pieces like pillars, lintels, door-jambs, capitals, umbrellas, railing posts, cross-bars, coping stones, component parts of gateways, bracket-figures, tympana and other small or big fragments, which formed parts of Jaina buildings constructed in this city in the pre-Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa period.⁵³²

The Jaina *stūpa* at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā was constructed many centuries before the commencement of the Christian era. Inscriptions reveal that between the second century AD and the third century AD many more Jaina religious buildings were constructed at Mathurā. A Jaina temple (*pāsāda*) was erected



526. *JPV*, p. 136; *JAA*, I, p. 16.

527. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

528. *JPV.*, p. 254; *JAA*, I, p. 15.

529. *Ibid.*, p. 250.

530. *Ibid.*

531. *EI*, X, Appendix, pp. 2ff.

532. *JS*, Introduction; *JAA*, I, p. 52.

at Mathurā as early as the middle of the second century BC. This is evident from the inscription which records the dedication of a *pāsāda-torana* by a *śrāvaka* named Uttaradāsaka.⁵³³ Two Jaina temples were built at Mathurā sometime in the first century AD. One of them was the donative gift of a Jaina lady named Dhāmaghoṣā.⁵³⁴ The second Jaina temple constructed at Mathurā in the first century AD was the donative gift of a courtesan named Vāsu, whose donation consisted of a *devakula* (shrine) of the *arhat*, an *āyāga-sabhā* (hall), a cistern (*prapā*) and a *śilā-paṭṭa* (stone slab) in the *nirgrantha arhatāyatana* (sanctuary of the *arhats*).⁵³⁵ One more Jaina temple, called the temple of *arhats*, was built in the year 299 of an unknown era at Mathurā. This is evident from the inscription (dated 299 of an unknown era) incised on the pedestal of a broken image which records the installation of an image of Mahāvīra in the temple (*āyatana*) of *arhats*, and erection of a *devakula* (shrine).⁵³⁶ Lohuizen is inclined to assign the aforesaid inscription to the pre-Kuṣāṇa period.⁵³⁷ But R.C. Sharma fixes it in the transitional period which falls between the end of the Kuṣāṇa period and the beginning of the Gupta period.⁵³⁸ It appears certain that *vihāras*, i.e., monasteries for the residence of Jaina monks, were also built at Mathurā.⁵³⁹ This is evident from the word *vihāra* which occurs on a fragmentary *āyāga-paṭṭa* discovered at Mathurā.⁵⁴⁰

Architecture of the Jaina shrines and monasteries at Mathurā

We have already stated that a large number of architectural pieces belonging to the Jaina religious buildings constructed at Mathurā have come to light.

533. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 93.

534. *Ibid.*, no. 99.

535. *Ibid.*, no. 102.

536. *Ibid.*, no. 78.

537. *The Scythian Period.*, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

538. R.C. Sharma, *Jaina Sculptures*, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

539. *JAA*, I, p. 62.

540. *Ibid.*, p. 52.



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But the fragments unearthed by archaeological excavations do not throw light on the architectural pattern of the Jaina buildings raised at Mathurā during the period under review.⁵⁴¹ The Jaina *stūpa* at Mathurā was built of baked bricks. Most probably the Jaina temples, halls and monasteries were also built of bricks, and stone was generally used in the construction of pillars, pilasters, door-frames, windows, pavements and drain-channels.⁵⁴² Some specimens of the drain-channels have been discovered; they show that the sides of the drains were decorated with aquatic creatures like fish, fish-tailed *makara* and auspicious symbols.⁵⁴³ Some specimens of the windows have also come to light.⁵⁴⁴ One intact specimen shows square perforations at four corners of the connected crosses.⁵⁴⁵ The central square of the crosses is criss-crossed into rows of diamonds, and the arms are decorated with four-petalled flowers.⁵⁴⁶ A fragmentary perforated window is made of groups of petals, each group having four.⁵⁴⁷ Another fragment shows an eight-petalled lotus.⁵⁴⁸

From the available material it is not possible to portray the form of the Jaina sanctuaries of Mathurā. The form of the Jaina shrines of Mathurā, therefore, is a matter of conjecture. In the Buddhist reliefs of Mathurā, belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period, we find representation of apsidal and quadrilateral shrines.⁵⁴⁹ One of these reliefs depicts a monastery within a compound-wall.⁵⁵⁰ The entrance is flanked by pylon-like projections.⁵⁵¹ The

541. *JAA*, I, p. 62.

542. *Ibid.*

543. *JS*, Plate XLII; *JAA*, I, p. 62.

544. *Ibid.*, Plate XLI; *ibid.*, p. 62.

545. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

546. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

547. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

548. *JAA*, I, p. 62.

549. J. Ph. Vogel, *La Sculpture De Mathurā*, 1930, Plate XXIIIa and XXIIIc; *JAA*, I, p. 62.

550. *Ibid.*, Plate XXIIIa; *ibid.*, p. 62 fn 1.

551. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*



lay-out of the cottages appears to be quadrangular.⁵⁵² The roofs, possibly tiled, are triangular in shape with a gable at either end.⁵⁵³ The available material is a pointer that the Jaina *stūpa* or *stūpas* at Mathurā bore a striking resemblance with the Buddhist *stūpas*. We have no positive evidence of the form of the Jaina shrines of Mathurā. Probably, like the Buddhist shrines, the Jaina shrines of Mathurā were apsidal and quadrilateral.

A slightly less than half fragment of a tympanum discovered at Mathurā, which forms part of the collection of the National Museum,⁵⁵⁴ is commonly believed to be a part of the *torana* of a Jaina *stūpa*.⁵⁵⁵ Debala Mitra is of opinion that the aforesaid tympanum, an object of great interest, probably formed part of a Jaina shrine.⁵⁵⁶ This exquisite tympanum needs detailed description. Debala Mitra writes:

Both sides of this piece are exuberantly carved with care, the layout of the decoration being the same. Each face is divided into three semi-circular (half existing) panels within four bands decorated with floral and creeper motifs. The triangular spandril at the corner of the front side is relieved with a group of devotees approaching a *stūpa*; in front of the *stūpa* are four platforms crowned by *āyāga-paṭṭas*, while below the devotees is a covered wheeled carriage. A larger cortege of worshippers is seen above a similar carriage on the spandril of the reverse side; in front of this group are a *pūrṇa-ghaṭa*, a petal-shaped basket with garlands and three bowls covered by lids. The ends of the lunate panels of both the faces have fish-tailed *makaras*, the mouth of which is being opened by boyish figures in five cases. The rest of the available portion of the panels of two faces depicts men and women and flying vidyādhara proceeding towards the objects of

552. J. Ph. Vogel, *La Sculpture De Mathurā*, 1930, Plate XXIIIa; *JAA*, I, p. 62.

553. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

554. *JAA*, I, Plates 12 and 13.

555. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

556. *Ibid.*



worship which were depicted in the central portion (missing) of the panels. While some devotees are on foot, others are within carriages drawn by bullocks and horses, and still there are others on the back of composite animals with fish-tails and serpentine bodies. In the top panel of the obverse is represented a *vimāna*, possibly drawn by *hamsas*, an oblong structure with a semi-cylindrical roof having *caitya*-arches at two ends and railing at the base.⁵⁵⁷



THE JAINA STŪPA ARCHITECTURE OF MATHURĀ

The *stūpa*⁵⁵⁸ and its concomitant railing⁵⁵⁹ have been primarily associated with Buddhism.⁵⁶⁰ In fact, the origin of the *stūpa* goes back to the Ṛgvedic period. The *Ṛgveda* speaks of the golden *stūpa* of Agni, i.e., the huge pile of splendour from which the cosmos is produced.⁵⁶¹ In the pre-Buddhist tradition, the *stūpa* was looked upon as a monument associated with the life of a great man, i.e., the enlightened one.⁵⁶² The Buddha or the enlightened one became an object of worship through the symbol of the *stūpa*.⁵⁶³ According to tradition, the ashes of the Buddha were parcelled out into eight portions, each of which was deposited in a commemorative *stūpa*.⁵⁶⁴ The *stūpa* originated as a piled-up burial-tumulus and constituted the most characteristic monument of Buddhism.⁵⁶⁵ Symbolising the decease (*parinirvāna*) of the Buddha, the *stūpa* came to be looked upon as an object of Buddhist cult-worship by the time of Aśoka, i.e., the third century BC.⁵⁶⁶

557. *JAA*, I, pp. 62-3.

558. *IGI*, II, p. 110; V.S. Agrawala, *Studies . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

559. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

560. *Ibid.*; V.S. Agrawala, *Studies . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

561. V.S. Agrawala, *Studies . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

562. *Ibid.*

563. *Ibid.*

564. *Ibid.*, pp. 77-8.

565. *AI*, p. 77.

566. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

But the construction of the *stūpa* over the ashes of the enlightened one was not exclusive to the Buddhists. The art and architecture of India was not sectarian; all religions — Brāhmanism, Jainism and Buddhism — used the art of the age and the country, and all three drew on common store-house of symbolic and conventional devices.⁵⁶⁷ Jaina traditions also refer to the practice of erecting the *stūpas* over the ashes of the *jinas*.⁵⁶⁸ The Jainas, too, constructed the *stūpas* in honour of the *jinas*. According to Jinadāsa, a *stūpa* dedicated to *jina* Munisuvrata was built at Vaiśālī.⁵⁶⁹ Marshall has associated the Sirkap *stūpa* near Taxila with Jainism.⁵⁷⁰ According to Havell, many Jaina *stūpas* existed during the Maurya period.⁵⁷¹ Somadeva and Jinaprabha Sūri make mention of only one Jaina *stūpa* at Mathurā, i.e., the *devanirmita stūpa*. But the Digambara texts like the *Bṛhat-Kathā-Kośa* of Hariṣena speak about five Jaina *stūpas* at Mathurā, all built by gods during a controversy with the Buddhists.⁵⁷² Jinaprabha Sūri leaves us in no doubt that a Jaina *stūpa* was built at a very early period and was repaired in the time of Pārśvanātha. In fact, the prejudice that all *stūpas* and railings must necessarily be Buddhists has probably prevented the recognition of Jaina structures as such, and up to the present day only two undoubted Jaina *stūpas* have been recorded.⁵⁷³

For a proper appreciation of the architecture of the Jaina *stūpa* or *stūpas* constructed at Mathurā, it is necessary to provide a brief outline of four Buddhist *stūpas*, especially the central Indian *stūpas*, i.e., the *stūpas* built at Bharhut and Sanchi. The *stūpa* was a solid structural dome (*aṇḍa*) usually raised on one or more terraces and invariably surmounted by a railed pavilion (*harmikā*) from which rose the shaft of the crowning umbrella

567. IGI, II, p. 110.

568. SIJA, p. 9.

569. *Ibid.*, fn 1.

570. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

571. E.B. Havell, *The Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India*, 1915, p. 46.

572. SIJA, p. 63.

573. IGI, II, p. 111.



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(*chatra*).⁵⁷⁴ The *stūpa* had one or more circumbulatory passages (*pradakṣiṇā pathas*) which were usually enclosed by railing (*vedikā*).⁵⁷⁵ The earlier *stūpas* were hemispherical in shape with a low base; but the latter ones assumed an increasingly cylindrical form with a well-developed drum.⁵⁷⁶ In the latter examples, which tended to be more ornate, the base terraces and the umbrellas were multiplied.⁵⁷⁷ The Buddhist brick-*stūpas* at Piparava in Uttar Pradesh and at Rajgir in Bihar, as has already been stated, were constructed in the fifth century BC. The Buddhist *stūpa* at Kushinagar in Uttar Pradesh has also been assigned to the same period.

But these brick-*stūpas* did not spring to life at once. It is obvious that the brick-*stūpas* developed from the earthen tumulus; kiln-baked brick slabs were later substituted for earth to ensure permanence to these structures.⁵⁷⁸ A series of low-flattish *stūpas* built of mud or mud-bricks with baked brick-revetments standing at Lauriya may be roughly contemporary with the Piparava *stūpa*.⁵⁷⁹ The original *stūpa* at Sanchi built by Aśoka in the third century BC was a low brick structure.⁵⁸⁰ About a century later, the original brick-*stūpa* was enveloped in a stone casing and was enlarged to its present dimension to form an almost hemispherical dome truncated near the top.⁵⁸¹ It was in the latter half of the first century BC that four lavishly carved gateways (*torāṇas*) were erected, one in each cardinal direction as a magnificent entrance to this imposing monument.⁵⁸²

It is crystal clear that these gateways were conceived in wood and



574. *AI*, p. 78.

575. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

576. *Ibid.*

577. *Ibid.*

578. *IGI*, II, p. 102.

579. *AI*, p. 79.

580. *Ibid.*

581. *Ibid.*

582. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

executed in stone.⁵⁸³ Each of them was alike in design and consisted of two square uprights surmounted by capitals which in their turn supported three architraves with a row of sculptured balusters in between.⁵⁸⁴ Each of them was carved on both faces with *Jataka* tales, scenes from the life of the Buddha, and other motifs, the entire composition being significantly crowned by the *dharma-cakra* symbol.⁵⁸⁵

The surviving remains of the Bharhut *stūpa* in central India mainly consist of portions of enclosing stone railing, dating from 125 BC, and the eastern gateway, erected fifty years later.⁵⁸⁶ They are of the same design as the Sanchi railing and gateways, and are richly carved with bas-reliefs.⁵⁸⁷ The architecture of the Jaina *stūpa* or *stūpas* constructed at Mathurā should be judged in the light of these developments.

We begin the discussion with the number of Jaina *stūpas* constructed at Mathurā. Archaeological excavations conducted at Kaṅkāli Tīlā unearthed some component parts of the *stūpa*. For an idea of the elevation and outer form of this *stūpa* we have to depend on representation of the *stūpa* on *āyāga-paṭṭas*, tympana, reliefs on architraves of the gateways, etc.⁵⁸⁸ According to Debala Mitra, the reliefs and dismembered stones of gateways and railings indicate that either more than one *stūpa* was built at Kaṅkāli Tīlā or a single *stūpa* underwent restoration and embellishments at frequent intervals.⁵⁸⁹ V.S. Agrawala⁵⁹⁰ and P.K. Agrawala⁵⁹¹ opine that two Jaina *stūpas* were built at Mathurā — one in the Śuṅga period and the other in the Kuṣāṇa period.

583. *AII*, p. 80; P.K. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

584. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

585. *Ibid.*

586. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

587. *Ibid.*

588. *JAA*, I, p. 54.

589. *Ibid.*

590. V.S. Agrawala, *Bhāratīya Kalā*, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

591. P.K. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 4.



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The earliest Jaina *stūpa* at Mathurā was the one called *devanirmita* by Jinaprabha Sūri, Somadeva, and in one of the Jaina inscriptions. The *devanirmita stūpa*, which probably enshrined the relics of Pārśvanātha and built in the eighth century BC, must have been a clay-*stūpa*. It must have been built of mud or mud-bricks,⁵⁹² because burnt bricks became a medium of construction only in the fifth century BC. This mud-*stūpa* was the forerunner of the earliest brick-*stūpa* built by the Jainas at Mathurā, and was called *devanirmita*, like the preceding clay-*stūpa*.

The Jaina brick-*stūpas* raised at Mathurā were indistinguishable from contemporary Buddhist *stūpas*.⁵⁹³ The components and representation of the *stūpas* found at Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā do not reveal any characteristic that is not found in contemporary Buddhist *stūpas*.⁵⁹⁴ But for their more slender shape, the *stūpas* at Mathurā possessed all features which were characteristic of the Buddhist *stūpas* built at Sanchi and Bharhut in central India.⁵⁹⁵ Structurally, the *torāṇas* of the Mathurā *stūpas* did not differ from those of Sanchi and Bharhut, the only difference being the decoration which was less elaborate in the former.⁵⁹⁶ The *stūpas* at Mathurā had dimensional railings and gateways loaded with reliefs and figures of endless description; they, thus, assimilated a rich stock of ancient symbols characteristic of ornamented *stūpas* of Sanchi and Bharhut.⁵⁹⁷

The dome and drum of the Jaina *stūpas* built at Mathurā were austere and plain like *stūpas* 1, 2 and 3 at Sanchi.⁵⁹⁸ But as at Sanchi so at Mathurā, the urge for decoration found manifestation in the railings and gateways, which are adjuncts and not essential elements of the *stūpa*.⁵⁹⁹ It is, thus, clear



592. V.S. Agrawala, *Mathurā Kalā*, 1964, p. 79.

593. *IGI*, II, p. 111.

594. *JAA*, I, Editorial, pp. 6-7.

595. J. Ph. Vogel, *Buddhist Art in India, Ceylon and Java*, 1936, p. 30.

596. *ASIAR*, 1906-7, p. 147.

597. V.S. Agrawala, *Studies . . .*, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-6.

598. *JAA*, I, p. 57.

599. *Ibid.*

that the earliest Jaina brick-*stūpa* constructed at Mathurā was a contemporary or near-contemporary of the Buddhist *stūpas* of Sanchi and Bharhut. The sculptors of Mathurā followed the art traditions of Bharhut and Sanchi,⁶⁰⁰ more intimately those of the former.⁶⁰¹ It is evident that in the construction of the *stūpa* the architects of Mathurā followed the architectural traditions of Bharhut and Sanchi.

The Buddhist *stūpa* of Bharhut was built in the third century BC or the second century BC.⁶⁰² The *stūpa* of Sanchi was also originally built in the third century BC or the first century BC.⁶⁰³ We have already stated that the Jaina *stūpas* of Mathurā bore a striking stylistic affinity with the *stūpas* of Bharhut and Sanchi. Therefore, it appears certain that the earliest Jaina brick-*stūpa* of Mathurā, too, was constructed in the third century BC or the second century BC.⁶⁰⁴ The dome was the principal element of the *stūpa*. It was surrounded by a *pradakṣiṇā-patha* which was often fenced off by a railing. The railings of the *stūpas* of Bharhut and Sanchi have been assigned to the second century BC.⁶⁰⁵ The earliest *stūpa* railing discovered at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā goes back to the second century BC.⁶⁰⁶ It appears that the railing of the Jaina *stūpa* of Mathurā was also constructed in the second century BC. The gateways of the *stūpas* of Bharhut and Sanchi were built in the second and first century BC respectively.⁶⁰⁷ One of the earliest *torāṇa*-architraves discovered at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā appears to be a construction of the first century BC.⁶⁰⁸ It appears that the *torāṇas* of the

600. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *History . . . op. cit.*, p. 37; S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. 62; V.S. Agrawala, *Bhāratiya Kalā*, p. 261.

601. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

602. A. Cunningham, *The stūpa of Bharhut*, 1962, p. 14.

603. John Marshall, *A Guide to Sanchi*, 1918, p. 31; *AII*, p. 79.

604. V.S. Agrawala, *Bhāratiya Kalā*, *op. cit.*, pp. 278-80; P.K. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

605. *AII*, pp. 79-81.

606. *JAA*, I, p. 57.

607. *AII*, pp. 79-81.

608. *JAA*, I, p. 59; *SML*, no. J.535.



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Jaina *stūpa* of Mathurā, 'which structurally did not differ from those of Sanchi and Bharhut',⁶⁰⁹ were constructed in the first century BC.

The representation of a *stūpa* occurs on many Jaina architectural and sculptural antiquities discovered at Mathurā. These antiquities form part of the collection of State Museum, Lucknow,⁶¹⁰ Government Museum, Mathurā⁶¹¹ and National Museum.⁶¹² Chronologically, the earliest representation of a *stūpa* occurs on the obverse of the bottom architrave of the gateway of a *stūpa*.⁶¹³ On stylistic consideration of the figures represented on the architrave, the latter cannot be regarded later than the first century BC.⁶¹⁴ The *stūpa* depicted on the aforesaid architectural object is somewhat bell-shaped.⁶¹⁵ The two terraces of the circular drum of this *stūpa* have three-barred railings around them.⁶¹⁶ The hemispherical dome is crowned by a square three-barred railing; a conspicuous *chatra* rises from the centre of this railing.⁶¹⁷ A fourth railing enclosing the processional path is provided at the ground level.⁶¹⁸ Probably, this *stūpa* did not have a stone gateway originally.⁶¹⁹ It appears that this depiction represents the shape of the *devanirmita stūpa* built at Kaṅkālī Tīlā⁶²⁰ in the third century BC or the second century BC.

The *śilā-paṭṭa* donated by courtesan Vāsu bears a relief which depicts a developed form of *stūpa*-architecture.⁶²¹ The inscription on this *śilā-paṭṭa* is

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609. ASIAR, 1906-7, p. 147.
610. SML nos. J.535; J.255; J.623; J.250; J.283; JAA, I, pp. 54-7.
611. MM no. Q.2; JAA, I, Plate 1.
612. JAA, I, Plates 12 and 13.
613. SML no. J.535; JAA, I, Plate 2A.
614. JAA, I, p. 54.
615. *Ibid.*, Plate 2 A; *ibid.*, p. 54.
616. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
617. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*, pp. 54-5.
618. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*, p. 55.
619. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*, p. 55.
620. *Ibid.*, p. 55; V.S. Agrawala, *Bhāratīya Kalā, op. cit.*, p. 226.
621. MM no. Q. 2; JAA, I, Plate 1.



palaeographically assignable to early first century AD.⁶²² Probably, this depiction demonstrates the shape or form of the Jaina *stūpa* built at Mathurā in the pre or early Kuṣāṇa period. This *śilā-paṭṭa* or *āyāga-paṭṭa* depicts a complete *stūpa* which is surrounded by a railing and approached by means of a flight of steps and an ornamental gateway (*torāṇa*).⁶²³ This *stūpa* presents a contrast to the earlier Jaina *stūpa*, i.e., the *stūpa* constructed in the Śuṅga period. It has a high cylindrical drum which gives it a tower-like appearance.⁶²⁴ This *stūpa* is built on a high platform which appears to be square.⁶²⁵ This *stūpa* is flanked by two pillars of Persipolitan style, the one to the proper right carries or bears a wheel and the other a sitting lion.⁶²⁶

There are three worshipping figures on each side of the *stūpa*.⁶²⁷ The two flying figures above the *stūpa* possibly represent the *munis* who were supposed to possess the power of transporting themselves through air.⁶²⁸ They are naked and carry in the left hand a piece of cloth and a waterpot or almsbowl; their right hand is applied to the forehead in token of respectful salutation (*namaskāra*).⁶²⁹ The second pair of figures may be identified with *suparṇas* corresponding to the harpies of classical art.⁶³⁰ They have birds' tails and claws.⁶³¹ The one to the proper right carries a bunch of flowers, and the other a garland.⁶³² The two female figures leaning in a graceful attitude against the drum of the *stūpa* represent *yakṣīs*.⁶³³ On each side of the staircase

622. JAA, I, p. 55; V.S. Agrawala, *Bharatiya Kalā, op. cit.*, p. 226.

623. MM, no. Q.2; Vogel, *Catalogue*, Plate V; JUPHS, III, p. 35.

624. JAA, I, Plate 1 and p. 55.

625. *Ibid.*

626. *Ibid.*, Plate I; Vogel, *Catalogue*, Plate V; JUPHS, III, p. 35.

627. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*

628. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*

629. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*

630. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*

631. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*

632. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*

633. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*



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is a niche containing a standing figure, the nature of which is difficult to ascertain.⁶³⁴ The figure to the proper right seems to be a male figure accompanied by a child, and that to the left appears to be a female figure.⁶³⁵

The *torāṇa* or gateway of this *stūpa* is of the usual type. This lavishly carved *torāṇa* bears a striking affinity with the *torāṇas* of the *stūpas* of Sanchi and Bharhut.⁶³⁶ It consists of two oblong carved posts supporting three horizontal curvi-form architraves with ends simulating *makaras*.⁶³⁷ Between the architraves are supporting blocks, and the two rolled ends of the bottom architrave are sustained by two lion-shaped brackets.⁶³⁸ Crowning the top architrave is a honeysuckle motif flanked on either side by a *tri-ratna* (or *nandipada*) symbol, as in the eastern gateway of the *stūpa* of Bharhut.⁶³⁹ Dismembered fragments unmistakably prove that the *torāṇa* of this Jaina *stūpa* was modelled on the lines of the *stūpas* of Sanchi and Bharhut.⁶⁴⁰

The terrace over the high platform of this *stūpa* served as a processional path.⁶⁴¹ The terrace in this *stūpa* is enclosed by a three-barred railing, the latter is pierced by a *torāṇa*.⁶⁴² Access to this terrace is provided by a balustrated staircase of eight steps right in front of this *torāṇa* or gateway.⁶⁴³ A distinctive feature of this *stūpa* is depiction of two high pillars, one each at the front corners, which are of the height of the *stūpa* above the platform.⁶⁴⁴ The relief on this *śilā-paṭṭa* or *āyāga-paṭṭa* is a miniature replica of the *stūpa*.

634. JAA, I, Plate I; Vogel, *Catalogue*, Plate V; JUPHS, III, p. 35.

635. *Ibid.*; p. 55 and Plate 1.

636. *Ibid.*

637. *Ibid.*

638. *Ibid.*

639. *Ibid.*, pp. 55-6 and Plate 1.

640. *Ibid.*, and Plate 1.

641. *Ibid.*, p. 55 and Plate 1.

642. *Ibid.*

643. *Ibid.*

644. *Ibid.*, p. 56 and Plate 1.



Probably, there were two more pillars at the remaining two corners of this *stūpa*.⁶⁴⁵

The railings of the Jaina *stūpas* of Mathurā deserve special notice. These *stūpas* either perished of their own or 'were destroyed by ruthless agencies at some later date'.⁶⁴⁶ But the remaining pieces of the railing pillars show decorative skill of the highest class 'and a perfection of plastic art not attained at any time before or after'.⁶⁴⁷ The railing formed an enclosure round a monument built of stone, but on a pattern similar to that of a bamboo-railing.⁶⁴⁸ The stone railing round the *stūpa* appeared as a series of upright posts, each pair of them joined together by three cross-bars inserted in the mortices cut into the narrower sides of the pillars, and held in position on top by the copings and at bottom by the base-stones held by the similar mortice-and-tenon devices.⁶⁴⁹

In the beginning the *aṇḍa* or the main hemispherical body of the *stūpa* was plain.⁶⁵⁰ This architectural plan left no scope for the sculptors to display their decorative skill. They, therefore, unfolded their craft in the decoration of the *torana* (gateway) and railing (*vedikā*) of the *stūpa*. The sculptors embellished the *torana* and the railing of the *stūpa* with figure-sculptures of rare beauty. The railing which once surrounded the *stūpa* of Bharhut and the *stūpa* No. 2 at Sanchi bear testimony to it.⁶⁵¹

The real charm of the rail posts of the Mathurā *stūpas* lies in depiction of female figures. These figures have been conceived and represented in

645. JAA, I, p. 56 and Plate 1.

646. P.K. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

647. *Ibid.*

648. *Ibid.*, p. 2; V.S. Agrawala, *Masterpieces . . .*, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

649. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

650. The *aṇḍa* of the Sāñcī *stūpa* is a classical example. See JAA, I, p. 57; P.K. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

651. P.K. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 3.



numerous forms and poses.⁶⁵² They are the finest specimens of the contemporary plastic art of Mathurā, and have elicited great praise from connoisseurs of art.⁶⁵³ Cunningham held that these female figures represent dancing girls.⁶⁵⁴ Cunningham's judgement was wrong, and it was ably refuted by scholars like Vogel and V.A. Smith.⁶⁵⁵ Some of these figures are shown naked.⁶⁵⁶ But in other figures the apparent nudity is merely an artistic convention.⁶⁵⁷ Vogel described these female figures as figures of *yakṣiṇīs*, like the somewhat similar figures of the railing of the Bharhut *stūpa*.⁶⁵⁸ In fact, the females depicted on these railing pillars are *sālabhañjikās*.⁶⁵⁹ In the terminology of art, the term *sālabhañjikā* originally denoted 'the woman plucking (and gathering) *sāla* flowers by standing under a *sāla* tree'.⁶⁶⁰ A graphic description of such females, who are depicted on the Jaina and Buddhist railings at Mathurā, is embodied in the Jaina text entitled *Rayapaseṇiya-Sutta*.⁶⁶¹ This and other Jaina *sūtras* clearly state that the term *sālabhañjikā* was used for beautiful female figures carved on the pillars of a *stūpa*-railing.⁶⁶²



652. *JUPHS*, III, pp. 53-67.

653. *JAA*, I, pp. 60-1; P.K. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6; V.S. Agrawala, *Mathurā Kalā*, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

654. *ASIAR*, III, p. 26.

655. *ASIAR* (1906-7), pp. 145-6; *HOFA*, p. 140.

656. *HOFA*, p. 140.

657. *Ibid.*

658. *ASIAR* (1906-7), pp. 145-6; *HOFA*, p. 140.

659. *HOFA*, pp. 140-1; *JAA*, I, p. 60; P.K. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 6; V.S. Agrawala, *Mathurā Kalā*, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-2.

660. P.K. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 6; V.S. Agrawala, *Mathurā Kalā*, pp. 41-2.

661. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

662. *Ibid.*, p. 11; *ibid.*, pp. 41-2.



7

Jainism in Mathurā Eleventh Century AD to the Present Times

IN the opening years of the eleventh century AD Mathurā was a beautiful, populous and prosperous city, full of majestic temples and buildings.¹ According to contemporary Muslim historians like Al-beruni² and Utbi,³ and later Muslim historians like Firishta,⁴ it was a Hindu city devoted to Vaiṣṇavism, particularly to the Kṛṣṇa cult. There is no mention of Buddhism in the accounts of the aforesaid Muslim historians. It appears certain that by this time Buddhism had become non-existent in this city. Contemporary Muslim historians do not make mention of Jainism also. But unlike Buddhism, Jainism was a living religion in Mathurā even in the eleventh century AD.

A great misfortune enveloped Mathurā in the first quarter of the eleventh century AD. Mahmud of Ghazni invaded it in AD 1018 and plundered, burnt and destroyed this city. The accounts left behind by Utbi⁵ and Firishta⁶ make it crystal clear that Mathurā was almost completely annihilated. But the donative inscription dated AD 1023, and the colossal image of *jina* Padmaprabhanātha dated AD 1077, indicate that somehow the two Jaina temples at Kankālī Tīlā escaped destruction.⁷ The aforesaid *vs.* inscriptions

1. Elliot and Dowson, II, pp. 44-5.
2. *Alberuni's India*, Sachau, vol. I, 1914, pp. 199, 400-6.
3. Elliot and Dowson, II, pp. 44-5.
4. John Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
5. Elliot and Dowson, II, pp. 44-5.
6. John Briggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-9.
7. *JS*, Introduction, pp. 3-4.

are evidence of the fact that these temples were centres of Jaina worship even in the eleventh century AD, one of them even about sixty years after Mahmud's destruction of Mathurā.⁸

Mathurā was in a state of ruin for many centuries after Mahmud's invasion. This is evident from the fact that the next mention of this place in contemporary Muslim histories occurs as late as the latter half of the fifteenth century AD. Mathurā could not recover from this annihilation for many centuries. It made some recovery, but misfortune once again struck sometime between AD 1489 and AD 1517 and Mathurā suffered heavy destruction at the hands of Sikandar Lodi.⁹ It is because of these unfortunate developments that we are in dark about the state of this city in the period between the eleventh century AD and the fifteenth century AD.

The two Jaina temples which escaped destruction in AD 1018 either perished of their own after AD 1077 or 'were destroyed'¹⁰ at some unknown date. Some Jaina texts inform that Jaina religious life flourished at Mathurā even in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth century AD,¹¹ and *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa* seems to convey the impression that the Jaina *stūpa* was in existence even in the first half of the fourteenth century AD.¹² There is no confirmation of this in contemporary Muslim histories and other texts. In fact, between AD 1018 and the latter half of the sixteenth century AD, the only mention of Mathurā in contemporary Muslim accounts is Sikandar Lodi's destruction of Hindu temples and idols in this city.

F.S. Growse comments,

During the period of Muhammadan supremacy, the history of Mathurā is almost a total blank. The natural dislike of the ruling

8. JS, Introduction, pp. 3-4.

9. Elliot and Dowson, IV, p. 447.

10. JS, Introduction, p. 4; *Yaśastilaka*, p. 433.

11. R.C. Sharma, *Braj Kā Prācīn Tīrtha Kāṅkālī Sthala*; paper presented at the National Seminar held at Ajmer on 15 and 16 October, 1999, pp. 5-6.

12. MCH, pp. 210-11.



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power to be brought into close personal connection with such a centre of superstition divested the town of all political importance; while the Hindu pilgrims, who still continued to frequent its impoverished shrines, were not invited to present, as the priests were not anxious to receive, any lavish donation which would only excite the jealousy of the rival faith. Thus, while there are abundant remains of the earlier Buddhist period, there is not a single building, nor fragment of a building, which can be assigned to any year in the long interval between the invasion of Mahmud in AD 1017 and the reign of Akbar in the latter half of the sixteenth century.¹³

In view of these circumstances it appears highly improbable that the Jaina *stūpa* of Mathurā continued to exist up to the first half of the fourteenth century AD.

It is said that an eminent Jaina named Sahu Todar built 514 new *stūpas* at Mathurā with the permission of Akbar during his reign, and a great celebration was held in this city in AD 1573 to commemorate it.¹⁴ We find no mention of these Jaina *stūpas* in the *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl, the court historian of Akbar, who makes only a passing reference to Mathurā in his celebrated work.¹⁵ He described Mathurā as a city which had some fine Hindu temples.¹⁶ In fact, Mathurā was in a state of ruin.

Father Monserrate, a member of a Christian mission, travelled to Fatehpur Sikri from Goa on the invitation of Akbar.¹⁷ This mission reached on 19 February, 1580 and stayed as Akbar's guest up to April, 1582.¹⁸ In the course of his journey, Monserrate passed through Mathurā and found it in

13. *MDM*, pp. 33-4.

14. J.P. Jain, *Pramukh Aitihāsik Jaina Puruṣa Aur Mahilāyen*, 1975, p. 285; *Poddār Abhinandan*, p. 826.

15. *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, p. 192.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

17. A.L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 467.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 467.



a state of ruin. Monserrate wrote,

It used to be a great and well-populated city, with splendid buildings and a great circuit of walls. The ruins plainly indicate how imposing its buildings were. For out of forgotten ruins are dug out ancient statues of skilful and cunning workmanship. Only one Hindu temple is left out of many, for the Musalmans have destroyed all except the pyramids.¹⁹

Akbar was a liberal and tolerant king, and his reign witnessed the revival of Hindu building activity at Mathurā and Vrandaban. Construction of Hindu religious buildings continued during the reign of Akbar's son Jehangir. Mathurā became the headquarters of a district during the intolerant reign of Aurangzeb (AD 1658-1707).²⁰ But it again suffered destruction at the hands of Ahmad Shah Abdali in AD 1757.²¹ On the whole, the period from AD 1018 when Mathurā suffered destruction at the hands of Mahmud of Ghazni, to AD 1757 when this city was destroyed by Ahmad Shah Abdali, was an unfortunate time in the history of the place and after the eleventh century AD, Jainism appears to have gained some importance in Mathurā only in the nineteenth century AD.

In the nineteenth century, Jainism gained some prominence in Mathurā because of its profession by Seth Raghunath Das,²² son of famous Mathurā banker Seth Lakhmi Chand,²³ and grandson of famous Mathurā banker Mani Ram.²⁴ But the Jaina population in Mathurā did not count much in the

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19. The commentary of Father Monserrate, S.J. on his journey to the court of Akbar, tr. J.S. Holyland, 1922, p. 93; A.L. Srivastava, *Akbar the Great*, vol. III, 1973, p. 11.
 20. R.S. Whiteway, *Report on the settlement of the Muttrā District*, 1879, p. 11; *DGM*, 1911, p. 137.
 21. Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, vol. I, 1961, p. 58; K.R. Qanungo, *History of the Jats*, vol I, 1950, p. 103.
 22. *DGM*, 1911, p. 82.
 23. *MDM*, p. 14.
 24. *Ibid.*



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nineteenth century. The Jainas usually known as Sarāugīs, and almost exclusively belonging to the *bania* community,²⁵ numbered only 1593 in the Mathurā district in 1882.²⁶ The Jainas were not a large community in the Mathurā district in 1911,²⁷ and according to the census of 1951, they numbered only 2055 in the district.²⁸ Mani Ram, Lakhmi Chand and Raghunath Das were devout Jainas.²⁹ Raja Lakshman Das, a cousin of Raghunath Das, was one of the principal leaders of the Jaina community.³⁰ He founded the Bhāratavarṣīya Digambara Jaina Mahāsabhā in AD 1884, and organised some sessions of this body at Mathurā.³¹

Jainism made considerable progress in Mathurā in the twentieth century. Up to 1911, there were only three Jaina temples in the city of Mathurā; one at Chaurasi, and one each in Ghia Mandī and Caubes' Quarter, both dedicated to *jīna* Padmaprabha.³² At present there are ten Jaina temples and *dharmaśālās* in Mathurā and its immediate neighbourhood. These are — (1) Śrī 1008 Candraprabhu Bhagvan Digambara Jaina Mandir, Jaina Gali, Mathurā; (2) Śrī 1008 Padmaprabhu Bhagvāna Digambara Jaina Mandir, Manik Chowk, Mathurā; (3) Śrī 1008 Candraprabhu Digambara Jaina Mandir, Jaisīnhapura, Mathurā; (4) Śamkheśvara Pārśvanātha Śvetāmbara Jaina Mandir, Jaina Gali, Mathurā; (5) Śrī 1008 Ādinātha Bhagvān Digambara Jaina Mandir, Vrandaban; (6) Sethani Ji Ka Chaityalaya, opposite Śrī Dvārakādīśa Mandir, Mathurā; (7) Śrī 1008 Ādinātha Digambara Jaina Chaityalaya, Chaurasi, Mathurā; (8) Digambara Jaina Dharmaśālā, Jaina Gali, Mathurā; (9) Śvetāmbara Jaina Dharmaśālā,

25. *MDM*, p. 12; *DGM*, 1911, p. 82.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

27. *DGM*, 1911, p. 82.

28. *Ibid.*, 1968, pp. 83-4.

29. J.P. Jain, *op. cit.*, p. 354.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 354-5.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 355.

32. *MDM*, pp. 12-13; *DGM*, 1911, pp. 82-3.



Jaina Gali, Mathurā; (10) Śrī 1008 Jambūsvāmī Digambara Jaina Siddhakṣetra temple, Chaurasi, Mathurā.³³

The principal Jaina temple in Mathurā stands in the Keshopur locality.³⁴ The site is called Chaurasi,³⁵ and the temple is also popularly called Chaurasi.³⁶ The site where this Jaina temple stands is called Śrī 1008 Jambūsvāmī Digambara Jaina Siddhakṣetra, Chaurasi by the Jains.³⁷ F.S. Growse felt that this site is called Chaurasi for some unexplained reasons.³⁸ But the Jains hold that it was at this site that Jambūsvāmī attained *nirvāṇa* at the age of eighty-four years and it was probably due to this happening that this site came to be known as Chaurasi.³⁹

The Jaina temple at Chaurasi, Mathurā was built by Mani Ram,⁴⁰ sometimes in the nineteenth century.⁴¹ Mani Ram enshrined in it an image of *tīrthamkara* Candraprabha.⁴² Sometime about the middle of the nineteenth century,⁴³ Mani Ram's grandson Seth Raghunath Das,⁴⁴ brought a large marble statue of *tīrthamkara* Ajitanātha from Gwalior.⁴⁵ It is the aforesaid image of Ajitanātha which occupies the pride of place in the Jaina temple at Chaurasi, Mathurā.⁴⁶ It is said that Jambūsvāmī practised penance at this

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33. *Introductory Booklet*, pp. 1-6.
 34. *MDM*, p. 12; *DGM*, 1911, p. 82.
 35. *Ibid.*, p. 13; *ibid.*, p. 83; *Introductory Booklet*, p. 1.
 36. *Ibid.*, p. 13; *ibid.*, p. 83.
 37. *Introductory Booklet*, p. 1.
 38. *MDM*, p. 13.
 39. *Introductory Booklet*, p. 1.
 40. *MDM*, p. 13; *DGM*, 1911, p. 83; *Introductory Booklet*, pp. 1-2.
 41. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13; *ibid.*, pp. 82-3.
 42. *Ibid.*, p. 13; *ibid.*, p. 82.
 43. *DGM*, 1911, p. 82.
 44. *MDM*, p. 14.
 45. *Ibid.*, p. 13; *DGM*, 1911, p. 82; *Introductory Booklet*, pp. 2-3.
 46. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*, p. 3.



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site,⁴⁷ and that his name is recorded in an old and almost effaced inscription on a slab that is still preserved under the altar.⁴⁸

F.S. Growse, the collector of Mathurā district, was not impressed by the architecture of the Jaina temple at Chaurasi, Mathurā. Writing about 125 years ago, he described it as 'as bare and unimpressive place of worship as any Methodist meeting-house'.⁴⁹ F.S. Growse wrote about the Jaina temple at Chaurasi, Mathurā thus:

After ascending a flight of steps and entering the gate, the visitor finds himself in a square paved and cloistered courtyard with the temple opposite to him. It is a very plain solid building, arranged in three aisles, with the altar under a small dome in the centre aisle, one bay short of the end, so as to allow of a processional at the back. There are no windows, and the interior is lighted only by the three small doors in the front, one in each aisle, which is a traditional feature in Jaini architecture. What with the want of light, the lowness of the vault, and the extreme heaviness of the piers, the general effect is more that of a crypt than of a building so well raised above the ground as this really is.⁵⁰

The site has undergone a sea change. The Jaina temple at Chaurasi now stands in the midst of a vast and beautiful complex characterised by a large garden, *dharmasālās*, a canteen, a store, an office, etc.⁵¹ The *dharmasālās* in this complex have about forty rooms, most of which have due amenities. The *dharmasālā* of the temple is surrounded by a large and beautiful garden measuring about 6.5 acres. This garden is full of trees and flowers of many varieties. Three tube-wells meet the irrigational requirements of this garden.

47. *MDM*, p. 12; *DGM*, 1911, p. 82; *Introductory Booklet*, p. 1.

48. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*, p. 82.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

51. *Introductory Booklet*, pp. 1-6.



A boundary wall has been constructed to provide security to the temple, the *dharmasālās* and the garden.

A beautiful stone *mānastambha* was constructed in AD 1929 in front of the main entrance gate of the temple. The managing committee of the Jambūsvāmī Digambara Jaina Siddhakṣetra Chaurasi, Mathurā, has chalked out many plans for the development of this temple and site, and these include the construction of a *parikramā mārga* (processional path) around this temple. A bird sanctuary has also been built near the main entrance gate of the temple complex; food and drinking water requirements of the birds are properly taken care of in this sanctuary.

The exterior of this temple is still plain. But as a result of marble flooring, construction work of a varied nature, and other renovations which are in progress, the interior of the Jaina temple at Chaurasi, Mathurā, presents a fairly impressive appearance now. The large marble image of *tirthamkara* Ajitanātha is a seated figure of the conventional type.⁵² The expression of smile in this image is particularly worth attention. Many *vedīs* embellish the interior of this temple. One of them bears the white marble image of Bāhubali in the *kāyotsarga* posture. Another *vedī* contains the white marble image of *jina* Pārśvanātha in the seated meditative posture. A characteristic feature of this *vedī* is the installation of white marble statues of *saptaṛṣis* in the *kāyotsarga* posture in front of the image of Pārśvanātha. Another *vedī* contains the image of *jina* Candraprabha; fifty-two stone and metal images installed on this *vedī* include the images of *jina* Śāntinātha and Jambūsvāmī.

A *vedī* contains an ancient stone image of Pārśvanātha; this image is flanked by two images of this *jina*, one on each side. Another *vedī* contains the images of many *jinas* — two white marble images of Pārśvanātha; two images of Neminātha, one built of white marble and the other of red sandstone; a white marble image of Rṣabha; a white marble image of Ajitanātha, and a red sand stone image of Padmaprabha. One *vedī* contains the images of the *jinas* Mahāvīra, Pārśvanātha and Rṣabhanātha; the white

52. MDM, p. 13.



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marble image of Mahāvīra is the principal idol on this *vedī*; one image of Pārśvanātha is built of brass and the other of black stone; the solitary image of R̥ṣabha is built of brass. Another *vedī* contains a white marble image of Jambūsvāmī in the *kāyotsarga* posture. The images of some Jaina male and female deities — Kṣetrapāla, Sarasvatī and Padmāvati, too, have been installed in the complex of this temple.

An annual fair was instituted in AD 1870 at the Chaurasi site by a Bharatpur Jaina named Nain Sikh.⁵³ This tradition continues. Originally, the annual Jaina fair at Chaurasi, Mathurā was held for a week in October-Novemeber.⁵⁴ Presently, it is held on 26 January every year. A *Rath-yatra Mahotsava* on the occasion of the annual fair, and religious and cultural programmes are the characteristic features of this fair, which attracts Jaina pilgrims from many parts of the country.⁵⁵ A varied Jaina establishment, including an educational institution, has grown around the Jaina temple at Chaurasi, Mathurā. This temple is the principal centre of Jaina religious and cultural life at Mathurā. Śrī 1008 Jambūsvāmī Digambara Jaina Siddhakṣetra Chaurasi, Mathurā is held in great esteem by the Jainas and Chaurasi, attracts Jaina pilgrims from many parts of the country.

The Jainas in Mathurā are divided into the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara sect. But, despite their differences, the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras are one regarding the doctrines and discipline of Jainism, at least in respect of fundamental and significant points. Therefore, one can speak of Jainism as a whole. Most of them are educated and economically well-off, and enjoy a respectable position in the city. The Jainas are not a large community in Mathurā. But their religious zeal and fervour have made Jainism a living and vibrant religion in this city.

53. *MDM*, p. 13; *DGM*, 1911, p. 83.

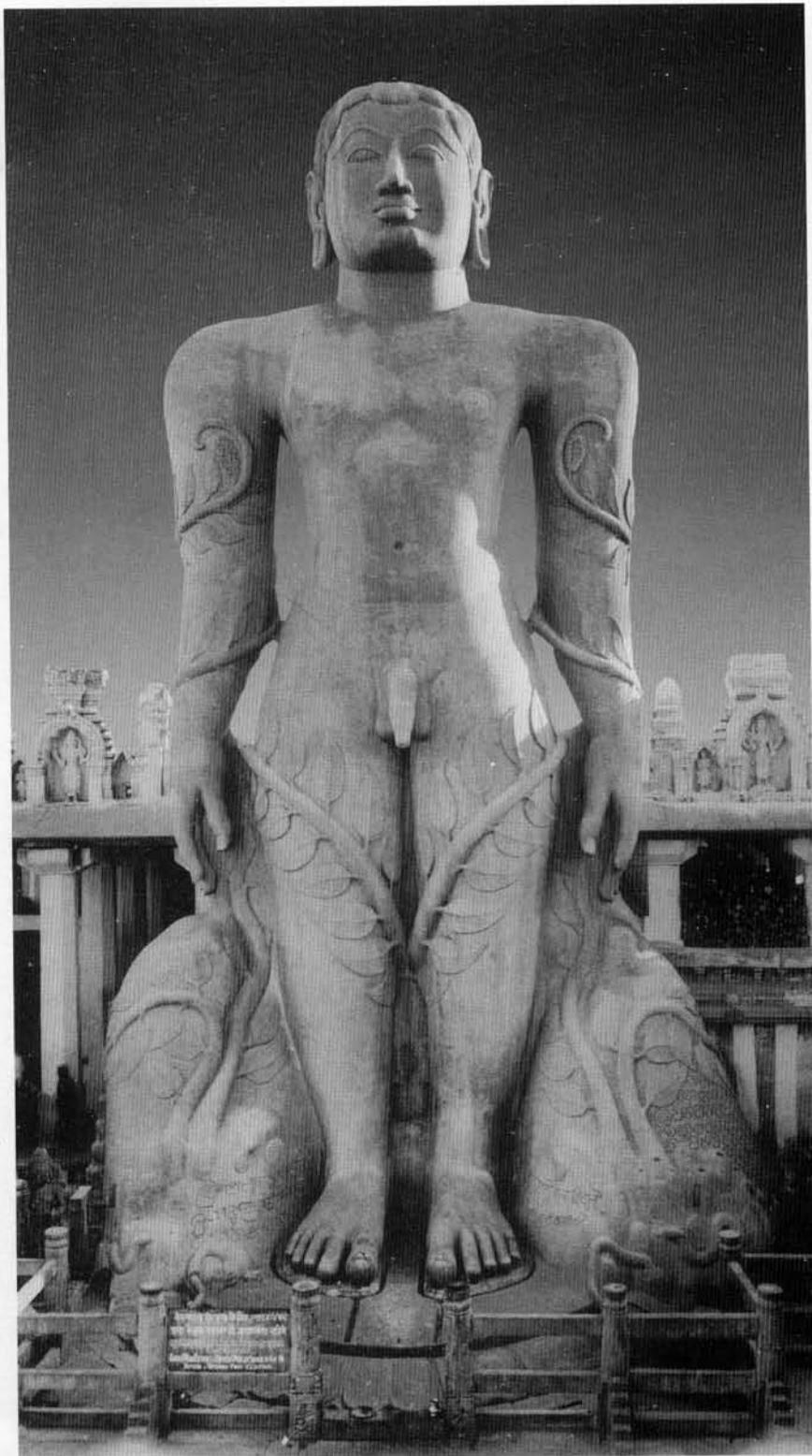
54. *MDM*, p. 13; *DGM*, 1911, p. 83. According to Dr. Jyoti Prasad Jain, the 8-day Kārtikī fair at Chaurasi, Mathurā and the *Rathotsava* were instituted by Seth Raghunath Das. See J.P. Jain, *Pramukha* . . . , *op.cit.*, p. 354.

55. Information provided by Dr. Jai Prakash Jain; Souvenir of the Annual Fair and Rath yatra, Jaina Siddhakṣetra, Chaurasi, Mathurā.





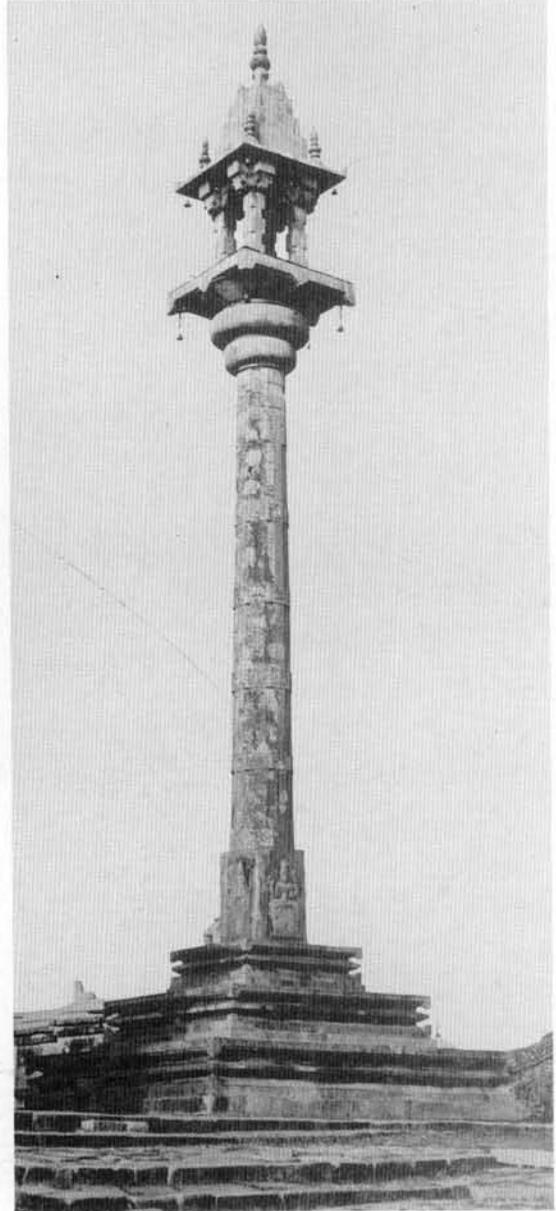
Pl. I : Akota (Gujarat): Seated Rṣabhanātha (copper alloy), tenth century AD,
Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery



Pl. II : Śravaṇabelāgoḷa (Karnataka): Gomateśvara Statue, fifteenth century AD



Pl. III : Chittor (Rajasthan):
Jaina Kīrti Stambha (Pillar of Victory),
fifteenth century AD

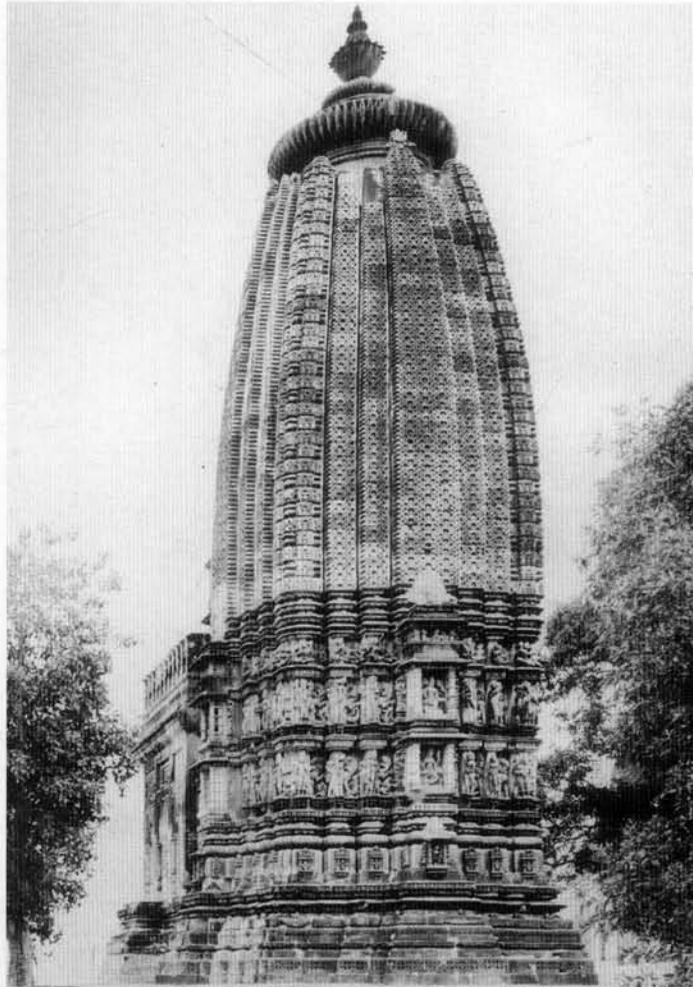


Pl. IV : Śravaṇabelāgoḷa (Karnataka):
Jaina Mānstambha, twelfth century AD



Pl. V : Hampi (Karnataka) : General view of Jaina temples on the Hemakūṭa Hill,
fourteenth-fifteenth century AD

Pl. VI : Khajuraho (Madhya Pradesh): A view of Ādinātha Temple,
tenth-eleventh century AD

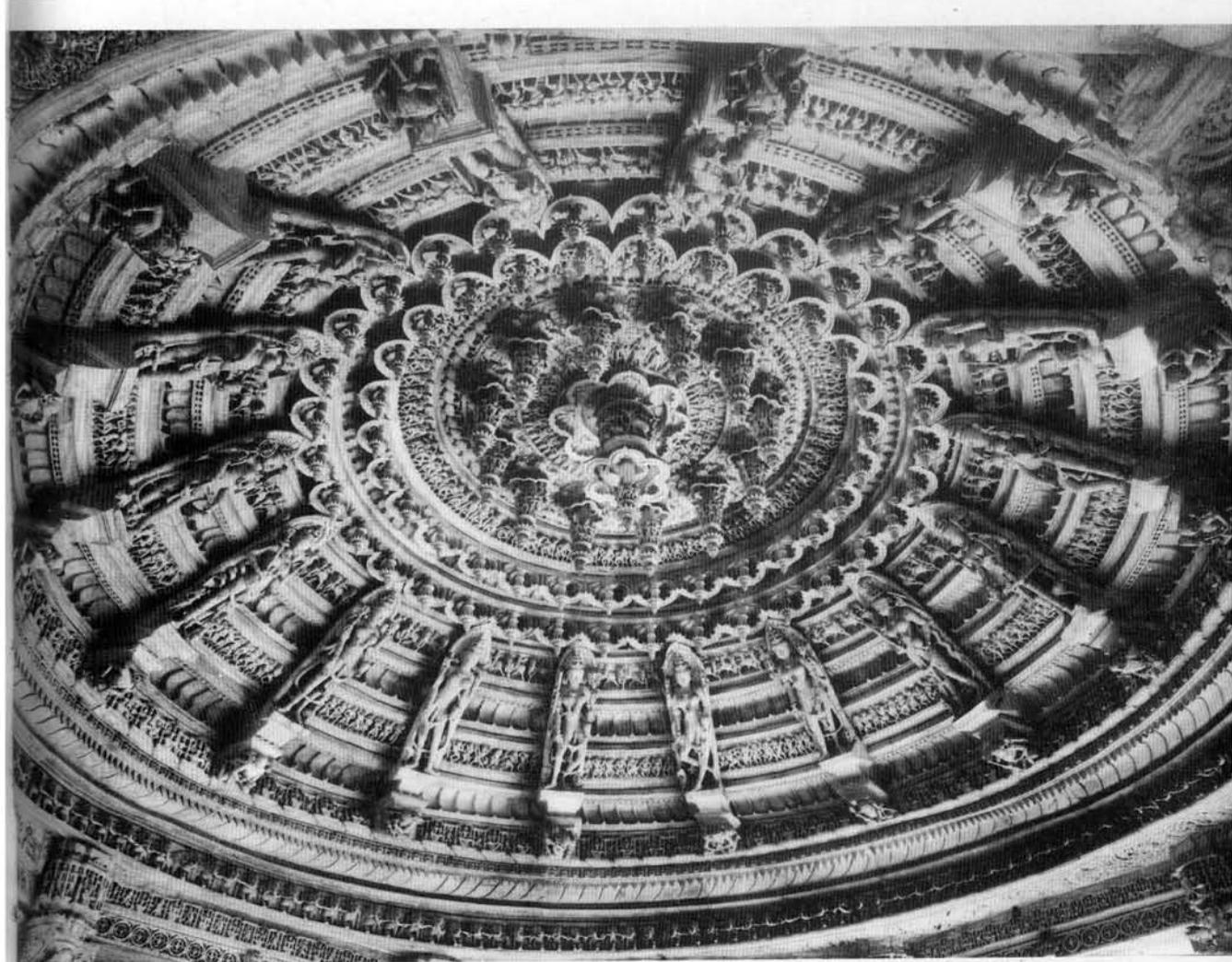




*Pl. VII : Kumharia (Gujarat): A view of Neminātha Temple,
eleventh-twelfth century AD*



*Pl. VIII : Mount Abu (Rajasthan): A view of Ādinātha Temple
(Vimala-Vasahi Temple), eleventh century AD*



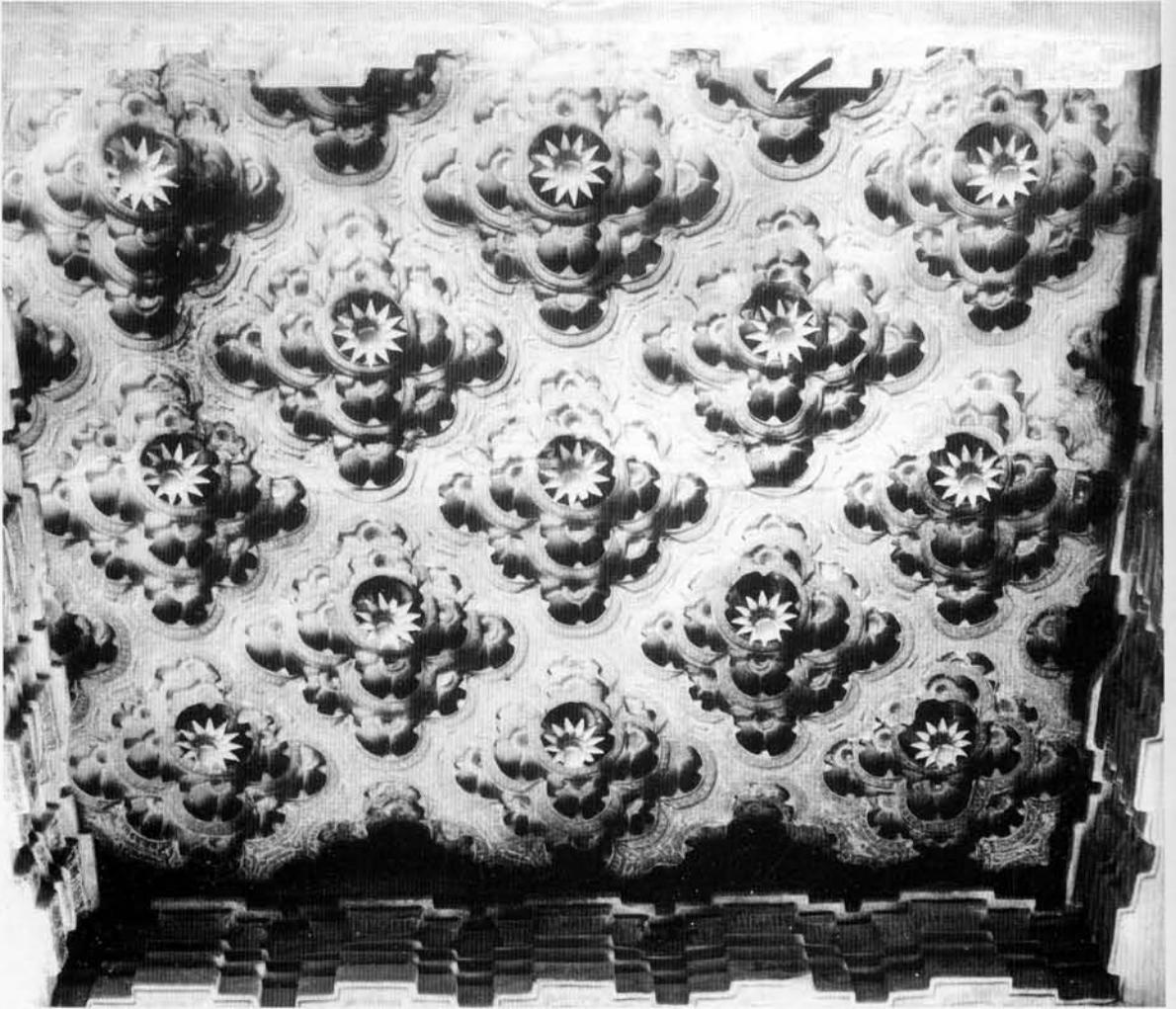
Pl. IX : Mount Abu (Rajasthan): A view of the ceiling of Ādinātha Temple
(Vimala-Vasahī Temple), eleventh century AD



Pl. X : Mount Abu (Rajasthan): A view of Lūṇa-Vasahī Temple, thirteenth century AD



Pl. XI : Mount Abu (Rajasthan): A view of Lūṇa-Vasahī Temple,
thirteenth century AD



Pl. XII : Mount Abu (Rajasthan): A view of Lūṇa-Vasahī Temple,
thirteenth century AD



Pl. XIII : Mathurā (Uttar Pradesh): Seated *tirthankara*,
Kusāṇa Period, State Museum, Lucknow



Pl. XIV : Mathurā (Uttar Pradesh): Seated *tirthankara*,
Gupta Period, State Museum, Lucknow



Pl. XV : Mathurā (Uttar Pradesh): Seated *tīrthamkara*,
tenth century AD, State Museum, Lucknow



JAIN TABLET OF HOMAGE WITH A PROMINENT SWASTIKA
 AND A TIRTHANKARA FIGURE IN THE CENTRE
 SHOWING WORSHIP OF STUPE, BIRCH TREE AND JINA
 FROM THE MATHURA-KUSHANA PERIOD
 जैन साधनात्मक । स्तूप के समीप में बिरच के पेड़ के समीप में महाविराट्
 की मूर्ति का स्थापित होना ।
 अकारण हीन अकार । कुण्डल मण्डल ।

**Pl. XVI : Mathurā (Uttar Pradesh): *Āyāga-paṭṭa* with *svastika* motif,
 seated *tīrthamkara* figure and pair of fish, Kuṣāṇa Period,
 State Museum, Lucknow**



Pl. XVII : Mathurā (Uttar Pradesh): Architrave of the gateway of a stūpa (Reverse), first century BC, State Museum, Lucknow

Pl. XVIII : Mathurā (Uttar Pradesh): Yakṣī Ambikā, ninth century AD, Government Museum, Mathurā





*Pl. XIX : Mathurā (Uttar Pradesh): Goddess Sarasvatī,
Kuṣāṇa Period, State Museum, Lucknow*



Pl. XX : Mathurā (U.P.): Āyāga-paṭṭa donated by Vāsu depicting the Jaina stūpa, Kuṣāṇa Period, Government Museum, Mathurā

Pl. XXI : Mathurā (Uttar Pradesh): Tympanum showing worship of a Jaina stūpa, a tīrthamkara and a goddess by male and female devotees, Kuṣāṇa Period, State Museum, Lucknow





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V.K. Sharma, Agra University's Ph.D (History) is a reputed scholar with varied academic and research concerns — which are abundantly reflected in his writings. Besides the co-authorship of *Terracotta Catalogue of Mathura Museum* (published in AD 2000) and his numerous presentations at regional/national/international seminars and conferences, he has published articles on varying themes in different print media and has, in addition, produced biographical profiles of eminent Indian personalities for certain reputed journals as well as books. Currently, he is working on "The History of Mathura" — a project whereupon he has already expended over a decade-long research effort.

Having taught at several colleges affiliated to the universities of Panjab and Agra for about thirty five years, Dr Sharma retired as Head, Department of History, K. R. Post-Graduate College, Mathura.

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